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Tan Suqua and Family:

Merchants of Canton

1716 - 1778

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Tan Suqua and Family:

陳壽官

Merchants of Canton 1716-1778

<u>Relation</u> Father	<u>Trade Name</u> Suqua	Popular Chinese Name Chen Shouguan	<u>Chinese</u> 陳壽官
	Chetqua ns: Hanqua, Yanqua, Sequa	Chen Jieguan	陳 捷 官
Son no. 26	? Tinqua ns: Minqua, Tongqua	Chen Dengguan	陳 簦 官
Son no. 3°	? Coqua	Chen Keguan	陳科官
Son no. 4	? Quiqua		

INTRODUCTION

Tan Suqua (Chen Shouguan 陳 壽 官) was one of the founding fathers of the Canton trade, and perhaps the most respected and renowned *Hong* merchant of the first half of the eighteenth century. He and his sons were often viewed by the foreigners as the most dependable and successful businessmen, which attracted all of them to trade with them. As a result, Suqua shows up in all of the East India companies' records, which means we have a rich source of data from which to reconstruct his trade.

Ch'en Kuo-tung wrote the first extensive study of Suqua's family, and that was followed a few years later by W.E. Cheong. Both authors, however, collected the bulk of their data from the English records so they were limited to that one source. With new data we have collected of the family from the Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Belgian, American and Chinese archives we can now expand the story considerably to include many other aspects of their lives and their trade. These new sources have revealed most of their Chinese names as well so we can now track them more easily through the records. Aside from Suqua's family, the new histories that have been written recently of some of the other merchants, shed much light on the Chen trade.

The first clear reference we have of Suqua is in the English East India Company (EIC) records in 1716. In this year, he contracted a small amount of porcelain with the EIC under the name 'Suqua als. Cumshaw'. Suqua went by this name for many years, which was sometimes shortened to just 'Cumshaw'. For the sake of reconstructing his history, the nickname was very fortunate because other merchants went by the name Suqua as well, but all of the foreigners called Chen Suqua 'alias Cumshaw. He later dropped the alias, but by then his son Chetqua (Jieguan 捷官) had become active in the trade and the two are then listed in all of the companies' records as 'Suqua father of Chetqua' or 'Chetqua son of Suqua'. Having such clear

¹ Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990), 268-72; and Cheong Weng Eang, *The Hong Merchants of Canton* (Copenhagen: NIAS-Curzon Press, 1997), 134-44

² Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China*, 1635-1834, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926. Reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966), 1:156 and note 2. Morse claims that the term 'Cumshaw' may indicate that Suqua was a 'petty trader, liable to be treated in an off-hand way', or that it could mean 'Young Master Kin'. Cheong seems to have picked up on this idea and takes it a step further. He suggests that Sugua was the same person as 'Emuy Kimco', who appears in the records in 1703, and then goes on to say that the suffixes 'co', 'shaw' and 'qua' are indications of Suqua moving up the social ladder and becoming more important in the trade. We have found no justification for any of these claims. In fact other references clearly show that 'co' and 'qua' often represent the same Chinese character, guan (官 or 觀), and the 'shaw', which Cheong suggests means 'little' (probably referring to xiao 小 or shao 少), is usually the Chinese 'she' (含). Cheong claims that Suqua himself told the EIC supercargoes in 1716 that he had been promoted from 'petty trader' to 'official merchant'. We have not seen a reference like this in the EIC records, and because Cheong did not provide his source we have not used it. It is also just as likely that Cumshaw was another one of Sugua's given names (it was usual to have several). The merchant 'Simmon', for example, which Cheong claims is a 'giveaway foreign name' making him likely to have been a repatriate 'from overseas', is in fact referring to his Chinese name Ximan (錫 滿, pronounced 'Sikmuhn' in Cantonese). All of this talk about the meaning of names is mere speculation because without having the Chinese characters, it is impossible to know what the romanisations stand for. We have also not been able to make any clear connections between the 'Suqua als. Cumshaw' of 1716 and the 'Emuy Kimco' of 1703 so that earlier reference has not been used in this study. Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 134, 147 and 181 n. 28.

distinctions is very rare, especially in the first half of the eighteenth century, so tracking these two men's activities is fairly straightforward, but that is not true with other members of the family.

The early years of Suqua's sons Tinqua (Dengguan 簦官), Coqua (Keguan 科官) and Quiqua³ are difficult to reconstruct, because there were other men who used those names. As far as Tinqua is concerned, it is not until the late 1750s, that he becomes listed as 'Suqua, Chetqua, Tinqua and Company', 'Tinqua son of Suqua' or 'Chetqua's brother Tinqua', etc. When Chetqua dies in 1771, Tinqua takes over the family firm and then there is widespread mention of him in the records. Quiqua does not become recognisable as one of Suqua's sons until the early-1760s, when he begins to show up as 'Chetqua's youngest brother and writer'. It is impossible to distinguish Coqua until about 1775 when Tinqua dies and he is described as 'brother and successor to Tinqua'.⁴

All three of these sons were probably actively trading earlier, because those names appear regularly in the records. 'Tinqua', for example, shows up consistently from the 1720s to the 1760s and after, and when Chetqua died, he is described as 'old' so we would assume him to have been active all along. But because there were several Tinquas we do not know which entries belong to Suqua's son. These ambiguities in the records are why the three younger sons' names appear only infrequently in Tables A, B and C, and why their schedules list nothing for the earlier years. We have chosen to omit all uncertain entries so as not to accidentally confuse them with someone else.

Suqua had several grandsons involved in the family business as well. Chetqua had three sons working in the firm, Hanqua, Yanqua and Sequa. Tinqua also had three sons helping in the house, Minqua, Tongqua and an unnamed 'under-aged son'. Except for a brief mention of these six grandsons in the Danish records in 1777, we have no other significant data about them so they do not appear in the narrative below.⁵

The family ran several businesses. In the early decades of the trade, Suqua's main house appears to have been the Fengyu Hang (豐 裕 行). By the early 1750s, the Weixing (葳 興 行 or possibly Maoxing 茂 興), Renhe (仁 和 行) and Guangshun (廣 順 行) Hangs appear in the

³ One reference shows Quiqua as 'Chetqua's bother-in-law'. National Archives, The Hague (NAH): Canton 28. But there are dozens of references to him being his brother. We know his last name was Chen so I assume that has was a brother and not a brother-in-law.

⁴ NAH: Canton 79. Cheong and Pritchard have some of the sons and death dates confused. Cheong lists Tinqua as Suqua's brother, and shows Suqua's death to be in March 1771 (this was Chetqua's death). Both authors have confused the son Coqua with the merchant Tiauqua of the Ye family. Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 85, 259; and Earl H. Pritchard, *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations 1750–1800* (1936; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 201 and n. 7, 202-3. These two authors list two other sons, Tinqua and Chelqua, but because they have a few things mixed, it is unclear whether these two men are actually attached to the Guangshun Hang. These names do not match with corresponding names in other records so they have not been included in this study. For clarification of Tiauqua's true identity and the confusion with Coqua, see Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants of Canton 1720-1804' *Review of Culture*, International Edition No. 13 (January 2005), 6-47.

⁵ In January 1771, the Dutch mention that Tan Tinqua's son 'Jamqua' was also helping in the trade, but this many is not listed in the Danish records. He may have been the same as the 'Yanqua', which the Danes list in 1777 as Chetqua's son. NAH: Canton 80; and Rigsarkivet (National Archives), Copenhagen (RAC): Ask 1178-9.

records connected to Suqua and/or Chetqua's trade, and then we hear nothing more of the Fengyu Hang. By this time, Guangshun had clearly replaced Fengyu as the family's main business, and it remained their main house until 1778 when Coqua failed and the firm was closed.

This early mention of the Renhe Hang being connected to the Chens presents somewhat of a problem because later in the early nineteenth century this firm was owned and managed by the Pan 潘 family. Unfortunately, the business name only appears one year in the eighteenth century (1752), and then disappears so we cannot resolve this problem. It is possible that Chetqua simply contracted some goods for the Pans, who were just beginning to enter the trade at this time. But if this was the case, then why do we not hear of the Renhe Hang again until the nineteenth century?

As far as the records reveal, Suqua's family played an active role in the trade for 62 years (1716 to 1778). Not coincidentally, the failure of the Guangshun Hang runs parallel to the same fates of his partners of the Yan, Cai and Qiu families. This four-member consortium (three houses) controlled about 50 percent of the trade in Canton from the late-1750s to 1771. The history of Suqua's three partners have recently been written, so adding this branch of the Chen family to the list completes an important part of the history of the trade.

There were several branches of the Chen family trading in Canton at the same time, but Suqua's family ran the largest firm. The smaller Chen houses were founded by Tan Tinqua (Chen Zhenguan 陳 宴 官), Tan Anqua (Chen Anguan 陳 安 觀), Mandarin Quiqua (Chen Kuiguan 陳 慰 官) and Fat Hunqua (Chen Xiongguan 陳 雄 觀). The first two firms ran into opposition in 1760 when they were omitted from the Co-hong, which eliminated from much of the trade. The latter two firms paralleled Suqua's family business, operating about the same time and almost the same number of years, but they were smaller operations. ⁷

At the same time that Suqua's family was active, several other Chen merchants appear briefly in the historical records. They include Tinqua (Chen Tengguan 陳 騰 觀, 1730s), Chen Tingguan (陳 汀 官, 1730s), Chen Fangguan (陳 芳 觀, 1730s), Tan Sauqua (Chen Suguan 陳 蘇 官, 1750s), Chen Zheng (陳 正, 1750s), Chen Jiuguan (陳 九 觀, 1760s) and Tan Quiqua (Chen Guiguan 陳 貴 觀, 1760s). A couple of these names disappear very quickly after being mentioned one year, and the others eventually become lost in the ambiguities of historical nomenclature. There is evidence that suggests there were other Chen merchants as well, but without Chinese characters or a reference clearly connecting them to that clan there is no way to confirm their identities.

⁶ Paul A. Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family: Merchants of Canton, 1734-1780s' *Review of Culture,* International Edition No. 9 (January 2004): 30-85; and Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises: Merchants of Canton 1730-1784', *Review of Culture,* forthcoming.

⁷ The history of one of these Chen branches has recently been completed. Paul A. Van Dyke, 'Mandarin Quiqua and Family: Merchants of Canton 1724-1794, forthcoming.

The relationships between these Chen merchants and family branches are not clear. So far no information has emerged to suggest they were related to each other. In fact, in business the Chen firms appear as outright competitors struggling for a share of the trade. There is nothing to suggest that they were in partnership or collaborations with other Chens. If we could match their common names they used in the trade with their formal names listed in the surviving genealogies, perhaps we could resolve the question of the relationships between their houses. But in this study we will treat Sugua's family business as if it were a separate and independent operation.

Suqua and the Early Years

After his small trade with the English in 1716, Suqua rapidly increased his dealings with them. He also picked up some of the Ostend Company (later known as the Ostend General India Company, GIC) trade. In 1721/1722, the EIC supercargoes mention that they had contracted with Suqua and Cudgin (of the Ye 葉 family), and that both of them had been trading with the Ostenders for the past two years. The English officers considered Suqua to be 'the only man a considerable contract can be made with', but it is clear from the GIC records that Cudgin could probably have supplied them sufficiently as well. In the 1720s, Suqua appears to have been in partnership with a Chu Tonqua. 8

Suqua was now handling enormous quantities of tea and a whole range of other products, which indicates very strong connections to inland markets. In raw silk alone (one of the most expensive commodities), Suqua supplied seventeen chests to the EIC ship *Emilia* and eighteen chests to the *Lyell* in 1722. He also supplied gold, which was illegal to export, but was traded widely by almost all of the *Hong* merchants throughout the eighteenth century. Some silks were also illegal to export, but nonetheless found easy sales. The silk and gold trade often went handin-hand, and those sales were arranged by the same merchants. It is thus not surprising to see Suqua and his sons trading regularly in these items. 9

To get an idea of the competition Suqua faced at this time and to show that his expansion of trade was not something to be taken lightly, the EIC supercargoes stated in 1723 that 'allmost all the Merchants are broke not above two or three to be depended upon for a Contract'. In almost any decade of the history of the Canton trade (ca. 1700 to 1842), statements like this can be found in the records, which show how competitive and risky the tea trade was. Only those who knew how to balance all the factors survived, and Suqua seems to have been much better at this than most. Again in 1724 Suqua is noted as being the only merchant in Canton who was not 'in debt to a great amount to certain Armenians'. The English found him to be the only man they

⁸ Oriental and India Office in the British Library, London (OIO): EIC Canton Factory Records G/12/20-25; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 135, 144-145; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:167. For Cudgin's story, see Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants', 6-47.

⁹ OIO: G/12/21. For other examples of *Hong* merchants trading in gold and the connections between gold and silk, see Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family', 36-40; and Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong University Press, forthcoming). A gold contract from 1760 with the VOC and which involved Suqua's son Chetqua can be seen in Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', forthcoming. Yellow and crimson silks were forbidden to sell, but they were exported regularly. Chetqua was caught trying to ship some of these to the Danish ships in 1767. RAC: Ask 1160.

could 'rely upon for punctuality, he being clear of incumbrances, of great wealth and best capable of extricating us in case of any embarassment with the government'. 10

As a further sign of the risks involved, not all merchants wanted to increase their shares of the trade of one ship or one company. In 1727, for example, Suqua refused to supply the EIC with more than one third of their green tea. On the surface, this might seem to be a strange reaction for someone who was in business to make money. It looks even stranger when we consider that his main competitor Cudgin, who handled up to 85 percent of the GIC cargos the previous year, was in Beijing this year so Suqua could have easily capitalized on his absence and picked up extra shares.¹¹

Suqua's apprehensions were well founded, however, because the English insisted that merchants, with whom they contracted tea, had to take a corresponding portion of their imported woollens. Suqua did not want more than one third of those textiles so he refused to contract more tea. This tying of imports to exports was known as 'truck' and all of the foreigners insisted upon this practice.

The practice of truck could be very risky business for the Chinese, because the imports arrived at the same time each year (July to September), which saturated the market and pushed prices down. In order to make a profit on the items, the merchants had to warehouse them until prices recovered, which tied up much needed working capital. In fact, the smaller houses could not afford to warehouse the goods, because they needed the funds immediately to purchase tea, porcelain and silk. They would thus have to sell the imports when prices were lowest, and often suffer a loss, which they hoped to recover from other sales. Moreover, green teas were more perishable than black teas. If they speculated on a large quantity of the former product and then could not sell all of it, they faced losing money on the remainder because the quality would deteriorate over time. ¹²

This situation is what led many of the Chinese merchants to becoming indebted to private foreign traders, who loaned them money to cover costs in one year with hopes of recovering losses in the next year. But then the next season was often the same, and on top of the loss, they had to pay high interest on the loans. Borrowing from foreigners was in fact illegal, but there were often no alternative sources of funding so the loans had to be arranged privately. Because these transactions were illegal, government officials did not keep track of them to analyze their effect on the trade. They would usually not find out about the debts until the houses failed. For houses with small capital reserves, taking out these loans was a precarious downward spiralling staircase to destruction. This was the situation in the 1720s, and it was no different in following decades. ¹³

In the example above, Suqua did not want to increase his share of the English trade, but that was not always the case. Sometimes merchants tried to gain control of the entire trade of one product, one ship or one company. In 1724, for example, Bouqua, who was the Phuen's

¹⁰ OIO: G/12/25.

¹¹ OIO: G/12/26.

¹² OIO: G/12/26.

¹³ OIO: G/12/26. For a more thorough discussion of the consequences of the practice of truck, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, forthcoming.

(governor of Guangdong Province) merchant, 'offered his master 24,000 Tale for a monopoly of the English Trade for that year only'. Suqua protested and managed to prevent this from happening. But even if he had not, it was not likely that Bouqua could have succeeded in this scheme, because the English would not have allowed it. The Dutch were also opposed to allowing one merchant control most of their trade.

Bouqua was merely trying to do with the EIC what Cudgin was successful at doing with the GIC in 1726. Some companies were open to this idea, and used the attraction of getting most of their trade to pressure suppliers to lower prices and better terms. The French East India Company (CFI) seems to have used this strategy with Suqua in 1726, as the GIC supercargo Hewer mentioned that the French had ordered all their tea through him. ¹⁴ Later in the 1750s, the CFI was doing the same with Swequa (Cai Ruiguan 蔡 瑞 官), and in the 1760s, the Swedes used this tactic with Poankeequa (Pan Qiguan 潘 啟 官). In the early 1760s, Suqua's son Chetqua and his partners tried to gain control of all the tin that was being imported so they could control the prices. 15 These attempts to monopolise a part of the trade varied from ship to ship, product to product and year to year, but were usually only marginally successful.

As a sign of his success, we see Suqua inviting the English officers to a feast in 1724 at his residence. He would certainly want to make a good impression on them so we can assume that this was probably an elaborate event. In fact, all of the activity above points to a very lucrative house at this time. On the one hand, large amounts of capital were needed to order tea in advance so Sugua could be assured of sufficient quantities and qualities. He seems to have been able to do this without having to resort to borrowing large sums from the foreigners. In order to handle all of that merchandise, he would also need dozens if not hundreds of coolies to pack the goods and chop boats (lighters) to tranship them downriver to the foreign ships at Whampoa. All of this activity required a lot of working capital.

On the other hand, it was usually only the affluent houses that invited foreigners to feasts, which aside from immaculate courses being served throughout the evening, often included entertainment such as a Chinese opera or orchestra. Sugua was also supplying foreigners with temporary accommodations at his house, which was a privilege that usually only large merchants could provide. He owned several of the factories in Canton, and of course he would need to have separate accommodations for the ladies in his family to keep them out of the foreigners' view (ladies were forbidden to be in the same buildings with them). All this incidental information suggests that Suqua now had a very large and opulent estate. 16

In the 1726 season, the viceroy had threatened to add a 10 percent tax on silver and as a precautionary measure, supercargo Hewer secretly met with Suqua and Hunqua to see if they would be willing to go to Amoy instead. Sugua had actually entertained this idea in past years,

¹⁵ Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé. *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters*, 1762 and 1763 (Macao: Cultural

Institute, forthcoming). Hereafter referred to as CMD 1762 or 1763.

¹⁴ Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:181-2; and Stadsarchief (Municipal Archive), Antwerp (SAA): IC 5757.

¹⁶ In 1724, the English supercargoes mention that they presented Suqua with a 'silver repeating watch ... for his trouble in our long stay in his house'. OIO: G/12/25. As counter examples, the smaller houses of the Ye family did not invite foreigners to feasts, did not provide them with temporary housing, and did not rent them factories. Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants', 6-47.

but before they could answer, the viceroy had caught wind of the connivance. He threatened to beat Sugua with a bamboo and punish his family if he tried such a foolish thing, which put an immediate end to the idea of leaving Canton. 17

The GIC records that have survived show Sugua's trade with the Belgians from 1723 to 1732 (see schedule and Table D). The 1726 season was a fairly good year for him, supplying the three Ostend ships with over 90,000 taels of merchandise. Although this was a considerable amount, it was less than 10 percent of what Cudgin had done with them the previous year. Nevertheless, his trade and fame continued to grow as the following statement from the English supercargoes in 1730 shows. 18

Suqua for many years past hath been reputed the most considerable Merchant in Canton, and can dispatch any number of Ships in good time, for he is in great Circumstances, and generally allowed to be an able and skillfull Merchant, but He will always endeavour to make a hard Bargain. 19

We do not have figures of Suqua's trade with the EIC, but we know he was securing some of the English ships, which means he had the privilege to the largest share of those cargos. This would have been perhaps 20 to 30 percent of the total. And of course, there were other foreigners in Canton in these years such as the French, Portuguese, Spanish, Armenians and other private traders from India. Because Suqua's house was one of the most prominent in Canton, we would expect him to be dealing with all of these people to some degree.

In 1729, for example, Sugua supplied the first Dutch East India Company (VOC) ship with a quantity of porcelain (1,600 taels). His Dutch trade was small to begin with but expanded in following years (see Table B). The VOC figures from 1734 to 1756 are not available, but we know from other documents that Suqua's family carried on a regular trade with the Dutch (see schedule). In 1732, he also picked up a share of the trade with the first Swedish East India Company (SOIC) ship in China, and in 1736, he shows up in the Danish Asiatic Company (DAC) records trading with them. Most of the SOIC records have not survived, but the extant DAC records show Sugua's family carrying on a regular business (see Table A).

The early 1730s brought new opportunities, but they were very disruptive and unsettling years for the Chinese merchants. There was much reshuffling and reshaping of both political and business alliances among the Chinese, as well as between the foreigners and the Chinese merchants. Some new faces like Leunqua (1728, 葉隆官) and Consentia Giqua (1729, 葉義官) entered the trade a few years before their relative Cudgin retired to Quanzhou (1732). Beaukeequa (Li Kaiguan 黎 開 官), another major player, also left Canton and removed to Fujian (1733). And two formidable partnerships made their debut into the trade, Semqua (Qiu Kun 邱 崑) and Tsia Hungua (of the Cai蔡 family) in the Yifeng Hang (ca. 1731, 義 豐 行), and Texia (Yan Deshe 顏 德 舍) and Simon (Huang Ximan 黃 錫 滿) in the Taihe Hang (1734, 泰

¹⁷ Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants', 7; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 135; and SAA: IC 5757. ¹⁸ Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants', 6-47.

¹⁹ Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:198.

和 行). Aside from these changes there was also much rearranging going on in the customs networks to bring things under tighter control.²⁰

In this rapidly changing environment, Sugua, being the number one man of the 1720s, had perhaps the most to loose from the restructuring. Some of the reshuffling was done to insure that no monopolies were formed that could control prices, which inevitably brought the man who controlled the largest share of trade into questionable light. In 1731, the EIC Council in Canton accused Sugua of defrauding the company in 1729 and 1730. They had evidence that Sugua had connived with the former Chief of Council, William Fazakerley, to artificially inflate the prices of the company's tea for their personal benefits.

The origin of this accusation came from Suqua's competitor Ton Hunqua and partner Chinqua. The two men had written a letter to the directors in England informing them of this collusion, and Chief of Council, James Naish, was instructed to investigate the matter, and also to discontinue trade with Suqua. Naish decided to give his tea contracts to Hunqua and Chinqua instead, which led Suqua to protest to the Hoppo and get an injunction against the two.²¹

Sugua managed to convince the Hoppo to send a declaration to the English stating that Hungua would not be allowed to trade with the EIC ships this year. Chinese merchants were not supposed to do any type of manipulating like this as it could have an affect on the trade. Hunqua was thus arrested for corresponding with a foreign authority, and thrown into prison. After several rounds of negotiations and compromises, he was later released, but only after he had agreed to allow Suqua a share of the EIC trade. This arrangement settled the matter for the time being, and the trade in 1731 proceeded on schedule. But the Hoppo was now very unhappy with Hungua, which carried over into the next season. When the English officers arrived, they noted that Chinqua had become 'invisible' and Hunqua was now keeping a very low profile.²²

In an attempt to side-step the ongoing feud between these factions, the new EIC chief, Whichcott Turner, decided not to give any trade to these three men in 1732. In the meantime, on 26 September the viceroy received an imperial decree ordering the suspension of the Hoppo. Suqua was subsequently thrown into prison, presumably because of his past dealings with that official. He was suspected of trading on behalf of the Hoppo, who was appointed to supervise and administer the trade but not to do business himself. Hungua gained freedom of the streets again, and Suqua was effectively out of the picture.²³

The particulars surrounding this controversy are not clear. The emperor had apparently heard that certain persons (the Hoppo and Sugua) had tried to monopolise the trade. Officials in Beijing were well aware of the need to maintain competition in Canton so prices remained attractive to foreigners, which would, in turn, encourage growth. The immediate removal of the Hoppo and Suqua's arrest are indicative of how important the commerce had become to Beijing

²⁰ Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family', 30-85; Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', forthcoming; Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants', 6-47. For a summary of the changes made in the trade at this time, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, forthcoming.

²¹ Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:201-6; and Paul Hallberg and Christian Koninckx, eds., *A Passage to China*, by Colin Campbell (Gothenburg: Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, 1996), 142-3. ²² Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:208-10.

²³ Morse, Chronicles, 1:208-11; Cheong, Hong Merchants, 137; and Hallberg and Koninckx, eds., A Passage to China, 141-2.

by this time. The trade revenues sent to Beijing were now a regular part of the annual budget, and any suspicions of those funds being tampered with would incite strong reactions. Being successful for so many years and also so far removed from the capitol, Suqua had underestimated the attention the imperial court would give to his political manipulating of the trade.²⁴

Suqua's partner Tonqua (or Tanqua) and bookkeeper Chinqua (who spoke English) continued to mind the business and completed the contracts in 1732. But the next year, Suqua was still in prison and they found it very difficult to establish new contracts because most of the negotiating needed to be done by Suqua. Hunqua was also still in trouble over the ploy he had pulled. They seemed to have carried on a little trade in 1733, but by 1734, things were looking very bleak. Suqua had still not been released, and there is no indication from the records that have survived that his firm had any business this year. All they could do was to wait for things to change, and in the meantime, the new merchants grabbed market shares. ²⁵

Recovery and Rise of Chetqua

At some point in late-1734 or early-1735 Suqua obtained his release from prison and was also allowed to resume his trade. The accused Hoppo had, in fact, declared Suqua's innocence from the start, and promised to defend him to the emperor. He was apparently successful because Suqua would certainly not have been released if he had criminal charges against him. And Beijing would not have allowed him to continue trading if they had suspected he had been involved in fowl-play. The new merchants had taken over a good part of the trade so there was also no pressing need to restore Suqua for the sake of keeping the commerce moving forward. The evidence thus suggests that Suqua had been cleared of all charges, but his final release was certain to have cost him dearly in payments and presents to officials. And of course he had lost out on two years of trade and forfeited his share to others.²⁶

This is about the time that we begin to see references to Chetqua, but the exact year is unclear. In 1728, a 'Chequa' is mentioned in the English records, and Cheong mentions that a Chetqua shows up in those documents in 1731. He says this man was later identified as a gold broker who had been living with Chwan Teinqua, and that this man later did some trade with Suqua's partner Tanqua.

All of these entries sound plausible, if it were not for one contradiction. In 1732, when Suqua was imprisoned we have lengthy discussions in the records about his partner Tanqua and bookkeeper Chinqua. There is much talk about how they struggled to keep the trade going while Suqua was in prison, and some of the communications they had with him. But there is no mention of Chetqua in these talks. If he had been active in the trade at this time, he would have certainly been involved in this crisis.

If these earlier entries are indeed referring to Chetqua, then about the only plausible explanation would be that Chetqua was not in Canton at the time his father was put into jail. He could have been sent inland to make the purchases for the coming year, which would account for

²⁶ Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:208-11, 217.

²⁴ Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, forthcoming.

²⁵ Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:209-17. For a detailed account of how difficult it was for Suqua's men to continue the trade without him, see Hallberg and Koninckx, eds., *A Passage to China*, passim.

his absence in some of those discussions. He could also have gone in one of the Canton junks to take care of business abroad. These explanations, however, have their problems as well.

The junks should have returned to Canton by September or October, but there is no mention of Chetqua being involved for the remainder of the year. If he had gone inland, it is hard to imagine him not returning immediately to defend his father. Regardless of where he was in China, he would have certainly been notified of his father's arrest and he should have been able to return to Canton within a month or so. He could have also been sick and thus indisposed, but there is no evidence of that either.

Chetqua's absence in 1732 becomes more problematic when we consider that beginning in 1734 we begin to have references to a Chetqua in Suqua's house. He then shows up regularly in the records, and is often mentioned hand-in-hand with his father. Certainly, with the intense focus on Suqua's house in 1732 and 1733 and all the problems Tanqua and Chinqua were having, Chetqua would have been involved to some degree in those discussions if he had been active in the trade. Because we have not been able to resolve these contradictions, we have omitted the earlier references to Chetqua.²⁷

Suqua re-entered the trade in 1735, and quickly recaptured a share of the EIC cargoes. The English officers had not forgotten his previous (supposed) offences against the company, but they did not want to leave him a free hand to supply all of the EIC's competitors in Canton with good tea so they voted unanimously to engage him. A contract was made for all the Hyson tea he could get, and they ordered a sizeable quantity of silk textiles. The Hyson tea he supplied this year would later cause him much grief, but for the time being, trade had resumed.²⁸

We have no record of Suqua trading with the other companies this year except that the English suspected he would do some trade with the French. In 1736, he landed a small porcelain contract with both the EIC and DAC, and Chetqua's name now begins to appear fairly regularly. In this year, Suqua also communicated with the Hoppo for the English so he was clearly back on good terms with the officials again. Suqua also begins to show up in the Danish records this year with the title 'mandarin' which suggests he had purchased a degree (see Illustration 1). Suqua and Chetqua traded with both of those companies the next year, but Suqua was barred from Hyson contracts with the EIC owing to the unsatisfactory tea he had delivered in 1735. They contracted some Singlo tea with the EIC in 1737, and tried to sell some porcelain to the Dutch. As is noted above, the family's trade at this time appears to have been done out of the Fengyu Hang (see Illustration 1).²⁹

The road to recovery was clearly a slow and laborious trek for the two men, but they made progress each year. It is unfortunate that so many of the records are missing from the 1730s to the 1750s. If we had all the data, the activities listed in the schedules would certainly be much more extensive. Despite the sparseness of the sources, they nonetheless show that Suqua and Chetqua had a fairly steady business by 1738, with volumes and the number of products being handled increasing dramatically by 1740. In 1739, the English found Suqua's silk fabrics to be of exceptional quality, and his raw silk was the best to be had. He had thus clearly regained some of

²⁷ Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 139-40, 183 n. 54; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:191.

²⁸ Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:233-4.

²⁹ Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:252-61; NAH: VOC 2410; and schedule.

his connections to the best inland suppliers. As Cheong points out, Suqua never regained his former prestige as the chief of the trade, and the family's wealth probably peaked sometime around 1730. But the family was still wealthy, and Suqua continued to be much respected by foreigners and Chinese alike as one of the founding fathers of the commerce. 30

Aside from these transactions, Suqua also owned a couple of the factories in Canton which he rented out to the foreigners. Table E shows some of the rents that foreign companies paid to Suqua and Chetqua from 1743 to 1768. The data are incomplete and do not show that the family was renting buildings out regularly to more than one foreign company each year, but they nonetheless help to show the extent of the family's holdings.

Renting foreigners buildings was another way to build friendship and trust, but could also be a means of obtaining much needed working capital. The EIC, VOC and DAC all advanced large sums of money to their factory owners, and then let them deduct the rent each year from the principle. In this way, the companies could be assured the buildings would be reserved for them, and they could also negotiate a better rate. The Dutch, in fact, gave one of their landlords enough money so that the interest on the principle equalled the amount of the rent payment each year. The merchants were allowed to use the money year-after-year, and the Dutch did not have to bother with paying rent. If the merchants had tried to borrow this money in the normal fashion, then they would have had to compete with all the other Chinese in Canton eager to get their hands on it. By connecting the loans to factory rents, they gained exclusive access to this capital.³¹

Owning buildings, however, also carried risks. In 1743, Suqua lost several buildings from fire. On December 7 Suqua and Chetqua were busy packing 65 chests of Peco tea for the Dutch, and after they were done in the evening a fire broke out in a sailor's shack next to the Danish factory. With the aid of a swift breeze, it spread rapidly from one house to the next and then to the rows of sampans on the river. The blaze rose so high that it could be seen thirty miles downriver.

Commodore Anson was in China at this time and he and his men went to help the Chinese firemen. The fire raged all night moving towards the large warehouses of the merchants. Instead of fighting the fire, all of the merchants were rushing about trying to get their most valuable possessions (especially silver) out of their factories. One after another the warehouses caught fire, and some of them had stores of camphor, oil and other flammable material which fuelled the flames. After completely consuming the Danish factory, the blaze moved east to Suqua's factory then branched off into two directions. One front consumed the Swedish factory, and after completed ruining Texia and Simon's factory it was extinguished just before it reached the French factory. The other front of the fire attached Tan Tionqua and Attay's factories and consumed many houses and shops along the way. It then jumped to Labin Quayqua and Manuel Quayqua's factory, and was finally extinguished before reaching the Dutch and English factories.

The next day was busy with everyone rushing about evaluating the damage and trying to keep looters from steeling what was left. The *Hong* merchants hired Commodore Anson's soldiers to stand guide by their ruins until the goods could be safely stored. But then in the

³⁰ Morse, Chronicles, 1:270-1; and Cheong, Hong Merchants, 138-9.

³¹ Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, forthcoming; RAC: Ask 1132; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 3: 136, 225.

evening of the 8th, another fire broke out owing to a swift breeze giving smouldering cinders flight. It burned furious for a while, but was eventually extinguished. In the end, one account puts the damage at a 'hundred shops and eleven streets full of warehouses'.³²

Suqua was said to have suffered the most from the blaze. Besides his own factory going up in smoke, he also owned the Danish and Tan Tionqua's factories, both of which were completely destroyed. One account puts his loss at 200,000 pounds. At the rate of one pound equal to three taels, this was indeed a catastrophe. This simple estimate gains some credence when we consider Suqua's situation at the time. The new teas did not arrive at Canton until late-November or early-December, and we know that Suqua was packing tea the day of the fire. We also know that most of the foreign ships were still waiting for the rest of their cargos, and the Dutch state that some of the Hyson tea they ordered had burnt in the fire.

Suqua (and the other merchants) likely had a huge stock of goods on hand on the day the fire broke out. He replace all of those goods immediately (with his own money) so the ships could load and leave before the monsoon winds changed in February/March. And now he had to bear the cost of not only rebuilding his own factory, but the others as well. He had until September 1744 to rebuild the Danish factory, or he faced losing their contract and it could be hard to woo a renter back. But when the Danes arrived, a building was ready for them, and they continued to rent from Suqua for several years (see Table E). The Danes left their furniture and other belongings in his care during the off-season.³³

Within two weeks of the fire, Suqua was packing goods again so he apparently found space to rent and funds to buy goods. At the start of the 1744 season he was living in the front part of the Dutch factory, but it is not clear when he moved into those quarters (perhaps after the Dutch left in February). This building was owned by Tan Conqua, who was connected in someway to Tan Tinqua. But Suqua seems to have had an interest in it as well. He continued living here for several years and kept watch over the Dutch half of the building after they left each year. This arrangement gave him time to recover before laying out more money to rebuild his factory.³⁴

We do not know all the particulars connected to 1743, but what usually happened in a crisis like this was that the pressures to obtain tea and other goods quickly to fulfill contracts, pushed prices up. The contracts with the foreigners could not be changed unless they agreed to it, which was not likely to happen. As a result, Suqua had to purchase the goods very quickly at prices that perhaps did not allow him a profit. All merchandise was shipped fee-on-board to the ships downriver at Whampoa, which meant that all of the goods that burnt in Canton (including the export goods stored in the foreign factories) were his responsibility. Moreover, the foreigners had already given him advances on the merchandise so if he did not deliver, he would have to

15

³² Glyndwr Williams, ed., *A Voyage Round the World in the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, I, by George Anson* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 362.

³³ RAC: Ask 1124. Suqua seems to have been a part-owner of the building up until 1743. Texia and Simon were the other owners. At some point at the end of the 1743 season, Simon left the trade and his name disappears from the records (it is not known why). Beginning in 1744, Suqua appears to have rebuilt the factory himself as Texia's name is no longer mentioned in connection to the Danish factory. In 1751, Suqua lost the bid to Mandarin Quiqua (Chen Kuiguan) and then Beaukeequa the next year. Suqua tried to woo the Danes back to his factory in 1755, but lost out again to Beaukeequa, who had a new building available at a good price. See Table E and RAC: Ask 1135.

³⁴ NAH: Canton 2-3, 6, 69.

repay that money with interest, which meant added usury costs and the loss of those profits (if there were any).

As would be expected, the departure of some ships, which usually left in early-January, were delayed until mid-February. For the sake of a profitable voyage, the foreigners would not want to leave without taking in a full cargo if at all possible. And it appears as though they were able to do so. The merchants, including Attay who had also lost his factory in the fire, complied with their contracts as best they could, and the ships left one by one. Before the season ended, however, there was yet another fire in the 'outer city' that consumed another 100 houses, which temporarily stopped trade again. ³⁵

By the start of 1744, the trade was back to normal again. A curious event happened in the Dutch factory on October 3rd this year that gives us a unique glimpse at the close environs in which the foreigners and Chinese lived in Canton. In the evening between ten and eleven o'clock a Dutchman had been seen wondering outside the factory. Suqua's doorman hailed him in the street, and when he was confronted, he dropped what he was carrying and kept going. The doorman grabbed a lantern to see what he had dropped, and found two pieces of spelter (zinc), which he brought inside. The man returned a short time later very intoxicated and tried to get back into the Dutch factory but it was locked for the night. Suqua brought him inside his house, where he fell asleep.

The next morning Suqua informed comprador Atak (Lu Yade), in the Dutch factory, what had happened. Atak returned the two pieces of spelter, and in the meantime, a third piece had been found hidden between chests under some rice husks (used to repel termites). Atak explained to the Dutch supercargoes what had happened, and they soon discovered that Corporal Paulus Smit was missing. While they were discussing these matters the factory door was opened for the day, and the man came in, got all of his things and left. An investigation was launched to find out how all this happened. ³⁶

We learn several things about Suqua and the environment from this incident. Factory doors were locked each night at about ten o'clock to protect against thieves so foreigners left outside had nowhere to go. All merchants were responsible for the people with whom they traded so we find Suqua allowing the man inside his home. But even though the thief had been caught red-handed with the spelter in his hands, Suqua did not accuse or detain him but informed the Dutch officers so they could take care of the matter. He had chosen not to bother his neighbors late in the evening and handled it himself. He refrained from notifying the police, and he did not force the man to stay at his house as that could cause trouble as well. It was little favors like these that could change a supercargo's mind when faced with having to choose between contracting with Suqua or someone else.

Round the World, 361-3. One pound to three taels is the exchange mentioned by Pritchard. Earl H. Pritchard, The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations 1750-1800 (1936. Reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 115.

³⁶ NAH: Canton 3.

³⁵ The events of the fire were pieced together from the following sources: NAH: Canton 69; Jens Boje, *Journal paa den anden Reyse til China med Skibet Dronningen af Danmark, indeholdende de Merkværdigste Ting, som fra Reysens Begyndelse Anno 1742, og til dens Ende 1744* (Copenhagen: Christoph Georg Glasing, 1745), 54-5; Leo Heaps, ed., *Log of the Centurion*, by Captain Philip Saumarez (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974), 248; George Anson, Esq., *A Voyage Round the World in the Years M, DCC, XL, I, II, III, IV.* (1740-1744) 3 vols. ([London?]: John Wilson, 1790. Reprint, Philadelphia: D.N. Goodchild, 2002), 3: 485-8; Williams, ed., *A Voyage*

Despite the heavy losses Suqua suffered in the fire, he continued to retain his position as a major player in the trade. In 1745, the SOIC supercargo Charles Irvine stated that this was a good year for both Tan Tinqua (Chen Zhenguan 陳 镇 官) and Suqua. There were few ships that arrived this year, and the decrease in trade combined with the effects of the fire put several of the houses in a very bad state, but again Suqua survived. In 1746, to add insult to injure many of the ships arrived late which pressed the weak houses even more. With no trade, there was no way to meet obligations such as servicing debts and giving advances for purchases. At the end of this season, Irvine stated that Suqua was now the only one who was in good shape, and he warned a friend to be cautious about advancing money to anyone else (although he mentioned that Tan Tinqua might be a good alternative). All of this circumstantial evidence suggests that the fortune Suqua made in his golden years of the 1720s was indeed enormous — probably in the millions of taels.

Suqua and Chetqua gained considerable market share in the 1740s, expanding their trade to include almost everyone. They were now handling a good part of the English and Dutch cargos and they did a regular business with the French, Danes and Swedes each year, as well as others. Suqua shows up in Macao, from time to time, presumably to take care of the Portuguese trade. Chetqua takes over running most of the trade in the Guangshun Hang, and by the late-1740s, his father begins to show up in the records as 'Old Suqua'. The family firm was now famous again for having good quality products and dependable service.³⁷

New Competition, the Guangshun Hang and the Triple Alliance

Several important men made their debut into the trade in the late-1740s and early-1750s. The first was Beaukeequa, who returned to Canton in 1748, after fifteen years absence. He had apparently been trading in Fujian since his departure in the early 1730s, and when he arrived back in Canton he opened up the Ziyuan Hang (資元行). In 1751, Poankeequa and Young Hoyqua (Chen Anqua 陳安官) begin to show up in the records. The former traded with his brother Sequa (潘瑟官) in the Dafeng Hang (達豐行) and latter owned the Jinyuan Hang (晉元行) and did some trade with Beaukeequa. The three houses brought new competition to Suqua and Chetqua's trade, and two of them had a big impact on the commercial environment in Canton (explained below).

In 1752, the Guangshun Hang appears for the first time in the records, which was now clearly the family's main business. Their trade flourished and aside from all the usually items of tea, silk and porcelain Suqua and Chetqua were still trading regularly in gold as well.³⁸ We also see a brief mention to a couple of their other businesses in 1753, the Weixing and Renhe Hangs. The family did some trade through these houses, but the names do not appear again so it is not

³⁷ James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota (JFB): Charles Irvine Papers.

³⁸ The VOC ship *Geldermalsen* loaded many gold shoes and bars in Canton in 1752, and much of it was supplied by Suqua. NAH: Canton 7. The ship sank on its way back to Holland and was later found and salvaged in the 1980s by Mike Hatcher. We thus have actual specimens showing how considerable this gold trade was. The *Geldermalsen* was just one of many ships that were taking gold out of China each year. Colin Sheaf and Richard Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes. The Complete Record* (Oxford: Phaidon Christie's, 1988).

known how much was being handled. The Fengyu Hang no longer appears so perhaps it ended with the fire in 1743.

The number of ships arriving varied from one year to the next but on the whole the overall volume was expanding so there was room for more merchants. Beaukeequa with his many connections and years of experience was a fairly aggressive trader and rose up the ranks rapidly. Poankeequa was less aggressive but nonetheless paralleled Beaukeequa's advance. Anqua's connections with Beaukeequa seem to have helped him gain market share as well.

By 1753, we see a new alliance among the *Hong* merchants. Suqua, Beaukeequa, Swetia (Yan Ruishe顏 瑞舍) and Jong Hoyqua formed a consortium whereby they stood security for each other, and advertised this to the foreigners. Swetia was of the Yan family from the Taihe Hang, which was one of the major houses in not only the foreign trade but the junk trade to Southeast Asia as well. This partnership was probably a ploy to gain an edge over the others and provide more protection to market shares. It would certainly be a benefit to the foreigners to know that if any problems developed with one, the others would step in to complete the contracts. This would avoid a lot of troubles dealing with the authorities in getting a proper settlement. The arrangement, however, only seems to have lasted one year, as we do not hear of it again after this.³⁹

Semqua and Tsia Hunqua's Yifeng Hang also emerged as a powerful trading house at this time and there were several others who had been trading since the 1720s and 1730s. In 1754, Young Hoyqua had gained some enemies and was cast out of the *Hong* collective, to trade only with the private traders, which gives some insight into why the former alliance fell apart. But he continues to trade in following years so this was only a temporary hindrance. Despite the new competition, Suqua and Chetqua held their own. The Dutch report at the end of both the 1754 and 1755 seasons that their house 'remains in their previous trusted state'.

By 1758, Beaukeequa had control of a large volume of trade. He had gained a good share of the EIC cargos, and rose to the upper ranks of the *hong* collective, but having market share and making profits, were not necessarily the same thing. Beaukeequa died this year, and it was soon discovered that he had left behind a huge debt. It was so large, in fact, that it sent shockwaves through the *Hong* merchant community because they knew they would have to absorb those debts. Government officials also became concerned and much interest emerged to come up with ways to prevent this from happening again.⁴¹

Several new initiatives came out of this debt crisis. In order to pay the duties that were owed, the government levied a tax of 0.5 tael on every picul of Bohea tea and one tael on every picul of fine tea. 42 In order to shoulder the debts and establish more control over the Guangshun Hang's trade, Suqua and sons Chetqua and Tinqua joined into a triple alliance with the Yifeng and Taihe Hangs in 1758. This consortium gave them control over about 50 percent of the trade

³⁹ NAH: Canton 19.

⁴⁰ NAH: Canton 20, 22.

⁴¹ The Danes tell us that Beaukeequa's arrears to the emperor for unpaid duties were 42,000 taels. In 1759, they report his debts to be 50,000 taels to the EIC, 80,000 taels to the CFI and 15,000 taels to the VOC. RAC: Ask 1138-42.

⁴² RAC: Ask 1139-40.

in Canton (including foreign and junk trade). With greater control would come greater security so for the sake of protecting profits, this partnership made good sense.

The triple alliance, however, worried Poankeequa, who was now the only other major contender. He and his group of smaller houses became the main adversary of the triple alliance. Government officials saw the wisdom in this new partnership, as they also did not want another failure like Beaukeequa's happening. But officials also did not want the group forming a monopoly that could set prices.

The alliance was allowed to trade as a group for the time being, while Poankeequa and the others came up with a way to prevent them from dominating the commerce. A solution was finally introduced in 1760 with the establishment of the Co-hong (Gonghang 公 行). Ten houses, four large and six small, were nominated to be the only firms that could trade with the foreingers. Several houses were voted out, including Young Hoyqua and Tan Tinqua (not Chetqua's brother). But Hoyqua continues to show up in the records afterwards, and Tan Tinqua reappears again later so they apparently found some means to carry on trade.

The three in the consortium and Poankeequa made up the four large houses and they became the administrative body of the Co-hong. They had reached a compromise between them each year about all the particulars of the trade, and then present these ideas to government officials. After everyone agreed, then the terms and prices were fixed for that particular year. They set prices on all commodities, used standardised exchange rates, regulated interest rates and monitored all commercial exchanges. No contracts could be made until the Co-hong had set the terms, and everything had to be declared publicly and receive approval before a contract could be made.

The six smaller houses were omitted from the decision making process, and had to accept what the four large houses and officials had decided. All ten houses, however, had to stand security for the others so, on one level it was in the interests of them all to agree on the terms in advance. Together the ten firms made up the new *Hong* merchant collective.

By this time, Suqua was an old man and had removed himself from much of the trade. He died on 5 March 1761, and Chetqua succeeded him. Unlike other founding fathers, Suqua's passing went almost unnoticed in the foreign records. The deaths of other renowned merchants such as Beaukeequa and Tsia Hunqua created a great stir in Canton, because they were actively involved in the trade right to the end, and it was not clear who their successors would be. The Guangshun Hang, however, had undergone the transition to Chetqua's management long before so there was no disruption. ⁴⁴ Chetqua also had Tinqua and other brothers working in the house, who, as was pointed out, are difficult to identify in the records, but come more clearly into view in the late 1760s.

⁴⁴ For an example of how disruptive it could be to the hangs when the head died and the successor was unclear, see Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', forthcoming. Two of the other heads of houses also died around 1761, Suiqua (Cai Ruiguan 蔡 瑞 官 of the Jufeng Hang 聚 豐 行) and the father of Monqua (Cai Wenguan 蔡 文 官 of the Wanhe Hang 萬 和 行).

19

⁴³ For examples of how the small houses operated and coped with decisions made by the large houses, see Van Dyke, 'Mandarin Quiqua and Family', forthcoming; and Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', forthcoming.

Chetqua became the intermediary between the triple alliance and Poankeequa. He was much respected by the English for his honesty, but the Dutch were often frustrated with his indecisiveness. He lacked the focus and stamina of his father. Tsia Hunqua constantly fought with Poankeequa and Ingsia (Texia's son and successor in the Taihe Hang) tended to side with Hunqua so Chetqua had to break the ice between the two groups. Matters within the triple alliance, however, were greatly overshadowed by Hunqua who could generally persuade the other two men to follow his lead. This outcome led to the EIC constantly trying to entice Chetqua to break up the alliance. 45

All there houses in the alliance also did some of their trade individually. Chetqua continued to supply the English with considerable quantities of tea and other goods, all of which was negotiated and carried out by him. He increased the family's trade with the DAC from an average of 9 percent of a ship's cargo to 20 percent (Table A). The SOIC figures are too incomplete to show the family's trade with that company, except 1752 which shows Suqua's figures that year (Table C). It must be remembered that except for the figures in Table D, the cargo data from other companies are incomplete, because the documents from many ships are missing.

The EIC data that have survived show the family serving as security merchants for a couple of ships for several years (Table F). Security merchants were responsible for any duties that went unpaid by anyone doing business with that particular ship. And they were also responsible for the conduct of the foreigners on the ships they secured. In exchange for these responsibilities, they usually handled at least 20 percent of the cargo so we can get a rough idea of what the volumes might have been with the EIC (Table F). The years that are missing in Table F are the result of data being unavailable. The family probably secured a couple of EIC ships in most years. The EIC tonnages in Table F are also not accurate before 1774. Their size was often recorded as 499 tons, even though they were much larger, because ships of 500 tons and above were required to have a chaplain aboard. In 1772, this requirement was rescinded and beginning in 1774, the actual tonnages appear in the EIC records.

Other business was also done individually by each family such as with private traders, but the three houses might consult with each other about those transactions. The major part of the VOC trade, however, was supplied by the consortium (Table B). They negotiated with the Dutch as a group, and all parties had to agree to the terms before any contracts were signed or goods delivered. Most of the Dutch contracts were carried out this way with all three houses signing and standing security for each other (see Illustration 2).

The consortium made some contracts with the DAC as a group as well, but most of that trade was arranged individually (see Tables). Illustration 3, for example, shows all of them agreeing together, but Illustration 4 shows Chetqua contracting individually. This alliance was thus not all-inclusive but nonetheless helped to give each of them a say in the trade of the others.

The first few years of the Co-hong were precarious ones as the *Hong* merchants struggled to come to a consensus each year. It took a couple of years for the administrative process to

⁴⁵ Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 268-9; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 141; NAH: Canton 73; and CMD 1763.

become standardised, and that led to a rise in prices across the board. As a counter-measure, officials introduced a new policy at the beginning of the 1764 season whereby the Co-hong had to cede 30 percent of their trade to inland merchants. The *Hong* merchants were held responsible for all their duties and fees that were owed, and received a commission for that service, but the inland merchants could negotiate and contract with the foreigners directly.⁴⁶

One of these inland tea dealers was Wonsamye. He had his own agents who dealt directly with both the Dutch and the English, but then he assigned one of the *Hong* merchant houses to do the actual packing, delivering and paying of the export duties. The foreigners could also designate to these inland tea dealers which *Hong* merchant they preferred to handle their products. Some of the tea Wonsamye sold to the Dutch was channelled through Chetqua's house. Foreigners purchased other products in this way as well, such as silk textiles and rhubarb. The competition with the inland merchants kept constant pressure on the *Hong* collective, which in turn worked to keep prices competitive. ⁴⁷

By the late 1760s, Chetqua's brothers were handling much of the trade. In 1763, Chetqua's brother Quiqua begins to appear in the records as his writer. ⁴⁸ The family had another writer by the name of Houqua, who was not a Chen. ⁴⁹ It was normal for the large houses to have a couple writers so they could handle the trade of several foreign companies at the same time. Chetqua continued to take care of all the negotiations and contracts, but then Quiqua and Houqua would keep track of all deliveries. By this time, Tinqua had been working in the firm for several years, taking care of receiving the merchandise and packing the goods for export. Coqua was probably also included in the many references to 'Chetqua's brothers' at this time, but his name does not appear in recognisable form until 1775.

In 1764, the Dutch created a very difficult situation for the consortium. The Europeans had been required to remove to Macao in the off-season, if they remained behind after their ships left. This policy had been in effect since at least 1741, but it was not always enforced. Beginning in the early 1760s, renewed efforts were made to make this a firm and mandatory policy.

One of the ways officials tried to persuade foreigners to leave was to remove all of their Chinese house servants from the factories. This made it very inconvenient because they could not prepare their meals or even buy food or get water. When the house servants were removed from the Dutch factory in 1764, they asked the consortium for their help and they sent two of their associates. They were intended to act as servants, but the Dutch used the opportunity to gain

⁴⁶ NAH: Canton 73.

⁴⁷ Wonsamye appears as 'Uhn-Sam-Ja' in the Dutch records. He and Tinqua (probably different from Chetqua's brother) had apparently bought the Yee-ho-hang in 1759, which was the one of the EIC factories. Van Dyke and Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters* 1763; Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:73-4, 87, 91; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 83, 97, 171.

⁴⁸ NAH: Canton 29. At this time, there was another Tan Quiqua (Chen Guiguan 陳 貴 官) who ran Poankeequa's junk factory and served as a writer in his house. They both appear in the records as Quiqua so care needs to be taken not to confuse them.

⁴⁹ NAH: Canton 29. The identity of Houqua is not known, and there were several other men with similar names. One of Tsia Hunqua's sons was called Hauqua, the chief writer in Tiauqua's house was Hoyqua/Huiqua, both Poankeequa and Monqua had writers in the 1770s with names of Hanqua and Houqua (respectively), and a man who later became a *Hong* merchant was called Howqua (Lin Shimao 林 時 懋).

the upper hand on the situation and took the men hostage. They used the two as leverage to insure they would have someone to serve them and also to pressure the consortium to complete the trade before departing to Macao.

The Hoppo found out about the Dutch moves and sent a letter to Chetqua summoning the three merchants to come before him. This sent Chetqua into a rage, as he knew this meant big trouble and it was all caused by the Dutch abusing their privilege. The Dutch, of course, felt they had been mistreated and simply saw this act as a way to make things right. The three merchants now had no choice, but to immediately come to terms with the Dutch about the trade so they would release the two men. There was many angry words, but the two sides finally came to terms and the Dutch agreed to release the men and go to Macao. The merchants were then able reported to this to the Hoppo evade his wrath, but at the expense of considerable concessions to the Dutch. ⁵⁰

As can be seen from the Tables and Schedules, the trade of the Guangshun Hang flourished in the 1760s, as did that of the Yifeng and Taihe Hangs. But this did not necessarily mean Chetqua was getting wealthier. As volumes increased, *Hong* merchants became more vulnerable to being targets for the debts of failed houses. In April 1765, for example, Consentia Giqua died insolvent, which had a direct effect on Chetqua, who was the father-in-law to Giqua's son, Tiauqua (Ye Zhaoguan 葉 朝 官). Chetqua came up with a scheme to help his daughter and Tiauqua through this crisis so Giqua's firm, the Guangyuan Hang (廣 源 行), could continue. If his plan worked, the reputation of the house would be restored.

In an unusual twist of policy, Giqua's debts were redistributed to the other *Hong* merchants and Tiauqua was allowed to continue in the Guangyuan Hang. As far as we know, this example is unprecedented in the historical literature, and is probably the product of Chetqua's negotiating and compromising skills. The usual way of handling such a failure was to close the firm, liquidate all assets, call upon family members to cover the debt (as much as was possible) and then redistribute any remaining arrears to the *Hong* collective. They could then try to renegotiate, with each individual creditor, a discount of the debts they were responsible for. And to counter-balance the increase in debt load the *Hong* merchants would do what they could to gain a share of the trade of that failed house so profits increased in unison. But in this case, Giqua's debts were handed over to them without the benefits of gaining any of the Guangyuan Hang's trade.

In addition to making these unique arrangements Chetqua also stood security for Tiauqua's new contracts with the English (and probably others) so the foreigners would not lose confidence in the Guangyuan Hang. Illustration 5 shows Tiaoqua getting the support of all three houses in the consortium. The four firms contracted together with the DAC to supply Bohea tea and everyone agreed to the same price and terms. Chetqua and Ruishe (Ingisa's brother) had made a similar DAC contract with Tiaoqua's father in 1761. These examples show how interconnected *hong* businesses were with others, and because these family connections do not always show up in the records, it is difficult to understand all the factors affecting their trade.

⁵⁰ NAH: Canon 73.

⁵¹ Van Dyke, 'The Ye Merchants', forthcoming.

The connection to the Guangyuan Hang is but one of many factors that led to Chetqua falling behind on his payments a couple years later (explained below). 52

It is unfortunate that we have so few records that discuss the Canton junks, because they were very important to the export trade. They brought tin, lead, sago and rattan all of which was used in the packing of tea, porcelain and silk. Chetqua thus regularly invested in the thirty or so junks that were based in Canton and sailed to ports in Southeast Asia each year. His father before him and his brothers after him were sure to have been doing the same, but we have no records to show it. All we have are a few private records from the 1760s that give us a brief window into Chetqua's involvement with the junks.⁵³

In 1762 and 1765, Chetqua took out bottomry contracts from the Swedish supercargoes for the junk Ekhing bound for Cochin China. The principle was 740 taels at 40 percent interest per voyage so the duration of the loans were not necessarily twelve months. The loan for the 1765 voyage, for example, was given to Chetqua on February 8 and he repaid it with interest ten months later on December 9 (see Table C). The actual annual rate for this bottomry bond was thus 48 percent. But if the junk was lost or the cargo damaged then Chetqua was not responsible to repay the loan. He and Tsia Hunqua also took out a business loan to finance the trade of several junks to Siam in 1764, which carried an annual interest rate of 17 percent. This loan carried no indemnity so it was much cheaper. These are just a few of Chetqua's transactions of which there were sure to have been many others (see Table C). ⁵⁴

The three-hang consortium regularly borrowed money from the Dutch as a group to finance the foreign trade, and Chetqua took out many loans on his own private account. A few of the transactions he did with the Swedes are listed in Table C. Short term loans of a few months generally carried an interest rate of 1.5 to 2 percent per month, and long-term business loans of a year or more usually had a annual rate of 15 to 20 percent. ⁵⁵

Chetqua also gave loans and bottomry contracts to the foreigners. In 1761, he gave the SOIC a bottomry loan of 222 taels to help finance the voyage of the ship *Sophia Albertina*; in 1762, he gave the DAC two bottomry contracts, one of 3,350 taels for the ship *Prince Friderich af Danmark* and another of 4,000 taels for the *Dronning Sophia Magdalena*; and in 1764, he gave them another bottomry contract of 2,100 taels for the DAC ship *Cron Printzen af Danmark* (see Illustration 6).

These are but a few examples of many. The first loan earned him 25 percent interest on the principal, and the other three, 30 percent. They were repaid about twenty months later, which means the annual rates were about 15 and 18 percent, respectively. Some of these types of arrangements were done more as favours to earn goodwill and patronage than as investments. As

⁵² NAH: Canton 74.

⁵³ Speaking of the early 1730s, Morse mentions that Suqua and other Chinese merchants lost a lot on their Bohea tea trade to Batavia, which would have been carried by the junks. Morse, *Chronicles* 1:212.

⁵⁴ Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', Appendices N-Q.

⁵⁵ A couple of the loan contracts between the VOC and DAC that Chetqua signed with other members of the consortium can be seen in Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', forthcoming; Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, forthcoming; and Van Dyke, 'The Yan Family', 47.

was pointed out. Chetqua was in continual need of working capital. He would not be giving out loans unless it somehow helped to put him in good stead with his patrons. 56

Hard Times

Beginning in 1768 and extending over the next couple of years, a series of hardships fell on Chetqua that caused him much grief. Sometime around May of this year one of brothers died, and he was reburied in September. In this season, Chetqua began to have some serious cash-flow problems. The details are lacking but he seems to have lost considerably on the EIC imports that he had to accept to contract tea. At the end of this season, Chetqua owed the EIC 189,500 taels. He managed to come up with a payment of 40,000 taels, but could not repay the rest. He was also carrying a private debt of 14,800 taels with the Swedish supercargoes for a loan he had taken out at 17 percent interest (see Table C).⁵⁷

By November, his brother Tinqua was handling most of the business in the Guangshun Hang, because Chetqua had fallen ill. By April 1769, the Dutch were becoming weary from dealing with the consortium because both Chetqua and Hunqua (who was now an old man) were laid up for long periods. The Dutch were now disappointed with Chetqua's performance, which of course had a lot to do with his prolonged illnesses. But in sickness or health the ships had to leave on time, and when two out of three of their main merchants were absent, it was difficult to get business done.⁵⁸

Quiqua took care of the family's trade with the Portuguese in Macao, when Chetqua was not able to go. In 1769, he helped the Dutch arrange for a shipment of spelter and porcelain to be sent to Macao. It was then loaded on the Portuguese ship St. Louis and sent to Batavia. 59

In 1769, another incident occurred, which sheds light on Chetqua's 'other' obligations that are not always revealed. In November, the English Captain Elphinstone offered for sale an immaculate clock, which caused much trouble for Chetqua and his partners. The clock attracted the attention of the Hoppo in Canton. It had a finely carved wooden landscape with animals and flowers, and ornate silver trimmings with many fine stones. With the use of feathers, the instrument gave the impression of natural movement. The Hoppo wanted Chetqua and his two partners to purchase it for him so he could present it to the emperor.

Unfortunately, we do not know the outcome of this request, but assume that it probably was purchased. Captain Elphinstone was asking 40,000 taels for the clock. This was one of the costs of the privilege of trade, and another reason why the *Hong* merchants' professions were always precarious ones. They were continually being tapped in different ways like this, which drained them of working capital.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Van Dyke, 'Port Canton', Appendix T; adn RAC: Ask 1148a-b and 1149.

⁵⁷ The name of the brother who died is not known. NAH: Canton 77.

⁵⁸ NAH: Canton 77-9.

⁵⁹ NAH: Canton 77-9.

⁶⁰ NAH: Canton 78. For examples of what this clock may have looked like, see the Qing emperors' collections of western instruments in Liu Lu 劉 潞, ed., Oing gong xiyang yiqi 清 宮 西 洋 儀 器 (Scientific and Technical Instruments of the Qing Dynasty) (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1998).

In January 1770, Chetqua had a disagreement with the Portuguese supercargoes from Macao, who had come to Canton to secure their cargos. Before they left, he wanted them to deposit 28,000 taels with him as security for the goods he had delivered, and he wanted the English chief and supercargo DeVisme to stand security for them. They had lodged their guns with Chetqua and they could not leave without a chop from the Hoppo so Chetqua had leverage to press his demands. The Portuguese were outraged, but finally satisfied him with the assurance that the supercargo had been commissioned by a European (Portuguese?) ship that would soon arrive. ⁶¹

As was the case with many of the *hong* houses at this time, the Guangshun Hang traded in opium as well, albeit it does not seem to have been large quantities. In June 1770, the Dutch in Macao reported that Chetqua's brother Quiqua had arrived to take care of the European and Macao Portuguese trade. Among the many items he purchased for the Guangshun Hang was a quantity of opium. Unfortunately, we have no more details of what he did with the opium, or whether he was buying it from others as well. By this time, the opium trade had established a firm market in China and was being traded just as freely as gold, illegal silks and other contraband, all of which *Hong* merchants regularly handled. 62

On May 1, 1770, Tsia Hunqua died, which began a series of events that eventually had a very dramatic effect on all three partners in the triple alliance. Semqua had been in partnership with Hunqua forty years and was actually the owner of the Yifeng Hang. The Dutch did not want to deal with Semqua alone but wanted him to join into partnership with someone they trusted. Over the next couple of weeks there was much discussion of who should be Semqua's new partner. If they picked someone the Dutch were unhappy with, the triple alliance risked losing that trade, which meant losing an important source of revenues and working capital. Finally, in August it was agreed that Hunqua's second son Anqua would carry on the trade in partnership with Semqua. This arrangement temporarily satisfied the Dutch and the three-house consortium continued as before. 63

By the end of the 1770 season, however, the Dutch were much displeased with the new arrangement. They thought Hunqua's son Anqua had a good character but was lacking skill, and Semqua was now very old, not trustworthy and uncivilized. Chetqua was frequently absent from the trade, but his house nonetheless began to pick up increased shares of the VOC trade probably because the Dutch were unhappy with the Yifeng Hang and considered Ingsia unreasonable. This was the start of big changes that were about to transform the trade.

On 11 February 1771, the Co-hong was dismantled, and the trade was opened to other merchants (but still only those approved by the Hoppo). Each house was to again decide the terms of trade on their own, with no more price-setting or fixing of interest rates or amounts of the advances. The Dutch met with Ingsia, Semqua and Chetqua's brother Tinqua (Chetqua was ill again) in the evening to talk about contracts. Semqua and Tinqua could not speak Pidgin English so it was just a conversation with Ingsia, but all parties managed to come to terms so for the time being the trade moved forward as before.

⁶¹ NAH: Canton 79.

⁶² Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, forthcoming.

⁶³ NAH: Canton 79; Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', forthcoming.

⁶⁴ NAH: Canton 80; and Morse, Chronicles, 5:153.

On 13 March 1771 Chetqua died, but because his brothers had been running the Guangshun Hang for the past two years owing to his prolonged illnesses, the Dutch did not expect any major changes in that house. Tinqua, Quiqua and Coqua took over the management. The season began as before, but now the Dutch started negotiating some direct trade with one of Hunqua's other sons, Taiqua, who was now also described as being 'old'. And the Dutch increased their interactions with Poankeequa's house. 65

Semqua and Anqua's trade declined rapidly. They continued to supply cargos to all of the foreigners in 1771 and 1772, but with the new competition, they lost market share fast. The Jufeng and Fengjin Hangs failed in these years and their debts were distributed to the others. By 1773, Tiauqua's Guangyuan Hang was in serious trouble, and by the end of 1774, the Yifeng Hang was deep in debt. And the Taihe Hang was beginning to fall behind on its payments. By September 1775, Anqua, Tiauqua and Taiqua had all died. These troubles had a spiralling affect on the Guangshun Hang. ⁶⁶

Coqua and Collapse of the Guangshun Hang

Tinqua fell ill in 1775, and died on December 10. His brother Coqua, whom the Swedes describe as a 'very capable man', took over the firm, but now faced a formidable task of keeping the Guangshun Hang afloat. Quiqua disappears from records in 1776, and there is no mention of what happened to him. Coqua held his own with several of the European firms, and continued taking care of the Portuguese trade in Macao. In 1777, the Danes tell us that Coqua had a partner (brother?) Taiqua working in the Guangshun Hang, as well as Poqua's son Teongqua and six of his nephews (see names above). Together, they became known as 'Coqua and Company'. 67

By the end of the 1777 season, Coqua was having major cash-flow problems, and by January 1778, he was broke. The Hoppo called in members of the family to pay the arrears, and the Guangshun Hang was confiscated. Illustration 7 shows a contract with the Dutch transferring Coqua's debt to Ingsia, Tan Tsjoqua, Monqua and Tsjonqua. They set up an amortization schedule whereby the debt would be settled over five years. 68

The Danes report his debt with the Dutch to be 53,320 taels. He is said to have owed private traders well over one million taels. This was the result of all those loans that were being taken out each year at high interest. One of the private creditors, Abram Leslie, forced his way into the closed Guangshun Hang and took possession of it until he was paid in full. This move was fairly success, because he did eventually receive settlement. Coqua also owed considerable sums to the companies for advances he had received in the form of cargo and money, which were distributed to the remaining merchants. ⁶⁹

⁶⁵ NAH: Canton 80-1.

⁶⁶ Van Dyke, 'Cai and Qiu Enterprises', forthcoming.

⁶⁷ On 10 December 1775, James Maule in Canton wrote: 'Tan Tenqua är Död ... hans Broder Kåqua som är en ganska habile man succederar honom'. NM: F17; and RAC: Ask 1178-9. The Dutch learned of his death on December 17. NAH: Canton 84-6. Cheong lists his death on December 15, which is probably when the English heard about it. Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 85.

⁶⁸ NAH: Canton 87.

⁶⁹ RAC: Ask 1179. Ch'en and Cheong list different amounts for his debts. Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 271; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 143.

The closing of the Guangshun Hang was followed by the other two in the triple alliance, the Taihe Hang in 1779 and the Yifeng Hang in 1783. The latter firm had been strapped with a heavy debt of half a million taels from at least 1775, but was allowed to linger on until all hope of recovery was lost. The Taihe Hang suffered a humiliating end with Ingsia being exiled to Ili as punishment for his debts and as an example to others not to fail. Together the three had controlled about 50 percent of Canton's trade to Europe, India, and Southeast Asia, but that obvious advantage was not enough to insure their survival.

Cheong mentions that Coqua was imprisoned after the firm was closed, but was released in 1780 after paying a large bribe. The claims against him were also dropped on grounds that he was no longer a *Hong* merchant and that the debts had been passed to others for repayment. In the early-1790s, the English supercargoes complained that Coqua was living in luxury again, and his past debts had still not been settled. However, because these two authors have confused Coqua's identity with another merchant, the sources of this information would have to be checked to see if they do indeed refer to Coqua. ⁷⁰

Summary

Suqua was one of the founding fathers of the Canton trade, and by 1730, he had become enormously wealthy. He built a reputation of being a hard negotiator but a good businessman. This gained him the respect of foreigners and Chinese alike.

By the early 1730s, however, Suqua's success was seen as a threat to competition and growth. Ton Hunqua try to side-stepped his hold on the trade by accusing him of monopolizing the trade and appealing directly to the English directors in the UK to intervene. Revenues generated from the trade were now a regular part of the imperial budget so when news arrive in Beijing of the accusations that the Hoppo and Suqua had monopolized the trade, they were immediately apprehended. After investigating, however, charges were dropped against Suqua and he was allowed to return to his business.

Suqua never regained his dominant position that he had had in the 1720s. His wealth, however, was enormous even after spending two years in prison (which was sure to have cost him dearly in payments and bribes). Regaining his market share took time, but by 1740 the volume and diversity of products he and Chetqua handled had expanded greatly to the point that the firm was again one of the prominent businesses in Canton.

The fire of 1743 provides a unique glimpse into the extent of Suqua's wealth. Despite loosing perhaps half a million taels in the flames, he managed to replace all of the goods, and complete his contracts this year. By September of the next year, he also had a new building ready for the Danes to move into, and he and Chetqua carried on their trade as if the great loss of the previous year was of little significance. Few houses could have survived such a disaster, without severe cash-flow problems.

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⁷⁰ See note 4.

His relationship with the Dutch gives us a glimpse into one of the reasons he was so successful in trade. Aside from being a hard negotiator and providing good products and service, he went the additional step and helped wherever he could to foster good-will. Bringing the drunken Dutchman into his home was something he certainly did not have to do, and the way he handled this situation was done in such a way that minimized problems for the Dutch company. Deeds like this earned him goodwill, which could be the deciding factors in gaining a contract.

The new competition that sprang up in the 1750s and subsequent failure of Beaukeequa, resulted in much reshuffling of the way trade was done. The triple alliance that was established in 1758 between Chetqua's house and the Yifeng and Taihe Hangs gave them greater control of the trade, and with greater control came greater security to profits. However, not all players saw this alliance beneficial, which led to Poankeequa pushing for the creation of the Co-hong in 1760, in an attempt to check their power. He had government backing for this new organization because it provided a way for officials to participate, which in turn gave them a way to insure that the trade remained competitive.

To some extent, the triple alliance tied the destinies of the three houses, because they became responsible for each other's losses. When alliances were again rearranged after the dismantling of the Co-hong in 1771, there was much upset in the trade and led to several houses failing. The death of Hunqua in 1770 and the inability of the Yifeng Hang to get the house back in order and Chetqua's death in early 1771 intensified the hardships in the more competitive environment that emerged.

By 1774, the Guangshun Hang was in trouble, and Tinqua was not able to turn things around before he also died. When Coqua took over, the volume being handled was still substantial but the debt load was now a huge drain on profits. He solved cash-flow problems the same way Chetqua had done, by taking out high interest loans from foreigners. As a greater proportion of the profits were used to service debts, there was a parallel increase in the dependence on foreign capital to keep the trade moving. This was a trap that many of the *Hong* merchants fell into, because once the downward trend began, there was no way to stop it.

Setting failure aside, it seems appropriate that we remember Suqua and his sons for the contributions they made. Suqua gained the favour and trust of many foreigners for his fair and well-managed business, which brought greater security to the trade. As foreigners became more confident, their numbers increased and the trade and revenues sent to Beijing grew in proportion.

Perhaps the greatest contribution the family brought to the trade was stability. On the whole, Suqua, Chetqua, Quiqua, Tinqua and Coqua were all highly regarded as capable, dependable and responsible businessmen. Their consistency and timeliness of delivery provided security, which was the glue keeping the trade together. Their hard but fair bargaining tactics kept competition intense, which in turn provided an environment where foreigners could negotiate the best deal. Each of the family members had different skill levels, of course, but the Guangshun Hang on the whole was always among the most revered in Canton. All these contributions encouraged the trade to grow.

The lack of a good indigenous capital market meant that Chetqua and his brothers had no other alternatives to taking out high-interest loans from foreigners when they experienced cashflow problems. The lack of a way to settle debts without passing them on to other houses meant that the only way to continue servicing more debts was for the profits of the Guangshun Hang to grow in proportion. By the late-1760s, the debt payments were more than profits could support and the only way to keep the house going was to borrow more from foreigners. The family could not simply stop trading without permission from the Hoppo and they could not declare their debts to the officials because it was illegal to borrow from foreigners. The family thus fell into the *Hong* merchant trap. The failure of the Guangshun Hang should thus be seen more correctly as the result of weaknesses in the way the trade was administered rather than as the failure of the family to perform.

A NOTE ABOUT THE CITATIONS

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

ABBREVIATIONS FOR SOURCES AND ARCHIVES

Ask Danish Asiatic Company Archive in the National Archives, Copenhagen.

Can Canton Archive in the National Archives, The Hague. 1.04.20

Ch'en Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony. *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843*. 2 vols.

Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990.

Cheong Cheong, Weng Eang. The Hong Merchants of Canton. Copenhagen: NIAS-Curzon Press,

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Dermigny Dermigny, Louis. La Chine et l'Occident. Le Commerce a Canton au XVIII Siècle 1719-1833.

3 vols. and Album Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964.

BL British Library

G/12/ English East India Company's Canton Factory Records in the Oriental and India Office

Library, London (now in the British Library).

GL: Gothenburg, Landsarkivet (Provincial Archive). ÖIJ A406.
GUB Gothenburg Universitetsbibliotek (University Library)

IC Ostend General India Company Archive in the Stadsarchief, Antwerp

Irvine Charles Irvine Archive at the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota.

JFB: James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota. The B 1758 fNe collection contains Dutch

records from Canton, 1758.

LAG Landsarkivet (Provincial Archive), Gothenburg Lin Lintrup family archive number 5893 in the RAC.

Morse, Hosea Ballou, The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-

1834, 5 vols, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926. Reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-

wen Publishing Co., 1966. (Numbers listed as: 1:266 refers to: vol. 1, page 266).

NAH: National Archives, The Hague.

NM: Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godegårdsarkivet Archive F17.

OIO: Oriental and India Office Library, London (now in the British Library). The G/12/ series are

the EIC Canton Factory Records.

RAC: Rigsarkivet (National Archives), Copenhagen SAA: Stadsarchief (Municipal Archive), Antwerp.

VOC Dutch East India Co. Archive in the National Archives, The Hague. 1.04.02.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

A Amber Ak Arrack Al Alum An Ankay tea

arm armosijnens (fabric)

Arm Armenians
B Bohea tea
Bg Bing tea
Bld lead

br binding rattan (used for packing the goods in the hulls)

Bx Borax
C Congo tea
Can short for "Canton"
CC Cochin China

CFI French East India Company (Compagnie français des Indes)

Cht Chouson tea ci cinnabar

cl caneel (cinnamum)

co cochineel
cp camphur
crt chinaroot
cs candied sugar

ct cotton D Damask

DAC Danish Asiatic Company (Danske Asiatisk Compagnie)

E Expenses

EIC English East India Company F Fiador (security merchant)

FR Factory Rent

G Gold galingale

gg gumi gutti/gomme gutta

GIC Ostend General India Company

gn gorgoran (fabric)

Go Gobie tea

gs golt gioris for saxiste (?)

Gt Green tea gum gumma gutta? H Heysen/Hyson tea HS Hyson/Heysen Skin tea

I Interest

il illustering (fabric)

- J Joosjes tea
- jc Japan copper
- K Kampoy tea
- Kt Kautjon tea
- Kz Keizer tea
- KzH Keizer-Heyson tea
- la lakenen (worsted fabric)
- ld lead
- ln linen
- LO Layover
- lu illustering (fabric)
- mp mother of pearl
- ms muscus (musk)
- Msw Malabar sandalwood
- Nk Nankins
- Nl Nanking linen
- P Porcelain
- Pc Peco tea
- PcZZ Peco Ziou Zioun tea
- pd poisedamasten (fabric)
- pj putchuk
- Pk Peko tea
- pl pelangs (fabric)
- pm polemiten (fabric)
- pp pepper
- pq Pekings (fabric)
- ps powder sugar
- psy Pordesoys (fabric)
- pt Perpetts (fabric)
- PZZ Patri Ziou Zioun tea
- Q Quicksilver (mercury)
- R Rhubarb
- Rg Radix galingale
- rm ras de Maroque (Marrocco)
- Ro Rottinger (rattan or cane)
- rot Rottinger (rattan or cane)
- Rx Radix China
- rz raw silk
- S Soulong tea
- sa sago
- sat satin
- sau saulane
- Sc Souchon tea
- sk silks
- Sl Songlo tea
- SOIC Swedish East India Company (Svenske Ostindische Compagnie)
- sp sappanwood
- spw sappanwood

- SR Snor Rottinger (rattan cord)
- sta Star Anise
- su sugar
- sw sandalwood
- ta taffaties (fabric)
- tea tea
- tin tin
- tl tørklæder (handkerchiefs)
- tu tuttenage (zinc)
- tx textiles
- Ty Tunkay tea
- v vermillion
- VOC Dutch East India Company (Verenige Oostindische Compagnie)
- w woollens
- z silk
- zg silk-geschilderde (painted silk)
- zr silk-raw (unprocessed)
- zt silk textiles
- ZZ Ziou Zioun tea

Key Figures

- 1) Chen Shouguan
- 2) Chen Jieguan
- 3) Chen Dengguan
- 4) Chen Keguan
- 5) Chen Quiqua

1) Chen Shouguan 陳壽官 proper name: Chen Qiwu 陳起嗚

<u>Trade Names:</u> Ton Suqua, Tansoequa, Tansouqua, Sjouqua, Shoukoa, Shouqua, Sjouqua, Siuqua, Suqua, Seuqua, Schoqua, Souqua, Siuqua, Souikoa, Souykoa, Souqua alias: Comcha, Comcia, Cumshaw, Comshew, Cumsha, Kimco, Chouqua, Oude (Old) Tan Soequa (1751-), Manterin-Manderin-Mandarin-Mandaryn-Mandrin-Mand.-gamle (Old, 1746) Ziuqva-Ziuqua-Ziuqvoa-Zuqua-Zuiqua-Zioqqua-Zioqqua-Sioqqua-Sioqqvoa-Sioqqua-Sioqqua-Sioqqua-Sioqqua

Biographical Data:		Source
Date first mentioned in the records:	1716	see sources below
Date last reported trading in Canton:	1760s	see sources below
Death:	1761, Mar 5	VOC 4388
Years trading in Canton:	1716-1761	see sources below

	Schedule of Trading Activities in Canton and Sources					
Year	Partners/Aliases	Hong	Co.	Products Traded So	ources	
1716			EIC	P Cheong 134; Mo	orse 1	
1720			GIC	tea Cheong 134; G/	12/22	
1721			GIC	tea Cheong 134; G/	12/22	
1721			EIC	tea Morse 1:167; G/	12/22	
1721			EIC	Me	orse 1	
1722			EIC	zr,E,I,G,zr,zt,Q,C,B,Pc,Bg,Sl,v, Mo	orse 1;	
				tu,su,cs,cp,crt,Al,Bld,pt,tx BL: G/12/		
1723			GIC	Bg,tx IC 5	921 ^{bis}	
1723			EIC	tea,tu,tx,pt,ld,zr,zt,Q,v,su,		
				cs,crt,Al,tu,G BL: G/12/2	21, 24	
1724			EIC	F,E,pt,G	12/25	
1725			GIC	see Table IC 5690,	, 5692	
1725			EIC	tea,I,w G/	12/26	
1726			GIC	see Table IC 5695, 5740, 5752,	, 5757	
1726			CFI	tea IC	5757	
1727			GIC	see Table IC 5698-5700,	, 5753	
1728			EIC	F G/12/27; Me	orse 1	
1729			EIC	E,I G/12/28; Me	orse 1	
1729			VOC	see Table VOC	4374	
1730			EIC	Sl,B,ta,gn Me	orse 1	
1730			VOC	see Table VOC	4375	
1731			EIC	B,tea Morse	1:212	
1731			VOC	see Table VOC	4376	
1732			GIC	see Table IC 5698-5700,	, 5753	
1732			EIC	E,I Me	orse 1	
1732			VOC	see Table VOC	4377	

1732	Tonqua, Chinqua		SOIC	Campbell
1733	Tonqua, Chinqua		EIC	Morse 1
1733	Tonqua, Chinqua		SOIC	JFB: Irvine
1734	Tonqua, Chinqua, Chetqua		?	Cheong 183 n.54
1735	Tonquu, Omnquu, Ontiquu		EIC	E,I,H,zt Morse 1
1736			EIC	P,sa,I,E Morse 1
1736			DAC	see Table Ask 1116
		•••••	1	
1737			EIC	E,I Morse 1
1737		•••••	DAC	B Ask 1117
1737			VOC	P VOC 2410
1738			SOIC	VOC 2438
1738			DAC	see Table Ask 2192
1739			EIC	sk,zr G/12/46; Morse 1
1739			DAC	see Table Ask 2193
1740	Jieguan	Fengyu	DAC	B,FR,Pc,psy,Nk,ZZ,D Lin 5993;
				Ask 1119 ^(sbc) , 1120 ^(sbc)
1741	Jieguan	Fengyu	DAC	FR,B,P,Sl,Pc Lin 5993; Ask 1119 ^(sbc) , 1120 ^(sbc)
1741			SOIC	Pc,tx,Sc JFB: Irvine
1742	Tjetqua		VOC	D,gn,psy,sat,arm,P,pp,pm,pt,cv,ng,B,C,Cht,
	J 1			Pc,H,Bg,Sl,tin,ld,sw,gr,pw,ms,G Can 1
1742			DAC	ld,P,Bg,H,C,Sl Ask 1121
1742	Chetqua		VOC	car,sat,D,pd,gn Can 2, 69
1743	Chetqua		VOC	pp,Al,D,pd,gn,P,gr,R,tx,tea Can 3, 70
1744	-		DAC	see Table Ask 1123, 2194
	Chatana			
1745	Chetqua		VOC	P,D,sat,pq,gn Can 4-5, 70
1745	CI.		DAC	see Table Ask 2195-2196
1746	Chetqua	•••••	VOC	P,Bg,Pc,D,sat,gn,pq Can 5
1746			DAC	see Table Ask 1124, 2197-2198
1746			SOIC	JFB: Irvine
1747			VOC	Pc,Sl Can 8
1747			DAC	see Table Ask 1199
1747			SOIC	JFB: Irvine
1748	Texia		VOC	tea,zt,gum,Msw,tin,H,jc,C,Nk,Sl Can 9
1748			DAC	see Table Ask 1126, 2200-2201
1749			VOC	pp Can 12
1749			DAC	see Table Ask 1127
1750			EIC	E,I,zr Morse 1, 5
1750			VOC	Can 11, 13
1750			DAC	see Table Ask 1128, 2203-2204
1751			VOC	Can 15
1751			DAC	FR Ask 1129
1751	Chatqua		1	
	Chetqua	Guanashun	VOC	G,pp,C,zt,B,Pc,Sl,Sc,H,C,ct,I Can 7, 16, 17
1752	Danilagana Caratia Varra	Guangshun	DAC	see Table Ask 1130 ^(c) , 1131 ^(c) , 2205-2206
1753	Beaukeequa, Swetia, Young	1 * *	VOC	pp Can 17
1753			DAC	see Table Ask 1132, 2207-2208
1753		Guangshun	SOIC	Pc,B LAG: A406 ^(b) ; GUB:H22.1
1754	Chetqua		VOC	tin Can 17, 19-20
1754			DAC	B Ask 1134
1755	Long-hing Hong (factory)		EIC	FR Morse 5
1755			VOC	Can 20
1755			DAC	see Table Ask 1135, 2209b
1755			SOIC	FR NM: F17
1755	Chetqua		CFI	Can 22
1756	Chetqua		VOC	B,Ak Can 22
1756	Circiqua		DAC	P Ask 1136
1757	& sons	Guangshun	VOC	see Table JFB: B 1758 fNe; VOC 4381 ^(sb)
1758	& sons		VOC	see Table Can 23-24; JFB: B 1758 fNe;
1/30	& 50115		1 100	See 1 aute Call 25-24, JFD. D 1/36 live,

				VOC 4382
1758	 	DAC	В	Ask 1138
1759	 	DAC	see Table	Ask 1139-1142, 1144, 2214-2215
1760	 	CFI		Dermigny 834

Family Members					
Relation:	Aliases	Name	Chinese	Sources	
Son	Chetqua	Chen Jieguan	陳 捷 官	VOC 4381 ^(sb)	
Son	Tinqua	Chen Dengguan	陳瞪官	VOC 4381 ^(sb) ; JFB: B 1758 fNe	
Son	Coqua	Chen Keguan	陳科官	Can 41 ^(sbc)	
Son?	Taiqua				
Son (youngest)	Quiqua	Chen Quiguan		Can 79	

		Associates and Businesses	
Associates	Years		Sources
Chinqua	1733	Suqua's bookkeeper who speaks English	Morse 1
Businesses			
Fengyu Hang 豐 浴 行		Lin 5993; Ask	1119 ^(sbc) , 1120 ^(sbc)
Guangshun Hang 廣 順 行		Ask 1130 ^(c) , 1131 ^(c) ; VOC 4381	(sb); LAG: A406 ^(b)

2) Chen Jieguan 陳捷官

<u>Trade Names</u>: Tan/Ton Chetqua, Chet-koa, Chequa, Tietqua, Schæqua, Schequoa, Seoqua, Sequa, Schaecqua, Shiaqva, Secqua, Tjetqua, Tjetqua, Tietqua, Cetqua, Tetqua, Jon (Young, 1740-1741) Siouqvoa-Sioyqvoa-Siuqvoa, Kettqua, Ketqua, Katqua, Kietqua.

Biographical Data:		Source
Date first mentioned in the records:	1734?	see sources below
Date last reported trading in Canton:	1771	see sources below
Death:	1771, Mar 13	Can 80; Morse 5; Cheong 261
Years trading in Canton:	1734-1771	see sources below

Schedule of Trading Activities in Canton and Sources					
Year	Partners	Hong	Co.	Products Traded	Sources
1734			?		Cheong 183 n. 54
1736			EIC	ls,tea,sk,C	Morse 1:258-259
1737			EIC		Cheong 72 n. 90
1738			EIC		G/12/45
1740	Manderin Sionqvoa	Fengyu	DAC	B,FR,Pc,psy,Nk,ZZ,D	Lin 5993;
					1119 ^(sbc) , 1120 ^(sbc)
1741	Mandarin Siuqua	Fengyu	DAC	FR,B,P,Sl,Pc Lin 5993; Ask	1119 ^(sbc) , 1120 ^(sbc)
1742	Suqua, Inqua		VOC	D,gn,psy,sat,arm,P,pp,pm,pt,cv,	
				Pc,H,Bg,Sl,tin,ld,sw,gr,pw,ms,C	G Can 1
1743	Suqua		VOC	car,sat,D,pd,gn	Can 2, 69
1744	Suqua		VOC	pp,Al,D,pd,gn,P,gr,R,tx,tea	Can 3, 70
1745	Suqua		VOC	P,D,sat,pq,gn	Can 4-5, 70
1745			DAC	see Table	Ask 2195-2196
1746	Suqua		VOC	P,Bg,Pc,D,sat,gn,pq	Can 5

1752	Suqua		VOC	G,pp,C,zt,B,Pc,S	
1753			EIC	zr,E,I	Morse 1:291
1753		Weixing/Renhe	SOIC		LAG: A406 ^(b)
1754	Suqua		VOC	tin	Can 17, 19-20
1754			EIC		Morse 5
1755			VOC		Can 20
			l		
1755			EIC		Morse 5
1755	Suqua		CFI		Can 22
1756	Suqua		VOC	B,Ak,tin,ld,B,G,J	ps,Pc Can 22
1757		Guangshun	VOC	see Table	JFB: B 1758 fNe; VOC 4381 ^(sb)
1758			VOC	see Table	Can 23-24; JFB: B 1758 fNe;
1759	Uungua Swatia	Guangshun	VOC		VOC 4382 VOC 4384 ^(bc)
	Hunqua, Swetia	_	l	ana Tabla	Ask 1141 ^(sbc) , 2215-2215
1759		Guangshun	DAC	see Table	
1759			EIC	ld,P,Sl	Morse 5
1760		Guangshun	VOC	see Table	VOC 4387 ^(bc)
1760		Guangshun	DAC	see Table	Ask 1143 ^(c) , 1145 ^(c) , 2216-2217
1760			EIC		Morse 5:88, 91
1760			CFI		Dermigny 834
1761		Guangshun	VOC	see Table	VOC 4388 ^(bc) 4389
1761		Guangshun	DAC	see Table	Ask 1146 ^(sbc) , 2218
1762			VOC	see Table	VOC 4390, 4394; Can 25
1762			DAC	see Table	Ask 1149 ^(sbc) , 2220-2222
		Guangshun	1		
1763			VOC	see Table	VOC 4392, 4394; Can 26, 72
1763			DAC	see Table	Ask 1147, 2223-2226
1763			SOIC		NM: F17
1763			CFI	tea	CMD 1763
1764			VOC	see Table	VOC 4395-4396; Can 27, 73
1764		Guangshun	DAC	see Table Asi	k 1152 ^(sbc) , 1153a ^(sbc) , 2227-2228
1764			EIC	B	Morse 5; Can 73
1764			CFI	tea	Can 73
1764			SOIC	G,FR	NM: F17
			1	1 '	
1765			VOC	see Table	VOC 4397-4398; Can 28, 74; Morse 1:125
1765		Guangshun	DAC	see Table	Ask 1154 ^(sbc) , 1155, 2229-2230
1765		Guangshun	CFI	200 20020	Ask 1155
1765		Guangshun	EIC		Ask 1155
1765			SOIC	junk Eckhin	
				'	NM: F17
1766			VOC	see Table	VOC 4399; Can 29, 75
1766		Guangshun	DAC	see Table	Ask 1156a ^(sbc) , 1156b, 2231
1766			SOIC	FR	NM: F17
1767		Guangshun	VOC	see Table	Can 30, 76, 229 ^(bc)
1767		Guangshun	DAC	see Table Ask	1157-1160 ^(sbc) , 1161, 2232-2233
1767			SOIC	FR	NM: F17
1768			VOC	see Table	VOC 4402-4403; Can 31, 77
1768		Guangshun	DAC	see Table	Ask 1162 ^(sbc) , 2234
1768			EIC	w,B,rz,zt,Sl	Morse 5:135
		•••••	1		
1768			SOIC	C,	NM: F17
1769			VOC	see Table	VOC 4405; Can 32, 78
1769			DAC	see Table	Ask 2235
1769			SOIC		Can 78; NM: F17
1770			VOC	see Table	VOC 4406; Can 33, 79
1770			DAC	see Table	Ask 2236-2237
1770			SOIC		NM: F17
1771	(Chetqua died on Mar 13)		VOC	see Table	VOC 4408; Can 34, 80
1771	• •		EIC	w,Ty,Sl,HS,H,B	Morse 5
			l	w,1y,51,115,f1,b	
1771			SOIC		NM: F17

1772	 VOC	see Table	VOC 4410; Can 35
1772	 DAC	see Table	Ask 1168-1169, 2238-2239
1772	 SOIC		NM: F17

Family Members							
Relation:	Aliases	Name	Chinese	Sources			
son	Hanqua	worked in the Gua	worked in the Guangshun Hang				
son	Yanqua	worked in the Gua	worked in the Guangshun Hang				
son	Sequa	worked in the Gua	ngshun Hang	Ask 1178			
Oldest Brother	Tinqua	Chen Dengguan	陳瞪官	Ask 1169			
Brother	Coqua	Chen Keguan	陳 科 官				
Youngest Broth	er <i>Quiqua</i>			Can 79			

Associates and Businesses								
Associates	Years	Name	Chinese	Sources				
Inqua	1742	Ni Yongguan	倪永官					
<u>Businesses</u>		•	•					
Fengyu Hang 豐 浴	行			Lin 5993; Ask 1119 ^(sbc) , 1120 ^(sbc)				
Guangshun Hang 廣	順 行		Ask 11	30 ^(c) , 1131 ^(c) ; VOC 4381 ^(sb) ; LAG: A406 ^(b)				
Renhe Hang 仁 和 行	Ī		LAG: A40	06 ^(b)				
Weixing Hang 葳 興	行			LAG: A406 ^(b)				

3) Chen Dengguan 陳 簦(瞪) 官

[All references to Tinqua before 1768 (with the exception of 1757 and 1758) are omitted owing to the inability to clearly connect them to Suqua's family.]

Trade Names: Tan/Ton Tinqua, Thinqua, Tenqua, Tingqua

Biographical Data:		Source
Death:	1775, Dec 10	Cheong 85; Can 84; NM:F17
Years trading in Canton:	1750s-1775	see sources below

	Schedule of Trading Activities in Canton and Sources								
Year	Partners	Hong	Co.	Products Traded	Sources				
1757	Soequa, Tsjetqua		VOC		JFB: B 1758 fNe				
1758	Soequa, Tsjetqua		VOC		JFB: B 1758 fNe				
1768			VOC		Can 77				
1768			SOIC		NM:F17				
1769			VOC		Can 78				
1769			SOIC		NM:F17				
1770			VOC		Can 33				
1771	two bros. (Coqua, Taiqua?)		VOC		Can 34, 80-81; Ask 1178				
1771			SOIC		NM:F17				
1772	Thayqua, Ingsia, Semqua,								
	Anqua		VOC	see Table	Can 35, 81; VOC 4410				
1773	Semqua, Anqua		VOC	see Table	Can 36; VOC 4411				
1773			DAC	Pc,PcZZ	Ask 1170				

1774	Semqua, Anqua, Taiqua	 VOC	see Table	Can 37, 83; VOC 4412
1774		 DAC	B,ld,rot,C,Sl,Ty	Ask 1172
1775	Taiqua, Ingsia	 VOC	see Table	Can 38, 84; VOC 4413
1775	(Tinqua died on Dec 10)	 SOIC		NM:F17
1775		 DAC	B,C,tx,K	Ask 1173
1776	Thayqua & brothers	 VOC	see Table	Can 39; VOC 4414

	Family Members								
Relation:	Aliases	Name	Chinese	Sources					
son (older) son (younger)	Minqua Tongqua	worked in the Guworked in the Gu		Ask 1178 Ask 1178					
younger brother	Coqua/Kåqua	Chen Keguan	陳 科 官	Ask 1178; NM:F17; Can 39, 85					
youngest brother relative?	Quiqua Taiqua	worked in the Gu worked in the Gu	uangshun Hang as writer uangshun Hang	Can 79 Ask 1178					

Associates and Businesses							
Associates	Years	Name	Chinese	Sources Sources			
Teongqua (son of Poqua)		worked in the	e Guangshun Hang	Ask 1178			
Businesses							
Guangshun Hang	9						

4) Chen Keguan 陳科官

Trade Names: Coqua, Cokoa, Kåqua, Kaqua, Koqua, Kooqua, Cauqua, Kauqua, Gauqua.

	Schedule of Trading Activities in Canton and Sources						
Year	Partners	Hong	Co.	Products Traded	Sources		
1775			SOIC		NM:F17		
1775			DAC		Ask 1173		
1776	Tinqua, Taiqua		VOC	see Table	Can 39, 85; VOC 4414		
1776		Quongschyn	SOIC		NM:F17; GUB:H22.15		
1776			DAC	ld,C.K.ZZ	Ask 1175		
1776			EIC	w,ld	Morse 2		
1777			VOC	see Table	Can 40, 85-6; VOC 4415, 4556		
1777		Quongschyn	SOIC		NM:F17		
1777	Taiqua, Minqua, Tongqua,						
	Tinqua, Hanqua, Yanqua,						
	Sequa, Teongqua	Kuang xun	DAC	B,H,K	Ask 1177-8		
1777			EIC	ld,B	Morse 2		
1778			VOC	B,C,Sl,Ty	Can 41 ^(sb) , 87; VOC 4418, 4556		
1778	(Coqua fails this year)	Quongschyn	SOIC	Bankrupt	NM:F17		
1778	(Guangshun is closed)	Kuang Xun	DAC		Ask 1179		
1778			EIC		Morse 2		
1779		Quonchon	VOC		Can 42, 88		
1779			SOIC		NM:F17		
1779		Kuang Xun	DAC		Ask 1180		
1779			EIC		Morse 2; Dermigny 898		
1779			CFI		Dermigny 899		
1780		Quanchong	VOC		Can 243; VOC 4421		
1780			DAC		Ask 1183		
1780			EIC		Morse 2		

1781	 SOIC	NM:F17
1781	 DAC	Ask 1185
1784	 VOC	Can 46
1784	 SOIC	NM:F17
1785	 SOIC	NM:F17

5) Chen Quiqua

Trade Names: Quiqua, Quyqua, Quyque

	Schedule of Trading Activities in Canton and Sources								
Year	Partners	Hong	Co.	Products Traded	<u>Sources</u>				
1763			VOC	C	Can 26; VOC 4394; CMD 1763				
1764			VOC	Sc	Can 27				
1765			DAC		Ask 1155				
1766			VOC	Sc,sa,P	Can 29; VOC 4399				
1768			VOC	Sc,C	Can 31, 77				
1769			VOC	Pc,pw	Can 79				
1770	Ajou		VOC	pw,C,Pc,sta,Nl	Can 33, 79: VOC 4406				
1771	Wysee (of the Yan family)		VOC	С,В	Can 81				
1772	Wyshe (of the Yan family)		VOC	C,B,R	Can 35, 81; VOC 4410				
1773	Wyshe (of the Yan family)		VOC	Sc,R,tea	Can 36, 82; VOC 4411				
1775			VOC	C,Sc	Can 38, 84; VOC 4413				
1776			VOC	Sc	Can 85				

STATISTICAL TABLES

Table A

Year	No.	Ship Name	Return Cargo	Chen Trade	Products Traded	Trade Name	%
1736	1	Kong af Dan	84,361.910	506.690	P	Siuqua	0.006
1738	1	Kong af Dan	93,262.348	6,683.610	P,Sl,mp	Siuqua	0.072
1739	1	Sleswig	99,056.964	1,374.440	P	Siuqua	0.014
1744	1	Christiansb. Slott	93,740.571	13,579.452	P,B,Sl	Siuqua	0.145
1745	1	Kiobenhavn	93,283.847	3,648.164	P,sa,z,Pk	Siuqua	0.039
1745		Kiobenhavn		99.588	P	Chetqua	0.001
1746	1	Fyen	114,544.890	12,673.375	P,B,Sl	Siuqua	0.111
1746	1	Christiansb. Slott	91,179.677	6,769.378	P,B	Siuqua	0.074
1747	1	Kong af Dan	128,207.555	5,642.581	P,B	Siuqua	0.044
1748	1	Christiansb. Slott	125,866.099	9,461.319	P,B,Sl,sa	Siuqua	0.075
1748 1749	1 1	Fyen Dron. af Dan.	147,983.404 135,085.314	4,785.307 23,923.486	P,sa,B,Sl P,B,Sl	Siuqua Siuqua	0.032

							0.177
1750	1	Fyen	156,159.997	17,433.324	P,sa,B	Siuqua	0.112
1750	1	Cron Printzens	144,375.102	40,337.482	P,sa,B,Sl,Hs,C	Siuqua	0.279
1752	1	Princesse Lowise	141,055.841	13,161.746	P,sa,B	Siuqua	0.093
1752	1	Cron Prin af Dan	144,167.328	15,669.419	P,sa,C,B	Siuqua	0.109
1753	1	D Sophia Magd	154,752.732	353.780	P	Siuqua	0.002
1753	1	D Juliana Maria	154,231.761	54.331	P	Siuqua	0.000
1755	1	D Juliana Maria	180,986.905	1,175.576	P	Siuqua	0.006
1759	1	Kong af Dan	139,580.744	75.970	P	Siuqua	0.001
1759		Kong af Dan		40,628.917	P,B,Hs,C,Bg,Sl	Chetqua	0.291
1759	1	Cron Pr af Dan	108,114.096	11,141.671	P,Hs,C,Bg,B	Chetqua	0.103
1760	1	Graeve Mottkes	115,782.238	27,076.863	P,B,C,Sl,Ty	Chetqua	0.234
1760	1	D Juliana Maria	155,966.306	42,137.387	B,C,P,PZZ,Pc,Ty,Sl	Chetqua	0.270
1761	1	Kong af Dan	135,120.311	16,411.832	B,PZZ	Chetqua	0.121
1762	1	Pr Fred af Dan	235,800.323	67,476.965	B,Pc,Hs,Bg,Ty,C,Sl,PZZ	Chetqua	0.286
1762	1	D Sophia Magd	171,653.923	31,984.418	B,Sl,Hs,Bg,ZZ	Chetqua	0.186
1763	1	Princesse Lowise	151,834.856	43,599.890	B,Bg,z,Pk,C	Chetqua	0.287
1763	1	Kong af Dan	158,367.887	32,498.449	B,C,PZZ,Ty,ZZ,Pc	Chetqua	0.205
1763	1	D Juliana Maria	146,541.363	37,802.854	B,Sl,Bg	Chetqua	0.258
1764	1	Cron Pr af Dan	140,660.734	45,865.970	C,S1,B,ZZ,S,z,Pk	Chetqua	0.326
1764	1	Pr Fred af Dan	263,800.278	44,046.800	В,С	Chetqua	0.167
1765	1	D Juliana Maria	157,100.742	30,631.345	B,ZZ,z,Pc,C	Chetqua	0.195
1765	1	Cron Pr af Dan	195,377.025	42,003.030	B,Bg,Pc,z,C,sat	Chetqua	0.215
1766	1	Fred'borg Slott	203,819.535	52,126.796	B,C,Ty,C,S,Pk	Chetqua	0.256
1767	1	D Sophia Magd	174,170.662	38,116.232	$B,\!Nk,\!C,\!PZZ,\!Ty,\!sat,\!PdS,\!tx$	Chetqua	0.219
1767	1	Pr Fred af Dan	240,874.719	40,849.931	sa,B,C,Ty,Pk,tx,sat	Chetqua	0.170
1768	1	Fred'borg Slott	212,081.658	32,092.304	S,PZZ,Bg,Ty,B,Cz,Pk	Chetqua	0.151
1769	1	D Sophia Magd	166,374.221	32,052.840	B,ZZ,z,Pk,Hs,C	Chetqua	0.193
1770	1	Fred'borg Slott	168,626.808	23,092.490	C,Hs,B	Chetqua	0.137
1770	1	Kong af Dan	181,621.145	19,217.100	В	Chetqua	0.106
1772	1	Kong af Dan	166,886.184	18,347.090	B,ZZ	Chetqua	0.110
1772	1	Fred'borg Slott	153,585.472	24,462.690	B,ZZ	Chetqua	0.159
	41	Total Average	6,226,043.475 151,854.72	971,072.882 23,684.704			0.156
	20	1736-1759	2,529,997.085	229,179.606	Suqua and Chetqua		0.091
	21	Average 1760-1772	126,499.85 3,696,046.390	11,458.980 741,893.276	Chetqua		

0.201

Average 176,002.21 35,328.251 Source: DAC records in Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen

Table B

Year S	Ships	Chen Trade	Joint Trade	Products Handled	Trade Name
1729	1	1,633.390		P,B	Siouqua
1730	1	2,831.681		P	Suqua
1731	1	6,441.820		b,ch,Q,P,H	Siouqua
1731	1	5,909.140		ch,Q,P,H,K	Siouqua
1732	1	1,839.100		Q,P	Siouqua
1732	1	3,018.310		Q,P,sp	Siouqua
1757	1	5,063.102		k,Sa,P,B	Soequa, Tsjetqua, Tinqua
1758	3	12,983.500		I,B,C	Soequa, Tsjetqua, Tinqua
1758		28,328.338		В	Tsjetqua
1758			60,125.039	Z	Swetia & Chetqua
1758			74,745.681	z,Sl,Rg,Sc,B,C	Chetqua, Swetia, Hunqua
1760	3	45,568.513	74,743.001	ln,b,pk,P,S,C,sc	Tsjetqua
1760	3	43,300.313	582,900.563	tu,B	Chetqua, Swetia, Hunqua
1761	2			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Chetqua, Swetia, Hunqua
1761	2 3	205 221	291,962.750	Sc,Bg,Sl,Ty,Pc,B,HS,H,C,mp P	
	3	205.231	611 607 060		Tsjetqua
1762	2	5.017.150	611,607.960	B,Sl,zr,Sc,Bg,B,C,Ty,H	Chetqua, Swetia, Hunqua
1763	3	5,817.159		В	Tsjetqua
1763		2,616.900	0.51.580.818	C	Quiqua
1763			864,659.712	zr,Nl,tu,No,C,B,Rx,ms,P,ci,Gt,z,D,Sc	Chetqua, Inksia, Hunqua
1764	4	756.385		P,Sa	Tsjetqua
1764			930,495.638	Sc,Bg,HS,Sl,Pc,H,C,sta,zr,Nl,R,z	Chetqua, Inksia, Hunqua
1765	4		906,807.375	tu,sta,z,Rx,Nl,B,Gt	Chetqua, Inksia, Hunqua
1766	4	1,033.265		Sa,P	Quiqua
1766			734,658.507	R,sta,sa,z,tu,B,Nl,C,zg	Chetqua, Inksia, Hunqua
1768	4		599,011.031	sta,Nl,zg,z,R,Gt,P,B,zr,C	Chetqua, Inksia, Hunqua
1769	4		379,897.260	Rx,Ty,zr,tu,z,zg,ms,B,sta	Chetqua, Inksia, Hunqua
1770	5	132,672.458		H,sp,sc,C,T,B,hs	Tsjetqua
1770		11,317.760		ln,pk,*	Quiqua Chetqua, Inksia, Semqua
1770			487,542.276	tu,Nl,zr	Anqua
1771	4	20,703.120		T,B,C	Tsjetqua
					Chetqua, Inksia, Semqua
1771			610,072.966	R,Gt,z,zr,C,tu,Nl	Anqua
1772	4	189,307.366		g,T,D,t,hs,B,S	Tinqua
1772			172,052.954	H,SI	Chetqua, Inksia, Semqua Anqua
1773	4	100 750 742	172,032.934		
1773 1774	4	100,759.742		T,g,B	Tinqua Tinqua
		82,954.376		H,g,T,tk,S,B,C	*
1775	4	4,983.600		C - T S P C	Quiqua
1775	4	191,124.236		g,T,S,B,C,sc	Tinqua
1776	4	161,027.386		H,T,sc,rz,ln,B,C	Tinqua (Kooqua)
1777	4	20,150.022		C	Tinqua (Kooqua)
1777		112,877.325		T,sp,C,D,ln,B,S	Kooqua
Γotal	74	1,151,923.225	7,306,539.712	Average per Ship	
1/3 joint trade	_	2,435,513.237		55,352.574	from 1758 to 1772
Chen total 74 s	hips:	3,587,436.462		48,478.871	from 1729 to 1777
Source: VOC r	ecords in the	he National Archive,	The Hague		

Table C: Chetqua's Trade with the SOIC in 1752

	Loan	Ship Hoppet s from Swedish S	Tan So 11,965 upercargoes with I n	5.325	products P,B by the Month
Tan Tietqua	%	Left Column	Right Column	Owed to:	Months
? 1762.04.00	1.5	2,000		J. Grill	18
1762.11.20	1.5	2,000		Grill?	26
1763.10.00	1.5			J. Grill	18
1764.01.20	1.5		2,780.000	Grill?	26
1765.01.09	1.5	7,400		Grill & Grubb	2
1765.01.18	1.5	8,140		Grill?	2
1765.02.08	1.5	10,000	2,000.000		2
1765.03.18	1.5		4,195.800		2
1765.03.18	1.5		244.200	Grill?	2
1766.02.26	2.0	5,920			2
1766.05.01	2.0		236.800	Grill?	2
Chetqua' s Tan	s Loai	ns from Swedish S	Supercargoes with I	nterest Tabulated	d by the Year
Tietqua	%	Left Column	Right Column	Owed to:	
1762.03.28	40	740.000		Grill & Grubb Grill &	bottomry
176?.00.00	17		2,516.000	Grubb?	
1764.05.18	15		3,000.000	Grill & Grubb	
1764.12.01	15	3,000.000	450.000	Grill & Grubb	
1765.01.28	20	1,258.000		J. Chambers	
1765.02.08	40	740.000		Grill & Grubb	bottomry
1765.12.09	40		1,036.000	Grill & Grubb	bottomry
1766.01.28	20		1,258.000	J. Chambers	
1766.01.28	17	1,480.000		H. Hahr	
1766.12.01	17		251.600	H. Hahr	

ı					
	1766.12.01	17	1,480.000		H. Hahr
	1766.12.31	20	1,258.000	251.600	J. Chambers
	1767.01.28	20		251.600	J. Chambers
	1767.12.01	17		1,731.600	H. Hahr
	? 1767.12.12	20	740.000		Hahr & Grill?
	1767.12.31	20		1,509.600	J. Chambers
	1767.12.31	20	1,480.000		H. Hahr
	? 1768.00.00	20		1,776.000	H. Hahr
	1768.00.00	17	14,800.000		Grill & Grubb?
	1768.08.19	17		17,316.000	Grill & Grubb?
	1768.12.12	20		148.000	Hahr & Grill?
	1768.12.15	20	2,960.000		Hahr & Grill
	1768.12.19	na	1,258.000		J. Chambers
	1768.12.19	na	3,700.000		Hahr & Grill
	1769.12.15	20		3,552.000	Hahr & Grill
	1769.12.15	20	3,552.000	via Fritz	Hahr & Grill
	1769.12.15	20	3,552.000		J. Hahr
	1769.12.15	20	3,700.000		J. Grill
	1769.12.31	20	4,440.000		J. Grill
	1770.10.22	20	4,440.000		J. Hahr
	1770.12.15	20	5,920.000		J. Grill
	1771.12.15	20	2,960.000	Tinqua's acent	J. Grill
	1772.01.30	20	2,960.000	Tinqua's acent	J. Grill
	1776.12.30 Sources: SOI Gothenburg	20 C reco	2,220.000 ords in Nordic Muse	Kaqua's accnt eum Archive, Stockho	J. Grill olm and Landsarkivet,

Table D

Year 1725	No. 1	Ship Names Marquis de Prié	Chen Trade 278.050	Products Traded	Trade Name Souqua
1726	3	Tiger, Leeuw, Arent	93,275.518	P,B,Pc,Rx,Ga,So,Bg,Zr	Souqua
1727	2	Concordia, Marq de Prie	15,910.400	P,R,Ve,B,C,H	Souqua
1732	1	Hertogh van Lorreyman	1,302.480	P,B,Pc	Souqua

7 Total 110,766.448

Average 15,823.778

Source: GIC records in Stadsarchief, Antwerp

Table E

VOC Factory Rents paid to Suqua's Family				
Year	Owner	Rent Taels	Source	
1743	Tan Souqua	900	Can 2, 69	
	DAC Factory Rents	paid to Suqua's Fa	amily	
Year	Owner	Rent Taels	Source	
1740	Texsia & Simon, Mand. Suiqua	600	Ask 1120	
1741	Texsia & Simon	?	Ask 1121	
1742	Texsia & Simon	720	Ask 1121	
1743	Suqua	?	Can 69	
1744	Mandarin Ziouqua	600	Ask 1123	
1745	Mandarin Ziouqua?	700	Ask 2197	
1746	Mandarin Ziouqua	600	Ask 2198, 1124	
1747	Mandarin Ziouqua	600	Ask 2199, 889	
1748	Mandarin Ziouqua	600	Ask 2200, 2201, 1126	
1749	Ziuqva	750	Ask 2202, 893	
1750	Mand. Ziuqva, Siuqua	800	Ask 1128, 894, 2204	
	EIC Factory Rents	paid to Suqua's Fa	mily	
Year	Owner	Rent Taels	Source	
1755	Ton Suqua	800	Morse 5:22	
1760	Ton Chetqua	650	Morse 5:87-8	
	SOIC Factory Rents	-	amily	
Year	Owner	Rent Taels	Source	

1752	Tan Suqua	360	LAG:A406
1754	Suqua	900	GM SOIC 3; GUB:H22.4A
1755	Suqua	?	NM F17
1764	Tan Tietqua	220	NM F17
1765	Tan Tietqua?	1,000	GM SOIC 3; NM:F17
1766	Tan Tietqua	220	NM F17
1767	Tan Tietqua	850	NM F17
1768	Tietqua/Chetqua	222	NM F17
1769	Chetqua	1,000	NM F17

Table F

Year	Ship Name	Tonnage	Security Merchant
1760	Griffin	499	Chetqua
1764	Glatton	499	Chetqua
1764	Norfolk	499	Chetqua
1764	Northumberland	499	Chetqua
1768	Grosvenor	499	Chetqua
1768	Pacifick	499	Chetqua
1768	Horsendon	499	Chetqua
1772	Osterley	499	Tinqua
1772	Anson	499	Tinqua
1774	Ceres	723	Tinqua
1775	Rochford	723	Tinqua
1776	Gatton	758	Coqua
1777	Prime	864	Coqua

Source: Morse *Chronicles* volumes 2 and 5

Illustrations

Illustration 1: Contract (in Danish) with the DAC dated 18 January 1741 showing Suqua as 'Mandarin Siouqvoa' of the Fengyu Hang, but it is signed by his son Chetqua (Chen Jieguan) (RAC: Ask 1120)

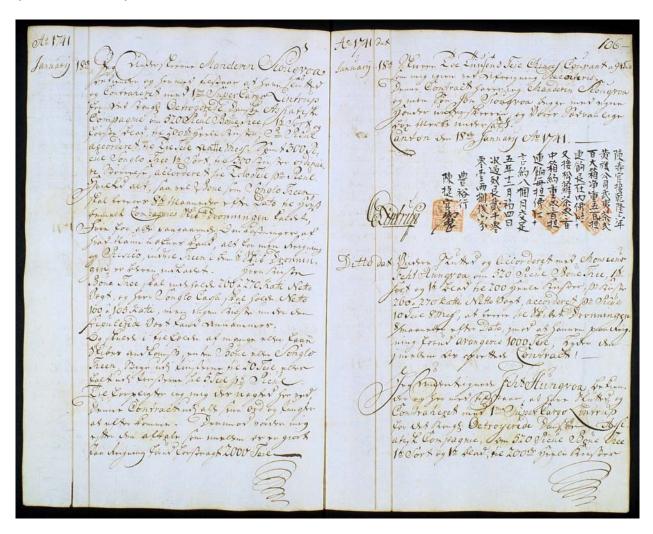
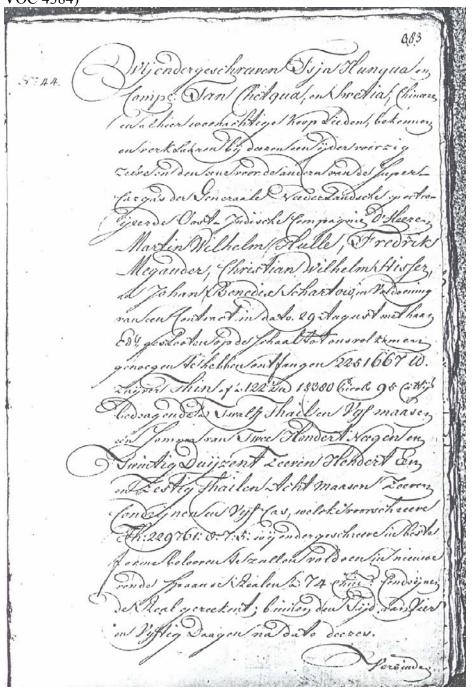


Illustration 2: (2 pages) Contract (in Dutch) with the VOC dated 13 October 1760 signed by Tsja Hunqua, Tan Chetqua and Swetia as a consortium standing security for each other. (NAH: VOC 4384)



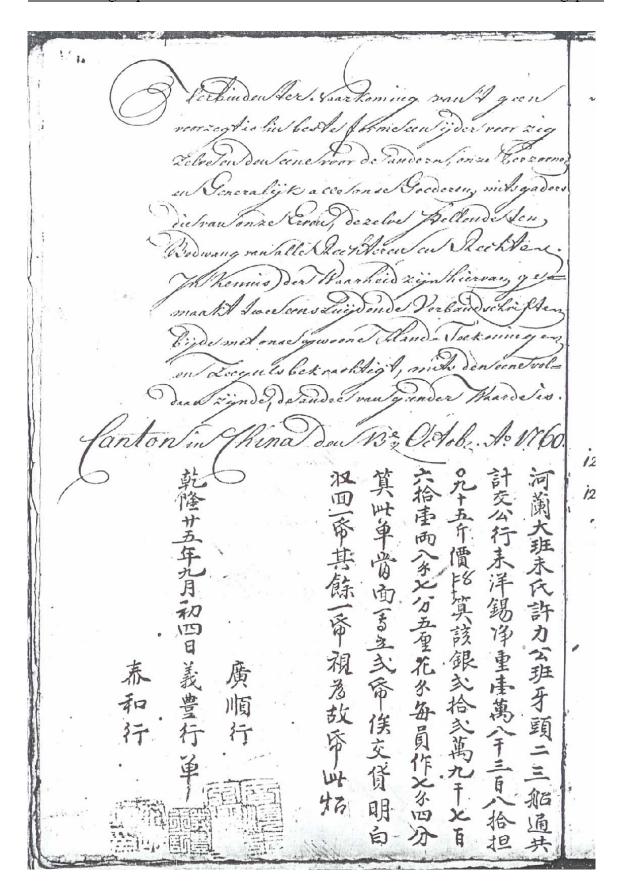


Illustration 3: Contract (in Danish) with the DAC dated 17 September 1765 with the three family consortium standing security for each other as in Illustration 2. (RAC: Ask 1154)

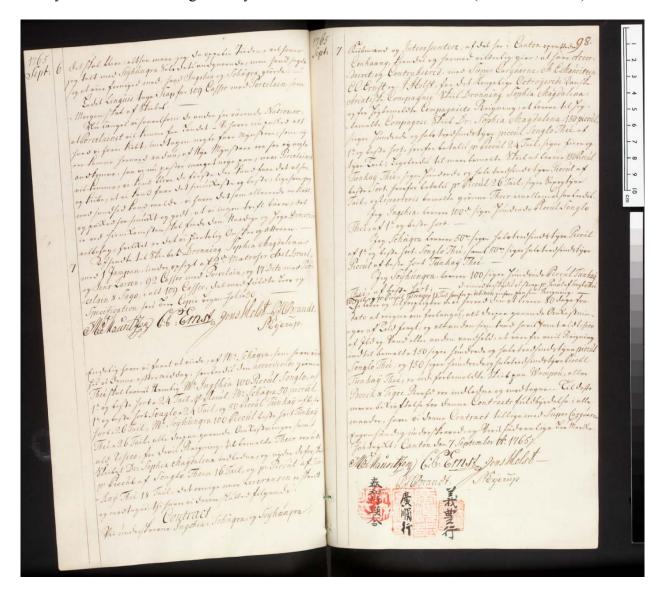


Illustration 4: Contract (in Danish) with the DAC dated 25 March 1766 with Schecqua (or Chetqua) showing that he also contracted some trade individually. (RAC: Ask 1156b)

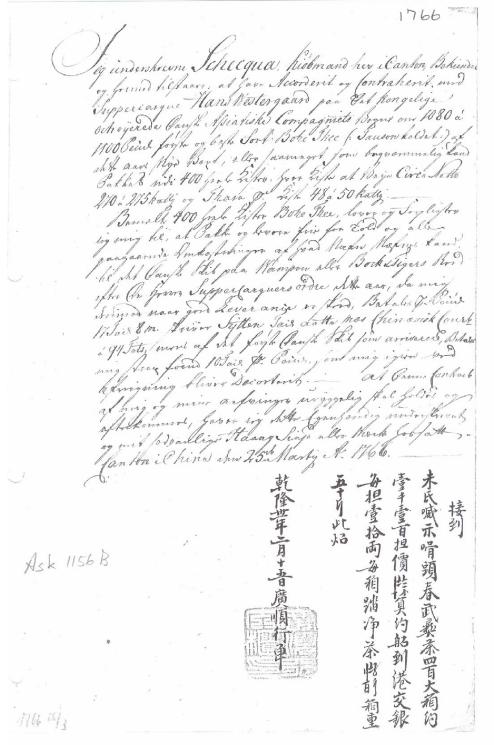


Illustration 5: (2 pages) Contract (in Danish) with the DAC dated 27 July 1765 showing Tiaoqua of the Guangyuan Hang being supported by the three family consortium, with the signatures of all four houses (RAC: Ask 1154)

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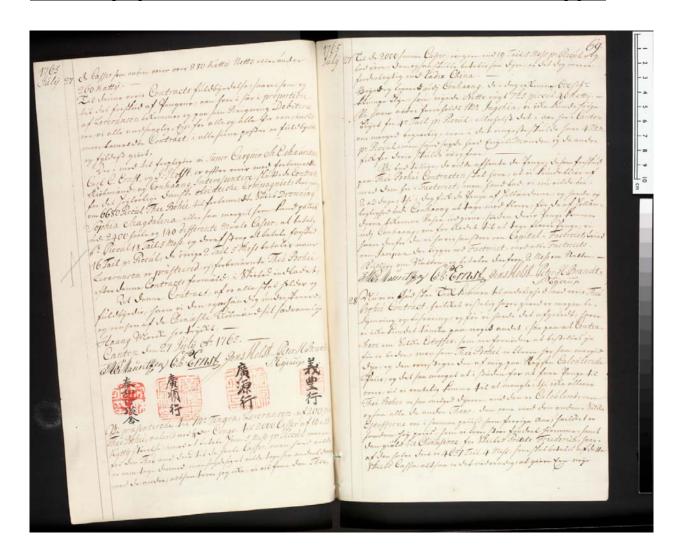
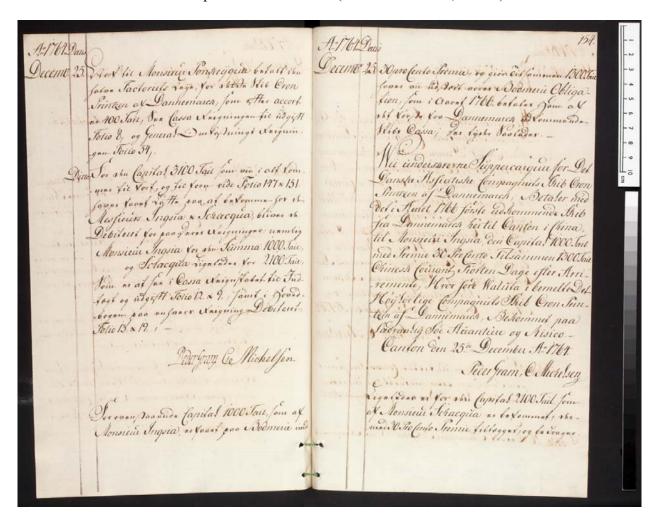
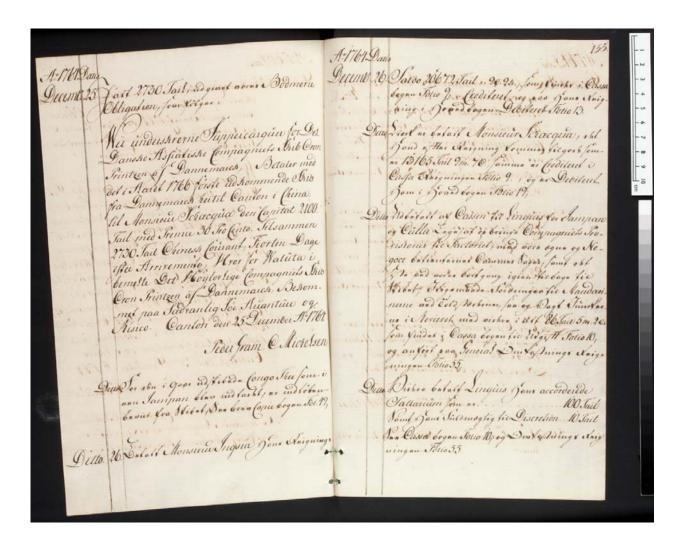


Illustration 6: (3 pages) Bottomry contract (in Danish) given to the DAC by Schacqua (Chetqua) on 25 December 1764 and repaid to him in 1766. (RAC: Ask 1153s, 1156b)





Sil Lillous herevne Supprer corquet for Det Danshe Asiatishe Compagniels Shib Crow Trinteen of Danmaich, Betaler med des i Aarêt 1766 forste adhommende Shib fra Danmaich hur til Cantow i shino, til Monsieur Schacquodan Capital 2100 Sair med Tremie 30 na sento, Filsam = men 2730 Jair Ohinesh Courant, Fiorsten Dage ester Arrivemente, Hoor for Valata i bemelte Det Horjorlige Compagniels Shib Oron Sinterent Planmaich, Bestommet paa Sadvantig She Airantiire og Misico. —

Lanton i shind den 252 December A: 1764.

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Illustration 7: (2 pages) Declaration (in Dutch) dated 18 April 1778 transferring Coqua's debt with the VOC to Inksja, Tan Tsjoqua, Monqua and Tsjonqua. (NAH: Canton 41)

Can 41	1 5.00. 1778
No 6 10f2	I de ondergetetende Intija. San Bjogur, Mongin
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