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The Dutch East India Company's tea trade with China, 1757-1781

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NOTES

Notes to Introduction

¹“Answer of the Emperor of China to the King of England”, 7 October 1793. See Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834* (London: Routledge, 2000), Vol. II, 248.

²The regular tax quota from the foreign trade in Canton generally rose in the eighteenth century. The Imperial Household Department (*Neiwufu* 内务府, the organization which managed the Emperor’s private affairs) drew 43,750 taels in 1727 which had mounted to over 1,000,000 taels by the end of the Qianlong Emperor’s reign from the revenues of the Customs House at Canton. See Preston M. Torbert, *The Ch’ing Imperial Household Department: A Study of its Organization and Principal Functions, 1662-1796* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977), 98.

³H.B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910-1918), Vol. I, 238.

⁴C.R. Boxer, *Jan Compagnie in War and Peace 1602-1799* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1979), 56.

⁵Rupert Faulkner (ed.), *Tea: East and West* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2003), 8-9.

⁶F.S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), 20.

⁷W.P. Groeneveldt, *De Nederlanders in China: eerster stuk: de eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de vestiging in de Pescadores (1610-1624)* (’s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1898), 14-34; J.L. Blussé, *Tribuut aan China: vier eeuwen Nederlands-Chinese betrekkingen* (Amsterdam: Cramwinckel, 1989), 36-40.

⁸Gaspard Bauhin, *Theatri Botanici* (Basel, 1623), in William H. Ukers, *All about Tea* (New York: The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1935), 28.

⁹J.L. Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1986), 97; Blussé, *Badaweiya huaren yu zhonghe maoyi* 巴达维亚华人与中荷贸易 [The Chinese of Batavia and the Dutch-China Trade] (Nanning: Guangxi renmen chubanshe, 1997), 144-151.

¹⁰In 1715, Ostend merchants started to send ships to Canton, the Malabar or Coromandel Coast, Surat, Bengal, and Mocha. In December 1722, they established the Ostend East India Company under a charter granted by the Austrian Emperor. This flourishing company only survived until 1731 because of international political pressure on the Austrian Emperor.

¹¹In 1711, the EIC established a trading post in Canton.

¹²Johannes de Hullu, “Over den Chinaschen handel der Oost-Indische Compagnie in de eerste dertig jaar van de 18e eeuw”, *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 73 (hereafter *BKI*) (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1917): 60-69.

¹³C.J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 21-45.

¹⁴Jörg, *Porcelain*, 77, 217-220.

¹⁵After the Zeeland Chamber joined in the trade in 1737, the Gentlemen Seventeen permitted three ships to be sent to Canton from Batavia, two of which would return directly to the Republic and one would sail back to Batavia (NA (*Nationaal Archief*) VOC 166, Resolution of the Gentlemen Seventeen, 28 February and 3 March 1739). Later, the smaller chambers also took part in the trade in rotation, and the number of ships sailing back to the Republic varied from two to six. There were two exceptions to the number of ships returning to Batavia: these were the *Langewijk* and the *Noordwijkerhout* in the season 1739-1740 and the *Kievitshewel* and the *Brouwer* in 1756-1757. See Jörg, *Porcelain*, 196-197.

- ¹⁶ Hullu, "Over den Chinaschen handel", 32-151.
- ¹⁷ Hullu, "De instelling van de commissie voor den handel der Oost-Indische Compagnie op China in 1756", *BKI* 79 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1923): 523-545.
- ¹⁸ Kristof Glamann, *Dutch Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740* (Copenhagen and The Hague: Danish Science Press and Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), 218-243.
- ¹⁹ Jörg, *Porcelain*, 77-81.
- ²⁰ Els M. Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië: de handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18de eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000), 137-142 and 294.
- ²¹ Morse, *The Chronicles*, Vols I-V.
- ²² Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident: le commerce à Canton au XVIIIe siècle, 1719-1833* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1964).
- ²³ F.J.A. Broeze, "Het einde van de Nederlandse theehandel op China", *Economisch- en Sociaal-Historisch Jaarboek* 34 (s-Gravenhage, 1971): 124-177.
- ²⁴ Hoh-cheung Mui and H. Lorna Mui, *The Management of Monopoly: A Study of the East India Company's Conduct of Its Tea Trade, 1784-1833* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984). In previous articles, they have mentioned in detail the impact of smuggling on the British tea trade before 1784 and the effect of the Commutation Act of 1784 on the British tea trade in 1784-1793. See Hoh-cheung Mui and H. Lorna Mui, "The Commutation Act and the Tea Trade in Britain 1784-1793", *The Economic History Review* 16-2 (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1963): 234-253; Hoh-cheung Mui and H. Lorna Mui, "Smuggling and the British Tea Trade before 1784", *The American Historical Review* 74-1 (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1968): 44-73.
- ²⁵ Robert Paul Gardella, *Fukien's Tea Industry and Trade in Ch'ing and Republic China: the Development Consequences of a Traditional Commodity Export* (PhD dissertation, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1976); see also Gardella, *Harvesting Mountains: Fujian and the China Tea Trade, 1757-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
- ²⁶ In two articles, Zhuang Guotu 庄国土 reinforces Gardella's research to a great extent regarding, in particular, the impact of the international tea trade on the social economy of Fujian Province in the eighteenth century. See Zhuang Guotu, "Fujian Tea Industry and its Relation with Taiwan Tea Industry for Export in the Nineteenth Century" (offprint) (Leiden: Sinology Institute, 1995); Zhuang Guotu, "The Impact of the International Tea Trade on the Social Economy of Northwest Fujian in the Eighteenth Century", in J.L. Blussé and F.S. Gaastra (eds), *On the Eighteenth Century as a Category of Asian History* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1998). In his contemporaneous research, Zhuang also discusses in detail the relationship of the international tea trade to Western commercial expansion into China. See Zhuang, *Tea, Silver, Opium and War: The International Tea Trade and Western Commercial Expansion into China in 1740-1840* (Xiamen: Xiamen-daxue chubanshe, 1993).
- ²⁷ Ch'en Kuo-tung 陈国栋, "Transaction Practices in China's Export Tea Trade, 1760-1833", paper presented at the second conference on modern Chinese economic history (January 5-7) (Taipei: The Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, 1989).
- ²⁸ The Pearl River Delta is here defined in geographical terms as the triangle between Canton, Hong Kong, and Macao. See Map 4.
- ²⁹ Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006).
- ³⁰ Of course, many details about the Hong merchants, supercargoes, Chinese officials and the relationship between them also can be found in previous works. See Henri Cordier, *Le Voyage à la Chine au XVIIIe Siècle. Extrait du Journal de M. Bouvet Commandant le Vaisseau de la Compagnie des Indes le <Villevault> (1765-1766)* (Paris: Édouard Champion et Émile Larose, 1913); Liang Jiabin 梁嘉彬, *Guangdong shisanhang kao* 广东十三行考 [The Thirteen Hongs of Canton] (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1999); Ann Bolbach White, *The Hong Merchants of Canton* (PhD dissertation, Philadelphia: Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1967); Jörg, *Porcelain*, 46-73; Ch'en Kuo-tung, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1834* (Taipei: Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, 1990); Weng-eang Cheong, *The Hong*

Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997).

³¹ J.R. ter Molen, *Thema thee: de geschiedenis van de thee en het theegebruik in Nederland 1742-1826* (Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 1972).

³² The VOC archives dating from 1602 to 1795 are classified under the category of the Archives of the United East India Company (*Archieven van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*). See M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, R. Raben, and H. Spijkerman (eds), *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (1602-1795)* (s-Gravenhage: Sdu Uitgeverij, 1992).

³³ See Julianti L. Poorani, *Inventaris van het archief van de Nederlandse factorij te Canton 1742-1826* (Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 1972).

³⁴ See W.D. Post and E.A.T.M. Schreuder, *Plaatsingslijst van de collectie Aanwinsten 1820-1992* (Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 1993).

³⁵ See *Inventaris van het archief van de Boekhouder-Generaal te Batavia, 1700-1801* (Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, no date).

³⁶ See Mirjam Heijs, *Plaatsingslijst van de collectie Hope 1602-1784* (Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 1994).

³⁷ National Palace Museum (ed.), *Shiliao xunkan* 史料旬刊 [Historical Documents Published Every Ten Days] (Peking: Gugong bowuyuan wenxianguan, 1930-1931), 40 vols; Liang Tingnan 梁廷楠 (ed.), *Yue haiguan zhi* 粤海关志 [The Chronicle of Guangdong Customs House] (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1968), 30 vols.

Notes to Chapter One

¹ NA VOC 172, Resolution of the Gentlemen Seventeen, 11 April 1755; NA Hope Collection 90.

² Until 1759, the leader of the trade representatives was known as the director (*directeur*) (NA NFC 23, Memorandum of capital by the director et al., 25 January 1759). From 1759 to 1761, the function of director was assumed by the first supercargo (*eerste supercarga*) (NA VOC 4543, Particular instructions of the China Committee to the first supercargo et al., 10 October 1759 and 13 November 1761). From 1762, the first supercargo began to be referred to as the first supercargo and chief (*eerste supercarga en (opper-)hoofd*, mentioned as the “Dutch chief” in the following chapters) and the task devolved upon one person (NA NFC 25, Resolution of the Trade Council, 17 September 1762).

From 1760, the first supercargo and most of his subordinates began to stay over in China, but a few supercargoes (or assistants or bookkeepers) sailed back to the Dutch Republic with the China ships.

³ NA VOC 4747, “Reflections on the intrinsic state of the VOC” by Jacob Mossel (*Bedenkingen over den intrinsiquen staat van de g'octroyeerde Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie*), 28 November 1752.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ NA VOC 4750, Answer of the Gentlemen Seventeen to Jacob Mossel (“*Kopie-missive van de Heren XVII van 1752 november 28 ter beantwoording van de memorie van Gouverneur-Generaal Jacob Mossel over het verval van de VOC*”), 28 March 1754.

⁶ This society received a patent from the High Government in August 1751 allowing it to conduct the trade between Padang and Batavia exclusively for three years. See Hullu, “De instelling”, 529-533.

⁷ According to J. de Hullu’s explanation, they were the areas in and around the Indian Ocean to the west of Malacca. See Hullu, “De instelling”, 524.

⁸ See note 5.

⁹ It was gathered in June or July to prepare for the meetings of the Gentlemen Seventeen held in August.

¹⁰ NA VOC 4748, Report of the Representatives of the “Hague Affairs” (“*Kopie-rapport van de gecommiteerden van het Haags Besogne over het verval van de VOC, uitgebracht op verzoek van de hoofdparticipanten, in verband met de memorie van gouverneur-*

generaal Jacob Mossel over het verval van de VOC”), 24 July 1754; NA Hope Collection 98.

¹¹ This means the cargoes which were sent from Europe on the outward-bound ships and re-loaded on the China-bound ships by the High Government. During the period of the management of the High Government, it also offered several European goods for the China trade.

¹² See note 10.

¹³ See note 1.

¹⁴ Cornelis van der Hoop was also from the Amsterdam Chamber; Samuel Radermacher was concurrently Mayor of Middelburg; Johan Constantin Matthias passed away on 13 September 1756. Later, other chambers which took part in the China trade also sent delegates to this committee.

¹⁵ NA VOC 172, Resolution of the Gentlemen Seventeen, 14 October 1755.

¹⁶ In the whole period of the VOC, the Chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland were the Presiding Chambers by turn. According to the Charter of 1602, the rule governing the Presiding Chamber was that Amsterdam had the presidency for six years, starting from 1602 to 1608, and then the Zeeland Chamber took over for two years. The system was maintained until the very end of the VOC. When meetings were held in Amsterdam this Chamber was the chair, and when in Zeeland this privilege fell to the Zeeland Chamber. See J.R. Bruijn, F.S. Gaastra, and I. Schöffer (eds), *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Century* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987), Vol. I, 15.

¹⁷ Hullu, “De instelling”, 535-536.

¹⁸ NA VOC 333, Letter from the Gentlemen Seventeen to the High Government, 12 April 1755.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ VOC 4543, Report of the China Committee, 9 November 1756.

²² This was the *Königlich Preussischen Asiatischen Compagnie in Emden nach Canton und China* (KPAC). This Company, founded in 1751, had organized six voyages to Canton. The last voyage was of the ship the *Prinz Ferdinand*; this ship returned in 1757, but the voyage ended in Porthmouth. The port city of Emden was taken by the French in the beginning of the Seven Years’ War, the KPAC was dissolved soon afterwards. See Dennis de Graaf, “De koninklijke Compagnie: de Pruisische Aziatische Compagnie ‘von Emden nach China’ (1751-1765)”, *Tijdschrift voor zeegechiedenis* 20-2 (Hilversum, September 2001): 143 and 160.

²³ See note 21.

²⁴ NA VOC 4543, Report of the China Committee, 8 October 1757.

²⁵ Hullu, “De instelling”, 544-545.

²⁶ NA VOC 4557, General instruction of the China Committee to all the servants for the China trade, Article 1, 1756.

The regulations of 4 September 1742 included 121 articles which were divided into twelve parts each referring to a different subject. For the contents of the regulations, see J.A. van der Chijs (ed.), *Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek, 1602-1811* (’s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1893), Vol. IV, 547-576.

²⁷ NA NFC 24, Resolutions of the supercargoes, 4 October 1758 and 25 January 1759.

²⁸ NA VOC 4557, General instruction of the China Committee to all the servants for the China trade, Article 4, 1756; NA VOC 4542, General instruction of the China Committee to the director, captains, and supercargoes, Article 4, 1757; NA VOC 4543, General instruction of the China Committee to the first captains et al., Article 4, 1758; Jörg, *Porcelain*, 203.

²⁹ NA VOC 4557, General instruction of the China Committee to all the servants for the China trade, Article 3, 1756.

³⁰ NA VOC 4543, General instructions of the China Committee to the supercargoes et al., Articles 7-11, 1757 and 1758.

³¹ Ibid., Articles 13-15, 1757 and 1758.

³² Ibid., Articles 16-18, 1757 and 1758.

³³ Ibid., Articles 19-21, 1757 and 1758.

³⁴ In the later practice, the homeward-bound ships did not stop over at Batavia for the unloading of the gold demanded for Batavia, but transferred it to an armed cruiser (*kruiser*), sent by the High Government, in the Sunda Strait, as the China ships passed through there. See the paragraph "Commodities for Batavia's use" in Chapter Two.

³⁵ Of course, outward- and homeward-bound ships might call at other places to take on fresh food and water if necessary.

It was also recorded by a Cantonese observer in the late seventeenth century that there was a small vegetable garden and a fresh-water reservoir on board the Dutch ships (Qu Dajun 屈大均, *Guangdong xinyu* 广东新语 [New Works in Guangdong] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), Vol. 18, 484). Describing the water reservoir, Qu explained that if the water reservoir was turbid with deposits, the water could be filtered clean and the sailors raised the buckets and drank the filtered water; mentioning the small vegetable garden, Qu did not go into more detail, but it is believed that its produce was used only for the sick and the ship's officers, not for ordinary seamen and soldiers.

³⁶ NA VOC 4543, General instructions of the China Committee to the supercargoes et al., Articles 22-24, 1757 and 1758.

³⁷ Ibid., Articles 22-29, 1757 and 1758.

³⁸ NA VOC 4543, General instructions of the China Committee to the supercargoes et al., Article 2-8, 9 October 1759, 29 October 1770 and 22 September 1775.

³⁹ NA VOC 4543, Particular instruction of the China Committee to the supercargoes and assistants, Article 3, 10 October 1759.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Articles 2-4, 10 October 1759.

For example, in 1763 the Trade Council consisted of the Dutch chief, Marten Willem Hulle, the supercargoes Anthony Francois L'Heureux, Christaan W. Stisser, Johan Christoffel Steeger, and Jan Willem Spliethoff, and the assistants Pieter Kintsius, Isaac Guitard, Pieter Jan Texier, Nanning Wijnberg and Pieter Ribaut Schellewaard. The assistant Nanning Wijnberg also served as clerk and was ordered to draw up the resolutions of the Trade Council properly. See NA VOC 4543, Instruction of the China Committee to the supercargoes, 13 September 1763.

⁴¹ In 1773, for example, the assignments were allotted by the Trade Council to the supercargoes, assistants and bookkeepers as follows:

Supercargo P. Kintsius served as cashier for the dispensation, shipment and so forth; J. van den Bergh was secretary to the Broad Council and keeper of the pay book; assistant J.P. Certon took charge of purchasing and packing porcelain and annexes and served as secretary to the Broad Council; Egbert van Karnebeek managed the factory and all the mercantile business; S. Klinkert worked as keeper of the trade books and annexes; U.G. Hemmingson prosecuted all offenders in that season and also assisted Supercargo E. Klinkert; J.H. Alphusius joined forces with the writer, J.J. Rhenius, as assistants to Supercargo E. Kintsius; Bookkeepers B. Kuijper and E.L. Steijn were assistants to Supercargo E. Certon; W. Hanke was assistant to Supercargo E. van den Bergh; and F. Benthem remained (at the Dutch chief's disposal) at the factory. In addition, Supercargo J. van den Bergh and Bookkeeper F. Benthem, Assistant E. Certon and Bookkeeper E.L. Steijn, Assistant S. Klinkert and Bookkeeper W. Hanke, Assistant U.G. Hemmingson, and Bookkeeper B. Kuijper were responsible for the loading of the ships the *Jonge Hellingman*, the *Voorberg*, the *Europa*, and the *Holland*. See NA NFC 36, Resolution of the Trade Council, 25 August 1773.

⁴² NA VOC 4543, Particular instruction of the China Committee to the supercargoes and assistants, Articles 4-8, 10 October 1759.

⁴³ Ibid., Articles 9-15, 10 October 1759.

⁴⁴ Namely the Spanish rial, which had fluctuated between 48 and 49¾ stivers since the seventeenth century. See Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade*, 50-51.

⁴⁵ NA VOC 4543, Particular instruction of the China Committee to the supercargoes and assistants, Articles 16-17, 10 October 1759.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Article 18, 10 October 1759.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Articles 19-21, 10 October 1759.

⁴⁸ NA VOC 4542, Instruction of the China Committee to the High Government, 28 October 1757.

⁴⁹ The ship's officers had to adhere to the general regulations concerning the sales notice pertaining to underweight or an insufficiency of goods issued by this Government on 15 August 1752.

⁵⁰ NA VOC 4543, Instruction of the China Committee to the High Government, 24 November 1760.

⁵¹ See the paragraph "Supplementing the general funds" in Chapter Two.

⁵² NA VOC 4543, Instruction of the China Committee to the High Government, 10 October 1759.

⁵³ In the instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes in Canton, pepper was always noted separately from other spices.

⁵⁴ NA NFC 278, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 24 June 1763.

⁵⁵ For a further description, see the paragraph "Commodities for Batavia's use" in Chapter Two.

⁵⁶ The exception was the years 1757-1761, for which an explanation was found only in the reports of the China Committee to the Gentlemen Seventeen (NA VOC 4543); besides this, in the records of the "Assessments of the merchandise" on the China ships, the "Assessment" of 1759-1762 were not included.

⁵⁷ The so-called "Assessments of the merchandise" on the China ships were annexed to the Resolutions of the Dutch supercargoes in Canton each year during the second half of the eighteenth century. In this both the "Home goods" and "Batavia goods" are included. Thanks to the records, we know that the imported Company goods were mainly delivered to the Chinese trade partners, among whom the security merchants took the greatest portions.

⁵⁸ For the discussion of spelter, see the paragraph "Commodities for Batavia's use" in Chapter Two.

⁵⁹ Jörg, *Porcelain*, 78.

⁶⁰ N.W. Posthumus (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van de Leidsche textielnijverheid* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1910-1922), Vol. 6, N. 26, "Agreement between the representatives of Leiden and the directors of the East India Company on the annual purchase of Leiden *lakens*, *polemieten*, *grijnen* and suchlike draperies, 26 April 1776" (*Overeenkomst tusschen de afgevaardigden van Leiden aan de eene, en de bewindhebbers van de Oost-Indische Compagnie aan de andere zijde aangaande het jaarlijksch inkoop van Leidsche lakens, polemieten, grijnen en soortgelijke manufacturen*), 49-51; N. 470, "Decision of the Amsterdam Chamber of the East India Company about the supplies of *lakens* by the fabricants in Leiden, 11 January 1742" (*Besluit van de kamer van Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie aangaande leveranties van lakens door de fabrikeurs te Leiden*), 781-782; Valentijn Schenk, "Een naare en bedroefde eeuw: De verschepingen van Leidse textiel naar Azië door tussenkomst van de VOC in de periode 1770-1790 en de rol van het contract van 1776", *Textielhistorische bijdragen* 41 (Veenendaal: de Stichting Textielgeschiedenis, 2001), 49-64.

⁶¹ NA NFC 164, Letter from the China Committee to the Dutch supercargoes in Canton, 17 October 1787.

⁶² Jörg, *Porcelain*, 76.

⁶³ Appendix 8 of Jörg's *Porcelain* gives a survey of the money spent by the VOC personnel on the return shipments in Canton from 1729 to 1793. The periods 1764-1780 and 1784-1789 show outstanding peaks compared to the other years. The Company's tea trade exhibited the same steep curves. See Figure 2 in Chapter Five.

⁶⁴ For example, the China Committee demanded Pekoe for 1758 (4,000 pounds) and 1759 (6,000); Hyson for 1760 (15,000); Imperial tea for 1772 (6,000); 1773 (6,000), 1775 (4,000 to 6,000), 1776 (4,000 to 6,000) and 1778 (5,000), types of tea which the Company servants in China had not yet purchased. See NA VOC 4381 and 4543-4545, Instructions of the China Committee to the Dutch chief in Canton, 1757-1759, 1771-1772, 1774-1775, and 1777; NA NFC 234-235, 237-238, and 241, Reports of the supercargoes in Canton, 1772-1773, 1775-1776, and 1778.

⁶⁵ Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 66.

⁶⁶ J.J. Steur, *Herstel of ondergang: de voorstellen tot redres van de V.O.C. 1740-1795* (Utrecht: Hes Uitgevers, 1984), 48.

⁶⁷ NA VOC 172, Resolution of the Gentlemen Seventeen, 14 April 1755.

Notes to Chapter Two

¹ The provisions and necessities were especially those for daily use in the factory. They were of two kinds – those from Europe such as wine, beer, salted meat and bacon, butter, cheese, wax candles, lamp oil, and the like, and those from Batavia such as rice, arrack, olive oil, spices, and other Asian commodities.

² NA VOC 4542, Instruction of the China Committee to the High Government, 28 October 1757.

³ In the eighteenth century, tin deposits were found in three areas: the Siamese islands of Ujung Salang, the mountainous regions of the Malay Peninsula (Kedah, Perak, Selangor and Rembau), and the island of Bangka, which was an outlying dependency of Palembang. Unlike Bangka with its tin deposit, the port of Malacca itself did not produce tin, but was a place where tin was collected and exported.

⁴ Reinout Vos, *Gentle Janus, Merchant Prince* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1993), 8.

⁵ Sinnappah Arasaratnam, “Dutch Commercial Policy and Interests in the Malay Peninsula, 1750-1795”, in Blair B. Kling and M.N. Pearson (eds), *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia before Dominion* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979), 159-190.

⁶ According to the NFC records, there were a few occasions on which Chinese junks exported tin and pepper to Canton from Palembang during the period under study: about 15,000 piculs of tin were carried on seven Chinese junks in 1763; 10,000 piculs by four junks in 1765; 2,838 piculs by one junk in 1779; 241 piculs by one junk in 1780; and only two piculs of pepper by one junk in 1779 and two piculs by one junk in 1780 (NA NFC 278-279 and 289-290, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 24 June 1763, 5 July 1765, 16 July 1779 and 27 July 1780); most likely no tin and pepper were sent from Batavia by Chinese junks. However, a large quantity of “illegal” tin and pepper was smuggled from Palembang (and Banten) by Chinese junks and other foreign merchants, either directly to China or by way of other South-east Asian ports. See Vos, *Gentle Janus*, 26-29; Ota Atsushi, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State and the Outer World of Banten, 1750-1830* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 118-123.

⁷ This operation is first mentioned in the instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes in Canton in 1765; and according to the instruction of 1780, there were still cruisers patrolling in the roadstead of Malacca (NA NFC 279 and 290, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 5 July 1765 and 30 July 1780).

⁸ Arasaratnam, “Dutch Commercial Policy”, 174.

⁹ Vos, *Gentle Janus*, 213.

¹⁰ For the price of tin in Canton, see the Resolutions of the Trade Council (NA NFC 22-44) and Daily records of the supercargoes (NA NFC 278-291) in Canton as well as the instructions of the High Government to the Dutch supercargoes in Canton between 1760 and 1781 (NA NFC 278-291). For a comparison of prices the Bugis, English, and Portuguese paid, see Arasaratnam, “Dutch Commercial Policy”, 173.

¹¹ For this kind of use, there is a very interesting description by the Dutch supercargoes in the general report on 4 January 1765. See NA VOC 4396.

¹² Ernest S. Hedges, *Tin in Social and Economic History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1964), 95.

¹³ The simpler sorts for the Asian market were packed in bamboo baskets. See Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië*, 147.

¹⁴ The Dutch fixed both the “Company” picul in the East Indies and Chinese piculs at Canton at 122½ pounds.

¹⁵ Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië*, 54.

¹⁶ Ota, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics*, 117 and 124.

¹⁷ No information about the “Assessments of the merchandise” for Canton is available for the years 1760-1762.

¹⁸ Ota, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics*, 25.

¹⁹ NA NFC 279, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 5 January 1765.

²⁰ The prices of pepper in Canton: 11.2 taels of silver per picul in 1764 (NA NFC 279,

Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 5 July 1765; NA NFC 28, Resolution of the Trade Council, 3 August 1765), 12.3 taels in 1776 (NA NFC 287, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 8 July 1777) and 13.5 taels in 1778 (NA NFC 289, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 16 July 1779).

²¹ Jörg, *Porcelain*, 76.

²² About the VOC intra-Asian trade in copper, see Ryuto Shimada, *The Intra-Asian Trade in Japanese Copper by the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

²³ Annual emission of bronze coins began at 1.5 million strings (1 string = 1,000 coins) in 1735, and had risen to 2 million strings annually until 1742 and gradually increased to more than 3 million strings by 1754. Mint output had peaked at 3.9 million strings annually in 1759-1767, and an average annual output had fallen to 3 million strings in the 1770s and 2.5 million strings throughout the 1780s. During the period 1793-1796 there was a large-scale rebellion in western China that hindered commerce with Yunnan. After that, annual mint output remained at 2.0-2.5 million strings to 1840. See Richard von Glahn, "Money Use in China and Changing Patterns of Global Trade in Monetary Metals, 1500-1800", in Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, and Richard von Glahn (eds), *Global Connections and Monetary History, 1470-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 196-197.

²⁴ NA NFC 288-290, Instructions of the High Government to the supercargoes, 8 July 1777, 16 July 1779, and 27 July 1780.

²⁵ NA NFC 289 and 290, Instructions of the High Government to the supercargoes, 16 July 1779 and 27 July 1780.

²⁶ For a description of the Dutch ducat in the eighteenth century, see Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade*, 69-72.

²⁷ NA NFC 290, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 27 July 1780.

²⁸ Bruijn et al. (eds), *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping*, Vol. I, 74.

²⁹ An infrastructure consisting of such facilities as shipyards, warehouses, and workmen's quarters was indispensable to the High Government. It set up the facilities for this on the island of Onrust ("No rest" or "Busy" in English), which lay just off the coast of Batavia. On this island, the VOC repaired all its shipping and kept a large quantity of stores of trade goods. The maintenance and repair work was carried out under the charge of the master of the equipage.

³⁰ For example, in 1766 the *Jonge Thomas* replaced the *Lindenhof*, in 1771 the *Lam* replaced the *Vreedejaar*, in 1772 the *Veldhoen* replaced the *Honcoop* and the *Prinses van Oranje* replaced the *Groenendaal*, the *Bodt* replaced the *Willem de Vijfde*, in 1773 the *Jonge Hellingman* replaced the *Juno*, in 1774 the *Oostcapelle* replaced the *Mars* and the *Beemster Welvaaren* replaced the *Vreedenhoff*, in 1775 the *Morgenster* replaced the *Huijs te Spijk*, in 1780 the *Hoogcarspel* replaced the *Batavia*, in 1785 the *Pollux* replaced the *Slot ter Hooge*, in 1787 the *Middelwijk* replaced the *St Laurens*, in 1791 the *Alblasserdam* replaced the *Erffprins* and the *Blitterswijk* replaced the *Meerwijk*, in 1792 the *Roozenburgh* replaced the *Westcapelle* and the *Zuiderburgh* replaced the *Buijten Verwachting* from Batavia. This information has been taken from Jörg, *Porcelain*, 198-201. Many of these replacements were forced by the delay of the ships.

³¹ Bruijn et al. (eds), *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping*, Vol. I, 70.

³² In 1764, the China Committee asked the High Government for a limited number of carpenters and sailors, as well as 120 hands for the ships of 150 feet and 110 for the ships of 140 feet. See NA NFC 279, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 5 July 1765.

³³ NA NFC 279, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 5 July 1765.

³⁴ NA VOC 4543, Instruction of the China Committee to the High Government, 10 October 1759.

³⁵ For the order of the Chinese authorities on the Europeans' stay at Macao in the off-season, see Liu Yong, "Culture Clash in Canton", unpublished paper presented at the TANAP Workshop in Xiamen in October 2003.

³⁶ From 1761 on, the Dutch supercargoes in China turned to writing an official business report annually to the China Committee. See NA NFC 223-246.

³⁷ These instructions were sent to the Trade Council with all the names of the Council members. See NA NFC 278-301.

Of course, besides these official instructions, there were also personal letters carried between Batavia and China, for example, in the names of the High Government in Batavia and president of the Trade Council in Canton.

³⁸ NA NFC 287, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 8 July 1777.

³⁹ NA NFC 289, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 16 July 1779. On 23 January 1779, the High Government received the letter from the Governor and Council of Macao, in which the Macao Government expressed its gratitude for the assistance given to the shipwrecked victims of the *Estrela de Aurora* near the Island Nor de Vaca; in his reply of 16 July that year, the Governor-General in Batavia, Reijnier de Klerk, very politely wrote that it was his pleasure that the captain of a Dutch ship had so generously assisted the *Estrela de Aurora*. He was sure that the Macao Government would have given the same orders should a misfortune be visited on a Dutch ship. See NA NFC 289, Letter from the Governor-General and Council in Batavia to the Macao Government, 16 July 1779.

⁴⁰ BL IOR-G/12/58, Diary and consultation, 4 December 1778.

⁴¹ A *bankzaal* (or “banksaul” in English records) was a storage space for shipping equipment and ballast material. All European ships had their own *bankzaals*. The *bankzaals* were also the place where sick sailors were sent to recover from their illnesses. The French paid an extra amount to the Hoppo to build their *bankzaals* on the “French Island” near Whampoa, which was also used as a place of recreation. The other Europeans were generally restricted to setting up their *bankzaals* on the “Danes Island”, which is called “Whampoa Island” by Paul A. Van Dyke. See Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, 8. For the Danes and French Island, see BL IOR-G/12/66, Letter from the Council at Canton to Captain William Thomson commander of Calcutta, No. 3, 8 July 1779.

The interpreters and/or compradors were responsible for seeking permission from the Hoppo for the construction of *bankzaals*, and the compradors arranged for the actual building of the structures. The *bankzaals* were usually dismantled at the end of each trading season, and rebuilt again when the ships arrived next season. See Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, Chapter Four.

⁴² BL IOR-G/12/58, Diary and consultation, 4 December 1778.

⁴³ NA NFC 289, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 16 July 1779.

⁴⁴ NA NFC 290, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 27 July 1780.

⁴⁵ NA NFC 291, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 6 July 1781.

⁴⁶ Raids by the English on Chinese junks actually occurred after the *Goede Hoop* affair, which took place between the English captain McClary and the Dutch in China in 1781. See the part of “Recapture of the *Goede Hoop*” in Chapter Four.

As for these occurrences, an example also can be found in the paragraph “Commodities for Batavia’s use” in this chapter.

⁴⁷ Captain McClary attacked two Macao ships with goods for the VOC in the Bangka Strait in 1782, until he was driven away by the warships sent by the High Government. See NA NFC 292, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 14 June 1782.

Early the next year, another Macao ship, the *St Antonio*, carrying goods for the VOC was captured by the same captain. See NA NFC 44, Resolution of the Trade Council, 7 October 1782; NA NFC 293, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 3 June 1784.

⁴⁸ The Batavia demand for porcelain consisted of all the various assortments.

⁴⁹ There was no tea mentioned among the wares ordered, but this does not mean that tea was not in demand in Batavia. In fact, the required tea was transported to Batavia on Chinese junks or other private vessels. See NA NFC 292, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 14 July 1782.

⁵⁰ Information about these sales can be found in all the business reports of the supercargoes to the High Government (NA NFC 220-222) and the homeland (NA NFC 223-254).

⁵¹ Jörg, *Porcelain*, 85.

⁵² Hugh Chisholm (ed.), *The Encyclopædia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information* (Eleventh edition, New York: Horace Everett Hooper, 1911), "Musk".

⁵³ Jörg, *Porcelain*, 86.

⁵⁴ Gastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 82.

⁵⁵ Bruijn et al. (eds), *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping*, Vol. I, 170; Blussé, *Strange Company*, 16.

⁵⁶ By looking at the figures of "the total population inside and outside Batavia" and "the major population groups at Batavia" in *Strange Company* (Blussé: 18-19), it is possible to build up a picture of the connection between the import of Chinese textiles and the population of Batavia in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

⁵⁷ Jörg, *Porcelain*, 89.

⁵⁸ See the section on "Instructions of the China Committee" in Chapter One.

⁵⁹ The junk the *Sam-con-hing* (or the *San Guang Xing* 三广兴), *Nachoda* Zhang Zhenguan 张阵观, belonged to the San Guang Xing Company 三广兴公司 in Canton; the junk the *Sweehing* (or the *Rui Xing* 瑞兴), *Nachoda* Wen Xiongguan 温雄官 belonged to the Rui Xing Company 瑞兴公司 in Canton. See NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 15 January 1764.

⁶⁰ The junk the *Eckthaij* (or the *Yi Tai* 益泰), *Nachoda* Yan Lishe 颜立舍, belonged to the Mao Sheng Company 茂盛公司. See NA NFC 277, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 22 February 1769.

⁶¹ NA NFC 74, Daily records of the supercargoes, 18 January and 27 February 1765.

⁶² NA NFC 76, Daily record of the supercargoes, 16 December 1767.

⁶³ NA NFC 280, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 22 February 1769.

⁶⁴ The junk the *Honka* (or the *Huang Zai* 黄仔), *Nachoda* Tsoa Tsoagua (Cai Quguan, 蔡诤观), belonging to the Da Xing Company 大兴公司 in Canton. See NA NFC 277, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 22 February 1769.

⁶⁵ According to the daily records of the supercargoes, during the season 1768-1769, this junk sailed the route between Canton, Batavia, and Cochin China. See NA NFC 77 and 78-79, Daily records of the supercargoes, 26 December 1768, 3 January and 14 July 1769.

⁶⁶ NA NFC 78-79, Daily record of the supercargoes, 21 December 1769.

⁶⁷ The *St Luz* in 1772 (NA NFC 282A, Missive from the Trade Council to the High Government, 6 January 1773), the *Nossa Senhora da Luz* in 1777 (NA NFC 287, Report of the Trade Council to the High Government, 31 January 1778), the *St Vincenti* in 1778 (NA NFC 288, Report of the Trade Council to the High Government, 24 January 1779), the *N. Sr.^a de Boa Viagem* in 1779 (NA NFC 289, Report of the Trade Council to the High Government, 14 February 1780), the *St Anthonij* in 1781 (NA NFC 291, Missive from the Trade Council to the High Government, 6 January 1782).

⁶⁸ The *Royal Chartolle* in 1773 (NA NFC 283, Missive from the Trade Council to the High Government, 1 November 1773), the *Neptune* in 1774 (NA NFC 284, Missive from the Trade Council to the High Government, 10 November 1774), the *Nancy* in 1776 (NA NFC 286, Missive from the Trade Council to the High Government, 12 January 1777).

⁶⁹ In 1769, for example, the junks the *Eckthaij* and the *Honka* received their freight fare in this way: they were paid 2½ rix-dollars for porcelain and 1 rix-dollar, or 48 stivers, for spelter per picul at freight (NA NFC 277, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 22 February 1769). This manner of consigning shipments and delivery of goods for Batavia was also applied to the Portuguese, and occasionally the English, private ships. See NA NFC 78-79, Daily records of the supercargoes, 18 and 21 December 1769; NA NFC 280, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 8 July 1777.

⁷⁰ NA NFC 82 and 86, Daily records of the supercargoes, 20 December 1773 and 12 January 1777.

⁷¹ NA NFC 278, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 24 June 1763.

⁷² NA NFC 287, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 8 July 1777.

⁷³ It is obvious that the Portuguese Macao ships were not included in the “foreign European ships” but were referred to as Macao vessels in the instruction of the High Government to the Trade Council in Canton.

⁷⁴ It is spelled as “*Wongsong*” in the daily record of the supercargoes in 1769 (NA NFC 78-79, Daily record of the supercargoes, 14 July 1769) but as “*Wonchan*” in the instruction of the High Government in 1770 (NA NFC 281, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 12 June 1770). It is certain, however, that both names refer to the same junk.

⁷⁵ NA NFC 281, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 12 June 1770.

⁷⁶ Together with the translator, Lundert Goossen, the junior Chinese secretary, Lim Tjoenkong, and the *nachoda*, Tan Hoatka, plus the clerk, Ting Jonko, of the junk the *Thaij-an* from Canton.

⁷⁷ NA NFC 292, Letter from the High Government to the supercargoes, 27 April 1782.

⁷⁸ NA NFC 293, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 3 June 1784.

⁷⁹ Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade*, 59.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁸² It was agreed that 100 touch was pure gold, which was equivalent to 24 carats. Ninety-three was most highly favoured as the touch standard for gold and 94 for silver; and the less foreign matter that the gold and silver contained, the more the touch, for example, 90 touch was 90 per cent gold, with 10 per cent extraneous matter content. See Morse, *The Chronicles*, Vol. 1, 68-69; Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé (eds), *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters 1762* (hereafter referred to as *CMD*) (Macao: Culture Institute, forthcoming), note 46; C. Scholten, *The Coins of the Dutch Overseas Territories 1601-1948* (Amsterdam: J. Schulman, 1953), 5; NA NFC 25, Resolution of the Trade Council, 18 September 1762.

⁸³ Om Prakash, “Precious Metal Flows in Asia and World Economic Integration in the Seventeenth Century”, in Wolfram Fischer (ed.), *The Emergence of a World Economy 1500-1914: Papers of the IX. International Congress of Economic History Association* (Part one) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1986), 92.

⁸⁴ Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade*, 69.

⁸⁵ See note 15 in Introduction.

⁸⁶ According to the instructions from Batavia, the trade representatives in China could use the remaining funds not only for the gold trade of Batavia but also for the VOC direct China trade for the coming season, depending on the situation. See the instructions of the High Government in 1763 and 1765.

⁸⁷ NA NFC 278, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 24 July 1763.

⁸⁸ Silver, copper, gold, and tin in the shape of a *schuitje* (small boat) used to be called *schuitjes zilver*, *schuitjes koper*, *schuitjes goud*, and *schuitjes tin* in Dutch). See O. Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der niederländischen Kompagnie zu Japan im siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Berlijn, 1897), 134; Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië*, 154 and 172.

⁸⁹ NA NFC 25, Resolution of the Trade Council, 18 September 1762.

⁹⁰ NA NFC 27, Resolution of the Trade Council, 8 December 1764.

⁹¹ NA NFC 279, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 5 July 1765.

⁹² According to the NFC records, 1764 was the last year in which the Dutch supercargoes purchased gold for Batavia. See NA NFC 27, Resolutions of the Trade Council, 8 and 10 August and 8 December 1764.

⁹³ NA NFC 280, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 19 May 1769; NA NFC 281, Instruction of the High Government to the supercargoes, 12 June 1770.

Notes to Chapter Three

¹ The ins-and-outs of the Canton trade as well as the Canton System are explained in more detail in the introduction to Chapter Four.

² According to the regulations of the Chinese authorities, the off-season lasted from the departure of the European ships (customarily in January, but sometimes in February or even early March) until the arrival of the next season's European ships (in August or September); correspondingly, the trading season lasted from the arrival of the current-season European ships until their departure.

³ From the 1830s, the Dutch and English earlier or later succeeded in cultivating the tea plant for their home markets in Java, India, and Ceylon, and the export of Chinese tea from then on suffered a big decline. See A. Bierens de Haan, C.F. Bierens de Haan, and L.L. Bierens de Haan, *Memorie Boek van Pakhuismeesteren van de thee te Amsterdam 1818-1918 en de Nederlandsche Theehandel in den loop der tijden* (Amsterdam: J.H. de Bussy, 1918), 130-155; Her Majesty's Stationery Office, *Reports on the Tea and Tobacco Industries in India* (London: Printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1874), 13-14; R. Jayaraman, *Caste Continuities in Ceylon: A Study of the Social Structure of Three Tea Plantations* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1975), 12-13.

⁴ Although these teas are still produced today, I shall refer to them here in the past tense as I am describing these varieties as they were purchased for the VOC.

⁵ Zhuang, "Fujian Tea Industry", 11.

⁶ "Chinese tea", at: <http://www.fmltea.com> by the FML Tea Trading Co., LTD., Xiamen, 19/04/2005.

⁷ Ch'en, "Transaction Practices", 746. However, it is also likely that a small portion of tea from Jiangxi Province was added to the teas from the Provinces of Fujian and Anhui when they were transported to Canton.

⁸ "The naming of teas", at <http://www.teanet.com.cn/chaye3.htm> by the China Teanet Group, Beijing, 20/04/2005.

⁹ Hoh-cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *The Management of Monopoly*, 5.

¹⁰ According to *VOC-Glossarium: verklaringen van termen, verzameld uit de Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, die betrekking hebben op de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (M. Kooijmans et al. (eds), Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2000, 89) Pekoe was the best quality black tea bought by the VOC, but as stated in the reports of the supercargoes, the price they paid for it was not higher than that disbursed for Souchong.

¹¹ "What is Orange Pekoe?", at: <http://www.virtualtea.com/vt/tips.html> by Virtual Tea, Depoe Bay Oregon, 19/04/2005.

¹² It should be noted that in their daily records or the resolutions of the Trade Council the Dutch trade representatives mention Ankay mixing with the two teas, but they fail to mention Ankay in connection with Bohea, Congou, or Souchong when they composed the general reports on the expeditions for the Company.

¹³ Nowadays Wuyuan is a county in Jiangxi Province, but during the Qing period it belonged to Anhui Province.

¹⁴ Diana Rosen, "Teas of yore: Bohea, Hyson and Congou", at: http://www.teamuse.com/article_031001.html by the Tea Muse, 18/04/2005.

¹⁵ All types of names of the black and green teas in European languages originate from Chinese. Bohea, Souchong, Congou, Pekoe, Ankay, and Twankay obviously derive from the Quanzhou 泉州 dialect spoken in South Fujian; Songlo and Hyson probably stem from Mandarin.

¹⁶ [明] Luo Bing 罗廬, *Cha jie* 茶解 [Explanation about Tea], "Songluo cha" 松萝茶 [Songlo Tea], in: Guo Mengliang 郭孟良, *Zhongguo chadian* 中国茶典 [Chinese Tea Thesaurus] (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 2004), 39. Guo's book also extracts several other works from the Tang to the Ming Dynasty, which all involve topics about the plucking of tea leaves, the production, drinking and storage of tea, and the use of different tea services. For example, [唐] Lu Yu 陆羽, *Cha jing* 茶经 [Tea Scripture]; [宋] Cai Xiang 蔡襄, *Cha lu* 茶录 [Records about Tea]; [宋] Huang Ru 黄儒, *Pincha yaolu* 品茶要录 [Useful Notes about Tea-tasting]; [明] Zhu Quan 朱权, *Cha pu* 茶谱 [The Chronicle of

Tea]; [明] Huang Longde 黄龙德, *Cha shuo* 茶说 [Talk about Tea]; [明] Tian Yiheng 田艺衡, *Zhu quan xiaopin* 煮泉小品 [Small Talks about Tea-brewing].

¹⁷ Hyson was the most expensive tea the Dutch supercargoes purchased in Canton until they began to purchase Gunpowder tea in 1778. See Appendix 4.

¹⁸ Michael Plant, "Imperial green", at: http://www.normbrero.com/cgi-bin/viewTea.cgi?search1=SHOW_TEA¶m1=5¶m2=Imperial+Green¶m3=Michael¶m4=2003-11-13,21/04/2005.

¹⁹ Gardella, *Fukien's Tea Industry and Trade*, 101-103; Hoh-cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *The Management of Monopoly*, 10-11; Ch'en, "Transaction Practices", 746.

²⁰ BL IOR-G/12/214, Diary and consultation, 25 February 1819.

²¹ [清] Zhou Kai 周凯, *Xiamen zhi* 厦门志 [Xiamen Gazetteer], in: *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 台湾文献丛刊 [A Collection of Documentary Materials on Taiwan] (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, 1961), N. 95, 177.

²² Ch'en, "Transaction Practices", 747; BL IOR-G/12/214, Diary and consultation, 22 January 1797.

²³ With the only exception being 112½ pounds of Linchinsing, which is supposed to be "Linki-sam" tea, one kind of black tea, which was bought by the Dutch in 1761. See Appendix 4.

²⁴ In Ch'en's opinion, the tea merchants did not trade personally with the Hong merchants but employed the proprietors of warehouses as go-betweens to negotiate with them. See Ch'en, "Transaction Practices", 746.

²⁵ A security merchant was appointed under the provisions of the security merchant system, which had been institutionalized in Canton around 1745. This system required all foreign traders to engage several Hong merchants to stand as sureties for their ships, crews, and for the due payment of their duties during their stay in China. In return, the security merchants were granted the largest portion of the trade of the ships they secured. Generally foreigners took good care not to allow the security merchants to supply more than about 50 per cent of the total cargo, and the amount often fluctuated between 20 and 25 per cent. In their turn the security merchants usually insisted on being given a portion larger than that accorded to any other supplier to the ships they had secured. See Morse, *The Chronicles*, Vol. I, 247; Vol. V, 28-29; Ch'en, *The Insolvency*, 8-10; Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, 11.

There were many differences between the security merchants acting for the EIC and those allied to the VOC: in the case of the EIC, it was palpably clear which security merchant(s) guaranteed which ship(s), and how much merchandise he or they could obtain from the ship(s); in the case of the VOC, three or four security merchants were always mentioned together, alongside the merchandise given to the security merchants from which ship. The Dutch used the word "*fiador*", or "*(onze) marchandeurs/kooplieden*" to designate the security merchants who were their regular trading partners. During the period under study, the security merchants for the VOC were Tsja Hunqua & Co., Swetja, and Tan Chetqua in 1757; Tsja Hunqua & Co., Tan Chetqua, and Inksja in 1763-1769; Semqua & Co., Inksja, and Tan Chetqua in 1769-1772; Semqua & Co. (replaced by Tayqua & Co. from 1774), Inksja, and Tinqu in 1772-1776; Inksja, Koqua, Tan Tsjoqua, Monqua, and Tsjonqua in 1776-1778; and Inksja, Tan Tsjoqua, Monqua, and Tsjonqua in 1778-1780. See NA NFC 22-43, *passim*.

²⁶ Chapter Four deals in detail with the establishment of the Co-hong and the protest lodged by the European supercargoes against this combination.

²⁷ They did in 1766 (Houqua, Chetqua's clerk; Tsja Kinqa, Inksja's clerk); 1768 (Emanuel, Tsjobqua's clerk; Quyuqua, Chetqua's clerk; Tsja Kinqa, Inksja's clerk); 1769 (Quyuqua, Chetqua's clerk; Tsja Kinqa, Inksja's clerk); 1772 (Kiouqua, Inksja's clerk); 1775 (Keequa, Inksja's clerk); 1776 (Heyqua, Monqua's clerk; Kiouqua, Inksja's clerk; and Tetqua, Tan Tsjonqua's clerk); and 1777 (Jemqua, Koqua's clerk). See Appendix 3.

²⁸ NA NFC 26, Resolutions of the Trade Council, 10 and 15 March 1763.

²⁹ NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 27 October 1764.

³⁰ NA NFC 85, Daily record of the supercargoes, 27 January 1776.

³¹ NA NFC 25, Resolution of the Trade Council, 29 November 1762.

³² NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 23 October 1764.

³³ NA NFC 79 and 80, Daily record of the supercargoes, 28 January 1770.

³⁴ When the Co-hong was established in 1760, ten Hong merchants joined this association. During the short existence of the Co-hong, 1760 to 1771, there were four chief and six smaller Co-hong members, who have been clearly described by Ch'en (*The Insolvency*, 13).

³⁵ Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, Chapter Five; and his "The Yan Family: Merchants of Canton, 1734-1780s", *Review of Culture* (International Edition 9) (Macao, January 2004): 30-85.

³⁶ NA NFC 33, Resolution of the Trade Council, 2 August 1770.

³⁷ NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 10 August 1764.

³⁸ Ibid., 24 June 1764.

³⁹ See NA NFC 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7.

⁴⁰ NA NFC 222, Report of the supercargoes to the High Government, 8 May 1759.

⁴¹ NA VOC 4382, Trade journal of the direct council in Canton, 7 and 18 November 1758.

⁴² See NA NFC 29, 31, 77, and 79.

⁴³ Cheong, *The Hong Merchants*, 71 (note 74), 140; Morse, *The Chronicles*, Vols 1 and 5, passim; Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, Chapters Five and Six; Ch'en, *The Insolvency*, 268-269; and see NA NFC 34, 80.

⁴⁴ NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 24 June 1764.

⁴⁵ NA NFC 38, Resolution of the Trade Council, 6 January 1774.

⁴⁶ A place far away in the north-west of China which in the Qing period was especially notorious as a penal colony for those exiled by the government.

⁴⁷ See NA NFC 15.

⁴⁸ Ch'en Kuo-tung, "Pan Youdu, a Successful Businessman for a Foreign Firm", in Liu Ping 刘平 et al. (eds), *Guangzhou shisanhang cangsang* 广州十三行沧桑 [The Transformation of the Thirteen Hongs of Canton] (Guangzhou: Guangdongsheng ditu chubanshe, 2001), 150-193; Dilip Kumar Basu, *Asian Merchants and Western Trade: A Comparative Study of Calcutta and Canton 1800-1840* (PhD dissertation, Berkeley: University of California, 1975), 355; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 40-41 and 71 (note 79); Huang Qichen 黄启臣 and Pang Xinping 庞新平, *Mingqing guangdong shangren* 明清广东商人 [Guangdong Merchants in Ming and Qing Period] (Guangzhou: Guangdong jingji chubanshe, 2001), 259-269; Liang Jiabin, *Guangdong shisanhang kao*, 259; NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 18 April 1764.

⁴⁹ When Tsja Hunqua suggested so to the Dutch chief, the latter felt very surprised why he would do so, as Poan Keequa was his biggest opponent for the European trade in Canton. The Dutch refused because, as they explained, Poan Keequa was a "sly fox", always full of intrigues, and they thus did not want Poan Keequa "to put his nose directly into our affairs". See NA NFC 73, Daily records of the supercargoes, 31 May and 23 June 1764.

⁵⁰ NA NFC 31, Resolution of the Trade Council, 2 May 1768.

⁵¹ See NA NFC 51, 95.

⁵² Jörg, *Porcelain*, 71, 338 (note 84); Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 40 and 72 (note 80); Ch'en, *The Insolvency*, 19 and 294-296.

⁵³ Cheong, *The Hong Merchants*, 259.

⁵⁴ Jörg, *Porcelain*, 58-59; Paul A. Van Dyke, *Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690-1845* (PhD dissertation, California: Department of History, University of Southern California, 2002), Chapter Five and Appendices O, P, Q, S; Ch'en, *The Insolvency*, 259-260; NA NFC 25, 26, 32, 72, and 78; NA VOC 4394.

⁵⁵ Van Dyke and Viallé (eds), *CMD 1762*, note 104.

⁵⁶ Van Dyke, *Port Canton*, 316-317 and Appendices N-S; Ch'en, *The Insolvency*, 307-311; Cheong, *The Hong Merchants*, 98, 131, 212, and 264-265.

⁵⁷ Van Dyke and Viallé (eds), *CMD 1762*, note 12; *CMD 1763*, note 7.

⁵⁸ That was the reason why the Dutch called him a "Macao merchant" in 1763 (NA NFC 26, Resolution of the Trade Council, 30 November 1763).

⁵⁹ Van Dyke and Viallé (eds), *CMD 1762*, note 12 and 67; Van Dyke, "The Ye Merchants of Canton, 1720-1804", *Review of Culture* (International Edition 13) (Macao:

Culture Institute, 2005): 7-37; Ch'en, *The Insolvency*, 261-268; NA NFC 7, 17-39 and 76-84, NA VOC 4381-4413.

⁶⁰ Van Dyke, "The Ye Merchants", 7-37.

⁶¹ NA NFC 25, Resolution of the Trade Council, 29 November 1762; NA NFC 26, Resolution of the Trade Council, 30 November 1763.

⁶² Van Dyke, *Port Canton*, Appendixes O, P, Q; Cheong, *The Hong Merchants*, 40; Ch'en, *The Insolvency*, 260-261; NA NFC 28, 31, 74, and 77; NA VOC 4397 and 4402.

⁶³ NA VOC 4396, Capital to the Chinese merchants, 5 July 1764; Appendix 3.

⁶⁴ Ch'en, *The Insolvency*, 200-208 and 275-277; Cheong, *The Hong Merchants*, 152-153 and 253; Van Dyke, "The Yan Family", 30-85; Van Dyke and Viallé (trans), *CMD 1762*, note 47.

⁶⁵ Jörg, *Porcelain*, 61; Ch'en, *The Insolvency*, 296-297; Cheong, *The Hong Merchants*, 263; NA NFC 24, 37, 43-60, 88-96, and 326; NA VOC 4381-4446.

⁶⁶ The name "Suchin" (Suizhen 璚珍) is the romanization of the Cantonese pronunciation of a porcelain shop, and "Kinqu" is a reference to the merchant. The European supercargoes often combined these two names into one. See Appendix 3.

⁶⁷ Jörg, *Porcelain*, 116 and 351 (note 80); Van Dyke, "The Ye Merchants", 7-37; NA VOC 4382-4397.

⁶⁸ The teas bought by contract or additional trading-season purchases on the free market were called "new tea" by the Dutch (or Xinchá 新茶 in Chinese). The price differences between "old tea" and "new tea" were very large, as can be seen in Appendix 4.

⁶⁹ These three avenues were also those open to the EIC. See Ch'en, "Transaction Practices", 749.

⁷⁰ For the duration of one expedition of the China ships each season, see Chapter Five. In the eighteenth century, a homeward-bound journey took six to eight months, so that the ships returned to the Dutch Republic in the Summer or the beginning of the Autumn.

⁷¹ NA NFC 74, Daily record of the supercargoes, 4 July 1765.

⁷² NA NFC 29, Resolution of the Trade Council, 14 August 1766.

⁷³ NA NFC 30, Resolution of the Trade Council, 20 August 1767.

⁷⁴ During the Co-hong period, the Co-hong decided the price of Bohea each year, but the European supercargoes still could obtain various other prices from the individual tea-supplying agents.

⁷⁵ NA NFC 77, Daily record of the supercargoes, 23 July 1768.

⁷⁶ NA NFC 26, Resolution of the Trade Council, 11 February 1763.

⁷⁷ NA NFC 35, Resolution of the Trade Council, 18 February 1772.

⁷⁸ NA NFC 38, Resolution of the Trade Council, 19 January 1775.

⁷⁹ NA NFC 73, Daily records of the supercargoes, 26-29 February 1764.

⁸⁰ The assortments of the East Indies goods from Batavia are specifically explained in Chapter Two.

⁸¹ NA NFC 32, Resolution of the Trade Council, 30 April 1769.

⁸² NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 30 January 1764.

⁸³ NA NFC 79, Daily record of the supercargoes, 9 January 1770.

⁸⁴ NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 8 March 1764.

⁸⁵ NA NFC 26, Resolution of the Trade Council, 29 January 1763.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 25 May 1763.

⁸⁷ From 1760 to 1764, one whole chest of Bohea weighed on average $348\frac{13}{16}$, $346\frac{1}{8}$, $359\frac{13}{16}$, $339\frac{5}{16}$ and $342\frac{3}{4}$ pounds respectively each year (NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 24 November 1764), but from 1765 onwards one whole chest of Bohea was fixed at a weight of 340 pounds on average (NA NFC 28, Resolution of the Trade Council, 7 November 1765). In the meantime, the weight of other tea chests was always changing.

⁸⁸ Three VOC ships were supposed to arrive in Canton this year. For the number of the ships each season, see Appendix 2.

⁸⁹ On 19 May 1763, some remarks were made with respect to the first, second, and third conditions of the contract to the effect that the so-called off-season or the drawn consideration should end on 1 June and anything which happened afterwards would have no relation to this contract; on the 24th, one more stipulation was added with regard to

the sixth condition, namely that half of the remaining part of the contracted 9,000 piculs of teas which the tea-supplying agents promised to keep on their account would not be more than 1,250 piculs. See NA NFC 26, Resolution of the Trade Council, 19 May 1763.

⁹⁰ NA NFC 32, Resolution of the Trade Council, 30 April 1769.

⁹¹ NA NFC 30 and 31, Resolutions of the Trade Council, 14 April 1767 and 2 May 1768.

⁹² NA NFC 73, Daily records of the supercargoes, 10 February - 29 April 1764. In fact, examples of this kind are scattered mainly in the daily records and sometimes in the resolutions of the Trade Council each year.

⁹³ The final quantities on board differed slightly from those following the actual purchase (Twankay from 90,000 to 50,302 pounds; Songlo from 184,000 to 106,764 pounds; and Hyson skin from 30,000 to 19,103 pounds). It also should be mentioned that they all diverged greatly from the demands by the China Committee. For all different figures, see Appendix 4.

⁹⁴ Some comparisons between the purchase and sales prices of Twankay are demonstrated in Chapter Five.

⁹⁵ NA NFC 28, Resolution of the Trade Council, 31 August 1765.

⁹⁶ NA NFC 43, Resolution of the Trade Council, 25 November 1780.

⁹⁷ For instance, the storage of Bohea with porcelain at the Dutch factory from Kousia and Conjac in 1773, and from Suchin Kinqua in 1779 (NA NFC 82 and 88, Daily records of the supercargoes, 7-12 October 1773 and 10 February 1779). More information about the teas from the porcelain shops also can be found in Appendix 3.

⁹⁸ NA NFC 124, Instruction of the China Committee to the supercargoes, 13 November 1761.

⁹⁹ NA NFC 28, Resolution of the Trade Council, 7 November 1765.

¹⁰⁰ NA NFC 73, Daily records of the supercargoes, 22 October - 2 November 1764.

¹⁰¹ NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 3 November 1764. The work of packing tea, of course, was delegated to the Chinese coolies who were employed by the tea-supplying agents. As they packed, the coolies rammed the tea into the chests by trampling on it with their feet. There is the following interesting description of the coolies' work by the Dutch in 1764:

[Today] there are seven places where the tea is being packed and more than 1,200 coolies are occupied, of whom our three merchants have employed only around 700 to serve us.

Each nation which is packing screams a thousand times a day: "Do not grind the tea to dust, but stamp it straight up and down!" and perhaps one has 100 chests which are already half-full thrown back upon the heap of tea which is not yet packed, because the tea has been ground to dust. It never ever always goes the way one wants it, for how can two or three people keep 200 or more workers, who are of the worst scum of common people, in order? And, if the clerks of the merchants reprimand them too severely, all of them jump out of the chests. In order to get them back to work again and make things right, one has to cajole them and give them more *comt-sia* [Gongqian 工钱, i.e. wage].

¹⁰² On 29 September 1779, for example, the Dutch picked up Bohea packed in the off-season in small barrels to examine before sending it aboard the *Blok* the next day. See NA NFC 88, Daily record of the supercargoes, 29 September 1779.

¹⁰³ NA NFC 33, Resolution of the Trade Council, 2 April 1770.

¹⁰⁴ For the tea-buyers' complaint about the dustiness of tea, see the section on "Company auctions of the 'VOC teas'" in Chapter Five.

¹⁰⁵ In 1765, E. Steeger (supercargo) with P. Rocquette (assistant) and Van den Bergh (assistant); E. Schartouw (supercargo) with Karsseboom (supercargo), Guitard (assistant), and H. Klinkert (bookkeeper); and E. Kintsius (supercargo) with Helene (assistant) and Rijnagh (bookkeeper) (NA NFC 28, 7 November 1765); in 1766, Schartouw (supercargo) with Wijnberg (assistant), Arends (bookkeeper), and Kuijper (koopkeeper); Karsseboom (supercargo) with H. Klinkert (assistant), Alphusius (bookkeeper), and Teschemacher (bookkeeper); and Van Braam (supercargo) with Rocquette (assistant), Hemmingson (bookkeeper), and Van Veen (bookkeeper) (NA NFC 29, 23 October

1766); in 1779, H. Klinkert (supercargo) with A. Benthem (assistant) and B. Nebbens (bookkeeper); S. van Karnebeek (supercargo) with A. Boers (assistant) and B. Idemans (bookkeeper); S. Certon (supercargo) with Hemmingson (supercargo), A. Rhenius (assistant), and W. in 't Anker (bookkeeper); and S. Klinkert (supercargo) with A. Serrurier (assistant) and B. Lunt (bookkeeper) (NA NFC 42, 30 October 1779); and in 1780, Karnebeek (supercargo) with Benthem (assistant) and Idemans (bookkeeper); Hemmingson (supercargo) with Rhenius (assistant) and Nebbens (bookkeeper); and S. Klinkert (supercargo) with Serrurier (assistant) and Lunt (bookkeeper). See NA NFC 43, Resolution of the Trade Council, 25 October 1780.

Notes to Chapter Four

¹ The Canton System was specially designed for the European trade with China from the eighteenth century until the First Opium War. As for this system, see Li Shiyao 李侍尧, "Qianlong ershisinian yingjili tongshang an" 乾隆二十四年英吉利通商案 [Case of the English Petition for Trade in the 24th Year of the Qianlong Emperor] of "Li Shiyao zhe san" 李侍尧折三 [The Third Memorial to the Throne by Li Shiyao], in *Shiliao xunkan*, Vol. 9, 307-310; Morse, *The International Relations*, Vols I-III, passim.

² It is difficult to fix the exact period of the off-season for European traders at Macao, as it varied for the different companies each year. But, generally speaking, the off-season of roughly four months would start from the end of February, March, or April, and last to the end of June, July, or August.

³ The highest civil official with authority over the Provinces of Guangdong 广东 and Guangxi 广西.

⁴ The subordinate colleague of the Viceroy in matters relating to Guangdong Province.

⁵ The Imperial Commissioner of the Guangdong Customs House, with headquarters in Canton.

⁶ The principal Hong merchant Poan Keequa, in alliance with other great Hong merchants, applied to establish the Co-hong to monopolize the European trade. See Liang Tingnan 梁廷楠 (ed.), *Yue haiguan zhi* 粤海关志 [The Chronicle of Guangdong Customs House] (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1968), Vol. 25, 1797; Ch'en, *The Insolvency*, 8. An earlier association of such kind appeared as early as the end of 1720 but only lasted for one year. See Morse, *The Chronicles*, Vol. I, 161-165.

⁷ BL IOR-R/10/4, Diary and consultation, 23 July 1760.

⁸ Ibid., 4 August 1760.

⁹ Ibid., 8 August 1760.

¹⁰ NA VOC 4384, Resolution of the Trade Council, 15 August 1760.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ The eleven Hong merchants were Poan Keequa, Tswaa (Tsja) Suyqua, Tsja Hunqua, Tan Chetqua, Swetja, Tan Tinqu, Consciens Giqua, Theonqua (or The Onqua), Tan Tsjoqua, Foutia, and Tan Hunqua (NA VOC 4387, Letter of M.W. Hulle to other supercargoes, 6 February 1761). After Tan Tinqu's arrest on 15 August, the other ten Hong merchants formed the Co-hong.

¹⁵ See note 10.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ NA VOC 4384, Order of the *Hoppo* to the English and Dutch, 16 August 1760.

¹⁸ These troubles derived from the *Flint* incident between the English merchants and the Chinese authorities in 1759. See Morse, *The Chronicles*, Vol. V, 68-107.

¹⁹ NA VOC 4384, Resolution of the Trade Council, 25 August 1760.

²⁰ Ibid; BL IOR-R/10/4, Diary and consultation, 17 August 1760.

²¹ NA VOC 4384, Request of the Dutch to the *Tsongtu*, 17 August 1760.

²² The reply of the *Tsongtu* to the Dutch in August 1760, which is inserted in the Resolution of the Trade Council. See NA VOC 4384, Resolution of the Trade Council, 25 August 1760.

- ²³ NA VOC 4384, Resolution of the Trade Council, 25 August 1760.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ BL IOR-R/10/4, Diaries and consultations, September-December 1760.
- ²⁶ NA NFC 81, Daily record of the supercargoes, 21 July 1772.
- ²⁷ Ibid., 22 July 1772.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 1 August 1772.
- ²⁹ NA NFC 81, Daily records of the supercargoes, 15 and 19 August 1772.
- ³⁰ NA NFC 81, Daily record of the supercargoes, 25 August 1772.
- ³¹ NA NFC 35, Daily record of E. van Braam, 28 August 1772. The text of his records is inserted in the Resolution of the Trade Council in the same year.
- ³² Being assisted by the Chinese interpreter, he was the accredited representative of the Senate in all dealings with the Chinese officials, and was accorded the grade of a junior mandarin by the Chinese authorities. See C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800* (Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), 45-46.
- ³³ NA NFC 35, Resolution of the Trade Council, 31 August 1772.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ The territory of Macao consisted of the Macao Peninsula and two islands, Taipa (Dangzai 氹仔) and Coloane (Luhuan 路环).
- ³⁶ NA NFC 81, Daily record of the supercargoes, 2 September 1772.
- ³⁷ NA NFC 81, Daily record of the supercargoes, 3 September 1772.
- ³⁸ NA NFC 35, Resolution of the Trade Council, 3 September 1772.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ NA NFC 81, Daily record of the supercargoes, 4 September 1772.
- ⁴¹ NA NFC 35, Resolutions of the Trade Council, 4 and 5 September 1772.
- ⁴² Qing soldiers guarded the Bocca Tigris to the Pearl River with numerous forts and batteries, through where the Western ships had to pass and be checked before reaching Whampoa.
- ⁴³ NA NFC 81, Daily records of the supercargoes, 5 and 6 September 1772.
- ⁴⁴ NA NFC 81, Daily record of the supercargoes, 10 September 1772.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., 11 September 1772.
- ⁴⁶ Yayi 亚乙 (or Yadi 亚帝), who together with three other colleagues, Allay 亚日, Attay 亚佐 and Adjo 亚礼 (or 亚礼) served the European companies, under the name of the "Whampoa Comprador Company" 黄埔买办. See NA VOC 4387, Receipts and statements of the compradors, 6 October and 4 December 1760.
- ⁴⁷ Its location was known by several different names, for example, the "Bocca Tigris Roads", the "2nd Bar anchorage" or "the Bogue". See Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, 268 and 280.
- ⁴⁸ NA NFC 81, Daily record of the supercargoes, 12 September 1772.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., 13 September 1772.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., 16 September 1772.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., 24 September 1772.
- ⁵² Ibid., 25 September 1772.
- ⁵³ On 29 November, the Dutch received a grand chop for the *Herstelder*. On the morning of 2 December, the *Herstelder* passed by Macao. See NA NFC 81, Daily record of the supercargoes, 29 November 1772.
- ⁵⁴ Boxer, *Portuguese Society*, 48, 50, and 70.
- ⁵⁵ NA NFC 44, Resolutions of the Trade Council, 21 August and 15 October 1781.
- ⁵⁶ NA NFC 292, Letter from the Dutch supercargoes to the English supercargoes, 21 August 1781; BL IOR-G/12/72-73, Diary and consultation, 22 August 1781.
- ⁵⁷ BL IOR-G/12/72-73, Letter from the English supercargoes to the Dutch supercargoes, 23 August 1781.
- ⁵⁸ BL IOR-G/12/72-73, Chop of the *Tsongtu*, *Fooyuern*, and *Hoppo*, 9 September 1781.
- ⁵⁹ BL IOR-G/12/72-73, Diary and consultation, 2 October 1781.
- ⁶⁰ BL IOR-G/12/72-73, Edict of the *Fooyuern* to the English supercargoes, 2 October 1781.

⁶¹ This judgment was strongly expressed by the English supercargoes in their diary. See BL IOR-G/12/72-73, Diary and consultation, 14 February 1781.

⁶² BL IOR-G/12/66, Diaries and consultations, 16 October - 3 November 1779; 1 March - 17 April 1780.

⁶³ The detailed account of sundry stores and a chest of gold and pearls are annexed to the paper. See BL IOR-G/12/72-73, Diary and consultation, 28 October 1781.

⁶⁴ For the capture of the Chinese junk, see BL IOR-G/12/76, Diary and consultation, 25 April 1782. After Captain McClary returned to Bengal in July 1782, the Governor-General and Supreme Court of Bengal charged him with murdering several Malays in the Straits of Malacca. Finally, Captain McClary was released because of lack of evidence.

⁶⁵ The incident of cutting down the flagstaff in Chapter Two may be a good example.

⁶⁶ The examples can be found in Chapter Three.

⁶⁷ J.L. Blussé, "Divesting a Myth: Seventeenth Century Dutch-Portuguese Rivalry in the Far East", in Anthony Disney and Emily Booth, *Vasco Da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 387.

⁶⁸ Examples of this are given in Chapter Two.

Notes to Chapter Five

¹ The data on the homeward- as well as outward-bound voyages of the VOC ships can be found in Bruijn et al. (eds), *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping*, Vols II and III.

² There still were a few exceptions. For example, the *Voorschoten* departed from Canton late on 1 March 1788, and arrived home on 1 June 1789; the *Rozenburg* left Canton on 20 December 1792, but only arrived home on 19 February 1794. See Bruijn et al. (eds), *Dutch-Asiatic shipping*, Vol. III, 542 and 564.

³ Some descriptions of the chambers which sent members to the board of the Gentlemen Seventeen as well as the China Committee can be found in the first section of Chapter One; but for more detailed information about the chambers, Gastra's *The Dutch East India Company* (20-22) should be read carefully.

⁴ This was because the Hollandsdiep in the south and the Waddenzee and Zuiderzee in the north were too shallow to allow the deeply loaded China ships to sail to the chamber cities. Detailed descriptions of how the chambers unloaded their return cargoes and loaded the out-going goods can be found in such monographs as *The Dutch East India Company* by Gastra, *De Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Utrecht: Teleac/NOT, 1997) by Els M. Jacobs, *Nederlanders ontdekken Australië* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1988) by J.P. Sigmond and L.H. Zuiderbaan, and *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping* by Bruijn et al. (eds).

⁵ N.W. Posthumus, *Nederlandsche prijsgeschiedenis: scheepsarcheologische vondsten op het Zuidland* (Leiden: Brill, 1943), dl. I, lxxiv.

⁶ A discussion of the connection between the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War and the VOC China trade can be found in Chapter Six.

⁷ See Appendix 2; Jörg, *Porcelain*, 199.

⁸ The only exception was the year of 1731, in which it is dated on 15 June.

⁹ Broeze, "Het einde", 124-177.

¹⁰ The auction dates for all chambers in Appendix 6 are simply left out by the author.

¹¹ In Jörg's opinion, the cargoes of the return ships from China were sold at the autumn sales in November or December (*Porcelain*, 130), but this does not appear to be correct if we look at the above-mentioned archival records.

¹² Ter Molen, *Thema thee*, 21.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ The examples can be traced throughout the records of NA VOC 13377. See Appendix 8.

¹⁵ NA NFC 73, Daily Record of the supercargoes, 3 November 1764.

¹⁶ To mix Bohea, Congou, and Souchong with Ankay was practised by the Dutch trade representatives after they bought the teas from the Chinese tea-supplying agents in Canton. For some remarks about this custom, see notes 12 and 92 in Chapter Three.

¹⁷ See note 15.

¹⁸ For a description of this custom, see note 105 in Chapter Three.

¹⁹ One "Company" or Chinese picul was equal to 122½ pounds during the direct China trade of the VOC in the eighteenth century.

²⁰ In 1791, the VOC was granted the monopoly to sell tea in the Dutch Republic. The short-lived monopoly of the VOC on selling tea on the domestic market requires some further explanation. In the early 1780s, the VOC China trade found itself facing strong competition from the Americans who, after the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War in 1781 and the subsequent confirmation of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, immediately proclaimed the freedom of overseas trade and sent out their first China ship which arrived in Canton as early as 28 August 1784. From the late 1780s, the American trade with China surpassed the VOC China trade in volume and occupied the second place in Canton. See Jean Gordon Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade, 1784-1844* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984); Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, *The Empress of China* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Arts, 1984).

Tea, the staple product in the American China trade, was destined not only for the home market, the Americans had also set their sights on the European markets, particularly in the Dutch Republic and Germany. See Lai Delie 赖德烈, *Zaoqi zhongmei guanxi shi* 早期中美关系史 [The Early Sino-American Relations] (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1963), 73. Noting the nascent competition, the States-General judged the Dutch Company's importation and sale of tea in the Dutch Republic to be under threat, and therefore it decided to forbid the import and sale of all foreign teas in the Low Countries. To shoot the bolt well and truly home, the monopoly resolution was announced on 15 February 1791 (P.H. van der Kemp, *Oost-Indië's geldmiddelen: Japansche en Chineesche handel van 1817 op 1818: in- en uitvoerrechten, opium, zout, tolpoorten, kleinzegeel, boschwezen, Decima, Canton* (s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1919), 299-303; Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 137). At the same time, the VOC was ordered to import tea from China in as large a quantity and as good a quality as possible (Van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*, Vol. 11, 279). The VOC had little time left to benefit from this privilege because it went bankrupt a few years later.

²¹ The prices of the various VOC goods fixed by the Zeeland Chamber were exclusively quoted in Flemish pound (*pond*), shilling (*schelling*), and pence (*penning* or *groot*).

²² As shown in Appendix 6, for example, in 1751 and 1755 the Rotterdam Chamber came second to the Amsterdam Chamber and sold more teas than the Zeeland Chamber; in 1759 the Enkhuizen Chamber sold the second largest portion of teas, taking precedence over the Chambers of Rotterdam and Zeeland; in 1784 the Delft Chamber sold more teas than the Zeeland Chamber, and so did the Hoorn Chamber in 1786; in 1789 the Rotterdam Chamber sold the biggest amount of tea, and in 1790 only the Amsterdam Chamber sold teas.

²³ For example, 34.1 per cent in 1745, 34.3 in 1746, 35 in 1747, 34.8 in 1748, 36.3 in 1749, 46.1 in 1752, 44.9 in 1753, 48.8 in 1754, 37.5 in 1761, and 36.1 in 1763; 56 in 1750 and 72.3 in 1751. See Appendix 6.

²⁴ See Appendices 4, 5, and 6; more detailed information can be obtained from Van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*.

²⁵ Van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*, Vol. 8, 597 and 757.

²⁶ See Appendices 4, 5, and 6.

²⁷ NA NFC 191-251; NA VOC 4381-4384; NA 1.04.18.02, NA BGB 10767-10799.

²⁸ The amount of teas demanded by the China Committee can be found in the annual instruction of the China Committee to the supercargoes in Canton (NA VOC 4381 and 4542-4547). It is feasible to compare the amounts of tea demanded with those purchased, relying on Appendix 4.

²⁹ See note 101 in Chapter Three.

³⁰ Hoh-cheung and Lorna H. Mui, *The Management of Monopoly*, 13-22.

³¹ Ter Molen, *Thema thee*, 47.

³² Isaac Commelin, *Begin ende voortgahg van de Vereenighde Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie: Vervattende de voornaemste reysen, by de inwoonderen der selver provincien derwaerts gedaen: alles nevens de beschrijvinghen der rijcken, eylanden, havenen, revieren, stroomen, rheeden, winden, diepten en ondiepten: mitsgaders religien,*

manieren, aerdt, politie ende regeeringhe der volckeren: oock meede haerder speceryen, drooghen, geldt ende andere koopmanschappen met veele discoursen verrijckt: nevens eenighe koopere platen verciert: nut ende dienstigh alle curieuse, ende de andere zee-varende liefhebbers (Amsterdam: Jan Jansz., 1646), dl. 2, 102.

It is interesting that in the late seventeenth century Dutch public opinion about the power of tea, whether this be true or not, was comprehensively summed up by Dr Cornelis Bontekoe who listed twenty-six “merits”, for example: 1) to purify the coarse blood; 2) to expel nightmares; 3) to relieve pressure of the brain; 4) to alleviate and cure all forms of dizziness and head-aches; 5) to promote the curing of dropsy; [...]; 7) to absorb all excess fluids; 8) to relieve all constipation; 9) to clarify vision; 10) to eradicate choler and calm the liver; [...]; 12) to ease a disturbed spleen; 13) to expel drowsiness; 14) to eradicate foolishness; 15) to keep awake and alert; 16) to strengthen the heart; 17) to ease anxiety; 18) to act as a carminative; [...]; 21) to sharpen the intelligence; [...]; 24) to purge gall gently; 25) as an aphrodisiac useful in early marriage; and 26) to quench thirst. See Eelco Hesse, *Thee: de oogleden van Bodhidharma: de wereld van de thee: het theedrinken in China, Tibet en Japan, thee in Europa, bereiding van thee, kruidenthe, theegelei, theezetten en thee-recepten* (Den Haag: Bert Bakker, 1975), 119; Ter Molen, *Thema thee*, 23.

³³ Ter Molen, *Thema thee*, 44.

³⁴ GAU, Inventory II, N 354, “Registers of acts of permission for doing pub-business or for selling strong drinks, light beer, coffee, and tea, designed according to the resolution of city council on 28 August 1752” (5 vols); N 355, “General registers of the wholesalers and licensed victualers of coffee, chickpea, and tea in the city and its surrounding, who have sworn their oath on the ordinance of the Sates over the impost over coffee, 23 April 1755” (2 vols).

³⁵ Hieronymus Sweerts, *Het derde, en laatste deel der koddige en ernstige opschriften op luyffens, wagens, glazen, borden, graven, en elders* (Amsterdam: Jeroen Jeronsz., 1700), 103.

³⁶ This citation is extracted from the ordinance on the impost of coffee, chickpea and tea, Utrecht 1744. See Ter Molen, *Thema thee*, 47.

³⁷ Broeze, “Het einde”, 128.

³⁸ GAA, Bibliotheek N 40.03.012.24 and N 61.01.016.33, “Advertising Materials”.

³⁹ Although the emblem of the “VOC” on the chest tell us about the relationship of the shop with the renowned Company, it is difficult to know precisely when the patent was obtained from the VOC.

⁴⁰ All the written information about the shop “The Cloverleaf” was obtained from Marion de Vries-Jacobs, the present owner of this shop.

⁴¹ Jacobus Scheltus (ed.), *Groot placat-boek, vervattende de placaten, ordonnantien ende edicten van de [...] Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden, ende van de [...] Staten van Hollandt en West-Vrieslandt, mitsgaders van de [...] Staten van Zeeland* (’s-Gravenhage: P. Scheltus, 1705), dl. 4, 713.

⁴² CAS 3873, Announcement of the tax on coffee, tea, chocolate et al., 1734; four different bills were presented in the years 1734, 1735, 1736, and 1740 on coffee, tea, chocolate, sorbet, spa-water, lemonade and other mixed beverages. See G. van Rijn, *Atlas van Stolk te Rotterdam: Katalogus der historie, spot- en zinneprenten betrekkelijk de geschiedenis van Nederland, verzameld door A. van Stolk* (Amsterdam, 1901), 135.

⁴³ BHIC, *Plakkaten* 2237, 1 October 1724. The taxes were levied on a sliding scale relating to the household income: a household with an income of less than 4,000 guilders paid four guilders; that with 4,000 to 10,000 guilders paid six guilders; with 10,000 to 20,000 guilders paid twelve guilders in duties; a household with an income of more than 20,000 guilders paid fifteen guilders in duties.

⁴⁴ P.C. Molhuysen (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit* (’s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1920), “Act of Senate in the year of 1639 under the decision of Rector D. Philippus Reinhardus Vitriarius” (*Acta Senatus anno 1693 Rectore Magnifico D. Philippo Reinhardo Vitriario*), dl. 4, 109.

⁴⁵ See note 42.

⁴⁶ BHIC, *Plakkaten* 1607, 17 May 1776.

⁴⁷ BHIC, *Plakkaten* 2157, 2 September 1791.

⁴⁸ F.S. Gaastra, "The Dutch East India Company in National and International Perspective", in Philippe Haudère, René Estienne, and Gérard Le Bouëdec, *Les flottes des Compagnies des Indes, 1600-1857* (Vincennes: Service Historique de la Marine, 1996), 310.

⁴⁹ Broeze, "Het einde", 131.

⁵⁰ Van der Kemp, *Oost-Indië's geldmiddelen*, 299-302.

⁵¹ Both the Russian Government caravan trade and private trade were engaged in the tea business with China, but in 1762 the Government caravan trade came to an end, and then the private traders began to dominate the tea trade. See Zhuang, *Tea, Silver, Opium and War*, 142-146.

⁵² NA VOC 4544, Demand of return by the China Committee for 1770, 20 September 1768.

⁵³ Broeze, "Het einde", 134.

⁵⁴ Hoh-cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, "Smuggling", 50.

⁵⁵ NA (UK) PRO 30/8/354:247, *Memorial on Smuggling*, 12 March 1784.

Notes to Chapter Six

¹ Ingrid G. Dillo, *De nadagen van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie 1783-1795: Schepen en zeevarenden* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1992), 28.

² J. Aalbers, "Het machtsverval van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden 1713-1741", in J. Aalbers and A.P. van Goudoever (eds), *Machtsverval in de internationale context* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff: Forsten, 1986), 32.

³ For the nature, beginning, and conduct of the war, see Reginald Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany during the Seven Years' War* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966); Lawrence Jay Oliva, *Misalliance: A Study of French Policy in Russia during the Seven Years' War* (New York: New York University Press, 1964); Herbert H. Kaplan, *Russia and the Outbreak of the Seven Years' War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

⁴ For a further explanation of why and how the Republic decided to retain the neutralist policy at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, see Alice Clare Carter, *The Dutch Republic in Europe in the Seven Years' War* (London: Macmillan, 1971); Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1113-1115.

⁵ M.G. Buist, "The Sinews of War: The Role of Dutch Finance in European Politics (c. 1750-1815)", in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (eds), *Britain and the Netherlands* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), Vol. 1, 126.

⁶ Els M. Jacobs argues that the direct trade with China in the second half of the eighteenth century did not really prepare the VOC for battle in the Chinese tea trade, because in that half century the financial situation of the VOC was worrying and the directors had great difficulty finding ways to decrease its indebtedness, and in such a situation the Gentlemen Seventeen could not release extra funds for the business in China. This thesis needs to be analysed more deeply, and it is probably very true for the years 1780-1795 when the VOC suffered a loss on the total Company sales and the Chinese tea sales. Yet, in the period 1750-1780 the VOC earned profits of 3,100,000, 14,700,000, and 13,100,000 guilders per decade from the total Company sales, and in the years 1757-1781 the VOC earned gross profits of 17,471,052 and 14,574,623 guilders each eleven years. See Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië*, 148; J.P. de Korte, *De jaarlijkse financiële verantwoording in de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1984), Appendix I (D and E); Jörg, *Porcelain*, Appendix 2; Figure 3 in Chapter Five, and Appendices 5 and 6.

⁷ Jan de Vries and A.M. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 46.

⁸ Ibid; Peter Razzell, *Essays in English Population History* (London: Caliban Books, 1994), 12.

⁹ Razzell, *Essays in English Population History*, 623.

¹⁰ Especially the three security merchants of the VOC, who were supported by the small Hong merchants, often came into conflict with Poan Keequa, the president of the Co-hong, about some of his abuse of power (NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 23 March 1764); sometimes its members themselves were also confused about how to strictly apply the regulations (NA NFC 73, Daily record of the supercargoes, 11 April 1764); some new regulations were even issued six years later in 1766 by the *Tsongtu* (NA NFC 75, Daily record of the supercargoes, 29 January 1766). These chaotic situations were certainly advantageous to the Europeans to do their business in Canton.

¹¹ In February 1771, *Tsongtu* Li Shiyao ordered the Co-hong be dissolved, and the European traders could negotiate with the respective Hong merchants with whom they wanted to deal. According to the English sources, the *Tsongtu* did so at the request of the English who bribed the latter with 100,000 taels via Poan Keequa. See Morse, *The Chronicles*, Vol. I, 301.

¹² I completely concur with the views of Van Dyke in his detailed study of the inner workings of the port of Canton. See Van Dyke, *Port Canton*, passim.

¹³ The Dutch Republic was the first nation to salute the flag of the United States of America.

¹⁴ Jan Wilhelm Schulte Nordholt, *The Dutch Republic and American Independence* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 150-156.

¹⁵ Vries and Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 491.

¹⁶ Cornelis Christiaan Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and the Guianas 1680-1791* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1985), 56, 147-151, and 583.

¹⁷ Jur van Goor, *De Nederlandse koloniën: geschiedenis van de Nederlandse expansie, 1600-1975* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgeverij, 1993), 175-177.

¹⁸ Jur van Goor, "The Colonial Factor in Anglo-Dutch Relations, 1780-1820", in: Nigel Ashton and Duco Hellema (eds), *Unspoken Allies: Anglo-Dutch Relations since 1780* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), 22.

¹⁹ H.P.H. Jansen, *Kalendarium: geschiedenis van de Lage Landen in jaartallen* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1999), 141.

²⁰ Jörg, *Porcelain*, 200.

²¹ Gaastra, "War, Competition and Collaboration: Relations between the English and Dutch East India Companies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in H.V. Bowen et al. (eds), *The Worlds of the East India Company* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), 66.

²² J.J. Steur has calculated the total loss at 43.5 instead of 43 million guilders. See Steur, *Herstel of ondergang*, 155. All their calculations are derived from NA VOC 191, Resolution of the Gentlemen Seventeen, 3 July 1783.

²³ Vries and Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 455.

²⁴ Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 167-168.

²⁵ Gaastra, "De organisatie van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie", in *Inventaris van het archief van de Gouverneur-Generaal en Raden van Indië 1612-1811* (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2002), 25.

²⁶ E.S. van Eijck van Heslinga, *Van Compagnie naar koopvaardij: de scheepvaartverbinding van de Bataafse Republiek met de koloniën in Azië 1795-1806* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1988), 35.

²⁷ In 1784, businessmen from Philadelphia and New York launched the direct Sino-American trade with the ship the *Empress of China*. Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (New York: AMA Press, 1970), 1-12.

²⁸ Zhuang, *Tea, Silver, Opium and War*, 117.

²⁹ Broeze, "Het einde", 132.

³⁰ Hoh-cheung Mui and L.H. Mui, *The Management of Monopoly*, xi.

³¹ The duties on tea were at least 80 per cent of the value, but frequently more than 100 per cent.

³² Hoh-cheung Mui and L.H. Mui, "The Commutation Act", 234.

³³ The Dutch business practice of supplying goods (tin and pepper) in exchange for goods (tea) was skilfully imitated by English country traders. They then offered the earnings in silver to the EIC trade representatives in Canton for bills of exchange drawn on

London. In such a way, the EIC had enough silver for the purchase of tea. See NA VOC 4435, Letter from the Dutch supercargoes to the China Committee, 10 December 1787; Morse, *The Chronicles*, Vol. II, 119-121, 137, 141-144; Jörg, *Porcelain*, 42.

³⁴ An import duty of 15 per cent was fixed on Bohea; 22 per cent on Souchong; 45 per cent on Hyson; and 27 per cent on other green teas. See A. Bierens de Haan et al., *Memorie boek van Pakhuismeesteren*, 51.

³⁵ In 1787, there was a great scarcity of silver in Canton because of the costly war against the rebels on Taiwan, for which the merchants in Canton were also forced to help to foot the bill. See James W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa: Historical View from 1430-1900; History, People Resources, and Commercial Prospects: Tea, Camphor, Sugar, Gold, Coal, Sulphur, Economical Plants and other Productions* (Taihoku, 1903), 79-80.

³⁶ The Dutch supercargoes were overwhelmed by a storm of complaints about bad quality Bohea from the Republic. See NA NFC 169, Letters from the China Committee to the supercargoes, 8 and 26 November 1790.

³⁷ See note 15 in Chapter Five.

³⁸ In the years 1794-1795, the High Government, at the suggestion of the Dutch chief A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, even sent an embassy under Isaac Titsingh to Peking, in order to obtain better trading conditions and score over the EIC. See J.J.L. Duyvendak, "The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court (1794-1795)", *T'oung Pao* 34 (Leiden: Sinology Institute, 1938): 1-137.

³⁹ Eijck van Heslinga, *Van Compagnie naar koopvaardij*, 93.