

# The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on His Embassy to China and His Reports to the Company, 1792-4.

## Part I: Instructions from the Company.

Edited, and with an Introduction, by  
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FROM 1600 until 1833 the East India Company held a monopoly of all British trade with China. Private individuals, licensed by the Company to reside and trade in India, were permitted to carry on the so-called "Country" trade between India and China, and the commanders and officers of the Company's ships were permitted to carry on "Private" trade in minor articles and to a limited extent in tea and raw silk directly between England and China. With these exceptions British trade was a closed monopoly, but despite this favourable situation the Company found much to complain of because the Chinese had their own ideas of monopoly and of how foreign trade should be carried on.

In China all foreign trade, from 1757 onward by law, and for half a century before that by custom, was confined to Canton, and at Canton it was subject to such restrictions, regulations, and impositions that its existence was precarious and the life of the trader who resided there was always unpleasant and sometimes in danger. During the trading season, from early autumn until late spring, foreign traders were closely confined to the factories outside the walled city of Canton provided by Chinese merchants. Women were not permitted to come to the factories, and the traders were given little chance for exercise or recreation. During the summer, when ships were not at Canton, the traders were forced to reside at Macao, a Portuguese settlement near Canton, and the cost of this annual migration was subject to constantly

increasing charges. Foreign trade was confined to the Co-long, a loose association of a dozen Hong merchants who were responsible to the Hoppo (Imperial Customs Officer) and provincial officials for the payment of duties and the good behaviour of the foreigners. Because of this system the Europeans were never sure of what duties they were paying, while the Chinese merchants recompensed themselves for the extortions of the officials by concealed levies upon the foreign trade. Finally the Chinese, applying their doctrine of mutual responsibility, tried to hold the chief of a national group at Canton responsible for the acts of all members of his nationality and insisted that in homicide cases the guilty foreigner should be surrendered to a Chinese magistrate for trial, a proceeding equivalent to conviction.

As the direct result of a particularly forceful application of this last principle in the *Lady Hughes* affair of 1784, which led to the execution of a British gunner who had accidentally killed two minor mandarins while firing a salute, and in an endeavour to abolish the above described system of trade and to put British relations with China upon a treaty basis, the Company and Government resolved in 1787 to send an Embassy to China. Another object of the mission was to obtain commercial privileges which would extend British trade to North Chinese ports, thus helping the Company to beat down the competition of its Continental rivals and make London the European distributing centre for Chinese goods. This first Embassy, under the direction of Lieut.-Colonel Charles Cathcart, M.P., failed because of the Ambassador's death on the way to China.

The idea was revived in 1791 as the favourite project of Henry Dundas, chief member of the Board of Control and Secretary of State for Home Affairs. Although the Company was no longer especially favourable to the idea since it was already monopolizing the China trade, as a result of the Commutation Act of 1784 reducing the duties on tea, added emphasis was given to the project by the demands of the rising

northern industrialists that the Government should find markets for their products. As a result the most elaborate commercial mission ever yet sent to the East was prepared to be conducted by George Viscount Macartney, former Ambassador to Russia and Governor of Madras. A more competent person could not have been chosen, and no expense was spared in the preparations. Lord Macartney carried with him, besides letters to the Emperor of China, credentials to the rulers of Japan, Cochin China, and all other Princes and Potentates of the East. After his negotiations at Peking for enlarged commercial privileges and the opening of new ports, he was to proceed to these other countries in an endeavour to open the whole East to British trade. He carried with him specimens of all types of British manufactures which were to be distributed in the various countries in an effort to establish a taste for British goods. Sir George Leonard Staunton, Secretary to the Embassy, carried credentials to continue the mission in case of the Ambassador's absence, disability, or death.

The Embassy sailed from Portsmouth on 26th September, 1792. Although it was officially a government mission and the Ambassador carried instructions from Henry Dundas, the cost of the Embassy was paid by the Company, and the Ambassador consequently received detailed instructions (Document No. 1 below) from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. The Embassy was carried on H.M.S. *Lion*, the presents were carried on the Indiaman *Hindustan*, and the ships were attended by the brig *Jackall* and later the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Endeavour* as tenders. After stopping outside of Canton, where its coming had been announced by a letter from the Chairman to the Viceroy (Document No. 2), the Embassy proceeded to the neighbourhood of Tientsin, where it disembarked and was transported by boat and carriage to Peking. From thence the Ambassador and part of his suite proceeded to Jehol where he was received by the Emperor

on 14th September, 1793, and took part in the ceremonies attending the Emperor's birthday on 17th September. At Jehol and after returning to Peking the Ambassador attempted to carry on negotiations but was rebuffed at every turn. His requests were refused and he was dismissed from Peking on 7th October.

The Embassy was conducted by Sung Yün,<sup>1</sup> a member of the Council of State, from Peking to near Hangchow, where part of the mission rejoined the *Hindustan*, which had gone to Chusan from Tientsin, the *Lion* having already returned to Canton. The Ambassador and the remainder of the mission were conducted overland through Chekiang, Kiangsi, and Kuangtung provinces to Canton by Ch'ang Lin,<sup>2</sup> newly appointed Viceroy at Canton. During the course of this journey and after his return to Canton Lord Macartney received many favourable assurances from Sung and Ch'ang which led him to believe that a continued correspondence might be kept up with Peking and that abuses at Canton would be remedied. During the course of the journey and while at Canton he took every available opportunity to collect information about the products and manufactures of China which might be useful to England or to the Company in India.

While at Canton the Ambassador dispatched two letters (Documents 3 and 4) to the Company, giving an account of his mission and a report on his findings, and one letter (Document No. 6) to Sir John Shore, Governor-General of Bengal, giving some account of the mission and a report on the economic plants he was sending to India. Because of the War with France the Ambassador gave up his plans for going to Japan and other places in the East, and decided to have the *Lion* convoy the fleet of Indiamen home. The fleet sailed from Macao on 17th March, 1794, and reached

<sup>1</sup> Sung Yün 松筠 (1753-1835).

<sup>2</sup> Ch'ang Lin 長麟 (D. 1811).

Portsmouth on 4th September of the same year, from which place Macartney directed a further report to the Company (Document No. 5). As some questions arose about the desirability of sending certain products to China recommended by Lord Macartney, he had occasion to direct a further letter to the Company in November, 1794 (Document No. 7). An account of the cost of the mission has been appended in Document No. 8.

The documents to follow, besides being of general historical importance inasmuch as they indicate what the Company wished the Ambassador to do and give an official account of his mission in China, are of great interest in throwing light upon early efforts of the Company to introduce tea culture into India, to improve silk culture in India, and to find out about other Chinese economic plants and manufacturing processes. They only indirectly shed light upon the first efforts of England's northern industrial towns to break into the China trade. Document No. 1, containing the instructions of the Company to Lord Macartney, is particularly valuable. So far as the writer is aware no copy of it is now known to exist in England. It is not preserved in the India Office, the Public Record Office, or the British Museum, and only imperfect copies are to be found in the Cornell Manuscripts, *Macartney Correspondence*, ii, No. 27 and v, No. 224. The version here reproduced is the original delivered to Lord Macartney, which the writer was fortunate enough to procure from a British bookseller in the fall of 1931 along with twenty-three other enclosures with the letter. This collection is now the property of the State College of Washington at Pullman, Washington. The other documents, while of equal interest, are not so rare and are to be found sometimes in duplicate and triplicate among the *China: Factory Records* (vols. xx, xcii, xciii) in the India Office, while Documents Nos. 2 and 7 are to be found at Cornell.

The two best manuscript collections for the study of the East India Company's relations with China are to be found

in the India Office in London where some 364 volumes relating to the China factory are preserved, and in the Wason Collection on China in Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York, where forty-four volumes, principally transcripts from the Company's records prepared for Lord Macartney's use and papers of his relating to the China Embassy, are preserved. For more complete accounts of the Embassy and for further information on details mentioned in the documents to follow than is given in this introduction and the notes, the reader is referred to *Macartney's Journal*, to be found in John Barrow's *Account of the Public Life . . . of the Earl of Macartney* (London, 1807), ii, and in Helen M. Robbin's *Our First Ambassador to China* (London, 1908); to H. B. Morse, *Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China* (Oxford, 1926-9), especially volume ii; to Sir George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (London, 1797), and to the writer's recent study *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1750-1800* (Pullman, Washington: Research Studies of the State College of Washington, 1936).

STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON,  
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON.

[Document No. 1]

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S INSTRUCTIONS TO LORD  
MACARTNEY,<sup>1</sup> 8TH SEPTEMBER, 1792

The Right Honble Lord Viscount Macartney  
K.B. His Britannick Majesty's  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
to the Emperor of China etc. etc. etc.

My Lord,

The Right Honorable Henry Dundas, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State having been pleased to communicate to us a Draft of the intended Instructions for your

<sup>1</sup> MSS. State College of Washington, *Pritchard Collection of Macartney Documents on China*, i, No. 1.

Excellency on the Embassy to China,<sup>1</sup> we beg leave to state to your Excellency what occurs to us on behalf of the East India Company, whose interest is so deeply involved in your Excellency's success, and who will consequently support the expense of the Embassy.

We shall avoid as much as possible touching upon those points which are the objects of instruction from His Majesty's Ministers; and We refer your Excellency to a Copy of the Instructions to the late Colonel Cathcart [No. 24 in the Packet],<sup>2</sup> for an enumeration of those grievances under which the Company's Factory at Canton have hitherto laboured. We enclose moreover for your Excellency's information Copy of a Letter [No. 25]<sup>3</sup> from the Court of Directors to Mess<sup>rs</sup>. [Henry] Browne, [Eyles] Irwin and [William] Jackson, appointed to form a Secret and Superintending Committee of Supra Cargos for the Company's affairs in China, and who sailed from England in the *Thetis*<sup>4</sup>; of another Letter to those gentlemen from ourselves [the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company], acquainting them with the intention to send an Embassy [No. 26]<sup>5</sup>; also of one

<sup>1</sup> Published in H. B. Morse, *Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China* (Oxford, 1926-9), ii, 232-242. Dated 8th September, 1792.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. State College of Washington, *Pritchard Collection*, i, No. 24. Colonel Charles Cathcart was sent to China as Ambassador in 1787 but died on the outward voyage. The instructions are dated 30th November, 1787, and are signed by Lord Sydney. The unsigned instructions are printed in Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 160-7, and an earlier draft signed by Henry Dundas, who actually wrote them, is printed in Saxe Bannister, *Journal of the First French Embassy to China, 1698-1700* (London, 1859), pp. 209-226.

<sup>3</sup> The three above-mentioned men were sent to China in the spring of 1792 to reform the management of the Canton factory and to co-operate with the Macartney Embassy. The letter in question outlines principles to be followed in the reform, and directs them to obtain as much information about the growth and manufacture of silk as possible and transmit it to India. The letter is in MSS. Cornell University, *Macartney Documents*, xii, 11th April, 1792.

<sup>4</sup> *Thetis*, Indiaman of 801 tons, sailed for China on 5th May, 1792.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. State College of Washington, *Pritchard Collection*, i, No. 26. This letter is dated 25th April, 1792, and is marked "Secret". After pointing out that an Embassy is to be sent it directs the Secret and Superintending Committee to procure an audience with the Viceroys as soon as possible, to announce to him the coming of the Embassy, and to deliver

from the Chairman addressed to the Viceroy of Canton [No. 28],<sup>1</sup> announcing the Embassy in form, for the information of the Emperor.

to him for transmission to the Emperor a letter from the Chairman announcing the Embassy. It then goes on to indicate the aims of the mission, cautions the supercargoes against antagonizing the Chinese or complaining against abuses in such a way as to endanger the success of the Embassy, and directs them to co-operate in every way with the Ambassador and to supply him with information about the trade of all nations at Canton. The following extracts from the letter are worth quoting:—

“ But although the avowed and ostensible purpose of the Embassy is complement and conciliation, we hope that means may be found to procure substantial privileges and advantages for the Company. . . .

“ We are very much inclined to think that however desirous we may be to remove every complaint, yet remonstrance against trifling abuses may not be worthy our notice on the present occasion ; and that attempts to correct them may prove the means of frustrating the endeavours of the Ambassador to procure more solid and substantial advantages. . . .

“ It will be a most important point to secure a favorable and gracious reception of the Embassy, on the part of the Emperor ; in order to impress the minds of the Natives and of the Mandarins particularly with an opinion that our representations will be well received at Court. This Idea will check their disposition to impose, and probably produce more permanent advantages than any positive orders on the part of the Emperor the execution of which might be evaded.

“ If the result of the Embassy shall tend to conciliate the Chinese Government, the Mandarins, and the Natives in general towards the Company, and we can procure a proper Establishment to the Northward, we shall be near to the Districts where the Tea is produced, and, as we apprehend, not far from those parts where our Manufactures and particularly Woollens, are consumed. . . .

“ In the latter Case a competition between two Ports would gradually remove those abuses and impositions on our Trade which we conceive exist, in consequence of the establishment of the Co Hong at Canton, and thereby relieve the Ambassador from the task of making any direct remonstrance against the Co Hong. . . .

“ If the Ambassador shall succeed in obtaining an Establishment for the Company to the Northward, you must select two of our Servants well acquainted with the Company's Trade, and with the Customs and Manners of the Chinese, together with two or three of the Younger Servants, who must proceed to the Port or Place, under such orders and regulations as you may think necessary on the occasion, and which must of course depend altogether upon local considerations and circumstances.”

The letter is signed by Francis Baring and J. Smith Burges. The first draft was made by Lord Macartney on 17th March, 1792 (MSS. India Office, *China : Macartney Embassy*, xci, 167-8), but the final draft is much longer.

<sup>1</sup> See Document No. 2, which will appear in a later number of this *Journal*.



We have also enclosed Copies of Reports made by the Court of Directors relative to the Export Trade of the East India Company [No. 11, 12, and 13 in the Book Packet],<sup>1</sup> to the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for the affairs of Trade, in consequence of a requisition for that purpose from their Lordships, in which whatever relates to the Company's Export Trade to China and their future prospects both for China and Japan are fully stated.

Although the documents to which we refer, contain ample, and even voluminous details of the Company's affairs in China, their past and present situation, and future prospects ; yet We find occasion to make further additions, in consequence either of new lights being thrown on the subject ; or that your Excellency proceeding to the Metropolis, instead of an Outport at the extremity of the Empire, We are enabled to enlarge our views, in the hope of acquiring more extensive and useful information, as well as substantial advantage.

But although we shall endeavor to compress our ideas, and avoid repetition as much as possible, We must desire that your Excellency will understand the documents to which we refer, as containing the sense of the Court of Directors relative to their affairs in China, from which we have no intention to deviate ; notwithstanding we do not repeat nor enter into a detail upon most points, in order to avoid unnecessary trouble to your Excellency.

We are decidedly of opinion, that our situation in China has

<sup>1</sup> The Reports referred to are three in number and were made by a Select Committee of the Court of Directors in September, 1791, and January, 1792, to the Lords of Trade. The first Report deals with India, the second with China, and the third with Japan and Persia. They are to be found in Parliamentary Papers, *Accounts and Papers, 1792-3*, xxxviii, No. 774b, 1-3. The Book Packet referred to consisted of twenty-one volumes of material, mainly extracts from the records of the Company's Canton factory. This whole collection is at present in the Wason Collection on China at Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York. Outside of the India Office, it is probably the best available collection for the study of early Anglo-Chinese relations. The Reports form volumes 17-19 of the Collection as now arranged.

been greatly meliorated in every respect, since the immense increase of our Trade,<sup>1</sup> and that it is daily improving. We cannot quote a more convincing proof than the increased demand for British woollens. The imports into China a very few years past, bore a slender proportion to the value of the Exports from that Country by Europeans in general, and the Company in particular: whereas at present the disproportion is by no means considerable, and lessening every year. It is therefore evident that the Chinese are disposed to facilitate our views as much as possible, by promoting the favourite object of the Company, and which we are satisfied is at this moment in a progressive state of improvement.

We are therefore of opinion that the first and most important object is, neither to impair nor injure our present situation, thereby checking those prospects which are decidedly in view.—The grievances stated in the Instructions to Colonel Cathcart are no doubt real; most probably unauthorized: and from the known character of the Emperor for wisdom, justice and equity, the most peremptory orders may be expected, for the redress we are desirous to obtain. But when we consider the amount of what we suffer under most or all of them, and moreover that a representation on the subject is in fact a Charge (perhaps criminal under the Chinese Government) against persons who may be either highly useful or highly prejudicial to the Company on more important occasions, We entertain doubts as to the wisdom or prudence of entering into such details. At this moment the commerce

<sup>1</sup> Reference is here made to the effect of the Commutation Act of 1784 (24 Geo. III, Cap. 38) which reduced the duties on tea imported into England from an average of 119 per cent to a uniform 12½ per cent. The Act put a stop to the smuggling of tea into England, ruined the Company's Continental rivals who were thriving on the smuggling trade, and greatly increased the Company's imports and exports at Canton. The Company's exports of tea from Canton increased from T. 1,480,014 in 1784-5, to T. 4,103,828, in 1790-1, and the value of woollens sold in China increased from T. 614,955 in 1784-5 to T. 1,192,263 in 1790-1 (Earl H. Pritchard, *Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1750-1800* [Pullman, Wash., 1936], pp. 146-150, 191-4, 391, 395).

of the Company suffers severely in consequence of a supposed redress of grievances,<sup>1</sup> although the Edict of the Emperor on the subject alluded to breathes the true spirit of justice, and has been executed in a literal sense.

In suggesting these doubts to your Excellency we mean no more than to request you will be pleased to exercise your own discretion and judgment on the subject, after the best information has been obtained on the spot. Numerous and important changes may happen in the Chinese Government previous to your Excellency's arrival<sup>2</sup>; favorable opportunities may offer, or circumstances happen which we cannot foresee, and of which we are persuaded that your Excellency will avail yourself with zeal and caution, for the benefit of the Company. It is necessary only for us to guard against suffering in a greater degree by an attempt to remove grievances which although heavy are more than compensated by the whole scope of the Company's present Trade with China.

We apprehend that it will be a most desirable circumstance to impress the minds of the Chinese with a favorable opinion of the Embassy, this Country and its commerce, which must produce the happiest effects at Canton or wherever else we may obtain a settlement.

Such an impression may facilitate a most important object, that of obtaining permission to trade at any Port or Ports to the North of Canton.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the Imperial decree of 1780 which settled the debts of certain bankrupt Hong merchants to private British traders and re-established the Co-hong. The Company always insisted that this action led to an increase in prices at Canton, but a study of the Canton prices during the period leads one to think the Company over-emphasized the matter (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-6, 210-11); see note 1, next page.

<sup>2</sup> The possible death of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor and the accession of a new Emperor is here anticipated.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Macartney ultimately requested the opening of Chusan, Ningpo, and Tientsin; permission to establish a warehouse at Peking, and permission to occupy for trading purposes small, detached, and unfortified islands in the neighbourhood of Chusan and Canton. All of the requests were refused (MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 250-261; Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-9).

In pursuing that object and settling the terms upon which permission shall be granted, an opportunity may offer of attempting to abolish the monopoly of the Cohong,<sup>1</sup> which exists at present at Canton.

These points gained, would in our opinion prove more beneficial to the Company than a redress of those grievances under which we labour at present ; and if they can be obtained are more likely to prove permanent. At the same time it will be necessary to have those grievances in view, if a favorable opportunity should offer, and of which your Excellency can avail yourself, with confidence that the attempt will not be productive of consequences more injurious to the Company's interests.

In addition to the objects above mentioned, We apprehend that the best information which can be procured of the Trade, Manufactures and Commerce of the Chinese Empire, and of the Islands adjacent thereto, will comprize very nearly the whole of the Company's views or expectations, to result from the present Embassy ; trusting that your Excellency will exert your known zeal and ability, for the purpose of extending their Import and Export Trade, either by means of the old, or any new channels which may be permitted or discovered, to afford protection to the property and the servants of the Company on every occasion ; and particularly, that the utmost caution be used, not to impair or injure our present situation, and those prospects which are opening before us, and to which We have already alluded.

With regard to the first point, namely, that of impressing the minds of the Chinese with a favorable opinion of the Embassy &c : We trust entirely to your Excellency's ability and tried zeal for the true interests of the Company. The other points will require further explanation. In particular We

<sup>1</sup> A loosely organized association of Hong merchants (merchants licensed to trade with foreigners) which monopolized foreign trade. It was first established in 1720 but was almost immediately abolished. It was re-established in 1760, abolished again in 1771, and re-established in its final form in 1780 (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 131, 140, 200, 210).

think it incumbent on us to point out some risque and inconvenience which may arise from acquiring the objects in contemplation.

Our motives for desiring a Port or Ports to the Northward of Canton, are the expectation of extending our Commerce generally, and of purchasing some articles, particularly Tea, at half the price or very little more than what We now pay at Canton. On the other hand We cannot avoid reflecting upon the risque of extending our Establishments and thereby approaching much nearer to the Capital and the cognisance of the Chinese Government.

We apprehend that when Europeans first appeared on the Coasts of China, they were permitted a free Trade in all the Ports. But their dissolute and riotous conduct was so offensive to the Chinese that all European Trade was confined to Canton, at that time very little better than a nest of Pirates. And notwithstanding the fact was generally known, it does not appear that any endeavours have been used, by a contrary conduct, to induce the Chinese to entertain a more favorable opinion of Europeans. The British Seamen at Canton are at this moment as dissolute and riotous as ever; and the superior Mandarins forming their judgment in consequence of what they see and hear, consider this Country as almost barbarous.—Other Nations have receptacles for their Seamen at Danes Islands, French Island or Macao: and it would be desirable if something similar could be obtained for the British Seamen as near as possible to Whampoa<sup>1</sup>; but at all events where they can be under the eye and controul of their Officers. The Chinese would immediately check this disposition at the request of the Company's Servants; but such interference is to be dreaded, as the slightest irregularity would prove the

<sup>1</sup> Whampoa, Huang-pu, was the anchorage outside of Canton. Danes and French Islands were near the anchorage. As a result of an affray between English and French seamen in 1754, in which an Englishman was killed, the French seamen were confined to French Island for purposes of exercise, and the English were confined to Danes Island (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5; Morse, *Chronicles*, v, 14-19).

occasion of impositions and embarrassment to the Company's Commerce, for which reason the disorders to which we allude have been submitted to, although with great reluctance.

Your Excellency will perceive by the proceedings relative to the Gunner, a few years past, the alarming situation of our Trade &c : in consequence of a mere accident. If faith is due to the Letters from the French Missionaries [Vol. XIV, page 528],<sup>1</sup> that accident was not known to the Emperor, or to his Ministers at Peking : and if such a circumstance had been known they paint in forcible terms the possible, perhaps the probable consequences that would have ensued.

Supposing therefore that we shall succeed to obtain an Establishment amongst other places at Tiensing, and that such an accident should afterwards happen in that Port, its contiguity to the Capital would render it impossible to conceal the transaction from the Emperor or his Ministers ; and the general interdiction of European Commerce might prove the consequence.

We trust that your Excellency will not think the caution we are desirous to inculcate upon every occasion, arises from timidity. Independent of the general scope of the Company's Trade, and to the favorable prospect of its improvement, the value of British property at the mercy of the Chinese in every season, very much exceeds two millions Sterling. We are desirous however of using every reasonable endeavour to obtain one or more Establishments to the Northward, concluding that in the arrangements necessary for forming and supporting such Establishments, every precaution will be taken to guard against the inconvenience and danger we have mentioned, or against any other which may occur to your Excellency.

Captain [William] Mackintosh who commands the

<sup>1</sup> The incident referred to was the *Lady Hughes* affair of 1784 which resulted in the execution of a British gunner who had accidentally killed two minor mandarins while firing a salute (Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 226-230). The letter referred to, by Père J. J. M. Amiot, dated Peking, 25th January, 1787, is in *Mémoires concernant . . . des chinois*, xiv, 528-530.

Hindostan<sup>1</sup> is very conversant with what relates to the Company's Ships and Seamen. He can also inform your Excellency of the inconvenience which the Company's Servants labour under, in having no better place than Macao to retire to in the intervals of business.

This circumstance will of course attract your Excellency's attention; and the removal of the inconvenience we suffer will we hope be one of the happy results of your Embassy.

Doubts have been entertained by some of the Company's Servants, whether the Cohong at Canton is really prejudicial or otherwise. Although it professes to establish a monopoly in the hands of a few, yet it is a known fact that we are free to buy or sell with any Chinese, not a member of the Cohong; in whose name however the transaction must pass.

Under the present regulations a Hong Merchant must be security for each Ship,<sup>2</sup> under a pretence that the Emperor's Duties would otherwise be in danger. The Factory could easily remove all possibility of risque, by paying such Duties in advance, but that will not satisfy the Chinese. We therefore consider the regulations as calculated to place the whole of the trade of each Ship under one person, in order thereby to cover more effectually the frauds and exactions of the Mandarins and petty Officers, which it is probable are estimated pro rata, from the uniformity we discover in most of their proceedings.

It therefore merits very serious consideration, whether in abolishing the Cohong, the abuses of which we complain at present, will be annihilated. For if they only change their form We fear it will prove to our detriment. If frauds and exactions must exist, it is less intolerable that they should be collected pro rata than ad libitum. The former is intelligible and subject to calculation, but it is probable we should fly from the latter without venturing to make the experiment.

<sup>1</sup> An Indiaman of 1,248 tons, which accompanied the Embassy and carried presents.

<sup>2</sup> The security merchant system developed between 1728 and 1740 (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17).

At the same time We freely confess to your Excellency, that the Company derive two very important advantages from the Cohong; the first is, compleat security. Not only have We been exempted from bad debts, but the large Treasure which sometimes remains at the close of a Season, is perfectly secure.<sup>1</sup>

The second, is the superior advantage which a Cohong affords, of promoting the favourite object of Barter<sup>2</sup>; and particularly of experiment. When we have occasion to speak of Irish Manufacturers, we shall quote the extract of a Letter from Canton, which will explain this circumstance in part, and evince the facility We enjoy of introducing any new article of manufacture as an experiment. The readiness and confidence with which the Hong Merchants will receive British manufactures and products, to an immense amount, never can be compensated by individuals carrying on a free Trade. And we believe their exertions to encrease the vent will prove far more successful than any other expedient that can be devised.

Under these circumstances, We think it is of the highest importance to consider in what manner, and form the Cohong shall be abolished, if it can be accomplished; and what mode of proceeding or arrangement shall be substituted in its place. In particular, a Tarif, specifying the Duties on each article very correctly, becomes absolutely necessary. For unless the consequences can be foreseen and ascertained, We are inclined to think the old system should remain; as the Company have never yet received benefit from any change or alteration in the mode of proceeding in China.

<sup>1</sup> The members of the Co-hong were jointly responsible for the debts of individual members of the association, and at the end of each trading season the silver remaining in the Company's Canton treasury was left in the care of the Co-hong.

<sup>2</sup> In reality the Company's trade was barter, even though prices were regularly fixed for all articles bought and sold, because the quantity and price of woollens taken by the Hong merchants was proportional to the quantity and price of tea purchased by the Company.



For the purpose of enabling your Excellency to form a judgment of the information which will be most useful to the Company, for the purpose of improving and extending their Trade to and from China, some general observations will become necessary, and which will be dispersed through the remaining part of this Letter.

The articles usually imported from thence, or best known to the Company are

Tea.

Silk.

Cotton Manufactures.

Silk Manufactures, on which We shall have very little to say.

Earthen Ware, which is eclipsed in a superior manner, by those in England, except with regard to the Paste.<sup>1</sup>

Of these, the first is the most important and considerable. The quantity and value is now become so large, that it would be extremely desirable if the article could be produced within the Territories of the Company in India; a circumstance which we recommend in the strongest manner to your Excellency's attention.<sup>2</sup> At the same time We conceive that it is of still more importance to obtain the most compleat information as to the mode which the Chinese practise for the culture of Silk and the manufacture of Piece Goods; as those articles are already established to an immense extent in the Indian Territories, and their improvement is consequently of more decided and permanent advantage than introducing a new article, which although desirable in itself,

<sup>1</sup> The export of chinaware from China by the Company was stopped in 1791 (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Documents*, xii, Court to Select Committee, 4th August, 1791).

<sup>2</sup> The Company gave to Lord Macartney a memoir on the cultivation of economic plants in India which had been prepared by Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, in 1788. It gave special prominence to tea, and pointed out the areas in India which were suitable to its cultivation (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, No. 177). Consider also Document No. 3, which will appear in a later number of this *Journal*.

must, if successful, occupy a part of that capital and labour, which is already usefully employed.

We apprehend China to be the first Country in which Silk is known to have been produced : and it still maintains its superiority in respect of quality. And although India is much nearer to the original source, yet the Italian Silk is preferable in quality to that of India. It is therefore highly important to obtain the best information ; as the slightest improvement in that of Bengal would be productive of beneficial consequences. We have therefore enclosed various Questions [No. 8 in the Packet],<sup>1</sup> and entered into a full detail, on those points, to which We request your Excellency's attention.

We have also annexed a Memorandum [No. 8], concerning the quality and colour of Nankeen Cloths, as the consumption is very great, and every attempt to imitate the colour either in India or in Europe, has failed. It will be desirable moreover, to obtain as much information as possible respecting the nature and extent of the manufacture of Cotton Piece Goods in China. We are not only excited to that enquiry in consequence of the very large exports of Cotton from Bombay ; but we think it probable that a larger quantity of goods is manufactured than is consumed in China ; a circumstance extremely interesting for our Manufacturers in Bengal, and on the Coast of Coromandel.

It must be well known to your Excellency, that when the Mogul [Mongol ?] Empire was in its splendour, a very great Trade was carried on through Tartary &c : to the Caspian Sea. And although the decline of that Empire, added to the facility with which Europe now communicates with India by sea, will account in a great measure for the present

<sup>1</sup> MSS. State College of Washington, *Pritchard Collection*, i, No. 8. The paper contains a list of thirteen questions on the food of the silk worm, twenty-six questions on the worm itself, and twenty-three questions on the manufacture of silk, the answers to which Lord Macartney was to attempt to get in China. He was also asked to find out how the Chinese dyed their nankeens or cotton cloth.

defalcation; yet We have reason to think a considerable intercourse still subsists between the Western part of the Chinese Empire, through the Continent, and the South and South-East parts of the Caspian Sea. Of one fact however We are certain, namely, that during the War, or rather whilst Russia and China were not upon good terms,<sup>1</sup> and the intercourse was interrupted, very large quantities of Indian Piece Goods were sent from hence to Moscow. But when the intercourse was opened, the demand for Piece Goods in London ceased to such a degree as to occasion a fall of 20 per cent on the price, and which will prove a defalcation in the Company's Sale of Piece Goods amounting to at least £150,000 a year.

We are therefore very anxious to obtain every information relative to the nature and extent of this Trade, the articles of which it consists, their dimensions and prices. If possible We shall be glad to receive a few Pieces of each description as specimens. And as there will be persons in your Excellency's Suite, conversant in those articles as well as in Earthen Ware, We are satisfied that every endeavour will be used, consistent with your Excellency's situation, and which the nature of the case will permit.

We have already taken notice of the increase of the Export Trade to China, which has exceeded the most sanguine expectation; and the extent to which it is now carried would have been treated as chimerical at the time the Commutation Act passed. If we combine this circumstance with the increased quantity of Cotton exported from India,<sup>2</sup> it is a probable speculation to suppose that the Exports to China may exceed in value the Imports from thence. If this should prove the case, and which We are inclined to believe, it will

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to border difficulties between Russia and China which were ended by a convention in 1792 (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, Nos. 17, 359).

<sup>2</sup> The value of raw cotton imported from India to China increased from T. 311,762 in 1784-5, to T. 2,232,518 in 1700-1 (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 393, 401-2).

become necessary to turn our thoughts towards the discovery of new articles which China can furnish in payment. Of those which We import at present, Tea alone affords a prospect for increase, but which must depend altogether upon regulations in this Country. And if the hope We entertain of the success of your Excellency's Embassy shall be realized, it may occasion so considerable a reduction in the cost of our Investment in China as to reduce the value of our Imports and Exports much nearer, if not quite, to a level.

For these reasons We must intreat your Excellency's attention to such new articles of the produce or manufacture of China, as may be suitable to this or any other European Market. The heavy expenses attending all importations are Duties and Freight. The first are correctly detailed in the Consolidation Act<sup>1</sup>; and with regard to the latter We shall think a Freight of £10 or £12 sufficient for goods sent as returns for British Manufactures and produce, as the Company are willing to sacrifice advantages for their encouragement and protection. We are the more anxious to pursue this enquiry as We fear the loss which will arise upon the importation of the precious metals will more than absorb any profit that can be expected on European Goods. At the same time we must observe to your Excellency that Gold has formerly been brought from China, although in small quantities.

Having already mentioned that an increase in the quantity of Tea to be imported, must depend upon Plans or arrangements to be adopted in this Country. We have further to observe to your Excellency, that the quantity and value of Raw Silk cannot be extended, in consequence of the large quantities imported from India, Italy, and Turkey, which from their cheapness, are more suitable for the current demand. A very moderate addition therefore to the quantity

<sup>1</sup> For a general list of duties on East India and China goods see *Collection of Statutes Concerning . . . the East India Company* (London, 1786), list of duties at the beginning of the volume. It appears to be found only in the India Office under Charters; see *List of General Records*, p. 76.

of China Silk usually imported would only serve to reduce the price nearer to a level with those of an inferior quality, without producing a larger value in Europe ; which is the object We have at present in contemplation.

If China cannot furnish new articles in exchange, or that the precious metals cannot be substituted with advantage, it will be in vain to attempt pushing our Exports beyond the level of our Imports from thence. In the request We have made to your Excellency to use every endeavour for the purpose of introducing new articles of British Manufacture into China, We do not mean that a new article should be substituted for an old one at present in use ; as Hardware for Woollens, &c : &c : It is for the interest of the Company and of the Publick to maintain and improve the ground we have got, which must not be endangered by diverting the taste of the Chinese in that respect. Fortunately their prejudices are so strong, and they are so abhorrent of innovation, that we doubt the success if the attempt were to be made ; and the article the most in demand at present (coarse woollens) is the most beneficial to this Country of all its manufactures, the raw material as well as the labour being entirely British.

It is almost unnecessary for us to observe to your Excellency that the Court of Directors have concurred with His Majesty's Ministers in exerting every endeavour to promote the Success of the Embassy. The liberal manner in which every part of the Service has been conducted, and the magnificent Presents which accompany your Excellency afford the most convincing proof of the remark.

The Accounts hereunto annexed will furnish a full detail of the various articles intended for Presents,<sup>1</sup> for Specimens ;

<sup>1</sup> A detailed list of the presents and specimens recently purchased is found in MSS. India Office, *China : Macartney Embassy*, xci, 543-583, and a list of those used from the Cathcart Embassy is given on pp. 584-590 of the same document. An abbreviated list for both Embassies is given in Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 247, 306.

of the miscellaneous expences which have occurred ; of the Silver shipped in order to defray those of the voyage ; and of Imprests paid on account of Salaries, viz. :

For Presents consisting of new Articles recently purchased [No. 2 in the Packet] . . . . .	£13,123.12. 4
For the same purpose, consisting of those articles purchased for the late Colonel Cathcart's Embassy [No. 4 in the Packet] . . . . .	2,486. 9. 6
A small Present sent to the Vicoroy of Canton by the Thetis [No. 30 in the Packet] . . . . .	342. 8. 6 <sup>1</sup>
Amount of what has been paid for miscellaneous Services [No. 5 in the Packet] . . . . .	[2,100. 0. 0] <sup>2</sup>
The cost of 20,000 [Spanish] Dollars [No. 6 in the Packet] . . . . .	4,546.10. - <sup>3</sup>
Imprests to Sundries on account of their Salaries [No. 7 in the Packet] . . . . .	8,161.10. -
Total . . . . .	£ <u>                    </u>

The articles abovementioned will be accompanied with Patterns and descriptions of a great variety of the manufactures of this Country, which have not hitherto found their way into China, (or at least in a very small quantity) in the hope that means may be found to introduce them to notice and general consumption, under the reserve We have before mentioned.<sup>4</sup>

Previous to these Patterns &c. being exhibited, or the Presents offered, We must request that your Excellency will cause them to be carefully examined, to ascertain if they are in a perfect state, after so long a voyage ; and those

<sup>1</sup> The present consisted of furs and broadcloth.

<sup>2</sup> See MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, x, No. 436a. To this should be added £1,450 paid for the *Jackall*, tender to the *Lion*, Man-of-War which carried the Ambassador, and £960 paid to Sir George Staunton for expenses on a trip to Italy to get interpreters, as well as £750 expended by Lord Macartney at Portsmouth before embarking (see *infra*, Document No. 8, which will appear in a later number of this *Journal*).

<sup>3</sup> Documents Nos. 6 and 7 in the Packet are in MSS. State College of Washington, *Pritchard Collection*, i, Nos. 6, 7. The imprests on account of salary are mainly to Lord Macartney, and amount to £7,000.

<sup>4</sup> The articles taken along for distribution in the hope of developing new demands consisted of various varieties of woollens, linens, guns, swords, hardware, and Wedgwood pottery. Birmingham and Sheffield sent hardware and swords valued at £771.

which have suffered may answer for the purpose of specimens, if not for Presents. An examination for another purpose is of still greater importance, namely, whether any of the articles may not clash with the taste, the etiquette or prejudices of the Chinese. This we are induced to suggest to your Excellency in consequence of what is mentioned by the Authors we have already quoted [Vol. XV, Page 25]<sup>1</sup>; which deserves the most serious attention, as proceeding from persons conversant with the customs and manners of the Chinese, and of whose impartiality on the subject to which we allude, we entertain not the smallest doubt.

We must likewise request that attention be given, not only to the Articles being perfect, and suited to the taste of the Chinese; but also worthy their acceptance, which will be explained in the following Extract of a Letter dated Canton the 12th December, 1789.

“The Tabbinets per Earl Mansfield and Walpole were found on opening to be mildewed and spotted, notwithstanding every possible attention had apparently been paid to the packing of them, and there was no appearance of outward damage.

“Shy Kinqua<sup>2</sup> has consented to take them at Prime Cost, but requests no more may be sent; not only on account of their being liable to spoil, but that they are held in no estimation by the Chinese, as they have a manufacture of their own, which very much resembles it, and can be afforded much cheaper.”

In consequence of this advice, We should have declined sending any on the present occasion, if it had not been for the consideration that Poplins and Tabbinets<sup>3</sup> are the only articles of Manufacture that we know of, in which Ireland

<sup>1</sup> See *Mémoires concernant . . . des chinois*. The article is by Père P. Martial Cibot and is entitled, “Parallele des mœurs & usages des chinois, avec les mœurs & usages décrits dans le livre d’Esther.”

<sup>2</sup> See note at the end of this article.

<sup>3</sup> Poplin and tabinet were types of cloth made from silk and wool, and having a corded appearance. In 1786–7 fourteen pieces of tabinet sold at a profit of £. 47, but in 1789–90, 140 pieces sold at a loss of £. 131 (Pritchard, op. cit., p. 162).

particularly excels ; and We are extremely desirous to try every experiment to promote the sale of the produce and manufactures of that kingdom. Additional precaution has been used in the package, so that if they cannot be preserved from spots and mildew, it must arise from an original defect in the manufacture.

Another observation will probably occur to your Excellency on this quotation, in consequence of what We have already mentioned, namely, the facility with which the Hong Merchants will receive goods injured in their quality, and without demand in the Country. To this disposition we attribute the introduction of Cornish Tin,<sup>1</sup> which the great scale upon which their business is conducted, enabled them to introduce and disperse, in a manner beyond the power of individuals. This disposition is founded on a liberal principle ; as We cannot discover that any addition was made to the price of Tea &c : on that account : and it will probably continue provided we do not repeat our missions of such articles as they pronounce to be invendible or improper ; and that our experiments are confined within reasonable bounds.

As we are anxious that the Embassy should be placed above the chances of embarrassment or even discredit, We have caused twenty thousand [Spanish] Dollars to be put on board the Hindostan at your disposal, and we consent, if any extraordinary emergency should arise from accident to, or deficiency in His Majesty's ship [*Lion*], that your Excellency apply a part of the Sum, for such necessary expenditure on a requisition in writing from the Commander [Sir Erasmus Gower], and on his delivering to you such warrant or vouchers as may enable us to get the same reimbursed by His Majesty's Naval Department at home ; such warrant or vouchers to be accompanied by Drafts of

<sup>1</sup> In 1789 the Company entered into an agreement with Cornish tin producers to export 800 tons of tin annually at £75 per ton provided a sale for it could be found in China (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 158).



the Commander to your Excellency, and to be endorsed to the Company.

We also approve your paying the following Batta [extra allowance] to Sir Erasmus Gower and to your Excellency's Guard, viz. :

To Sir Erasmus Gower as Post Captain . . . . .	£500 per ann.
Lieutenant Colonel George Benson commanding; Allowance as Major of Infantry, per day . . . . .	£1 17 6
Lieutenant Henry Parish . . . . .	10 0
Lieutenant John Crowe . . . . .	10 0
One Corporal of Light Dragoons . . . . .	10
Nine Private Light Dragoons each . . . . .	10
One Serjeant of Artillery . . . . .	10
Three Corporals or Bombardiers of Artillery . . . each	10
One Drummer of Artillery per day . . . . .	10
Fifteen Gunnors of Artillery each . . . . .	10
One Serjeant of Infantry . . . . .	10
Two Corporals of Infantry . . . . . each	10
One Drummer . . . . .	10
Sixteen Private Men of Infantry each . . . . .	10

The Batta to commence when the Ships approach the Island of Sumatra and to cease when the Ships pass that Island on their return.

The [Spanish] Dollar in India is valued by the Company at five Shillings; and in all your Excellency's disbursements that rate is to be fixed as the standard.

And if any expence shall arise for necessaries or otherwise previous to the Ships passing the Cape of Good Hope, your Excellency's Drafts for the same on the Company will be punctually honored, on transmitting the vouchers or the account to which the same may appertain.

As we are aware that the Embassy will occasion great alarm among the Merchants and probably the Mandarins at Canton, who will endeavour to counteract your Excellency's Plans by corruption and intrigue; We think it necessary to prepare for the contest if it should arise; and shall therefore direct the secret and superintending Committee at Canton to hold at your Excellency's disposal the further Sum of

Fifty thousand [Spanish] Dollars,<sup>1</sup> trusting that the same will be applied with all due economy ; and only in case your Excellency shall find it necessary to promote the success of the Embassy, after a residence of some time, and that your Excellency is satisfied that the application of the whole, or a part thereof, may be made with safety.

At a proper time We shall be under the necessity of stating very minutely all our proceedings to the Court of Directors, from whom We have received our delegated power, We must request that your Excellency will keep an Accurate Account of all proceedings relative to the Embassy, with a Journal and Diary,<sup>2</sup> to be delivered to us on your return to England. And we hope that your Excellency will not consider it as too much trouble to transmit a Copy of them from time to time, as opportunities may offer, of writing to England. We also beg that the vouchers for the expenditure of the money may be in the best order ; and that you will inform us particularly of the distribution of the Presents you carry out. Such part of them as you do not find necessary to distribute, may be delivered to the Supra Cargos at Canton, taking receipts for the same.

We have not touched upon what relates to the Trade of other Nations with China ; on which we have very little to observe, except to request that your Excellency will endeavour to obtain for us all possible information ; particularly whether the residence of Missionaries at the Court of Peking is productive of beneficial consequences to those Nations to which they belong, or of injury to our own. It is however of great importance to explain distinctly to the Court of Peking, that other Nations speaking our language

<sup>1</sup> The Committee actually set aside T. 300,000 for the use of the Embassy (MSS. India Office, *China : Macartney Embassy*, xciii, 17).

<sup>2</sup> Lord Macartney kept a detailed journal which was first published in John Barrow, *Account of the Public Life and a Selection from the Unpublished Writings of the Earl of Macartney* (London, 1807), vol. ii. A better edition of the journal is published in Helen M. Robbins, *Our First Ambassador to China* (London, 1908).

[Americans], and nearly similar in manners, navigate the China Seas. Otherwise any improper conduct on their part may subject the Commerce and the Servants of the Company to the most fatal consequences, more particularly as the Chinese are neither nice nor exact in discriminating the objects of their vengeance.

As it is possible that the Chinese Government will not permit a resident Ambassador, or any person representing His Majesty, and still less the Company, to remain at Pekin ; it will be very desirable if means could be found to place some one or more of the Missionaries, in the interest of the Company, for the purpose of conveying information and affording occasional assistance to our Supra Cargos, but without any avowed connection or sanction whatsoever. On the contrary such intercourse must be carried on in the most private manner, and all connection disavowed if discovered. A knowledge of the English or French Languages will be requisite ; and We should prefer the Italian to the French Missionaries, if there shall be a choice. As they can have no commercial connection with their Countrymen, the objects of their Mission are by no means incompatible with those we have in view ; and the expence will be very moderate. We submit however this object entirely to your Excellency's discretion ; as it depends altogether upon local circumstances.

The Secret Committee have given orders to Capt<sup>t</sup>: Mackintosh of the Hindostan to put himself entirely under your Excellency's direction, so long as may be necessary for the purpose of the Embassy. We have enclosed a Copy of his Instructions [Nos. 16, 17 in the Packet]<sup>1</sup> and of the

<sup>1</sup> MSS. State College of Washington, *Pritchard Collection*, i, Nos. 15, 16, 17. No. 16 is a special letter of instruction dated 5th September, 1792, directing Captain Mackintosh to obey the orders of the Ambassador, to refrain from private trade, and indicating that a special set of signals were to be used on the voyage. No. 17 is a printed copy of the routine instructions given by the Court of Directors to all commanders of Indiamen. No. 15 is a Covenant signed by Captain Mackintosh in which he binds himself to refrain from private trade at all places in China except Canton without the written permission of the Ambassador. He further promises not to

Covenants [No. 15] which he has entered into ; together with an account of his Private Trade [Nos. 18, 19 in the Packet],<sup>1</sup> and that of his officers. There is no intention whatsoever on the part of the Court to permit Private Trade in any other port or place than Canton, to which the Ship is ultimately destined ; unless your Excellency is satisfied that such Private Trade will not prove of detriment to the dignity and importance annexed to the Embassy, or to the consequences expected therefrom ; in which case your consent in writing becomes necessary to authorize any Commercial Transaction by Cap<sup>t</sup>: Mackintosh or any of his Officers, as explained in the Instructions from the Secret Committee.

But as We cannot be too guarded with respect to Trade and the consequences which may result from any attempt for that purpose, We hereby authorize your Excellency to suspend or dismiss the Commander or any Officer of the Hindostan who shall be guilty of a breach of Covenants or disobedience of Orders from the Secret Committee or from your Excellency, during the continuance of the present Embassy [No. 22 in the Packet].<sup>2</sup>

receive bribes or unofficial presents from the Chinese and agrees to be especially careful not to injure or offend the Chinese in any way, and at all times to conform to the orders of the Ambassador. Failure to fulfil the Covenant subjects him to civil suit for amounts named in the Covenant.

<sup>1</sup> As a partial means of reimbursement to commanders and officers of Indiamen the Company allowed them to carry on a limited amount of private trade. Documents Nos. 18 and 19 in the *Pritchard Collection* at the State College of Washington contain an account of the private trade allowed to the officers and commander of the *Hindostan*. This may be taken as representative of the amount allowed on other 1,200 ton ships of the period. The regular private trade manifest is as follows : Commander, £5,980 ; Chief Mate, £500 ; Second Mate, £220 ; Third Mate, £90 ; Fourth Mate, £82 ; Purser, £800 ; Surgeon, £260 ; Surgeon's Mate, £170 ; Midshipman, £20 ; Carpenter's First Mate, £10. In addition, Captain Mackintosh was allowed £1,500 more on this particular voyage. The total private trade thus amounted to £9,632. Furs and lead are the chief items in the manifests, but numerous other items, such as ginseng, drugs, glass, cloth outtings, perfume, saddlery, cutlery, clocks, Prussian blue, carpets, hats, cards, beer, and music are included.

<sup>2</sup> The Resolution made "At a Court of Directors held on Wednesday the 5th September 1792," runs as follows : " Resolved, That the Right Honble

The small vessel [*Jackall*] which accompanies the Expedition as a Tender, must be disposed of, when she is of no further use for the service on which she will be employed; and the proceeds paid into the Company's Treasury abroad.

In the first Letter we addressed to His Majesty's Ministers on the occasion of this Embassy We claimed on behalf of the Company a full and compleat reservation of their rights and privileges.<sup>1</sup> The ability, integrity and zeal which your Excellency has already manifested for the interest of the Company, induce us to rely that no measures will be taken which shall prejudice those rights and privileges. Reposing therefore entire confidence in the continuance of your zeal for their welfare and advantage on every occasion, We have the honor to be

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most obediently

most humble Servants

[*Chairman*]

F. BARING

[*Deputy Chairman*]

J. SMITH BURGESS

EAST INDIA HOUSE,  
8th September, 1792.

NOTE.—The merchant Shy Kinqua referred to in this letter was one of the leading Hong merchants. According to Liang Chia-pin's 梁嘉彬 *Kuang-tung Shih-san Hang K'ao* 廣東十三行考 (Shanghai, 1937, pp. 216-18, 285-8), his name was Shih Chung-ho 石中和. He was proprietor of the *Erh-i hang* 而益行 and was therefore sometimes referred

Lord Viscount Macartney, be authorized to suspend or dismiss the Commander or any Officer of the Hindostan, who shall be guilty of a breach of Covenants, or disobedience of Orders, from the Secret Committee, or from His Excellency during the continuance of the Embassy to China" (MSS. State College of Washington, *Pritchard Collection*, i, No. 22).

<sup>1</sup> For this letter see MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xci, 63-70.

to as Shih Erh-i. He was probably known to the Westerners by a business name or *hao*, Ch'ing-kuan 經官, i.e. Shih Ch'ing-kuan, from which arose the corruption Shy Kinqa. *Kuan* was an appellation of respect and probably indicated a Fukienese origin of the family. According to Morse (*Chronicles*, ii, 181), he died in 1790 and was succeeded by his son, Gonqua, but transactions were still recorded under the name Shy Kinqa.

(*To be continued.*)

**The Instructions of the East India Company to  
Lord Macartney on his Embassy to China  
and his Reports to the Company,<sup>1</sup> 1792-4.  
Part II: Letter to the Viceroy and First  
Report.**

EDITED BY EARL H. PRITCHARD

(Continued from p. 230.)

[Document No. 2]

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY  
TO THE VICEROY, 27TH APRIL, 1792<sup>2</sup>

The Honorable the President, and Chairman, of the Honorable the Court of Directors, under whose orders, and authority the Commerce of Great Britain is carried on with the Chinese Nation at Canton, to the high and mighty Lord, the Tsontock [*Tsung-tu*], or Viceroy, of the Provinces of Quantong [*Kuangtung*] and Kiang-si, Greeting.

These are, with our hearty Commendations, to acquaint you, that Our most Gracious Sovereign, His most excellent Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &ca. &ca. whose fame extends to all parts of the World, having heard that it had been expected his subjects settled at Canton in the Chinese Empire should have sent a Deputation to the Court of Peking, in order to congratulate

<sup>1</sup> The editor is indebted to the India Office for kind permission, obtained through Mr. W. T. Ottewill, Superintendent of Records, to publish the two documents which appear in this article.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xci, 333-6. Another copy of this letter in English is to be found in MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, iv, No. 115, and a Latin copy together with an English translation (of recent date) are to be found in MSS. Cornell, *Collections of Monsieur Isaac Titsingh*, "Lettre de creance de Macartney." This letter, signed by Francis Baring, is identical with the original draft made by Lord Macartney and transmitted to Henry Dundas on 17th March, 1792 (MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xci, 171-2). Part of it is printed in G. L. Staunton's *An Authentic Account . . .*, i, 44-6.

the Emperor on his entering into the eightieth year of his Age, and that such Deputation had not been immediately dispatched, His Majesty expressed great displeasure thereat.<sup>1</sup> And being desirous of cultivating the Friendship of the Emperor of China, and of improving the connection, intercourse and good correspondence between the Courts of London and Peking, and of increasing and extending the Commerce between their respective subjects, resolved to send his well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor the Right Honorable George Lord Macartney, Baron of Lissanoure,<sup>2</sup> one of his most honorable Privy Council of Ireland and Knight of the most honorable Order of the Bath, and of the most ancient and royal Order of the White Eagle, a nobleman of high rank and quality, of great virtue, wisdom and ability, who has already filled many important offices and employments in the State, as his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China, to represent his Person, and to express in the strongest terms the satisfaction he shall feel, if this mark of his attention and regard, serves as a foundation to prove the sincerity of his sentiments, and of his earnest wishes to promote the advantage and interest of the two Nations of Great Britain and China, and to establish a perpetual harmony and alliance between them.

The Ambassador with his attendants will very soon set out on his Voyage; and having several presents for the

<sup>1</sup> In October, 1780, the Hoppo (O-êrh-têng-pu 額爾登布), Imperial Customs officer at Canton, and Viceroy (Fu K'ang-an 福康安 [d. 1796]) had proposed to the supercargoes that a deputation be sent from the foreign community at Canton to congratulate the Emperor upon his 80th birthday. Although one of the supercargoes agreed to go, the Canton officials said nothing more about the matter, and the deputation was never sent (Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 177-8, 182).

<sup>2</sup> At the time this letter was written Lord Macartney was still a Baron. He became Viscount Macartney of Dervoek, in the county of Antrim, Ireland, on 28th June, 1792. As a result of an arrangement made before he sailed for China he was made the Earl of Macartney in the county of Antrim, on 1st March, 1794 (Robbins, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 413).



Emperor of China from the King of Great Britain, which from their size, nice mechanism, and value could not be conveyed through the interior of the Country to so great a distance as from Canton to Peking, without the risk of much damage and injury, will proceed directly and without delay in one of His Majesty's Ships properly accompanied, to the Port of Tien-sing, in order to mark his particular respect, by approaching in the first instance as near as possible to the residence of the Emperor of China.

We request therefore that you will please to convey this information to the Court of Peking, trusting that the Imperial Orders and Directions will be issued for the proper reception of the King of Great Britain's Ships, with his Ambassador and his Attendants on board them, as soon as they shall appear at Tien-sing, or on the neighbouring Coasts.

And so praying the Almighty God to grant you all happiness and long life, and to take you under his heavenly protection, We bid you heartily farewell.

Given at London the 27th day of the Month of April in the year 1792 of the Christian Aera.<sup>1</sup>

(Signed) FRANCIS BARING.

<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter together with a Latin version were presented by the Secret Committee at Canton (Henry Browne, Eyles Irwin, and William Jackson) to the Governor of Kuangtung (Kuo Shih-hsün 郭世勛 [勳]) and the Hoppo (Sheng Chu 盛住) on 10th October, 1792. The Viceroy was still the Fu K'ang-an mentioned in note 1, page 376 of this *Journal*, but he was absent in Tibet at the time conducting a campaign against the Goorkhas of Nepal. The letter together with a memorial were forwarded to Peking by Kuo Shih-hsün. See Pritchard, *Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations* (Pullman, Washington, 1936), pp. 312-15, and Liang T'ing-nan 梁廷枏, *Yüeh Hai-kuan Chih* 粵海關志 (Canton ?, 1838), Ch. 23, pp. 3-4. The authorship of this last work is sometimes attributed to Yü K'un 豫堃 (預坤), who was Hoppo or Superintendent of Customs in 1838, because his name appears on the title-page. In an article in the *Ling-nan Hsüeh-pao* 嶺南學報 (iv [April, 1935], 138), dealing with Liang T'ing-nan's works, Sinn Yuk-ching (Hsien Yü-ch'ing) 沈玉清 describes the *Yüeh Hai-kuan Chih*.

[Document No. 3]

LORD MACARTNEY'S FIRST REPORT TO THE EAST INDIA  
COMPANY<sup>1</sup>

Canton, December 23d 1793.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman  
of the Honorable East India Company

Gentlemen

From the neighbourhood of Han-chou-foo [Hangchow], which is about midway between Peking and Canton, I wrote to Mr. Dundas Secretary of State a detailed account of my principal transactions in China to the 11th of last month.<sup>2</sup> It was the first opportunity that offered of any communication with Europe, since I opened my commission. Captain Mackintosh was then allowed to go directly to his ship [the *Hindustan*] lying at Chusan.<sup>3</sup> Some of your other vessels might have been ready to sail from Canton after his arrival there and before mine, as I was to travel by a more tedious route in Company with the [New] Viceroy [Ch'ang Lin, 長麟], of that Province. I therefore then addressed a short letter<sup>4</sup> to you chiefly for the purpose of referring you to my

<sup>1</sup> MSS. India Office, *China : Factory Records*, xx, for original, and *China : Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 369-372, for a duplicate. Part of it is published in Bannister, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxviii. The letter was received in England on 19th July, 1794, by the Swedish ship *Sophia Magdalena* and was read before the Court of Directors on 23rd July. As there is practically no paragraphing throughout the letter, it has been introduced for convenience sake.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. India Office, *China : Factory Records*, xx, for original, and *China : Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 31-116, and xciii, 59-90 of Part 3, for duplicates. Efforts are being made to publish this important dispatch.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Mackintosh had accompanied the Embassy to Peking and Jehol and had been refused permission to precede the Embassy to Chusan, where the *Hindustan* had gone after unloading the presents near Tientsin. The *Hindustan* proceeded directly to Canton after Captain Mackintosh returned to her.

<sup>4</sup> This short letter, dated Han-tchou-fou, 10th November, 1793, is not of much importance. It refers the Chairs to Macartney's dispatch to Henry Dundas, indicates that he has taken notes upon the transactions of each day which he will ultimately present to the Chairs, and concludes, "I have

dispatch to Mr. Dundas, in the persuasion that he would communicate to you whatever interested the affairs of the Company under your immediate direction. I now seize the first occasion, as becomes me, of acknowledging your letter of instructions of the 8th of September, 1792, when you can best judge how far I have endeavoured to conform my conduct to them.

You justly considered that "the first and most important object was neither to impair nor injure the actual situation of the Company, thereby checking those prospects which were decidedly in view". The Embassy was certainly not exempt from the risk, attending all considerable undertakings, of leaving matters, in case of failure, worse than they had been found: and in the present instance, beside the obstacles to our success which were possible to foresee, from the opposition and intrigues of rival Companies trading to China,<sup>1</sup> of the Canton Officers and merchants, and from the suspicions and jealousies of the Court of Peking, on account of our Indian Possessions, all which were observed upon in Mr. Dundas's instructions, other difficulties occurred out of the reach of probability, and some beyond all human foresight. It was not to be foreseen that while our Troops were really employed

the strongest assurances that our trade with China will derive essential benefit from the Embassy, and we have obtained such information of the wants and habits of the Northern people of this country, as may lead to an considerable export of goods for their consumption by the way of Canton, till Time shall produce a more immediate communication with them. The measure therefore will prove to have been laid on the firm foundation of national wisdom, which loses no probable chance of enriching & aggrandizing the state by the extension of its reputation & commerce" (MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 27). Ch'ang Lin the new Viceroy of Canton joined the Embassy near Hangchow and escorted it overland to Canton. For information about the Canton officials of this period see the *Yüeh Hai-kuan Chih* (Annals of the Kuangtung Customs), Ch. 7.

<sup>1</sup> A Swedish agent in London proposed to his government a scheme to cause the failure of the Embassy, and the Dutch Chief at Canton was somewhat opposed to the Embassy at first, but so far as can be determined no actual steps were taken to injure the Embassy (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 298, 319, 323-4).

in the Peninsula of India against Tippoo Sultaun [Tipu Sultan of Mysore], the Chinese should fancy we were assisting their Enemies in Thibet, feeling the concealing their alarm and resentment for such a supposed procedure.<sup>1</sup> It was not likely that their aversion to the revolution in France should so suddenly indispose them against any connexion with the Western world, and it was not natural to expect that the Portuguese, whom we take every occasion to assist and protect in Europe, and who have no commercial competition with us in this Country, should suffer their religious bigotry and local jealousy, to operate upon their conduct to our prejudice.<sup>2</sup> Having such difficulties to encounter, all of which were not to be surmounted but by the gradual operation of time, aided by much prudent management, your admonition became necessarily of the first consequence in my eyes.

I felt, under circumstances of strange and inconsistent conduct in particular instances on the part of the Chinese relative to my negotiation, as well as sometimes of personal provocation to myself, the absolute necessity of uncommon caution and forbearance on my part. By these means not only the main object of your instructions has been perfectly secured ; but the way to attain the prospects before you is rendered clearer, and the prospects themselves enlarged. Not only the Emperor declared at the time when he was under impressions the least favorable to our views, that he would treat the English Merchants trading to Canton with

<sup>1</sup> While Lord Macartney was at the Emperor's Court one of the most persistently unfriendly officials was Fu K'ang-an, titular Viceroy of Canton, who had recently been in Tibet in command of a Chinese army operating against an invasion of the Goorkhas from Nepal. He is supposed to have maintained that the English were helping the Goorkhas, whereas an agent of Lord Cornwallis had actually mediated between the Goorkhas and Chinese (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 332, 336, 372-3).

<sup>2</sup> All of the Portuguese missionaries at Peking, especially Joseph Bernard d'Almeida, were supposed to have been unfriendly towards the Embassy, but it is unlikely that they did it any special harm (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 330, 333-5, 381).

justice and benevolence,<sup>1</sup> but he has since signified by one of his Ministers [Sung Yün 松筠], who accompanied me as far as Han-chou-foo [Hangchow], and also by the new Viceroy [Ch'ang Lin] of Canton, who was chiefly with me afterwards, that a particular enquiry should be made into the duties and fees actually levied upon the English trade, in order to remove every kind of extortion, and that such indulgence should beside be shewn, as might be consistent with the laws and customs of the Chinese. It must, however, take some time and much previous communication before the Viceroy, to whom everything at Canton is entirely new, can form regulations in our favor. It is therefore possible that their effect will not be felt before the arrival of the Ships of the next season.

It might have been indeed attended with some risk, as you justly observe, to press for any regulations unless under very favorable circumstances; no opportunity however more favorable could have offered for effecting a relief to our Commerce at Canton from the growing grievances to which it had been subject than a change in the Government of the Province by the appointment of a man [Ch'ang Lin] of an upright and disinterested, tho of a slow and cautious Character, and who thinks the honor of his Country concerned in doing us justice. This disposition of the Vice-roy will no doubt be greatly aided by the effect produced upon the minds of the Natives in general in consequence of the very distinguished honors paid everywhere to the Embassy by orders of the Court, and our gracious reception at least in point of form, by the Emperor. This circumstance cannot fail to impress both Mandarins and People with a higher respect and consideration for the English name, than they had hitherto entertained, and the circumstance of the

<sup>1</sup> See the Emperor's reply of 3rd October, 1793, to the King's letter (E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland, *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking* [London, 1914], pp. 324-5), and his reply on 7th October, 1793, to Lord Macartney's requests, printed in Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 250-1.

communication being more opened with Peking for our representations,<sup>1</sup> may check the dispositions of the Canton Officers to impose, and as you mention in your instructions to your Commissioners there, may produce more permanent advantages than any positive orders on the part of the Emperor, the execution of which might be evaded.

Beside the advantages thus resulting from the Embassy in the mode of carrying on your trade, the novelty of such a spectacle at Peking, and thro' the whole country, together with the splendor that attended it, attracted universal attention. The very materials of our dress and furniture became objects of consideration. The opportunity of occasionally distributing presents of our manufactures,<sup>2</sup> answered the purpose of disseminating a taste for them, and it was not less singular than pleasing to observe the avidity with which some even of our slightest articles were received by persons to whom the price of them, at any rate of profit, would have been no object.

I am convinced that, by proper management and encouragement in the beginning, our exports to China may by degrees be brought to exceed the amount of our present imports from thence. Already woolen [*sic*] cloth and watches seem to be indispensable necessaries to every Gentleman at Peking, and even to his Principal attendants. Beside such woollens

<sup>1</sup> On the trip to Canton Lord Macartney received from Ch'ang Lin what he interpreted as an invitation to open a correspondence between Peking and London and to send a later Embassy. As a result he gave a note of compliment to Ch'ang indicating the desire of the English to continue the correspondence. This was forwarded to Peking and an Imperial reply sent down giving permission to send letters and pay tribute in the future (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-8).

<sup>2</sup> Besides the presents given to the Emperor, numerous articles of British manufacture were given to the Viceroy of Chihli (Liang K'ên-t'ang 梁 肯 堂), the Governor of Kiangsi (Ch'ên Huai 陳 淮), Van and Chou (the two subordinate conductors of the Embassy), and to at least ten other minor officials who accompanied the Embassy. The articles distributed included watches, woollens, leather goods, cutlery from Birmingham and Sheffield, sword blades (especially Gill's from Birmingham), spectacles, and firearms (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, Nos. 347, 349, 354).

as have hitherto been sent thither, I conceive that no inconsiderable quantity of what is called fleecy hosiery [woollens having a fleecy-like nap] would find a vent in the Northern Provinces, together with any other manufacture of wool that in warmth could supply the use of furs, without being so expensive. The Emperor has been pleased to allow his Courtiers to appear before him dressed in woollen, instead of silk or furs; a circumstance which must not inconsiderably increase the consumption of those of the finer sort. I think it not impossible that a remission may be obtained in time of the transit duty and fees exacted upon our Goods in passing from the Southward to the Northward of the Empire, amounting to about ten per cent, and which would certainly encrease very much the sale particularly of the inferior woollens; and thus answer the purpose of the reduction in their original price, which has been proposed by the Canton Merchants.

I shall here observe that the Tabbinets which were very carefully put up among other presents, arrived perfectly free from damage; but that species of Irish manufacture which has the least proportion of silk in its texture, appears the most likely to answer here, being most different from the manufactures of the Country.<sup>1</sup> The wear even of linen might by some be preferred to that of Cotton, and the finer patterns of the latter stuff from Manchester<sup>2</sup> would be probably purchased for the women, for whom the Men seem at all times here anxious to procure ornaments of every kind, especially earrings and necklaces of different coloured stones or glass, or of gold, or gilt.

<sup>1</sup> For a reference to Tabinet see *JRAS.*, April, 1938, p. 223. Experimental shipments of Irish lincens in 1794-5 and 1795-6 were not approved and were disposed of by the Hong merchants in Manila.

<sup>2</sup> Experimental shipments of Manchester cotton goods were made in 1786-7, 1788-9, and 1790-1, the latter of which sold at a slight profit, but as the Hong merchants did not approve of them no more were sent (Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 120, 152, 179-180; Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 161). In general the Company did not favour the introduction of manufactures of the new industrial towns in the north of England.

Glass in all its forms and applications is well calculated to hit the Taste of the Chinese, and might be brought into general use amongst them, especially what could be afforded at moderate prices ; and a vast variety of our hardware would be exceedingly grateful to them, their own being so very much inferior and when the number of Consumers in so vast and populous an Empire is considered there are few articles so low priced when singly taken, as collectively to be insignificant and when demanded by millions they rise to be of value and cease to be below the notice even of a great commercial Company. The business likewise, might easily be conducted so as not at all to interfere with any private trade allowed to the Officers of the Company's Ships.<sup>1</sup>

In general, I have found no people more curious, more greedy after novelty, or more eager to encrease their personal convenience than the subjects of this Country. They soon perceive the preference due to the new object presented to them before whatever had hitherto supplied its place among themselves. Thus their Secretaries and Clerks, as soon as they saw our European Paper especially that sort which is pressed smooth for the pen or pencil to move easily upon it, were always desirous to use it, not only on account of its more brilliant whiteness but as being much less liable to tear than chinese paper ; and a ream of our paper was found to be a very acceptable present to a Mandarin.<sup>2</sup>

I dare say such stationery as I have described, when once generally known would be in demand in China. But the introduction of this and every other article must depend upon the arrangements to be made with the native merchants of

<sup>1</sup> In general the Company did not wish to be bothered with items of merchandise that did not sell in large quantities, preferring to leave such miscellaneous articles to the Private trade of the commanders and officers of its ships. See *infra*, Document No. 7, which will follow in a later number of this Journal.

<sup>2</sup> Three chests of stationery were given to Van and Chou when they left the Embassy at Canton (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, No. 354).



Canton, who, as in every first essay to introduce any where the commodities of distant Countries, must in some measure force at first a trade, by exciting new desires and fancies for those objects which People did not perceive the want of till they knew them. It is to be recollected how slowly and reluctantly most of the European commodities now in considerable demand, were accepted by the Chinese Merchants in the beginning of our traffic with Canton. Of many articles however it may be more difficult to encrease the sale, when some of the same, or of a superior quality, are to be had nearer or cheaper.

The Chinese have Copper mines ; tho I fancy they are very imperfect metallurgists, and consequently work their mines to disadvantage ; but, I understand, they send every year twelve large Chinese Junks each of several hundred Tuns burden, to Japan for some of the finest copper of that Country. Of tin, when beaten into thin leaves, the consumption is so general throughout the Empire that scarce a village is to be found without a Shop where those leaves hang for the daily and nightly use of the People in their Temples. The Malay tin has indeed been found more easily reducible into those minute divisions ; but as I suppose the metal of both Countries is intrinsically the same, this accidental quality must probably be derived from some variety in the process of the reduction of the ore (such as using fuel perfectly freed from the smallest mixture of any particles of sulphur), which the advanced state of Chemistry in England might enable the artists there to find out and imitate, as a means of extending very much the sale of that article in China.

The Chinese are yet so much behind Europeans in regard to many conveniencies and luxuries of life, tho very far from being indifferent to the enjoyment of them, that the supply of such would swell the Catalogue of articles likely to be vendible here, much beyond what I have mentioned ; but it would be needless to extend speculations of that nature further, until a return can be found of Commodities which

in quality and price would answer the European market. Of these, I have had but little opportunity to add to what is already known; and fancy is so capricious that it might be hazardous to venture on foretelling what would suit it.

The Gentlemen of my Suite, to whom some pieces of nankeen of a beautiful scarlet dye have been presented, seem to be much taken with it; and if the Color be lasting, and the cost of it not very much higher than that of the common Nankeen, it might become a favourite wear, especially among our Military in the warm seasons of the Year. I do not mention sugar as a permanent article of export from hence, because I trust your own Territories will come to supply it in plenty, as long as it will bear the freight of an East India Voyage. Tho I have seen numberless plantations of the sugar cane in the provinces of Chiangsi [Kiangsi] and Canton [Kuangtung], and tho it be sold at a price that will admit of considerable profit in Europe under the present desolate state of St. Domingo, which abounded with so much sugar, yet a considerable quantity is imported here from Cochin china, and especially from the western coast of the Island of Formosa, in which places consequently it must be still cheaper.

The Chinese seem to understand the advantage of the division of labour in their great manufactures; by which means the daily wages be not very much inferior to what they are in England, yet by always employing the same Individual to one species, or subdivision of work, the whole is perfected with a dispatch that reduces the price much below the apparent pains bestowed upon it. So that it is not improbable that any Chinese article of general manufacture which would suit our taste might be afforded upon terms that would admit of reasonable profit to the Company.

I must observe further that there seems no political prejudice to have existed here against the exportation of bullion in return for acceptable imports; when therefore the rate at which it passes at Canton is such as to make it advantageous to accept it as a remittance, none of the risks or difficulties

attendant upon drawing bullion from European Nations are likely to take place on similar occasions in this Country.

Of all methods indeed of procuring Chinese commodities on terms nearest to their original cost, none can certainly be so effectual as that of our being allowed to send our Ships in quest of them to the ports nearest to their growth; And yet it must be confessed that it might be a dangerous experiment to take any advantage of that permission, if it had already been obtained, until such a subordination shall be established by law among the British Sailors and subjects frequenting the Chinese Ports, and such other precautions taken jointly by Administration and the Company, as may most effectually tend to prevent those disorders among our People, which are likely to break out while left without control, and which the nearer They happened to the Capital of the Empire, the more alarm they would excite, and the more mischief they might occasion by some desperate resolution against our trading, on the part of the Chinese Government. But if the lower ranks of our people can be brought within proper regulation, so as not to offend the Chinese manners, and that some sort of connexion is contrived to be established with the superior Mandarins, I am inclined to believe that it is within our Power so to gain gradually upon them as successively to obtain from them most of the advantages they have hitherto refused us.

I do not find that there is in fact any fundamental regulation of the Empire prohibitory of foreign Commerce with their northern Ports. Such a reason is put forward only to conceal the real motive, which they do not chuse avowing, and which is their apprehension lest too great a communication with Strangers should interfere with that profound tranquillity and that awful submission among all Classes of Men the maintenance of which is in truth the ever-present and only inalterable maxim of this Government. Those apprehensions will gradually give way before the personal good opinion which Men in authority will learn to conceive

of us, when a familiar intercourse shall for any length of time be established with them.

I flatter myself that this good work may be said to be begun already in consequence of the growing terms of intimacy between the Viceroy [Ch'ang Lin] and the Principal Persons of the Embassy. He is much superior to the petty Jealousies of the lower Mandarines; and I have succeeded in obtaining his permission to send in search of some of the Tea plants of which I have now in my possession several young growing trees, as well as several seeds fit for growth<sup>1</sup>; and I have got also some of the flowers which are sometimes mixed as I am assured with tea to encrease its fragrance; among your instructions you mention how extremely desirable it would be that Tea could be produced within the Territories of the Company in India, and you recommend the circumstance in the strongest manner to my attention, and among the papers delivered to me for my information by Mr. Dundas, is one written by Colonel Kyd<sup>2</sup> a gentlemen conversant in natural history and agriculture, who has a public garden in Bengal for the purpose of making useful experiments relative to the introduction of new plants. This Gentleman mentions in the paper above alluded to that the tea would certainly answer in that part of your Indian possessions called Rungpoor [Rangpur, Bengal].

I perfectly concur with you in thinking on how many accounts it would be desirable to raise that plant in plenty and perfection in parts belonging to yourselves and independent of the Chinese dominions. I indulge myself therefore with the pleasure of foreseeing to what considerable plantations the few nurslings I have been able to procure may give rise in future, if managed with care and skill.

<sup>1</sup> The plants were obtained near the boundary between Chekiang and Kiangsi provinces. See *Macartney's Journal*, in Robbins, op. cit., p. 365 and *infra*, Document No. 6, to be published in a later number of this Journal.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Kyd (1746-1793), who in 1786 laid out the botanical gardens near Calcutta which were later taken over by the Company (see *Dictionary of National Biography*, and C. E. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*).

I send them therefore without loss of time to Sir John Shore Governor General of Bengal, under the care of one of the Gentlemen of Science of my suite Dr. [James] Dinwiddie, whom I have selected for this purpose.<sup>1</sup> I take the same opportunity of sending also a few plants of the Tallow Tree, and the varnish Tree,<sup>2</sup> likewise in a growing state, the culture of each of which may prove beneficial in Bengal.

I send likewise a tree of that species of mulberry of which the leaves become the food of the silkworm in China. What that species was has been a matter of some uncertainty and any particular relative to the culture of silk in China is become interesting to you, on account of the improvement you desire in what your own territories produce. The Tree is allowed in China to attain its full growth and flourishes most in a flat and loomy soil, as the Tea tree seems to do on dry and rising grounds. I have employed a friendly Mandarin [through the agency of Ch'ang Lin] to make enquiries into every part of their silk manufacture agreeable to the queries you enclosed to me, and I shall send the result to Sir John Shore [see Document No. 6, in Part III of this article], together with a few of the Eggs of the Chinese silkworm which I had some difficulty in obtaining, as the People who rear them have a superstition of losing the whole brood if they part with the smallest portion of them. I understand

<sup>1</sup> Dr. James Dinwiddie accompanied the Embassy as "Machinist". He is not mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but there is a *Biographical Memoir of J. Dinwiddie . . . Compiled from His Notes and Correspondence* (Liverpool, 1868), by William Jardine Proudfoot, in the British Museum. See also *infra*, Document No. 6, to be published in Part III of this article.

<sup>2</sup> The tallow tree is *Sapium sebiferum* Roxb., called in South China 柏子樹 *Chiu-tzū shu*. Tallow was obtained from its seeds (S. Couling's *Encyclopædia Sinica*). In Staunton's account of the Macartney Embassy (*Authentic Account . . .*, ii, 430) it is identified as *Croton sebiferum* after Linnæus, and in S. Wells Williams' time it was known as *Stillingia sebifera* (*Middle Kingdom* [1882], ii, 11). The varnish or lacquer tree is *Rhus vernicifera* D.C., called by the Chinese *Ch'i*, 漆 or 漆, from which comes the sap used in making lacquer varnish (Couling's *Encyclopædia Sinica*, and Williams, *op. cit.*, ii, 30).

that a late celebrated naturalist of Sweden <sup>1</sup> has asserted that the insect bred in Japan and China for the sake of its worms, is somewhat different from those who answer that purpose elsewhere. It may be useful to ascertain the fact ; and the worms I send to Bengal will answer that purpose as well as serve to propagate a new breed, if it should happen to be different from what is already reared there.

After the pains which were taken to procure from our cotton and porcelane manufactures persons conversant in those Branches and who might have been capable of observing with what difference either of improvement or inferiority the same were carried on in this Country, I am not surpris'd you should have supposed that I had the advantage of such persons with me in the Embassy ; but notwithstanding my own and the repeated applications of others to Manchester, and to the porcelane Manufactories in Staffordshire and Shropshire, I was disappointed in my expectations ; and I at last found that the failure arose in some degree from a jealousy which arose in some men's minds, of any Tradesmen sent with me remaining in China and communicating some of the most valuable processes of their art, instead of returning home fraught with new lights from hence. I do not pretend to judge of the propriety of this cautious procedure ; but it certainly deprived me of the assistance you were aware was necessary to enable me to collect any very accurate or important information relative to those branches of manufacture in this Country.

Cotton is indeed an object of immense consumption in China, where it forms, generally dyed blue, the universal wear of the lower orders of the People, who add to its warmth in the winter by quilting shreds of wool between the folds ; tho in the colder Provinces the skins of Sheep with their fleeces on are used as an outer Garment for a greater shelter

<sup>1</sup> Probably Karl Linnaeus (1707-1778). For the information obtained about silk culture see Staunton, *op. cit.*, ii, 420 ff., and the last note appended to Document No. 7, to be published in Part III of this article.

against the severity of the season. The Chinese account for the late increased demand for cotton from abroad, by the increased population of the Country, and the supply of Cotton cloth to their late extensive conquests. But they do not mention the exportation of any out of their own dominions ; and their chief manufacture is of the coarser sort unsuited to foreign consumption. I hope to be able to send you specimens and prices of their different piece goods. Tho there are plantations of Cotton in most of the Provinces of China, and many new ones I am informed lately undertaken, if I may judge from what I had an opportunity of observing in travelling thro the Country, its cultivation answers less the labor than in other parts of the World where I have seen it flourish. The plant is here of the diminutive species, called, I understand, the herbaceous cotton plant ; very different from the cotton shrub of the West Indies, which answers best in a dry and sandy soil not distant from the sea, and where the periodical rains do not interfere with the time of the plants flowering, and expanding with full effect that downy substance adhering to the seed which constitutes the staple of the Cotton. Those circumstances being less favorable in China particularly in the interior Provinces, the demand for that article from abroad notwithstanding any efforts of the Chinese Planters to cultivate a sufficiency at home, is not likely soon to cease.

Of the cotton manufacture I should, without the assistance of people bred to that business, have been able to give no minute or accurate account even if the opportunity had been afforded me, but the Vice-Roy [Ch'ang Lin] has been so good to send a special Messenger for specimens of the different materials used in the composition of porcelane ; and if his orders have been punctually obeyed,<sup>1</sup> those specimens which I shall forward to Sir Joseph Banks with the view of having them compared under the eye of Chemists and skilful artists

<sup>1</sup> No information of value regarding the manufacture of porcelain appears to have been obtained.

with the materials used in England for the same purpose, may afford an opportunity of judging if any improvement yet remains to be made in our own manufactures of the same kind.

No inconsiderable quantities of China porcelane together with other commodities of this Country are exported in their own vessels to Manilla, Borneo and Batavia and other places in the Chinese Seas, principally for the consumption of their Countrymen settled in those places, and whose industry and ingenuity contribute much to the prosperity of every place where they reside in numbers. Their vessels carry back spices of various kinds, and other productions of the warmer Climates ; and this interchange forms the principal foreign commerce carried on by the Chinese in their own bottoms, so far as I have been able to learn.<sup>1</sup>

But whatever may be deficient in the information which my hastened journey has enabled me to procure about this Country, may, I doubt not, be obtained hereafter and by means, sometimes even of European and Chinese Missionaries at Peking and in the Provinces with whom some of the Principal Gentlemen of the Embassy have formed intimacies<sup>2</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> MSS. India Office, *China : Canton Diaries*, contain tabular accounts of the junk trade of Canton for a number of years after 1793.

<sup>2</sup> Sir George Leonard Staunton corresponded with Louis de Poirot (French ex-Jesuit) and Nicholas Joseph Raux (French Lazarist), both of whom were at Peking, and with Robert Hanna (Irish Lazarist), who accompanied the Embassy from Canton to Tientsin but was forced to return to Canton before obtaining permission to enter the Emperor's service at Peking. Staunton's son, George Thomas, had some correspondence in 1802-3 with Louis François (Marie) Lamiot (French Lazarist), who, like Hanna, had accompanied the Embassy to Tientsin only to be forced to return to Canton, from which place he obtained permission to proceed to Peking. For the text of the Missionaries' letters see E. H. Pritchard, "Letters from Missionaries at Peking Relating to the Macartney Embassy," *T'oung Pao*, xxxi (1934), 31-55. Lord Macartney presumably also had in mind Joseph de Grammont (French ex-Jesuit), who wrote a number of letters to the Ambassador during the course of the Embassy (*ibid.*, pp. 8-24), and Jacob Ly and Paolo Cho, two Chinese trained in Naples, who accompanied the Embassy as interpreters and who remained in China as native Christian priests.



are to be kept up by occasional correspondence when the opportunity of friendly travellers may offer; for there is no regular open post for Individuals. It is in this way only that the Missionaries can be rendered useful to the Company, without any avowed connexion with it or the Supercargoes. The Missionaries were no doubt formerly very able to serve and no doubt did serve the temporal interests of their respective Nations. But the Portugueze [*sic*] alone can be said to do so now. The information the others can give to their English correspondents under the appearance of friendly or scientific communications cannot fail to be useful.

As I have for the present endeavoured to satisfy you on the principal points to which your instructions relate, it remains with me only to refer you to the enclosed particulars for the disposition of the Presents and specimens entrusted to my care, some few of which remaining in my hands I have delivered to your Commissioners here, tho I was forced at times to purchase others to add to what would be agreeable to the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> You will on this head have probably already learned thro your Commissioners at Canton, that there was reason to suppose very high expectations had been formed in the Emperor's mind of the presents he was to receive, and that it was consequently judged expedient to add to those I brought out from Europe for him a Herschel's reflector [telescope] belonging to Mr. Brown and the celebrated lens from Parker, which Captain Mackintosh had purchased on

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, page 221, note 1. A list of the presents delivered to the Emperor is to be found in MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 155-170; MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, viii, Nos. 351-3. In addition to the presents purchased by the Company and sent out with the Embassy, valued at £15,610 (see *supra*, *JRAS.*, April, 1938, p. 222), Macartney purchased from Henry Browne at Canton and from Captain Mackintosh and F. Macrae, surgeon of the *Hindustan*, various watches, guns, woollens, lens, and reflectors valued at about £3,781. Of these articles and of the presents originally sent, he consigned articles valued at £4,270 to the supercargoes at Canton or to Dr. Dinwiddie, making the total cost of presents and specimens delivered £15,121 (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, Nos. 345, 436a).

a speculation of much probable profit, but which he very handsomely gave up on this occasion to the Company.<sup>1</sup> The mention of his name makes it necessary for me to add as an act of Justice to him that he has thro the whole of this expedition whilst under my command conducted himself with great ability and attention to the Public Service. Besides the above mentioned articles I was under the necessity of providing others, among the rest some curious watches, either for the use of the Emperor or such considerable Persons of his Court, whom it was particularly desirable to attach to our Interest,<sup>2</sup> but of these articles I shall deliver most to your Commissioners to be sold for your account, as some of those Persons for whom part of such presents were intended proved inimical to us, and I did not chuse [*sic*] to dispose of any thing without a fair prospect of deriving from them some advantage to the Company.

The Brig Jackhall which had been purchased in England to attend the Lion was sent by me from Tien-sing to Canton to be sold by your Commissioners for the benefit of the Company.<sup>3</sup> The particulars also of my expenditure I trust will shew [*sic*] that I have not swerved from that economy in the disposition of the Public money without which I think no man worthy to be employed. I should not however have been backward in laying out considerable sums at the Court

<sup>1</sup> Herschel's telescope was obtained from Henry Browne at Canton and its probable value was about £200. Parker's lens was purchased at a cost of £773 (*ibid.*, viii, No. 345).

<sup>2</sup> A letter from Father Grammont dated at Peking, 30th August, 1793, advised Macartney that he should provide presents for the Emperor's sons and eldest grandson, and for several of the high officials. As a result Lord Macartney purchased from Captain Mackintosh on 1st September, fifteen pairs of fine watches for £2,399. Only one pair, valued at £472, given to the Emperor as a personal present from Macartney, was used (Pritchard, *T'oung Pao*, xxxi [1934], 19-20; MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, viii, No. 345).

<sup>3</sup> The *Jackall* was not sold at Canton, but sailed to India with the plants collected by the Embassy and sent to Sir John Shore under the direction of Dr. Dinwiddie (see below Document No. 6 and MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xciii, 363). She was presumably disposed of in India.

of Peking if the opportunity had offered of deriving from thence any material benefit; but it would have ill become me to have risked at random the property of the Company.

The Officers of the Wardroom of the *Lion* took their stations as they assert on board that Ship in the full confidence of being allowed batta in the same manner as it was allowed to the Officers of the *Vestal*, when sent out with Colonel Cathcart on a similar occasion and on the same principle which it is allowed to the Officers of the same station in the Navy serving in other parts of Asia. It is possible, and the Gentlemen of the *Lion* are persuaded that the fact is so, that the omission of Batta for them in your letter [of 8th September, 1792] was merely accidental, however, and tho the sum is trifling, I declined paying any money upon that score until your pleasure should be ultimately known upon the subject.<sup>1</sup> In small as in great objects, it is my duty and inclination to support the rights and the interests of the Company and with these sentiments I remain, with great respect,

Gentlemen,

Yours most obedient and  
most faithful humble Servant

MACARTNEY.

P.S.—I have taken care to put the Viceroy sufficiently upon his Guard against confounding with British Subjects those of the United States of America, whom the People of Canton have already learned to distinguish under the name

<sup>1</sup> As early as 11th October, 1793, Captain Gower of the *Lion* had written to the Chairman of the Court of Directors calling attention to the fact that no provision had been made for paying the officers of the *Lion*, except himself, while the ship was in Chinese waters. When the Embassy arrived home Macartney again wrote to the Chairman about the matter, and was instructed to pay the officers £250 per year, being the allowance paid to similar ships in the Indian service (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, vii, No. 307; MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 23-4, 521).

of Yankees. I have supplied the Viceroy with the appropriate flags of the respective Nations.

P.P.S.—I have just received your letter of 15th March [1793], and 11th May [1793], the latter enclosing copies of correspondence between the Governor General of Bengal, the contending Rajas of Napaul and Lassa, and the Commander of the Chinese forces in Thibet. These papers are of great importance, as they will serve to detect the gross misrepresentations of this business by the Chinese General [Fu K'ang-an], and to which many of our difficulties at the Court of Peking are to be ascribed.<sup>1</sup>

M.

(*To be concluded.*)

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, page 380, note 1. The letter of 15th March, 1793, is in MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, vi, No. 243, and that of 11th May, is referred to in one of 20th June, 1793 (No. 258). The letter of 15th March, tells of the beginning of war with France and of the negotiations of 1793 for a renewal of the Company's Charter. An effort to explain the Tibetan affair served as a pretext for an attempt to open a correspondence with the Peking government in 1795 (Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-3; Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 273-6).

# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1938

PART IV.—OCTOBER

## The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on his Embassy to China and his Reports to the Company, 1792-4.

### Part III: Later Reports and a Statement of the Cost of the Embassy.<sup>1</sup>

EDITED BY EARL H. PRITCHARD

(Concluded from p. 396.)

[Document No. 4]

#### LORD MACARTNEY'S SECOND REPORT TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY<sup>2</sup>

Canton, January 7th, 1794.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman,  
of the Honorable East India Company.

Gentlemen,

In a letter which I had the honor of writing to Mr. Dundas Secretary of State in November [9-11th] last, I communicated to him my intention of convoying in the *Lion*, if necessary, your Ships of this Season to England and in my letter of last month,<sup>3</sup> I gave him my reasons why I suffered the five

<sup>1</sup> The editor is indebted to the India Office for kind permission, obtained through Mr. W. T. Ottewill, Superintendent of Records, to publish Documents Nos. 4, 5 and 6 to follow, and to Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York, for a similar kind permission to publish Document No. 7, extended by Mr. Otto Kinkeldey, the Librarian.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 439-440 and xciii, 245-6, of Part 3.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the letter of 9-11th November, 1793, to Dundas, Lord Macartney wrote two further letters to him, one on 23rd December, 1793, and one on 7th January, 1794. These letters are in MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 393-406 and 443-6, also xciii, 217-228 and 249-250 of Part 3. The necessity of convoying the Indiamen was of course caused by the outbreak of the war with France.

Ships which I found laden on my arrival at Canton to sail from thence without waiting for the remainder, which the more in number, were represented as more in need of protection. I am confirmed in my resolution of accompanying the latter, by the accounts received within these few days, of the Enemy having been in force in the straits of Sunda, where one of your Ships the *Princess Royal* has been captured.<sup>1</sup> As this event must give you some alarm with regard to the safety of your homeward bound Ships now lying here, it will be some satisfaction to you to know that nothing shall prevent me from accompanying them in His Majesty's ship the *Lion*, whose force will, I trust, be sufficient for their protection.

The Vice-roy of Canton to whom I have given a full account of the hardships under which your trade as well as your agents labor here,<sup>2</sup> has already begun to take them under consideration. He has accordingly published two edicts for the general protection of Foreigners from the insults and impositions of the Natives.<sup>3</sup> He has agreed that our Ships shall not for the

<sup>1</sup> The five ships were allowed to depart without convoy to avoid demurrage charges and because they were heavily armed and probably capable of taking care of themselves. The *Princess Royal*, Indiaman, was captured off Anger Point, in the Straits of Sunda, between Java and Sumatra, in September, 1793, by three French ships. A small Country ship from India, the *Polly*, was captured by a French privateer in October (Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 211).

<sup>2</sup> Two lists of grievances and requests for privileges were given by Lord Macartney to the new Viceroy, Ch'ang Lin 長麟, one on 20th November, 1793, the other on 1st January, 1794. The first is printed and the second is summarized in Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 252-4, and an abstract of both are given in Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 357, 362. The originals are found in MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xciii, 229-231, 253-263, of Part 3. The second document in particular is a long and reasoned statement of great importance.

<sup>3</sup> The edicts referred to were issued on 2nd and 5th January, 1794, and were for the most part hollow verbiage. The first threatened with dire punishment anyone who molested, plundered, annoyed, abused, or defrauded the English and was especially directed against persons who maintained night boats near the factories and by means of liquor and loose women inveigled foreigners into iniquities. The second prohibited extortion from Europeans by the magistrates, military, or other persons (MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 475-8, 483-6, and 513-14, 517-18).

future be exposed to the delay or danger of stopping in the open roads of Macao<sup>1</sup>; but may proceed immediately to the Island of Lintin [nearer Whampoa and in a less exposed position]; where they will, be in safety; a point considered of material consequence, and among the objects I pressed upon him. He promises in every other instance, to grant whatever shall not be found inconsistent with the laws and customs of the Chinese.<sup>2</sup>

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most faithful humble  
servant

MACARTNEY.

[Document No. 5]

LORD MACARTNEY'S THIRD REPORT TO THE EAST INDIA  
COMPANY<sup>3</sup>

Lion, *in the Channel*,  
September 4th, 1794.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman,  
of the Honorable East India Company.

Gentlemen,

Immediately on my arrival at Canton from Peking in December last, I had the honor of addressing to you a sketch of my negotiations at that Court; referring you for a more circumstantial account to my dispatches for the Secretary of State, under whose immediate direction my mission was undertaken, as I did him to my letter to you for my proceedings,

<sup>1</sup> The ordinary procedure was for incoming ships to stop outside Macao, where pilots were obtained to take them on to Whampoa. It does not seem that the Viceroy's promise produced any essential change in procedure.

<sup>2</sup> The Viceroy's reply to Macartney's requests admitted abuses and oppressions, promised care and speed in prohibiting them, and promised "that so far as the Laws of China will permit, we shall be peculiarly desirous and ready to settle every thing to your entire Satisfaction". Nothing further was done (MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 467-8, 509).

<sup>3</sup> MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 487-9.

and observations in regard to your particular instructions to me <sup>1</sup>; thus desirous to spare, as much as possible, to each, in your mutual communications, the trouble of perusing the same things in my letters to both. From the same motive, I deemed it unnecessary to enumerate separately to you the prospects of public Advantage, that might have resulted from my protracting somewhat longer my stay in Asia, especially as the more pressing, and indeed immediately essential object of affording protection to the great embarked property of the Company, under the alarming circumstances of the Enemy lying in wait to seize it, had superseded every other consideration; and as the intelligence in the Indian Seas of the capture of two <sup>2</sup> outward bound ships in your employ, must have occasioned you no slight anxiety for the safety of those returning to Europe, I took the opportunity of assuring you, by a Swedish Ship [*Sophia Magdalena*], of my determination of accompanying them home in His Majesty's Ship the *Lion*, as their Convoy. And I now with much pleasure hasten to inform you that, not only the thirteen Ships, which left China with us, but [three] others from Bengal, and [two from] Bombay, that joined us at St. Helena, laden with Cargoes for the Company to the amount of several millions, are now safely arrived in the Channel. I postpone to the time of my being able to wait upon you in London, to relate to you the Steps I took, and the advances I made, at Canton, for putting your trade, and agents there on a footing very different from what has been hitherto experienced. The papers (No. 1 and 2) <sup>3</sup> which I addressed at different times to the Viceroy at Canton, explain perhaps more fully the extent of the hardships suffered there, than is contained in any former communication to you. The general answer of the Viceroy (No. 3) <sup>4</sup> and the copy of the two edicts (No. 4

<sup>1</sup> Macartney's last official report to Dundas was on 4th September, 1794, and is found in *ibid.*, xciii, 281-5, of Part 3.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, page 494, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, page 494, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, page 495, note 2.



and 5)<sup>1</sup> immediately published by him, may enable you to form some idea of what may be expected from him ; and his exalted character for justice, and benevolence adds much to the prospect. The Natives, indeed, in Office, and in Trade, are interested in deceiving him to the prejudice of Foreigners, and no slight efforts are required to be constantly exerted by the latter in their own defence. On this occasion, I must observe that your Commissioners at Canton appear to have conducted your Affairs, as far as I was concerned in them, with much prudence, and ability. I had the ready assistance of their advice, and information ; and among other of their regulations likely to redound to the future prosperity of your trade there, They have encouraged in the Junior Servants a desire of acquiring a knowledge of the language of the Country,<sup>2</sup> without which your Agents will be always at the mercy of men [the Chinese linguists who spoke pidgin English] sufficiently inclined to impose upon them thro dishonesty, or to betray them thro fear. The exterior marks of respect shewn [*sic*] to the Embassy by order of the Emperor has had however already a good effect, in preventing the People of the Country from treating Englishmen, as formerly with contempt, and from considering them as objects of easy prey, and unpunishable insult.<sup>3</sup> The disposition of the Chinese is certainly become more favorable towards us, and it will be the interest of the Company to maintain and improve it.

(Signed) MACARTNEY.

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, page 494, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Prior to this time only two of the Company's servants, James Flint (in China from 1736 to 1762) and Thomas Bevan (in China from 1753 to 1780), had acquired any knowledge of Chinese. In 1792 the Secret and Superintending Committee, after some difficulty because of the prohibition upon the teaching of Chinese to foreigners, obtained a teacher, and three of the writers at the factory, Thomas Charles Pattle, John William Roberts, and John W. Travers began the study (Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 209). None of these men progressed very far in their studies, and the Canton factory had to wait until the arrival in 1800 of George Thomas Staunton, who had begun his study of Chinese while accompanying his father on the Macartney Embassy, before it had a competent interpreter.

<sup>3</sup> Macartney here seems to be too optimistic.

[Document No. 6]

LETTER FROM LORD MACARTNEY TO SIR JOHN SHORE <sup>1</sup>

Macao, February [3], 1794.

To the Honorable Sir John Shore Bart.

Governor General of Bengal &amp;ca. &amp;ca.

Sir,

I make no doubt that you were made acquainted by His Majesty's Ministers before you left England with the occasion and object of my Embassy to this quarter of the World. I took also the opportunities which offered in the course of my voyage hither, to communicate the same to Lord Cornwallis, who was still then in the Government of Bengal.<sup>2</sup> Since that period I have been at the Court of the Emperor of China, whose reception was honorable, and gracious. And in consequence of his orders, two edicts have already been published at Canton for the redress of the grievances, under which our trade had hitherto labored there; and the Viceroy has promised, and seems disposed to grant every indulgence to our Merchants, which may be consistent with the laws, and customs of the Country.

A variety of circumstances has impeded, for the present the attainment of other objects in regard to opening new Channels for the introduction of British manufactures into every part of the Empire. The very great age of his Imperial Majesty tends to disincline his mind against suddenly giving way to novelties, or alterations of any kind. And the Government itself is become, of late, more than usually cautious, since they heard of the confusions in France, and of the attempts made by the Revolutionists there to disseminate

<sup>1</sup> This letter has been included here, although it is enclosuro No. 3 in Macartney's letter of 4th September, 1794, to Henry Dundas, because it relates primarily to the carrying out of instructions given to Lord Macartney by the Company. It is found in MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xciii, 205-8.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Shore succeeded Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General in October, 1793.

their principles every where else. These accounts have had such an effect in the first moments, as to induce the Mandarines to intercept the correspondence of all the European Missionaries at Peking, tho no set of men can hold the late changes in greater horror, and by which, indeed, they are deprived of the annual stipends that had until then been regularly remitted to them. The Chinese Ministers could not, under such impressions, be much disposed to relax from their usual system of confining all mercantile connexions with the western world to a remote corner of their Empire. In addition to those circumstances, it seems likewise that the Commander of the Emperor's Troops in Thibet [Fu K'ang-an 福康安], on his return from thence, had misrepresented to his Imperial Majesty the procedure of the Bengal Government on his application against the Raja of Napaul, notwithstanding which, succours were said to be afforded to him.<sup>1</sup> While we were supposed to have given assistance to an Enemy of the Chinese, they could not be in the humour of granting to us any signal favors. Tho I was convinced the assertion was ungrounded, and denied it accordingly, yet I happened not to be possessed while at Peking of the documents I have since lately received from Bengal, and England, which place the transaction in its true light, and prove the friendly disposition shewn [*sic*] by us on the occasion. This business, however, will be soon explained, I trust, to the satisfaction of the Emperor, and the advantage we took of our power in India, to render him service, can scarcely fail to remove the jealousy he might have been excited to entertain of it. Our political situation in Bengal may even contribute with other motives, to procure for us the full extension, we desire, of our commerce throughout the Empire.

It was thought likewise possible to form mercantile con-

<sup>1</sup> A complete account of this affair is given in Colonel W. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, Being the Substance of Observations Made during a Mission in That Country in 1793* (London, 1811), especially the Appendix.

nexions to advantage with other parts of the East,<sup>1</sup> for which places I was also honored with full powers of treating in case opportunities should be favorable; but as his Majesty's Ship the Lyon had orders to convey me out, and home, I think myself bound to avail myself of that circumstance, to accompany the principal fleet of the Company's ships this season from Canton, where no slight apprehensions are formed of their danger, if they attempted to proceed without a convoy; especially as intelligence has lately been received of the Enemy being in force in the Chinese, or Indian seas, and of the Princess Royal outward bound, having been captured in the Straits of Sunda. No service I conceive, can be more immediately important than that of guarding so much property belonging to the Company, as is now embarked here for England.

Beside the general instructions, which I received from His Majesty, thro one of His principal Secretaries of State, relative to my mission to China, several matters were particularly recommended to me by the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. Among others they observe that on many accounts it would be desirable to raise the tea plant within their own territories in India, for which purpose they request I should endeavour to procure, if possible, some of the plants, of the best kind, and to transmit them to Bengal, where it seems indeed that persons conversant in Agriculture were of opinion, that in the district of Rungpoor [Rangpur], the soil, and situation were fit for the cultivation of it. Fortunately the present Viceroy of Canton [Ch'ang Lin], as he travelled with me thro the Province of Chekiang to take possession of his new Government, led us thro places, where the tea grows to perfection, and very liberally allowed me to take up several young plants of the best kind, which I ordered to be put up in proper boxes, with earth, in which

<sup>1</sup> Macartney was given Credentials to the Emperor of Japan, the King of Cochin China, and blank Credentials to all other kings and princes of the East Indies (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, viii, No. 329; v, No. 210; and i, miscellaneous unnumbered Credentials).

they continue still to thrive. I have appointed Dr. [James] Dinwiddie,<sup>1</sup> a Gentleman of Science, who accompanied me to China, to take those plants to Calcutta, to be delivered to your orders, and as they are to be carried on board a Vessel, the Jackall, belonging to the Company, and commanded by a careful Officer (of the Bombay Marine) Mr. [John] Procter, I flatter myself they will arrive in good order and fit for the trial the Company wishes to make of them.<sup>2</sup> I take the same opportunity of sending some plants of the varnish tree, and the Tallow tree, both which as they are esteemed highly valuable in this Country, they may prove likewise beneficial in Bengal.

The Company having observed, that the silk of the Province of Nanking is superior to what is made in their own possessions, is desirous of finding out the causes of the difference in order to a discovery of what, if possible, may render their own equal to the Chinese. With this view a set of queries relative to the management of the silk mulberry tree in Nanking was put into my hands. The only answers I could as yet obtain

<sup>1</sup> According to W. J. Proudfoot's *Biographical Memoir of J. Dinwiddie*, mentioned in Part II of this paper, Dinwiddie was born 8th December, 1746, and died 19th March, 1815. He received his Master of Arts degree from the University of Edinburgh in January, 1778, and was granted the LL.D. degree by the same institution in 1792. While in India he delivered lectures on experimental philosophy at Calcutta under the patronage of the Governor-Generals, and was for a time employed in practical experimentation by the Board of Trade at Calcutta. He also lectured at Madras and was a teacher of mathematics in the College of Fort William from 1800 until his resignation in 1805. He departed for England in 1806 (see also *Catalogue of the Edinburgh Graduates* [Edinburgh, 1858], pp. 213, 259, and J. Dinwiddie, *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Experimental Philosophy* [London, 1789]).

<sup>2</sup> It appears that the tea plants reached India and were planted in the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta, where other tea plants had been cultivated since 1780. In spite of the apparent interest of the Court of Directors in the commercial cultivation of the tea plant in India, as shown in the letter of instructions to Lord Macartney, "political and commercial objections connected with the company's highly profitable tea trade with China conspired to prevent the carrying out of" any such schemes (W. H. Ukers, *All About Tea* [New York, 1935], i, 134, 133). This is an interesting point and deserves further investigation.

I have given to Dr. Dinwiddie,<sup>1</sup> to be delivered to you, for the use of those, who are concerned in that manufacture in Bengal; and as some persons have suspected, that the insects which produce the silk in different Countries are not every where the same, I send by the Doctor also some of the Eggs of the China silk worm, which may ascertain that fact, as far as relates to India, and serve to propagate a new breed, if it should prove to be different from what is now reared there. As Dr. Dinwiddie is going upon the Public service, I have promised him that you will grant him whatever allowance you will think reasonable; and his services may not be confined to the care of the objects I have entrusted to him; for the Company having very liberally extended its views beyond mere commercial advantages, had, I understand, maintained an Astronomer in Bengal, who is now deceased<sup>2</sup>; his loss may be supplied by Dr. Dinwiddie, who is indeed considered as conversant with several other branches of science connected with the mathematics; his attention, indeed, to the very curious, and complicated machines, I brought from England, which required to be properly put together, after they were brought on shore, prevented him from attending me to the Emperor's Court at Gehol in Tartary, where his Imperial Majesty always spends the summer season. I have supplied the Doctor with several instruments belonging to the Company, agreeably to the inclosed list,<sup>3</sup> the amount of which may be deducted

<sup>1</sup> For a list of these questions with answers to them see MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, ix, No. 379. The answers relate to the culture of the mulberry tree. No answers relating to the silk-worms were obtained. See also *infra*, page 507, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Reuben Burrow (1747-1792), an astronomer and mathematician who went to India in 1782 and was appointed to teach mathematics to the Engineers, and on the Survey of Bengal. He was an early member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and contributed eleven papers on Hindu mathematics and astronomy to the Society and to *Asiatic Researches* (Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*).

<sup>3</sup> The articles given to Dr. Dinwiddie, valued at £270, included a pile driver; a small steam engine, several silk reeling machines, several pumps,

from his salary, or allowances. I take the liberty to recommend him to you as a man of learning and merit.

I have the honor to be &ca. &ca.

(Signed) MACARTNEY.

P.S.—You will please to pay Lieutenant Procter a reasonable allowance for Dr. Dinwiddie's passage.

[Document No. 7]

LORD MACARTNEY'S FOURTH REPORT TO THE EAST INDIA  
COMPANY <sup>1</sup>

Curzon Street

November 26th, 1794.

Wm. Devaynes Esq., Chairman  
of the East India Company.

Sir,

I received from Mr. Inglis the Extract you were pleased to send me from the proceedings of the Secret and Superintending Committee of Supercargoes at Canton, dated the 3rd of February last.<sup>2</sup> As it contains a list of articles which

an electrical machine, an artificial eye, some lamps, a theodolite, several microscopes, a camera, a magic lantern, a number of electrical and mathematical instruments, an assortment of chemical supplies, and various other items (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, x, No. 422).

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, vii, No. 312, and MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 520-532. William Devaynes became Chairman of the Court of Directors in the spring of 1794. The letter in the Cornell manuscript is unsigned.

<sup>2</sup> At Canton on 28th December, 1793, Lord Macartney gave to Henry Browne, Eyles Irwin, and William Jackson a long list of products which he thought could be sold to advantage in North China. The list included bronze figures, agates and bloodstones, Derbyshire globes, green serpentine stones, Gill's sword blades, firelocks, writing paper, girdle buckles, saddles, whip-lashes, knives, forks and spoons, brushes, snuffers, combs, nut-crackers, scissors, pocket knives, files, toys, necklaces and earrings, looking glasses and plate glass, Virginia cloths, fleecy hosiery, and garters. In their proceedings for 3rd February, 1794, the Secret and Superintending Committee recorded that Shy Kinqa and Mowqua, two of the leading Hong Merchants, were sceptical as to the market value of the articles. Shy Kinqa, however, promised to attempt to dispose of small trial shipments by sending them

I delivered to the Supercargoes, as what in my opinion might be introduced with advantage at Peking, and their consequent recommendation to the Court of Directors, to send Specimens of such goods to China, their recommendation accompanied however with a declaration that those Articles appeared to them better calculated for the speculation of the Individual Trader than for the extensive Scale of the honorable Company's Investment. The intention of communicating this Extract to me, was no doubt either to be informed whether I persevered in my former opinion on this Subject, or whether I agreed with the suggestion of the Supercargoes, or lastly how soon I should think it advisable to make the experiment of sending out the Specimens alluded to, and I thought it possible that a specific question might be put to me in writing, to which an answer would be expected from me, but in order to lose no time, I shall freely mention to you at once whatever occurs to my mind at present on these points.

I certainly still think, that the Articles I had specified and indeed others of British Manufacture might be introduced with advantage at Peking, and in most other parts of the Chinese Empire. Its Inhabitants however wedded to their ancient manners and opinions, did not appear to me to entertain any particular predilection for articles of consumption on account of being produced or prepared in their

to North China under the direction of one of his men. The Committee therefore recommended that specimens of these articles be sent to China, but expressed the view that such articles were better adapted to Private trade than to the Company's trade (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, vii, No. 322). Mr. Inglis was presumably a secretary at the India House. The Hong merchant Shy Kinqua mentioned here is the son, Gonqua, of the merchant mentioned in Part I of this article. As business was carried on in his father's name, he too was known as Shih Chung-ho 石中和, and was proprietor of the *Erh-i hang* 而益行. Mowqua became a Hongist in 1792. His official name was Lu Kuan-hêng 盧觀恆, his business name, Lu Mao-kuan 盧茂官, and the name of his Hong was *Kuang-li* 廣利. See Liang Chia-pin 梁嘉彬, *Kuang-tung Shih-san Hang K'ao* 廣東十三行考, pp. 216, 218, 284-7, 302-7.



own Country, but on the contrary seemed quick enough in finding out any superior quality or convenience in goods, presented to them from abroad, and equally eager to possess them. It is, however, to be observed peculiarly of China, as indeed in some degree of most other Countries, that it supplies to the natives in abundance all the real necessaries, and most of the luxuries of life, and therefore that foreign Goods are so far superfluous among them until new wants shall be excited in their minds by the display of somewhat more convenient or more pleasing than what they had hitherto enjoyed, and in this sense every foreign Trade may be considered as in some measure forced, requiring consequently no slight degree of management, patience and zealous attention to push it on, as the history and gradual progress of the Company's trade hitherto to China has sufficiently evinced.

Whether the Articles I have specified be introduced into China as part of the Honorable Company's Investment, or by the Individual Trader, does not, in a national consideration, appear to be of material importance, provided the amount be the same. But that any trade cannot be carried on with China to great extent by Individuals is among the causes which have occasioned the Establishment and continuance of the Company. The case applies much stronger when relating to the introduction of new Articles, in which the risk is certainly the greater, and which requires not only the friends and advances, but also the influence with the Natives of a great and united body. The Natives will scarcely purchase from Individuals except what is already in demand ; nor can afford to make the speedy payments necessary to private traders in return for goods to be sent on speculation above a thousand miles. Individuals ought certainly to be allowed to deal in those Articles in concurrence with the Company, as they are allowed to deal in Teas in the returning Cargoes, and in proportion as the means which the Company alone possesses, shall have procured a vent for such Commodities, Individuals will partake in the Trade, thus gaining

instead of loosing by the part which the Company shall have taken in it. The objects themselves indeed might have appeared too minute and insignificant to the Supercargoes, and thus unworthy the notice of a great commercial body, and so they certainly will be while confined to the small quantity of them which Individuals can contrive to introduce, or even to what the Company can effect in the beginning ; but no Article continues to be trifling, for which millions of consumers may gradually as in China be procured ; and Scissars [*sic*] or Snuffers may like the cuttings or shreds of cloth,<sup>1</sup> be found in future fit to enter into the Company's Investment ; much of the success may depend however on the time and manner of making the experiment. The Hong Merchants at Canton satisfied with the Trade already in their hand, will not naturally be forward in embarking in new enterprizes, for which they must take new measures and precautions. Among many Articles some will turn out not suitable, and others will be long on hand. These Merchants will certainly be little anxious unless they find your Agents particularly and heartily urgent with them on the occasion. A mere and cold acquittal of duty on the part of your Agents, recommending to the Hong Merchants to take and spread those Articles, as they do to you to send them out, does not promise much effect ; and while the Supercargoes continue in opinion that such goods should be left to the Speculation of the individual Trader, it may be difficult for them to express sentiments of a contrary nature to the Hong Merchants, or to inspire them with all the zeal which may be necessary to overcome the difficulties and hazards of such undertakings. I cannot therefore be sanguine in proposing the experiment to be made, until your Agents shall be brought to think as favorably of the prospect as I do.<sup>2</sup>

I have the honor to be with  
great consideration

Sir,

MACARTNEY.

P.S.—I have the honor to send you such answers as I could obtain to the Queries relative to Silk,<sup>3</sup> which I was desired to make in China by the Chairman & deputy Chairman in their letter of the 8th of September, 1792.

[Document No. 8]

COST OF THE MACARTNEY EMBASSY <sup>4</sup>

No detailed account of the cost of the Macartney Embassy has been published, although John Barrow in his *Life . . . of the Earl*

<sup>1</sup> Considerable quantities of cloth cuttings were imported in Private trade (Pritchard, op. cit., p. 171).

<sup>2</sup> An experimental shipment of Irish linens in 1794-5 was disposed of at invoice cost (£845), and in 1795-6, as a result of Lord Macartney's recommendations, Irish linens invoiced at £589, stationery invoiced at £276, and sword blades valued at £248 arrived at Canton. Mowqua sent the linens to Manila at two-thirds prime cost because there was no market for them in China. Puankhequa sent one case of stationery to Peking as an experiment, but the Chinese merchants in general insisted that it could be used only as presents. No merchant would touch the sword blades because they could be used only as presents, and they were finally sent back to Europe (Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 153, 256, 266-7). Puankhequa was the son of Puankhequa (P'an Wen-yen 潘文巖) who died in 1788. He at times may have been known by his father's name, but his official name appears to have been P'an Chih-hsiang 潘致祥, his business name, the same as his father's, was P'an Ch'i-kuan 潘啓官, and the Hong name was *T'ung-wen* 同文. See Liang Chia-pin, op. cit., pp. 218, 280, 259-273, 286-8.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, page 502, note 1. The answers obtained contained the following information: that there were two species of the mulberry tree, one of which bore white, the other black berries, and that the tree bearing white berries was preferable; that the first leaves to sprout were better for the silkworm; that young leaves were given to young worms and mature leaves to full-grown worms; that mulberry trees were planted in the spring; that leaves first appeared in the spring and then two or three times later in the year; that the leaves were sold to persons in the cities who reared the worms; that mulberry trees thrived better on dry soil than did rice; and that no leaves other than those of the mulberry tree were fed to the silkworm (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, ix, No. 379).

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, Nos. 92, 131, 144, 177, 180, 185, 188, 219, 221, 243-8, 290, 307, 343, 345, 347, 349, 354, 395, 411, 422, 436a, 437, 442; MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xci, 543-590, and xcii, 5-6, 9, 15-18, 23-4, 521, and xciii, 48, 219, 264-270, 280, 603-619; Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 205, 216, 223, 255-6; Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 291, 294-5, 303-6; and especially Document No. 1 of this paper.

of *Macartney* (i, 353-4), states that it cost about £80,000. From various papers remaining in the India Office and the Wason Collection at Cornell it is possible to calculate the approximate cost of the mission.

## SOURCE OF FUNDS

	£
Presents from the Cathcart Embassy . . . . .	2,394
Grant of credit from the Directors on 19th January and 8th August, 1792 . . . . .	30,000
Spent beyond grant of credit before leaving London . . . . .	809
Bills on the Court at Portsmouth (£800 less £35 refunded), September, 1792 . . . . .	765
Gained on exchange of \$20,000 purchased for £4,547 . . . . .	453
Bills on the Court of Directors at Madeira Islands, October, 1792 . . . . .	959
Gross funds provided by the Commissioners at Canton . . . . .	16,933
Cash to Lord Macartney . . . . .	£1,200
Bills drawn by Macartney on the Com- missioners . . . . .	£4,823
Cost of the ship <i>Iphigenia</i> (\$10,500) . . . . .	£2,625
Supplies and services . . . . .	£8,285
Total . . . . .	£16,933
Less property returned to Commissioners . . . . .	£6,583
Net expense at Canton (T. 31,050) . . . . .	£10,350
Cash given to Lord Macartney at Portsmouth, September, 1794 . . . . .	7,278
Instalments on Lord Macartney's salary not advanced . . . . .	23,000
Instalments on Sir George Leonard Staunton's salary . . . . .	6,000
Court's vote of an Honorarium to Staunton, 5th August, 1795 . . . . .	3,000
Court's grant to Messrs. Cobb and Malben, November, 1792, and April, 1793 . . . . .	350
Court's grant to officers of <i>Hindustan</i> , 15th April, 1795, about . . . . .	300
Total gross funds . . . . .	92,241

## DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS

Presents bought in London including present to Viceroys . . . . .	15,953
Other miscellaneous expense in London . . . . .	2,100
Staunton's expense in Italy in search of interpreters . . . . .	960
Cost of the <i>Jackall</i> . . . . .	1,500
Expenses in Portsmouth, September, 1792 . . . . .	750
Presents purchased by Lord Macartney in China . . . . .	3,582

Cost of the <i>Clarence</i> purchased by Lord Macartney (\$5,000) . . . . .	1,250
Current expense during the Embassy . . . . .	5,510
Cost of the <i>Iphigenia</i> purchased by the Commissioners (\$10,500) . . . . .	2,625
Telescope, services, and supplies purchased by Commissioners . . . . .	8,285
Lord Macartney's total salary . . . . .	30,000
Sir George Leonard Staunton's salary . . . . .	6,000
Honorarium to Staunton . . . . .	3,000
Salary of the civil suite . . . . .	7,160
Salary of the guard . . . . .	2,041
Sir Erasmus Gower's salary . . . . .	583
Salary of the officers of the <i>Lion</i> . . . . .	292
Remuneration to Messrs. Cobb and Malbon . . . . .	350
Remuneration to the officers of the <i>Hindustan</i> , about . . . . .	300
	92,241
Total gross expense . . . . .	92,241
Deduct resources remaining at the end of the Embassy . . . . .	13,719
Value of presents returned to Commissioners at Canton . . . . .	£4,333
Sales value of <i>Iphigenia</i> at Canton (\$6,000) . . . . .	£1,500
Sales value of <i>Clarence</i> at Canton (\$3,000) . . . . .	£750
Estimated sales value of the <i>Jackall</i> in India . . . . .	£1,000
Supplies given to Dr. Dinwiddie at Canton . . . . .	£270
Amount refunded on carriages in London . . . . .	£372
Value of wine returned . . . . .	£370
Duties refunded on <i>Hindustan</i> at Canton in 1794-5 . . . . .	£5,115
	£13,719
Total resources remaining . . . . .	£13,719
Net expense of the Embassy to the East India Company . . . . .	78,522