BRITAIN AND THE CHINA TRADE 1635–1842

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Selected and with a preface by Patrick Tuck

Part I: The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on His Embassy to China and His Reports to the Company, 1792–4 Earl H. Pritchard

Part II: Lord Macartney's Embassy to Peking in 1793: from official Chinese documents

J.L. Cranmer-Byng



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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 EARL H. PRITCHARD

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-hong, 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 Hindostan, 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, a member of the Council of State, from Peking to near Hangchow, where part of the mission rejoined the Hindostan, 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,2 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

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.

LORD MACARTNEY ON HIS EMBASSY TO CHINA

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

¹ Sung Yün 松 筠 (1753-1835).

² Ch'ang Lin 長 麟 (D. 1811).

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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).

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO

STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON. PULLMAN, WASHINGTON.

[Document No. 1]

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S INSTRUCTIONS TO LORD MACARTNEY, 1 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

Excellency on the Embassy to China, 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],2 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] 3 from the Court of Directors to Messrs. [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 4; 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] 5; also of one

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

² 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.

3 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.

4 Thetis, Indiaman of 804 tons, sailed for China on 5th May, 1792.

⁵ 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 Viceroy as soon as possible, to announce to him the coming of the Embassy, and to deliver

¹ MSS. State College of Washington, Pritchard Collection of Macartney Documents on China, i, No. 1.

from the Chairman addressed to the Viceroy of Canton [No. 28], 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.

¹ 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], 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

1 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.

JRAS. APRIL 1938.

been greatly meliorated in every respect, since the immense increase of our Trade,1 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

of the Company suffers severely in consequence of a supposed redress of grievances,1 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 2; 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.3

² The possible death of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor and the accession of

a new Emperor is here anticipated.

¹ 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 121 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).

¹ 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 I, next page.

³ 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, xeii, 259-261; 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, 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 think it encumbent 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 1; 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

¹ 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 reestablished in 1760, abolished again in 1771, and re-established in its final form in 1780 (Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 116, 131, 140, 200, 210).

¹ 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], that accident was not known to the Emperor, or to his Ministers at Pekin: 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 continguity 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

Hindostan ¹ 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,² 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.

¹ 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.

¹ An Indiaman of 1,248 tons, which accompanied the Embassy and carried presents.

² 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.¹

The second, is the superior advantage which a Cohong affords, of promoting the favourite object of Barter ²; 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.

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.¹

Of these, the first is the most important and considerable. The quantity and value is now become so large, that it would be extremely desireable 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.² 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,

¹ 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.

² 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.

¹ 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).

² 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], 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 desireable 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

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, 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,² 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

¹ 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.

¹ 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).

² The value of raw cotton imported from India to China increased from T. 311,762 in 1784-5, to T. 2,232,518 in 1790-1 (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 Act¹; 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

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, for Specimens;

¹ 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.

¹ 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 pur-	e19 109 10 4
chased [No. 2 in the Packet]	£13,123.12. 4
For the same purpose, consisting of those articles pur-	
chased for the late Colonel Cathcart's Embassy	
[No. 4 in the Packet]	2,486. 9. 6
A small Present sent to the Viceroy of Canton by the	
Thetis [No. 30 in the Packet]	$342. 8. 6^{-1}$
Amount of what has been paid for miscellaneous Services	
[No. 5 in the Packet]	$[2,100. \ 0. \ 0]$
The cost of 20,000 [Spanish] Dollars [No. 6 in the Packet]	4,546.10 3
Imprests to Sundries on account of their Salaries [No. 7	
in the Packet]	8,161.10
Total .	£

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.⁴

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

¹ The present consisted of furs and broadcloth.

³ 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.

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] 1; 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 Kinqua² 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 Tabbinets³ are the only articles of Manufacture that we know of, in which Ireland

² See MSS. Cornell, Macariney 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 Macariney at Portsmouth before embarking (see infra, Document No. 8, which will appear in a later number of this Journal).

⁴ 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.

¹ See *Mémoires concernant...des chinois*. The article is by Père P. Martial Cibot and is entitled, "Parallele des moeurs & usages des chinois, avec les moeurs & usages décrits dans le livre d'Esther."

² See note at the end of this article.

³ 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 T. 47, but in 1789-90, 140 pieces sold at a loss of T. 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, 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

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 Capta	in				£500) pe	r a	nn.
Lieutenant Colonel George Benson	com	mandi	ng;	Allo	wance	-		
as Major of Infantry, per day	٠.					£l	17	6
Lieutenant Henry Parish	•						10	0
Lieutenant John Crewe		٠.					10	0
One Corporal of Light Dragoons .		•						10
Nine Private Light Dragoons each								10
One Serjeant of Artillery								10
Three Corporals or Bombardiers of A	rtille	ery			each			10
One Drummer of Artillery per day		٠.						10
Fifteen Gunners of Artillery each			٠.					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 JRAS. APRIL 1938.

¹ 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).

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Fifty thousand [Spanish] Dollars,1 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,2 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 Pekin 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 Pekin, that other Nations speaking our language

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

[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.

LORD MACARTNEY ON HIS EMBASSY TO CHINA

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 desireable 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: 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] and of the

² 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).

¹ 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],¹ 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 Capt: 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].²

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.

1 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 cuttings, perfume, sadlery, cutlery, clocks, Prussian blue, carpets, hats, cards, beer, and music are included.

² 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. 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 Burges

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).

¹ For this letter see MSS. India Office, China: Macarlney 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 Kinqua. 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 Kinqua.

(To be continued.)

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The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on his Embassy to China and his Reports to the Company, 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 ²

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 Pekin, in order to congratulate

¹ 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.

² 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.1 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 Pekin, 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,2 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 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 Pekin, 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 Pekin, 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.¹

(Signed) Francis Baring.

¹ In October, 1789, 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).

² At the time this letter was written Lord Macartney was still a Baron. He became Viscount Macartney of Dervock, 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).

¹ 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 회 出 動[動]) and the Hoppo (Sheng Chu 盛 住) on 10th October, 1792. The Viceroy was still the Fu K'ang-an mentioned in note I, 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 Ting-nan 梁廷柄, Yileh Hai-kuan Chih 粤海關志 (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 Hsuch pao 嶺 南 學報 (iv [April, 1935], 138), dealing with Liang Ting-nan's works, Sinn Yuk-ching (Hsien Yüching) 洗玉清 describes the Yueh Hai-kuan Chih.