

Paupers, Prisoners and Vagrants

The Macartney Embassy (1792-1794)

It was agreed that members of great Government missions and voyages of exploration in the 18th century would hand over their diaries and journals to be used in the official account of the enterprise, and not publish their own account, or at least not before the official narration had been issued. This caused no end of trouble for travellers such as the Forsters on Cook's second voyage, and certainly raised the heartbeat of Johann Christian Hüttner, interpreter and tutor to the young George Thomas Staunton, both members of the Macartney embassy to the Qianlong Emperor in Peking, which departed London in September 1792.

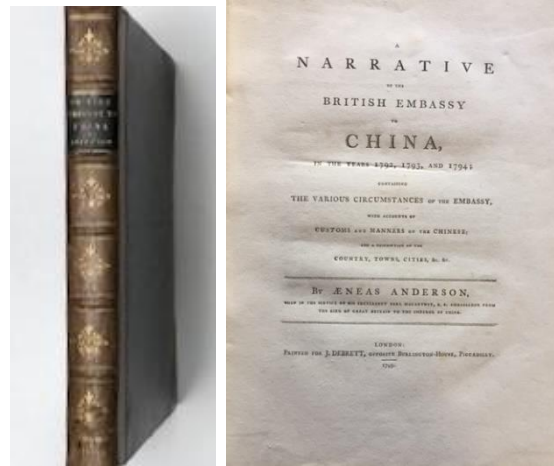


The Qianlong Emperor and Lord Macartney, from Vols 1 and 2 respectively of Staunton's account of the Macartney embassy.

However, it didn't appear to worry one Aeneas Anderson, valet to Lord Macartney, who published his own narrative in 1795, a year after their return, and 2 years before the official account of George Leonard Staunton. It is possible that since Anderson was not a named member of the embassy, but as a servant was not, or did not see himself, as bound by any agreement not to publish before Staunton. He, and particularly his bookseller, certainly knew a profit-making venture when they saw one.

Anderson, Aeneas. *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China, in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794; Containing the Various Circumstances of the Embassy, with Accounts of Customs and Manners of the Chinese; and a Description of the Country, Towns, Cities, &c. &c.* London: J. Debrett, 1795. xxiv, 328 pp. 4to. Cordier 2386; Lust 497; Lowendahl 685.

His notes and memoirs were edited and published by the bookseller and journalist, Ebenezer Coombs, of Coombs and Bishop in the Strand. Coombs gave the work a significant pro-Chinese flavour, being alert to increasingly widely held views of British readers that the Embassy was a failure¹. It is a lively work, with an immediacy and vividness that is often lacking in the more official, authoritative accounts of senior members of the mission, Staunton and Barrow. It has also long been famous for Anderson's scathing comment on the embassy:



'We entered Peking like paupers; we remained in it like prisoners; and we quitted it like vagrants.' It's a good line, though some have attributed it to the publisher rather than Anderson himself; this may reflect the later dismissive view of the book, perhaps signalling a belief that a mere valet couldn't (and certainly shouldn't) write such a work in the first place.

It is notable in lacking any plates or maps, rectified in an abridged edition two years later. Anderson also provides a helpful list of the personnel and their roles in the Embassy. The journal of the two embassy ships, *Lion* and *Hindustan*, covering the voyage back from Chusan² to Canton, was also included, as it fills a gap in the published narrations. The embassy split at Hangzhou on the return journey, with Macartney and the principal personnel continuing on the inland route, and the two ships sailing on to meet up with the Ambassador again at Canton. In addition, Anderson included a 2-page glossary of Chinese words, and the work is notable for listing the men who died during the whole enterprise, something usually noted more in passing in the later works of Staunton and Barrow.

Anderson is kinder on the intentions and organization of the Embassy and its apparent failure in his Preface than later emerges in his account. There he says: *'It is impossible to speak in higher terms of the anxious care and liberal attention of government to this diplomatic mission than it deserves. The superior talents which direct its board of controul [sic], and the commercial spirit which animates the direction of the East India Company, combined to form those arrangements which certainly deserved success, if they did not obtain it.'* The book was later dismissed by John Barrow, writing in his 1804 account: *'A book that was published in the name of one Aeneas Anderson, who was a livery servant of Lord Macartney, but which in fact was a work vamped up by a London bookseller as a speculation that could not fail, so greatly excited was public curiosity at the return of the Embassy.'*³

The book plate on the inside cover of my copy, which is bound in contemporary half calf with marbled boards is that the Earl of Sefton (1772-1838), sportsman and gambler, also

¹ **Peyrefitte, A.**, *The collision of two civilisations. The British expedition to China 1792-94.* 1989.

² Chusan (now Zhoushan) was a group of islands at the southern mouth of Hangzhou Bay, just off-shore from what eventually became the Treaty Port of Ningbo.

³ **Barrow, J.**, *Travels in China, containing descriptions, observations, and comparisons, made and collected in the course of a short residence at the Imperial palace of Yue-Min-Yuen,.....* London, T Cadell and W Davies, 1804.

known as Lord Dashalong from his habit of racing through the London streets in his carriage and four. His family seat was Croxteth Hall, the library of which is included in the bookplate.

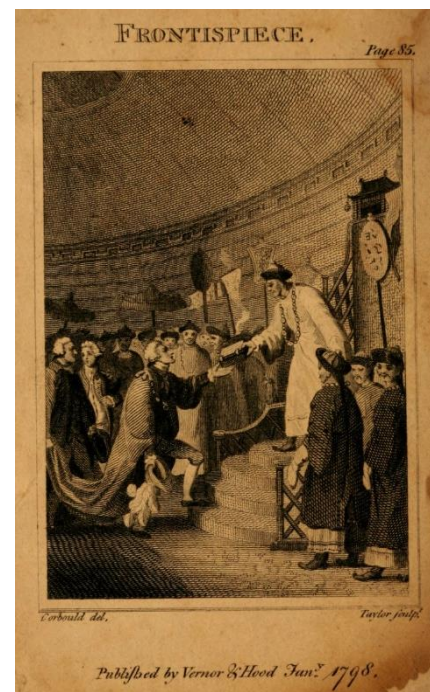
The book went into a number of editions, including printings in New York and Philadelphia in the same year, and German translations in 1795 and 1796. There was also publication of an abridged, corrected version in 1797.

[Anderson, Aeneas] *An accurate account of Lord Macartney's embassy to China; carefully abridged from the original work; with alterations and corrections, by the editor, who was also an attendant on the embassy. Embellished with plates. Vernor and Hood, London, 1797 pp 144, frontis., 2 plates. 12mo. Cordier2386*

This was published anonymously, with the editor stating in the preface that he was an attendant on the embassy and was going to publish his work, but on 'perusing the work published by Mr Anderson, he found it, on the whole, so clearly correct, so accurately descriptive, and so rationally conclusive, that he was induced to quit his first intention, and pursue the plan which he has here adopted, of abridging Mr Anderson's book, with such alterations, corrections, and additions, which were most forcibly impressed on his mind.' and 'though Mr Anderson and myself may differ on trifles, there is no material variation of opinion between us.'. The assumption is that the 'editor' was Anderson, and for some reason wanted to disguise his role in abridging and publishing this version of his own work, and if so you wonder why they pursued such a conceit. Cordier lists it under Anderson. It has three plates where the original has none, including a frontispiece of Macartney, holding his plumed hat, in audience with the Emperor⁴, one of Chinese prostrating themselves before a priest and statuary (both of these drawn by Henry Corbould⁵ and engraved by 'Taylor', likely to be one of the brothers James or Isaac Taylor), and a third of 'Tchien-Loong, Present Emperor of China' similar to that used by Staunton, but not the same and currently the artist is unidentified.

Anderson's account appears twice more within works by other authors. Firstly, in a 1795 publication by William Winterbotham:

Winterbotham, W. *An Historical, Geographical and Philosophical View of the Chinese Empire, Comprehending a Description of the Fifteen Provinces of China, Chinese Tartary, Tributary States; Natural History of China; Government, Religion, Laws, Manners and customs, Literature, Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, etc. to which is added, a Compendious Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy, compiled from original communications. London,*



Lord Macartney in audience with the Qianlong Emperor. From Anderson's abridged account of 1797. From a digitised copy held at Duke University.

⁴ <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=dul1.ark:/13960/t21c2ts0f&view=1up&seq=2>. Accessed 4 December 2022.

⁵ Henry Corbould (1815-1905), a noted London historical artist.

Ridgeway and Bottom, 1795. [10], 435, 114 pp, 6 engravings, map. Cordier 2392; Lust 79, 80.

Winterbotham (1763-1829) was a controversial Baptist clergyman who, because of two sermons he preached in 1792, including favourable comments on the French Revolution, and who spoke against slavery, was sentenced to 4 years in prison for sedition under the severe laws brought in by Pitt during the scare of a French invasion. While there and with time on his hands, Winterbotham wrote the book on China, and a 4 volume work on the United States (1799). It is accepted that the account of the Macartney embassy in this work is that of Anderson.

The second is in a compilation by John Cawthrone:

Cawthrone, J. *A complete view of the Chinese Empire exhibited in a geographical description of that country, a dissertation on its antiquity, and a genuine and copious account of Earl Macartney's Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China. London. Printed for and published by G. Cawthrone...1798. lxxii, 456 (2) pp. frontispiece portrait of "His Imperial Majesty Ken Long, Emperor of China". Cordier 2391*

John Cawthrone was a British publisher and printer largely known these days as a publisher of theatre works in the early 19th C. The compilation is announced as from 'a journal ...kept by a servant of the ambassador'. We might assume this is from Anderson's account. The advertisement for Cawthrone's book says: 'The general curiosity excited by the publication of an authentic account of Earl Macartney's Embassy to China has induced the Editor to compile the present volume, which will be found to give a better and more copious account of that Empire than has hitherto appeared'.

Anderson later published in 1802, 'A Journal of the Forces which sailed from the Downs, in April 1800', as part of the preparation for the British expedition to Egypt in the Napoleonic wars, evidence that he could write after all, and might not have had to rely too heavily on his publisher.

The official account of the embassy was assigned to Sir George Leonard Staunton, Secretary and Macartney's second in charge.

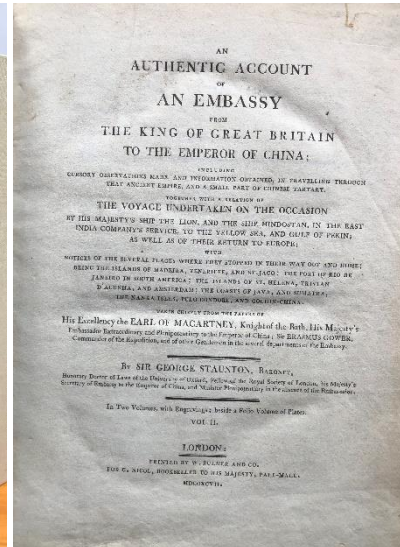
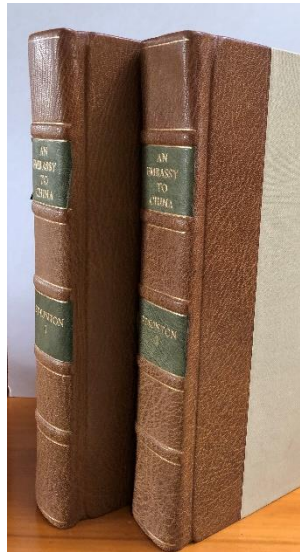
Staunton, J. L. *An authentic account of an embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China; including cursory observations made, and information obtained, in travelling through that ancient empire, and a small part of Chinese Tartary. Together with a relation of the voyage undertaken on the occasion by His Majesty's ship The Lion, and the ship Hindostan, in the East India Company's service, to the Yellow Sea, and Gulf of Peking; as well as of their return to Europe; with notices of the several places where they stopped..... In two volumes, with engravings; London: W Bulmer and Co. MDCCXCVII [1797] Vol. 1 xxiv, frontispiece portrait, 518 pp; Vol. 2 xx, 626 pp, frontispiece portrait. Vol. 1 contains a list of the plates in the folio.*



Sir George Leonard Staunton, 1st Baronet by Charles Picart, after George Engleheart
© National Portrait Gallery, London [Creative Commons CC BY-NC-ND 3.0]

4to. 1 edition. The atlas folio contains some 44 plates, including 11 maps, plans and sections, and plates of scenes, plants and animals, and weapons.
 Cordier 2381; Lust 545; Lowendahl 697.

Sir George Leonard Staunton, 1st Baronet (1737 –1801) like his friend Macartney, was born in Ireland. He studied medicine in France but later switched to law, becoming Attorney-General in Grenada in 1779. There he met Macartney and accompanied him to India in 1784. He was also something of a botanist, which proved useful on the mission, since there was no naturalist employed. As an employee of the East India Company he was appointed Secretary to the Macartney mission



and thus second in charge. In this official account, Staunton used the papers of Macartney and the commander Sir Erasmus Gower, and also included extracts of the diaries of other personnel such as Johann Christian Hüttner (the young Staunton's tutor) and Captain Parish of the Royal Artillery. Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society and always at hand in scientific and exploration matters at the time, helped in selecting and arranging the engraving of the illustrations. It is notably more formal in style than Barrow's more lively later account of 1804.

There are portrait frontispieces in the two volumes, of the Emperor Tchien Lung (Vol. 1, by William Alexander) and Macartney (Vol. 2 by Lambertus Claessens), and through the volumes, vignette illustrations from William Alexander, artist on the mission, and others. The folio has 44 plates of scenes, mostly from William Alexander, natural history, maps and plans, including a folding world map, and double page maps.

The work has been criticised, at the time, later by members of the mission such as Dinwiddie, and in modern studies, for inaccuracies, the use of other earlier accounts, and even recording visits and observations which Staunton didn't make. A comparison of the contemporaneous narratives exposes some of this. It is, however, more than just an account of the mission. There are pages on plants he and others collected, and a mix of journal, history and description of the Chinese empire.



Camellia sesanqua.
 Staunton, 1797. Vol. 2, p. 467.

The appetite of the public for accounts of the embassy (Jane Austen mentions it in Mansfield Park), along with the controversy over its disputed success or failure, as found by Anderson and others who used the latter's work for profit, meant that further editions of Staunton's account were issued by Stockdale in the same year, both in four 8vo volumes and in a single 8vo

volume abridged account with 33 plates, and further editions followed. Translations into German by Hüttner, and French by J Castera, quickly followed in 1798-1800.

Staunton, J. *Reise der englischen Gesandtschaft an den Kaiser von China, in den Jahren 1792 und 1793. Aus den Papieren des Grafen Macartney, des Ritter Erasmus Gower und anderer Herren zusammengetragen, Heinrich Gessner, Zurich, 1798.*

Staunton, J. *Voyage dans l'intérieur de la Chine et en Tartarie, fait dans les années 1792, 1793 et 1794, par Lord Macartney, ambassadeur du roi d'Angleterre après de l'empereur de la Chine. F Buisson, Paris, 1798.*

Staunton died at his London house, 17 Devonshire Street, on 14 January 1801 and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monument by Sir Francis Chantrey was erected to his memory. The baronetcy, his Irish estate at Clydagh, County Galway and his London home were all inherited by his only son, George Thomas Staunton (1781-1859), who proved, even as a boy, a much more interesting person.

George Thomas Staunton was also on the expedition, as Macartney's page. It was a condition of his father's acceptance of the appointment as Secretary, that his son, plus tutor (Johann Christian Hüttner) should be part of the embassy. He was undergoing a rigorous education supervised by his father and tutor, including fluency in Latin, and this was to continue through the following years⁶. He was only 12 at the time but became one of the most valued members of the mission. Prior to the trip he had begun to learn Chinese (the only member of the mission to bother) and for the duration was therefore given the role of page. During the mission his Chinese proved good enough to serve as a translator and the Qianlong Emperor took a particular liking to him, probably more from bemusement at the embassy using a child as interpreter. Two Chinese interpreters were also taken along and an account of them along with the young George Staunton has been written recently by Harrison⁶.



Sir George Thomas Staunton painted by Martin Archer Shee, 1833.

⁶ Harrison, H., *The Perils of Interpreting*. New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2021.

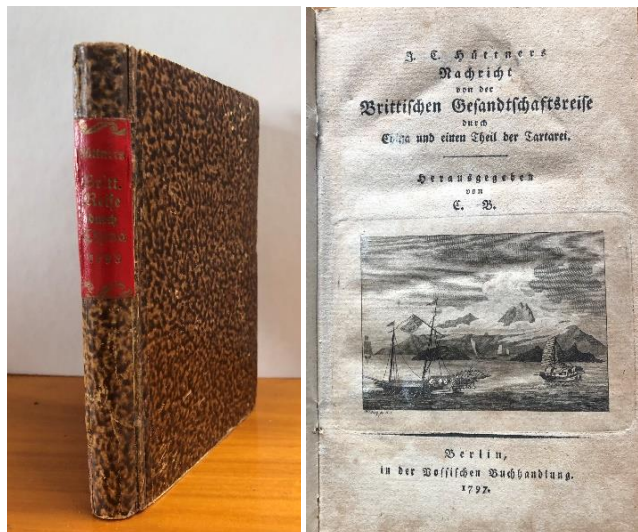


Ch'ien Lung Presenting a Purse to George Thomas Staunton
Inside the Imperial Tent at Jehol, William Alexander 1793

The younger Staunton never published his own notes and later became a noted sinologist, in 1805 translating a work of Dr George Pearson into Chinese, thereby introducing vaccination into China. Five years later he published a translation of a significant part of the Chinese legal code. He was appointed director of the East India Company in Canton, and was Lord Amherst's deputy in the second embassy in 1816. Here, again, he kept notes but only published an account for private circulation in 1824⁷. That embassy was even more unsuccessful and shortly after its departure back to England, Staunton returned to England permanently. There is a collection of his letters and diaries held at Duke University.

Two other first-hand accounts were published before John Barrow issued his comprehensive narrative as a follow-up to Staunton, in 1804. One was by the young Staunton's tutor, Johann Christian Hüttner in 1797.

J C Hüttners Nachricht von der Britischen Gesandtschaftsreise durch China und einen Theil der Tartarei. Herausgeben von C.B., Berlin, in der Vossischen Buchhandlung. 1797, pp. 190. viii, 9- 190, [2] 8mo. Cordier 2392, Lust 513; not in Lowendahl



Hüttner (1776-1847), born in Gruben, Lusatia, was invited by the elder Staunton to come to England to be tutor to his son. He subsequently went with the Macartney mission

⁷ [Staunton, Sir George Thomas]. Notes of Proceedings and Occurrences, during the British Embassy to Pekin in 1816. London: Havant Press Printed for Henry Skelton, West Street [For Private Circulation Only], 1824.

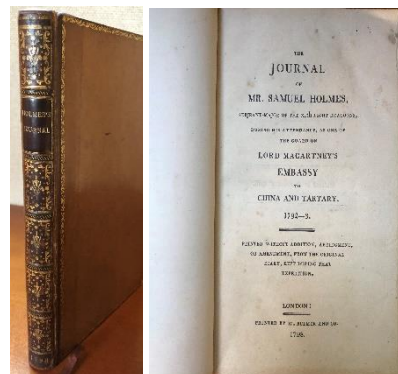
as George's tutor and translator, much of the diplomatic documents being in Latin at the time. He sent accounts of experiences in China to friends in Germany. A copy of them was sold to a Leipzig bookseller, and friends brought out an authentic text, which appeared at Berlin in 1797. Hüttner was dismayed at this printing since it was against his wishes, and he had no wish to predate the appearance of Staunton's official account, published the same year. The C.B. on the title page and the writer of the preface, is Charles Böttiger, a friend of Hüttner. The engraving on the title page is a copper engraving from Meare's travels (1790) showing Lantao island, and Chinese vessels at the Bocca Tigris (Humen), the entrance to the Pearl River. Hüttner lived on and worked in England, becoming an official translator for the foreign office, eventually dying after a street accident, in Westminster, and was buried at Kendal Green cemetery beside his second wife. His life was fondly remembered by George Thomas Staunton in his memoirs, privately published in 1835. Hüttner also added notes to the German translation of Barrow's account: *Reise durch China von Peking nach Canton im Gefolge der Großbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794*, published about 1804.

Hüttner's account was translated into French by J Castera in his translation of Staunton's work, in 1798 and 1799 (Hüttner's account is in vol. 3) and no English translation was made until 2022: *Hüttner's Account of the Journey of the British Embassy through China and part of Tartary. Translated and edited by I Ferguson, Journal of the Hakluyt Society, May, 2022.*⁸

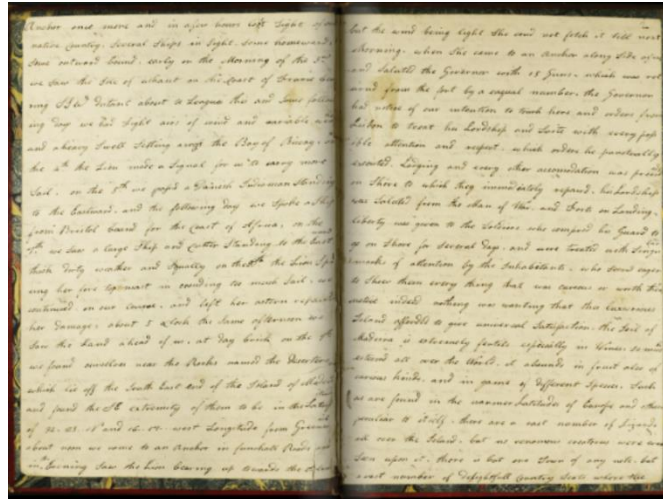
The second publication was by Samuel Holmes, a member of the militia:

[Holmes, S.] *The journal of Mr Samuel Holmes, Serjeant-Major of the XIth Light Dragoons, during his attendance, as one of the guard on Lord Macartney's Embassy to China and Tartary. 1792-3. London: W. Bulmer & Co. 1798. viii, 256 pp. 8vo. Cordier 2387; Lust 512; Lowendahl 729 (1805 Fr trans.)*

Samuel Holmes presents a quite different view of the embassy. He was a member of the Light Dragoons that formed Macartney's guard, their main role being to provide some of the military pomp and majesty of the mission. His aims in publication were quite modest, and he deposited his manuscript with the Royal Society after publication of a limited subscription. There are descriptions of the more mundane aspects of soldiers' lives, the food, the marching, and the disappointments when they found that they were not to visit the Imperial palace or see the Emperor. We get a better picture of the losses, the difficulties, and the deaths of the more common members of the embassy from disease, often unmentioned in the more official accounts.



⁸ https://www.hakluyt.com/downloadable_files/Journal/Huttner.pdf

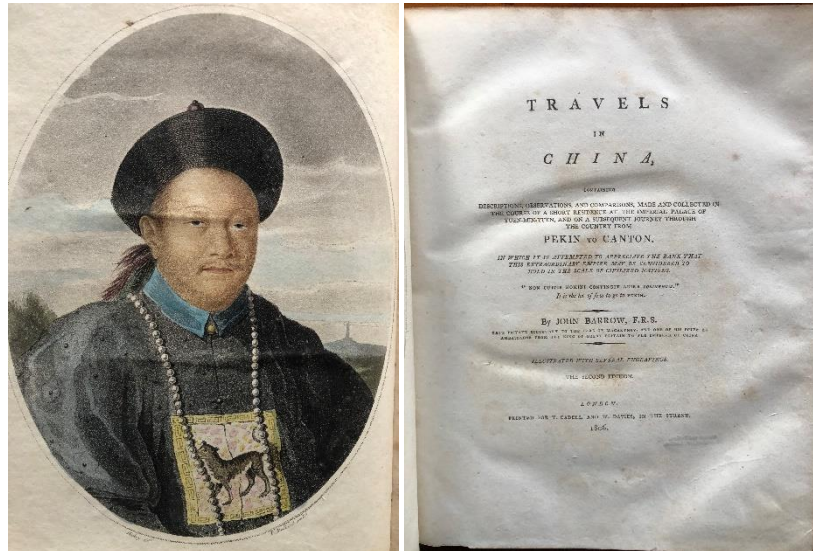


The original journal of Samuel Holmes deposited with the Royal Society, London.

That prolific writer and emerging China expert, Sir John Barrow (1764-1848) soon got into the act. Well known to Staunton and Macartney, he had been appointed Comptroller in the embassy, managing logistics, and because of this, had to stay behind in Peking and at Yuen-ming-yuen to oversee the assembly and presentation of the all-important gifts for the Emperor, while Macartney and most of the rest of the entourage journeyed on to Jehol for their audience with the Emperor. He published an extensive account, both of the journey and observations on China at large, in 1804.

Barrow, J., *Travels in China, containing descriptions, observations, and comparisons, made and collected in the course of a short residence at the Imperial palace of Yue-Min-Yuen, and on a subsequent journey through the country from Peking to Canton. In which it is attempted to appreciate the rank that this extraordinary empire may be considered to hold in the scale of civilized nations.* London: T Cadell and W Davies, In the Strand. 1804. x, [2] list of plates, errata, advertisement, 632 pp, 7 coloured, (2 double) plates. 4to. 1 edition. Cordier 2388; Lust 365; Lowendahl 724.

He published his account of the embassy in 1804, and while complementing the official account of Staunton, has a more direct and lively style. He covers the background to the Embassy and much on the missionaries, and then in Chapter II, takes us up through the Yellow Sea and along the Pei-ho river to Peking. Then there is a description of Yeun-min-yuen and he has to rely on Macartney's notes on the journey out to Jehol and audience with the Emperor. There are diversions on the state of Chinese society, manners and customs, and of course, the moral character, something which all travellers seem to need to comment on. There is an interlude of three chapters on language, literature, medicine and the sciences, government and laws, military and taxes, and the conjecture on the origins of the Chinese, including the often vaunted links to the Egyptians, about which whole books have been written. He includes Chinese characters, some pages of transcribed music, apparently with the help of Hüttner, and plates of musical instruments, bridges and lovely hand-coloured plates of villages and dwellings.



He ends with a short Conclusion. *'The comparisons I have made were given with a view of assisting the reader to form in his own mind some idea of what rank the Chinese may be so considered to hold, when measured by the scale of European nations; but this part is very defective'*. Perhaps he suddenly realises that after putting the exhaustive and ever-interesting narration together, he still has not grasped the Chinese and their empire. Then: *'it is to be hoped that the information, reflections, and opinions of the Ambassador himself, may one day be fully communicated to the public, when the present objections to it shall cease, and the moment arrive (which is probably too very distant) that will enable us to act upon the ideas of that nobleman's capacious and enlightened mind, and to prove that the late Embassy, by shewing the character and dignity of the British nation in a new and splendid light, to a court and people in a measure ignorant of them before,has laid an excellent foundation for great future advantages...'*. Well, that never happened. Was Macartney of a mind not to add fuel to a fire of criticism and discontent over the supposed failure of the mission? His journal however, quite unelaborated, was published later by Barrow himself in his 2 volume Life of Macartney.

Barrow's account of the Embassy was scathingly criticised later by the grandson of Dr Dinwiddie, scientist to the Embassy, for inaccuracies, and outright lies, the charge being that he often said he had visited places that he didn't, and using previously published accounts in his own work. Well, it seems that just about all of them did. Barrow in turn, had turned on Anderson's account, for its inaccuracies, and it being the result, if not the writing, of the bookseller Coombes.

Barrow ceased to be officially connected with Chinese affairs after the return of the Embassy in 1794. In 1797 he accompanied Lord Macartney, as private secretary, in his mission to settle the government of the newly acquired colony of the Cape of Good Hope. In his position he travelled extensively, reporting back on the state of the country, and was appointed auditor-general of public accounts. He remained, and married, in South Africa, until returning to England in 1804. Prior to his return, he published in 1801 *'Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa'*, the results of his travels, with a second edition in 1806.

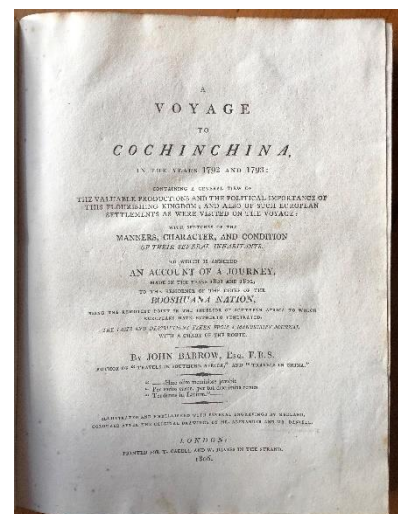


View in the Eastern side of the Imperial Park at Gehol. Barrow, 1804, p. 128. Drawn by W Alexander after a sketch by Capt, Parish.

Back in England, Barrow published two more works associated with the Embassy. One was an account of Cochin China, visited on the outward voyage.

Barrow, J. *A Voyage to Cochinchina, in the Years 1792 and 1793: Containing a General View of the Valuable Productions & the Political Importance of this Flourishing Kingdom; & Also of Such European Settlements as Were Visited on the Voyage: with Sketches of the Manners, Character, and Condition of their Several Inhabitants. To which is annexed an Account of a Journey, made in the Years 1801 and 1802, to the Residence of the Chief of the Booshuana Nation, being the Remotest Point in the Interior of Southern Africa to which Europeans have hitherto penetrated ...* Published: London: Cadell and Davies, 1806. xviii, 447 pp, 21 fine hand-coloured plates and maps, including 2 folding maps, folding plates, index, in-text illustration, 4to. Cordier 2390; not in Lust nor Lowendahl.

My copy has the bookplate of Sir George Strickland the British reformist and anti-slavery MP. The book describes that part of the Embassy that included visits to Madeira, the Canary Islands, Rio de Janeiro, Batavia and eventually Cochin China (now Vietnam). Barrow says in his preface that the description of Cochin China 'is taken from a manuscript memoir drawn up by Captain Barissy, a French naval officer who, having several years commanded a frigate in the service of the King of Cochin China and being an able and intelligent man, had the means and the opportunity of collecting accurate information'. The latter part of the volume, on Southern Africa, is associated with mission Barrow made to deal with disputes between the Boers and indigenous people. meeting the Zulu king Shaka, and undertaking a census.



This included the first modern map of parts of the Cape Colony, though it was not widely appreciated. The explorer of Southern Africa, William Burchell (1781-1863), who published his own account of his travels in 1822-24, wrote 'As to the miserable thing called a map, which has been prefixed to Mr. Barrow's quarto, it can seldom be found of any use.'



Rambootan and Mangosteen. Barrow, 1806. Pp. 184-187.

There is an interesting side interest in the book, when Barrow describes finding Captain Cook's *Resolution* in Praya Bay on the Island of St Jago in the Cape Verde group, amongst some ships out of Dunkirk flying the French flag: 'One of them was the old *Resolution* of Captain Cooke, now transformed to a smuggling whaler under the French name of *La Liberté*; and, what was still worse, bearing the French republican flag. I am not ashamed to confess that my feelings were considerably hurt in witnessing this degradation of an object so intimately connected with that great man.....The *Resolution* was the house of our immortal Cooke and, out of respect to his memory, I would have laid her up in a dock, till she had wasted away plank by plank'⁹. There are different stories on the fate of the *Resolution*, but the latest seems to confirm that she was converted to a whaler, and probably ended up in Newport Harbour, eventually sinking not far from the *Endeavour*.¹⁰

After Macartney's death, Barrow published a 2-volume life.

Barrow, J., *Some account of the public life, and a selection from the unpublished writings of the Earl of Macartney. The latter consisting of extracts from an account of the Russian empire; a sketch of the political history of Ireland; and a journal of the Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China. With an Appendix for each volume.* London: printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1807. Vol. I xii, 608 pp, frontispiece portrait; Vol.II [2] 3-531. 4to. Cordier 2391; Lust 501; Lowendahl 735

⁹ Barrow, J. *A Voyage to Cochinchina*, pp. 63-65

¹⁰ Dugard, M., *Farther than any man. The rise and fall of Captain James Cook.* NY, Washington Square Press, 2001.

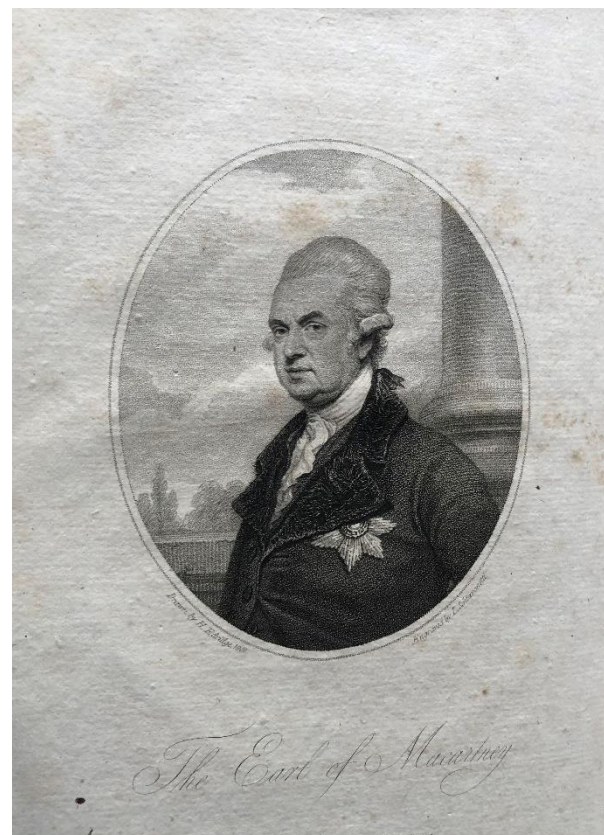
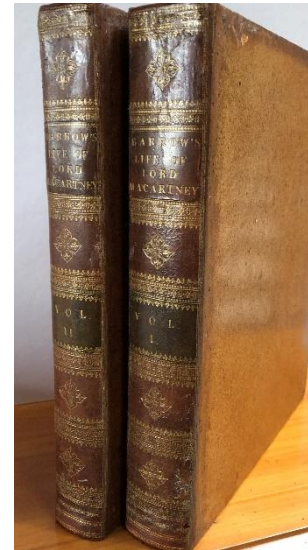
My copy has the bookplates with ducal coronet of the Stratton Street library of Harriot Beauclerk, Duchess of St Albans. The book is particularly valuable for the inclusion of Macartney's diary of the Embassy, which the latter never published. It is more immediate and less embellished than the accounts of Staunton and Barrow, and thus also probably more accurate.

Barrow went on serving the Government, particularly in admiralty posts for the next 40 years, becoming one of the most notable of civil servants of his time. He was a particular supporter of Arctic voyages of discovery, including those of Ross, Parry, and Franklin, with a number of geographic features named after him, including the Barrow Strait, Point Barrow and the city of Barrow (now renamed Utqiagvik) in Alaska.

Barrow later also wrote an account *Mutiny on the Bounty* in 1831. He retired from public life in 1845, writing a history of the modern Arctic voyages of discovery (1846), as well as his autobiography, published in 1847. He died suddenly on 23 November 1848. And there is a modern biography.¹¹

There remains one other account of the Embassy. Dr James Dinwiddie (1746-1815) was the embassy's scientist with particular responsibility for the scientific and mathematical gifts taken for the Emperor, including astrolabes, clocks, lenses, a diving bell and a balloon, astronomical instruments and the like. He was initially designated as "Machinist to the Embassy" and later as "Astronomer". The astronomical instruments however failed to impress the Chinese. Following the expedition, he stayed on in Calcutta, teaching and experimenting in physics, particularly electricity. He returned to London in 1806 and continued to teach and carry out research. The account of his travels was put together by his grandson William Jardine Proudfoot (1804-1887), drawn from his notes and letters.

Proudfoot, William Jardine, *Biographical memoir of James Dinwiddie, L.L.D., astronomer in the British Embassy to China, 1792, '3, '4, afterwards Professor of Natural Philosophy in the College of Fort William, Bengal: embracing some account of his travels in China and residence in India. Compiled from his notes and correspondence by his grandson William Jardine Proudfoot. Liverpool. Edward Howell, 26 Church Street. 1868.*



¹¹ Lloyd, C., *Mr. Barrow of the Admiralty: a life of Sir John Barrow, 1764-1848*. London, Collins, 1970.

Proudfoot, who seemed to be a man on a mission, had also published an earlier critique of Barrow's travels in China with the agenda of exposing the latter as unreliable and unjust.

Proudfoot, William Jardine *"Barrow's Travels in China." An investigation into the origin and, authenticity of the "facts and observations" related in a work entitled "Travels in China, by John Barrow, F.R.S." (afterwards Sir J. Barrow Bart.) Preceded by a preliminary inquiry into the nature of the "powerful motive" of the same author, and its influence on his duties at the Chinese capital, as comptroller to the British Embassy, in 1793.* G. Philip, London, 1861.

Comparing Barrow's account to that found in other records, Proudfoot concludes that the work was 'a great humbug', ascribing to Barrow the 'powerful motive' of self-promotion. In a work full of vitriol against its subject, Proudfoot's concern is to honour the memory of the mission's members, whom he felt Barrow belittled and vilified, and also to point out factual inaccuracies, accusing him of seeking amusement rather than truth in his anecdotes.

Accounts of Macartney's Embassy

Alexander, William. *The Costume of China, Illustrated in Forty-eight Coloured Engravings.* London: William Miller, 1805.

Alexander, William. *Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Chinese. Illustrated in Fifty Coloured Engravings with Descriptions.* London: John Murray, 1814. [quarto]

Anderson, Aeneas. *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China, in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794; Containing the Various Circumstances of the Embassy, with Accounts of Customs and Manners of the Chinese; and a Description of the Country, Towns, Cities, &c. &c.* London: J. Debrett, 1795. [quarto]

[Anderson, Aeneas.] *An Accurate Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China; Carefully Abridged from The Original Work: with Alterations and Corrections by the Editor, who was also an Attendant on the Embassy. Embellished with a Striking Likeness of the Present Emperor, From an Original Drawing in the Possession of the Editor.* London: Vernor and Hood, 1795. [duodecimo]

Barrow, John. *Some Account of the Public Life, and a Selection from the Unpublished Writings, of the Earl of Macartney.* London: Cadell and Davies, 1807. 2 vol. Containing *A Journal of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China, in the years 1792, 1793, and 1794, by the Earl of Macartney.* 163-410. [quarto]

Barrow, John *Travels in China.* London: Cadell and Davies, 1804.

Barrow, John *A Voyage to Cochinchina, in the Years 1792 and 1793: Containing a General View of the Valuable Productions & the Political Importance of this Flourishing Kingdom; & Also of Such European Settlements as Were Visited on the Voyage: with Sketches of the Manners, Character, and Condition of their Several Inhabitants. To which is annexed an Account of a Journey, made in the Years 1801 and 1802, to the Residence of the Chief of the Booshuana Nation, being the Remotest Point in the Interior of Southern Africa to which Europeans have hitherto penetrated ...*Published: London: Cadell and Davies, 1806

Cawthorn J (ed) *A complete view of the Chinese Empire exhibited in a geographical description of that country, a dissertation on its antiquity, and a genuine and copious account of Earl Macartney's Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China.* London. Printed for and published by G. Cawthorn...1798. Cordier 2391, not in Lust. (a surreptitious account from a journal of a "servant of the ambassador" – not sure which one this is derived from.)

- Holmes, Samuel.** *The Journal of Mr. Samuel Holmes, Serjeant-Major of the XIth Light Dragoons, during his Attendance, as one of the Guard on Lord Macartney's Embassy to China and Tartary, 1792-93.* London: W. Bulmer, 1798. [octavo]
- Hüttner, Johann Christian.** *Nachricht von der Britischen Gesandtschaftreise durch China.* Berlin: Vossicher Buchhandlung, 1797. Fr Trans by Winckler (Paris: Pillot, 1800)
- Proudfoot, William Jardine.** *A biographical memoir of James Dinwiddie.* Liverpool: Howell 1868
- Proudfoot, William, Jardine.** "Barrow's Travels in China." *An investigation into the origin and authenticity of the "facts and observations" related in a work entitled "Travels in China, by John Barrow, F.R.S." (afterwards Sir J. Barrow Bart.) Preceded by a preliminary inquiry into the nature of the "powerful motive" of the same author, and its influence on his duties at the Chinese capital, as comptroller to the British Embassy, in 1793.* G. Philip, London, 1861.
- Staunton, Sir George.** *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China.* London: G. Nicol, 1797. 3 vols.
- Winterbotham, W.** *An Historical, Geographical and Philosophical View of the Chinese Empire, with and Appendix: Narrative of the Embassy to China.* London: Ridgeway and Bottom, 1795

The Macartney Embassy comprised about a hundred people, including:

George Macartney, 1st Earl Macartney, Ambassador
 Sir George Leonard Staunton, First secretary
 George Thomas Staunton, son, 12 years old
 Sir John Barrow, Comptroller
 Hugh Gillan, doctor
 William Scott, doctor
 William Alexander, artist
 Thomas Hickey artist
 Dr James Dinwiddie, scientist
 Johannes Christian Hüttner, tutor to George Thomas Staunton
 David Stronach, botanical gardener
 John Haxton, botanical gardener
 Sir Erasmus Gower, commander, captain of HMS *Lion*
 Lieutenant John Crewe
 Lieutenant Henry William Parish, Royal Artillery officer and a trained draftsman
 Lieutenant-Colonel George Benson, Commandant of the fifty-man Ambassador's Guard
 Interpreters: Paolo Cho (周保羅) and Jacobus Li (李雅各; 李自標; *Li Zibiao*)

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