

## An exceeding gallant tast, and they never hurteth anybody

Joseph-François Charpentier de Cossigny and his Voyage à Canton, 1798.

It has long been the case that the litchi (lychee) is one of the world's most attractive fruit. The bright red fruit has beguiled over the centuries, particularly capturing the notice of early travellers from Europe. One of its first European appearances was in the compilation of all things then known about China by the Spanish bishop Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, published in 1585.<sup>1</sup> He collected information through Spanish missionaries in the Philippines who had contact with coastal China. His popular work was published in several languages, and the 1588 Venice edition has:

*Vi son parimente alcuni pruni, ch'essi chiamano lechias, & non folmente hanno un giocondissimo sapore, ma non vegono mai in fastidio, ne sanno danno, ancor che se ne mangi gran quantita.*

In the English translation of the same year, this reads:

*They have a kinde of plummes, that they do call lechias, that are of an exceeding gallant tast, and never hurteth any body, although they shoulde eate a great number of them.*

The first published western illustration of the fruit was in the *Flora Sinensis* of the Polish Jesuit missionary in China Michael Boym, published in Vienna in 1656.<sup>2</sup> The following century, the Swedish naturalist, traveller, and friend and follower of Carl Linnaeus, Peter Osbeck, mentions the fruit in his account of his travels to China and the East Indies, including a compilation of Chinese plants, published in Swedish in 1757:

*Lat-Yee is the Chinese name for the fruit eaten with tea. This fruit tastes almost like a sort of our plums, and looks like large gall-apples, covered with a brownish thin, and warty, skin.* (translated by Johann Forster, in the English edition of 1771<sup>3</sup>).



Plates of litchi from (L) Boym, (M) Sonnerat, and (R) the related rambutan from John Barrows' account of the voyage out to China of Macartney's embassy, published in 1806.

A little later, the French explorer and naturalist Pierre Sonnerat, provided the first taxonomic description of the fruit in his account of his travels in India and China between 1774 and

1781, published in 1782<sup>4</sup>. His name for the species was *Litchi chinensis*, and it survives in the modern binomial. There are three subspecies, one growing wild in Southern China, Vietnam and Cambodia, the second in the Philippines, and the third only found in cultivation in Malaysia and Indonesia. The closely related fruit, rambutan, was described by John Barrow, third-ranked member of Macartney's embassy to China of 1792.<sup>5</sup> The hand-coloured plate is included here because it so similar to the litchi, and is a very fine plate.

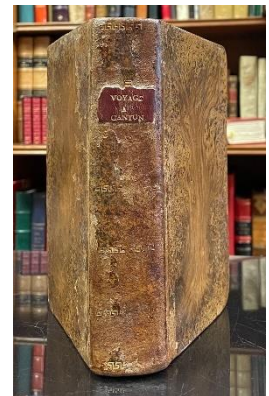
Because of its popularity, it's not surprising that the fruit spread across tropical regions. One particular instance is its 18<sup>th</sup> C arrival in the Isle de France, now Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean. The Mascarene Islands, which include Réunion and the Isle de France were on the trade routes to India, Sumatra, Java, Malacca, Cochin-China (Vietnam) and China. From the 17<sup>th</sup> C onwards, the islands were a stopping off point between the Cape and ports east for European explorers and traders and navies.

Well, this is not really meant to be about the litchi, but about another French explorer and naturalist, Joseph-François Charpentier de Cossigny. He was born in Mauritius (Isle de France) and had been visiting China, Java and India since the 1750s. But he was also a noted agriculturist, and is credited with introducing the litchi, and other crops, into the Isle de France, bringing them back from China and South East Asia during his travels. What is often overlooked, is that he published his account of a 19 month visit to China in the years 1751-2. It wasn't published until 1798, when he added extracts from Macartney's and van Braam Houckgeest's recent accounts of their English and Dutch, respectively, missions to China in the 1790s. His work provides a very early first-hand account of Canton and China, never, as far as is known, published in English, but now translated (as a crude computer-aided translation) in the accompanying document.

**Cossigny, Charpentier De (Joseph-François)** *Voyage à CANTON, capitale de la province de ce nom à la Chine; par Gorée, le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, et les Isles de France et de la Réunion; suivi d'observations sur le voyage de la Chine, de Lord MacCartney et du citoyen Van-Braam, et d'une esquisse des Arts des Indiens et des Chinois. Chez André An VII, de la République Française, Paris. [1798-1799]*

pp viii-607. 8vo. Cordier 2105; Lust 217; Lowendahl 714

Date is given as year VII in the Revolutionary calendar. Equates to September 1878-Sept 1879. The book has been digitized.<sup>6</sup>



So who was Cossigny?<sup>7</sup> He was born around 1736 in Port Louis, Isle de France, into a prominent family, whose name is still evident in Mauritius. His father was an engineer with the Compagnie des Indes, and a cousin David became Governor of the island. He travelled to China and Bengal in 1751-52, sailing from the French port Lorient, and returning there. The following year he joined his father in Pondicherry. He published a further book, a 2 volume work on Bengal, the year after his book on China.<sup>8</sup>

Cossigny must have been a frequent traveller between France and the Isle de France, since he held posts sufficient to allow him to take on an official mission to Java, and make a request that he establish a local Chamber of Agriculture. He seems to have been regarded as a colonist speaking for colonists' interests above those of the mother country. His request was refused, but in 1760 he was appointed to oversee the development of Port Louis,

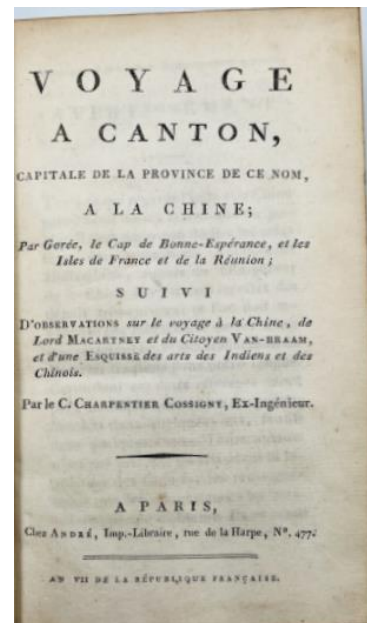
particularly a gun powder milling plant, the remains of which are still extant. Cossigny was sufficiently prominent to be appointed to the Constituent Assembly in Paris in 1789, where he remained through to 1800, weathering the Revolution. He calls himself Citizen Cossigny on the title page of his book. Cossigny seems to have been caught up in the middle of moves by the French Government to improve conditions of plantation slaves, while, still a slave owner, representing colonists in attempts to develop an agricultural system that might eventually move away from slavery.<sup>9</sup>

He returned to the Island in 1800, sent by Bonaparte to announce the new regime, but was only about a year there, getting offside with other colonists for wanting to pay slaves wages. He returned to France, settling in Arpajon, just south of Paris, in 1801 and dying in Paris in 1809.

It is probable that his true love, and it permeates his account of the visit to China, was agriculture, in its widest sense. He established the Palma botanical gardens on the Isle de France in 1764, and over the following years brought in exotic plants, such as sugar, litchi and other tropical fruit species for possible horticultural development. With this he had enough botanical standing to become a corresponding member of the Academy of France in 1774, and a few years before his death, was a member of the botanical section of the just formed Institut de France in 1803.

And so what about his book? Published in 1798, he never gives a date for his voyage from the French port Lorient to China and back. There are two possibilities. One is that he is giving an account his travels more than 40 years earlier, in 1751-2. At the beginning he says he left Lorient at the end of November. Towards the end of his journey, he says that he leaves Canton on 14<sup>th</sup>, month not given, arrives at Isle de France March 5<sup>th</sup>, and then Lorient in France on July 2, stating that the voyage overall took 19 months and 14 days. This roughly fits with him departing late November 2 years before. With a little leeway for December, that would mean that his voyage was for all of 1751 through to July 1752.

The other option is that he made the voyage in the 1790s, when he was living in France. Currently there are no records of this easily available. He lived in France from 1789 through to 1800. There is one possible clue for this option. In the section on the Cape of Good Hope, he says: *'...the Colony, which had recently fallen into the power of the English, and whose conquest was so easy to prevent. As early as 1792, foreseeing war with England, I submitted to the minister of the navy a memorandum in which I set out the measure to be taken to prevent this event, and to attack our enemies...'* (p. 9). The English took over the Cape from the Dutch in 1795, and the way he has written this suggests that he had been there after 1795. There are no clues in his sections on Macartney and van Braam, although he would have been travelling just after or about the same time as these missions. His approach to their narratives is to pull out extracts and correct them from his own knowledge. But he makes no mention of being contemporary. He also says that he would defer to others such as de Guignes to correct him.

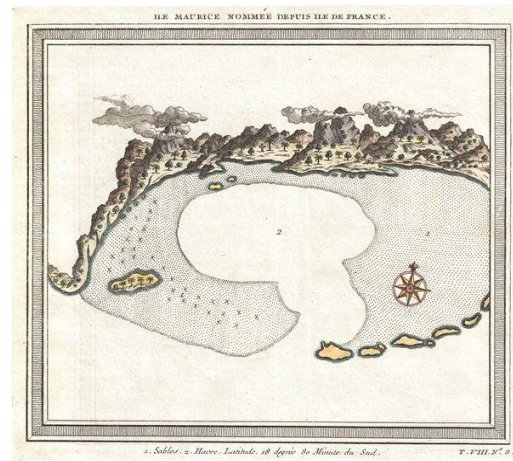


Chrétien-Louis-Joseph de Guignes was in China in from 1784 to 1801 and accompanied van Braam's Dutch mission to Peking as an interpreter. Cossigny's subsequent two volumes on Bengal published a year later, comprise a collection of accounts by himself and others, and not of a 1790s journey there.

My conclusion is that the account of the voyage to Canton is that of the 1750s. But the jury is out. If his travels were those of 1751-2, then we don't have many first-hand European accounts specific to this period. In 1750 the Qianlong Emperor had been 15 years on the throne, and Canton was the commercial centre for all nations trading with China. In 1757 the Qianlong Emperor issued an edict restricting all foreign trade to Canton. This was a time when trade was of far greater importance than the missionary activity of previous years, and before the major political embassies of Macartney for Britain, and Titsingh and van Braam for the Dutch, in the 1790s. Thus Cossigny's narrative of his travels have particular, though neglected, value. Writing so many years after his travels, also means that Cossigny could write with reference to the later accounts of Macartney and van Braam, and other sinologists and travellers such as de Guignes and Amiot.

The book is a compilation in four parts. After the *Advertissement*, there is *Voyage à Canton, capitale de la province de Canton; par Gorée, le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, et les Isles de France et de la Réunion*. This takes up pages 1-152.

Then follows *Observations sur le voyage à la Chine, de Lord MacCartney, Ambassadeur du Roi d'Angleterre, auprès de l'Empereur de la Chine, rédigé par Sir Georges Staunton, en quatre vol. in-8°*, and *Observations sur le voyage à la Chine de l'Ambassade de la Compagnie Hollandaise des Indes-orientales; tome premier*. The final part is a discussion comparing the arts of the Indians and the Chinese: *Esquisse des Arts des Indiens et des Chinois, dont la connaissance exige des recherches, pour les transplanter des France*. The Staunton account of the Macartney embassy that he refers to was a French 4 volume, octavo edition, translated by the French diplomat and translator Marquis Jean Henri Castéra (1849-1838).<sup>10</sup> The commentary on the Dutch embassy is from Van Braam's 1798 account.<sup>11</sup> Cossigny has a keen eye on the English. He was writing his account at the height of the revolutionary wars with France fighting on what seems like all fronts against Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Spain and other surrounding countries. This spread beyond the continent to have effects on travellers and shipping across the globe. The English were no friends in this period, and beyond into the Napoleonic wars.



Bellin map of the Isles de France, 1750

In his *Advertissement*, he thanks those who wrote up recent accounts for the English and Dutch embassies, but 'these two works seemed to me incomplete in many points, inaccurate in some, faulty in some others. Their authors did not take, on the arts and on the legislation of the Chinese, the information that circumstances made available to them. They have not made known to us the spirit of the laws which are most opposed to our customs, our morals, our principles. These considerations have determined me to share with the public my observations on the two works which I have just cited.'



It's a bit harsh on the embassy writers who saw more of China than Cossigny anyway, with the latter coming to some odd conclusions on morals and principles and much else. But it does give him an excuse to write up his observations on their narratives. He incidentally also gives the Cape Colony a knock, to the advantage of his own Isles de France: *'This Colony does not seem to me to be as important as people believe. I regard it as a well-situated stopping place for ships going to the Indies, or returning from there: this is undoubtedly considerable; but it is to this alone that its importance has been reduced so far. The importance it may acquire subsequently cannot be very extensive, given the circumstances attached to the place.'*

*It is not the same for the Isle de France, which can combine all the advantages resulting from a large population, fertile soil suitable for the cultivation of exotic crops, its location, being as it were at the centre of the Indian Ocean, and its two ports. I have dwelt a little on this precious Colony, the full importance of which is not sufficiently understood.'* At the time of writing, the Cape had only been just taken over from the Dutch by the British, in 1795.

In his introduction to his commentary on Macartney, he is happy to acknowledge Sir Thomas Staunton (who wrote the official account): *'we must be grateful to Sir Staunton [sic] for having combined the observations of his traveling companions with his own. The author proves that he has knowledge, and appears to have been guided by the love of truth. If I find him inaccurate in some points, it is because he did not have the time to ascertain them. The reputation of this work, and that of the people who cooperated in its preparation, encourage me to point out the errors that I have noticed in it, and to note the details that do not seem complete to me.'* But he has less sympathy for the geopolitical ambitions that lay behind it: *'I shall reveal the extensive and ambitious views of the British Government, whose desires are not satisfied by the immensity of the territorial possessions from which it reaps the revenues in the Great Indies. Blinded to its own interests, insatiable for conquest and domination, aspiring to the invasion of the commerce of the whole world, it does not see that a great extension would be its ruin. Its own means do not allow it such a great enlargement, and sooner or later, it will return within the limits which nature seems to have prescribed for it.'* However, France doesn't get off lightly either: *'France, whose destiny promises it to play the leading role on the globe, has too much neglected, under the old regime, the means of extending its possessions in the East Indies, of multiplying its colonies there, and of enlarging its trade. The weakness of the Government made it fear the rivalry of the English; the incompetence of its ministers made them indifferent to the projects most advantageous to the nation; the expenses of a lavish court left no means for their execution. Let us hope that the new order of things will bring more satisfactory results; and that at peace, the nation will take into consideration the plans of establishments which will be presented to it by citizen travellers and observers, to increase the trade of the Republic, and to give it in the East Indies a power which is appropriate to its extent and its dignity.'*

He ends acknowledging his own imperfections: *'If I have been mistaken on some points, I will gratefully receive any advice that anyone may give me on my errors. My motto is truth and love of country.'*

Cossigny's *Voyage à Canton* is rather impersonal, mostly comprising his observations rather than his personal adventures, though sometimes these burst through. He is very sympathetic to China, but makes excuses for perceived negative aspects of their society. *'They are reproached for not having made progress in the fine arts and in the sciences. But is it proven that perfection in the former, and skill in the latter, make a people happy? We Europeans, who are so proud of having excelled, in the past, in the former, and of having made, recently, the greatest discoveries, which promise new ones, are we wiser, better governed, and happier for it? Let us not*

*forget that all our knowledge, of which we boast so much, is of recent date, and that that of the Chinese goes back to the most remote antiquity..... If they have not made progress in the sciences, they are our rivals in matters of speculative and practical morality, in agriculture and perhaps in legislation; for they appear to have had, for forty or fifty centuries, that which is best suited to an immense population. If modern legislators were charged with giving uniform laws to all of Europe, whose population is at most half that of China, I dare to believe that they would be very embarrassed, despite all the resources of instruction, example and genius.'*

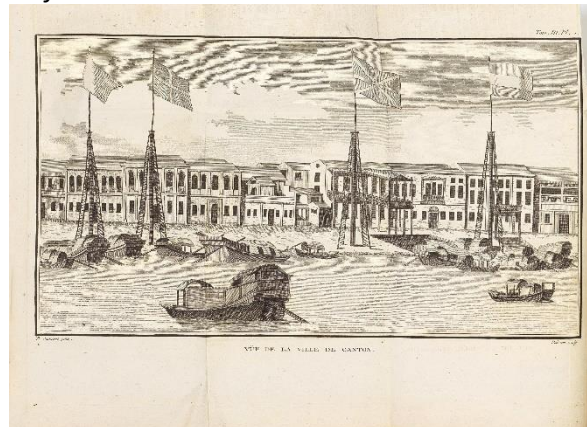
And then he thinks he has put his finger on the source of the problem. It's the lack of love! *'Love, this passion which does so much good and harm to men, is unknown in China. It is love which inflames the imagination, which makes talent blossom, and which gives birth to genius. It is love which inspires that delicacy, that taste, without which the fine arts languish in mediocrity. All peoples whose morals are opposed to the free communication of the two sexes will never know the masterpieces of genius; but are they more or less happy with them? This is a moral problem to be resolved, the solution of which must influence legislation.'*

His sympathy overflows with indignation about the views of other writers, in this case Adam Smith. *"China, says Smith, has long been one of the richest states in the world, both in the fertility of its soil, and in the excellence of its culture, and in industry, and even in the number of its inhabitants; but having reached this state of opulence, one would say that it has become stationary. Marco Polo, who visited it more than 500 years ago, describes its culture, industry and population to us, almost as modern travellers still paint them. Perhaps it has been, since the most remote centuries, at that apogee of wealth which the nature of its laws and institutions have allowed it to attain."*

*This proposition is evidently erroneous. All the assertions that follow are tainted by the same vice; there are even some monstrous ones, and all the consequences that he deduces from them, starting from a false principle, are so many serious errors; I will say just one word to combat both. It is that it has been demonstrated that for 500 years, I would even say for a century, the Chinese population has made the most astonishing progress.'*

There are good descriptions of Canton, the foreign factories and stores of the Canton merchants. He see the women in the boats: *'The town of boats is one league above Canton. They are all aligned, and form streets; they are quite large and covered, and serve as a home for the whole family; they have a skiff, to go and get provisions, and to go ashore, when their needs require it; but they cannot sleep there. The women of the boats are not careful to hide themselves; I have seen some very pretty ones. I also met some in the streets who were in sedan chairs, very adorned, very colourful and of a pleasant appearance: it was easy to see them through the blinds of the doors, where curiosity held them back to see Europeans.'*

There is much on tea, particularly for its health properties: *'I am convinced that China owes its large population in part to the habitual use of tea, not because it is prolific, but because it removes the causes of diseases. I presume that England, which has noticed the increase in its population for half a century, also owes it in part to the use of tea, which removes the use of strong liquors, and which makes diseases rarer, and in general less dangerous.'* And strangely on sage tea: *'It has been*



Vüe de la Ville de Canton. Sonnerat, Voyage aux Indes Orientales et a la Chine. 1782

*claimed that the Chinese value our sage; it has even been written that they value it more than tea. If this were true, the Europeans would have had an object of exchange to offer them. The cultivation of sage, which grows with such ease, and which, by means of cuttings that can be repeated in the same year, would give abundant harvests, would have gained favor in Europe. I have tasted a tea-like decoction of sage, and I can certify that it is very disagreeable. Its aromatic taste and its bitterness will always put one off this drink.'* Clearly not the sweetish herbal concoction marketed today, and has a nice reversal with the Chinese convinced, right into the 19<sup>th</sup> C that the British were likewise obsessed with their rhubarb.

Cossigny writes a lot on crops, agriculture, and famine. *'China is said to be subject to famine; this may be so. This event is in the natural order of things, but its immense population proves that it is rare for thousands of Chinese to die of hunger. One would like the Government to encourage maritime trade, in order to draw aid from abroad, in times of scarcity; but where would one go to seek it? And what aid can one expect from neighboring countries, for such a considerable population? A thousand ships of a thousand tons each, entirely laden with rice, would not provide six pounds of rice to three hundred and fifty million inhabitants; it is therefore for six days of food at most, reducing the ration of each individual to two-thirds. All the eastern countries, up to and including Sumatra and Java, if contributing, would not provide nearly this quantity of rice. It is therefore in his own soil, in his labor, in his industry, in his foresight, that the Chinese must seek his subsistence.'* And provides some advice: *'To prevent famine, the safest way is to promote agriculture by all means available to the Government, to establish granaries in years of abundance, to put order and economy into consumption when food becomes scarce, to promote the cultivation of the earliest and most abundant crops. This is why I would advise the Chinese to introduce among themselves the cultivation of potatoes, Madagascar and Malaga potatoes, yams, manioc and cassava in the southern provinces, etc.'* I guess that's what they did. For instance, China is currently the largest producer of sweet potato. He suggest that other countries should send plants to China, they will care for them, but seems ignorant of the great wealth of food and other crops that were endemic to China.

He likes a little philosophy: *'The great spring of the Government is not religion, since they are all permitted there, and one can be an atheist without consequence; nor is it a severe police, although in fact it is and must be repressive; it is paternal authority, it is infinite respect for ancestors. This feeling inspired by nature, by education, by legislation, confirmed by example, maintained by habitual practice, is the basis of the morals of the Chinese, and holds a great people in the respect and submission that it owes to those who govern.'* Confucianism without mentioning him. And launches into a little panegyric on philosophers: *... It is up to philosophers, observers, and scholars to enlighten the Government on all useful enterprises. All citizens of the Empire are called upon to fulfill these functions. Patriotism often takes the place of talent, and sometimes makes up for lacking knowledge. I have no other title, I regard it as the most glorious with which a Frenchman can be honored. What satisfaction for a citizen, for a friend of humanity, when his advice has been useful to the fatherland!....*

There are a few other oddities, with the French aristocracy rushing to remove the taint of privilege during the Revolution: *'Travellers who cannot wait, buy white, enamelled pieces in Canton, and have them painted before their eyes. Then the paint is applied over the enamel, and blends with it, by means of fire; it is therefore raised in a boss (embossed, raised). However, it can be removed with a diamond. I saw in Paris plates which had been armorialized in China, and from which the arms had been removed very cleanly, and without it showing. I know that several people who were unaware that it was easy to erase the painting from porcelain, broke those armorial plates which they had, during the time of the revolutionary regime, for fear of being compromised.'* And

there is a glimpse of life amongst the traders: *'We wanted to give the Chinese an idea of our shows. We had a theatre set up in a very large room in a factory; it was decorated according to our custom. We performed Zaire, then Radamiste, and two short comedies, as well as we could have done in France. We invited foreigners to attend, and we gave them supper. The principal merchants of Canton were there; they seemed very satisfied.'* We want to know more on how the Chinese perceived Voltaire (Zaire) and Racine (Radimiste). There is no record of the British performing Shakespeare to their Chinese counterparts.

Cossigny also buys a swimming cat: *'I bought a beautiful wild tabby cat, very gentle, bigger than our beautiful angoras; I sent it on board. It got out of its cage, I don't know how, and grabbed the chickens: they chased it, but it was very alert, they couldn't catch it; finally it threw itself into the sea and swam towards the Isle of Vampou (Whampou), where it landed. This species of animal is known.'* And ends his work weirdly with a discourse on turtles. He tells how they captured, easily, dozens of them, and their eggs. *'It is quite astonishing that these animals can live so long without taking food. It is true that they lose weight, but they are still edible on the thirtieth day. There are ships where they have been kept alive for six weeks, and which have even landed some in the East. This food is considered anti-scorbutic. Each turtle can weigh three or four hundred pounds. The meat is succulent and very nourishing; the sick are given its broth. The fat is green, but appetizing; the liver, tripe, and breastplate baked in the oven with seasoning, are very pleasant dishes.'*



Then he swiftly wraps it all up: *'The encounter of some ships during the crossing, the sight of several species of fish and birds, that of a large quantity of seaweed, by the Azores and beyond, do not provide events interesting enough to be mentioned. We arrived in Lorient on July 2, after nineteen months and fourteen days.'*<sup>12</sup>

The book ends with the commentaries on Macartney and van Braam, and a longer chapter on Indian and Chinese arts: *'Meanwhile, the Sketch that I give of the arts of the Indians and the Chinese will perhaps not be without utility. It details some new processes; it indicates others which are totally or partially unknown in Europe; it gives some recipes whose effectiveness has been established by experience. It will put ingenious artists on the path of discoveries; it will inspire travelers more capable than myself with the project of extending and perfecting it and will make them feel that they owe their fatherland a tribute for their observations and their knowledge.'*

The fore-edges of this entertaining and neglected book, as with those of Sonnerat's volumes, are speckled red as the litchis they describe.

<sup>1</sup> **Gonzales de Mendoza** Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres, del gran Reyno de la Chinas, como por relacion de Religiosos y orras personas que an estado el dicho reyno. Hecha y ordenada .... Ioan Gonzalez Mendosa. En Roma colla de Bartholome Grassi 1585.

<sup>2</sup> **Boym, Michael** Flora Sinensis fructus floresque humillime porrigens serenissimo et potentissimo principi ac domino, domino Leopoldo Ignatio, Hungariae regi florentissimo etc., fructus saeculo promittenti augustissimos, emissa in publicum a religioso patre Michaelae Boym, Societatis Iesu sacerdote, et a domo professa eiusdem Societatis Viennae Maiestati Suae una cum felicissimo anni apprecatione oblata. Matthaeus Rictius, Vienna (1656). [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flora\\_Sinensis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flora_Sinensis)



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<sup>3</sup> **Osbeck, Pehr / Toréen, Olof / Ekeberg, Carl Gustav.** A Voyage to China and the East Indies by Pehr Osbeck. Together with a voyage to Suratte by Olof Toreen. And an Account of the Chinese husbandry by Captain Charles Gustavus Ekeberg, translated from the German, by John Reinhold Forster. To which are added, a faunula and flora sinenses. Two volumes. London, B. White, 1771.

<sup>4</sup> **Sonnerat, Pierre** Voyage aux Indes orientales et à la Chine, fait par ordre de Louis XVI, depuis 1774 jusqu'en 1781; dans lequel on traite des moeurs, de la religion, des sciences et des arts des Indiens, des Chinois, des Péguins et des Madégasses ; suivi d'observations sur le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, les îles de France et de Bourbon, les Maldives, Ceylan, Malacca, les Philippines et les Moluques, et de recherches sur l'histoire naturelle de ces pays, etc., etc. A Paris, Chez l'Auteur, Froullé, Nyon, Barrois, Paris, 1782. The description and engraving of Litchi are in the 4to edition, and only the description in the 8vo edition of the same year. An English translation was published in 1788.

<sup>5</sup> **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 ... London: Cadell and Davies, 1806

<sup>6</sup> <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=1pPuX89hjc0C&pg=GBS.PA166&hl=en>

<sup>7</sup> **Adrien d'Épinay**, « Joseph-François Charpentier de Cossigny », Revue historique et littéraire de l'Île Maurice, t. 5e année, no 11, 1891-1892, p. 121-124; Jean-Charles Roman d'Amat, « Joseph-François Charpentier de Cossigny » dans Dictionnaire de biographie française, vol. 8, Paris, 1959; [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph-Fran%C3%A7ois\\_Charpentier\\_de\\_Cossigny\\_de\\_Palma](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph-Fran%C3%A7ois_Charpentier_de_Cossigny_de_Palma)

<sup>8</sup> **Charpentier De Cossigny (Joseph-François)** Voyage au Bengale. Paris, Émery, Lefort, an VIII (1799)

<sup>9</sup> <https://read.dukeupress.edu/french-historical-studies/article-abstract/48/1/1/395119/The-Colonial-Enlightenment-and-Slavery-in?redirectedFrom=fulltext>

<sup>10</sup> **Staunton, Sir George.** 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 auprès de l'empereur de la Chine. Paris, F. Buisson, an 6 de la République. 1798

<sup>11</sup> **Braam Houckgeest, André Everard van.** Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales hollandaises, vers l'empereur de la Chine, dans les années 1794 & 1795,....Philadelphie, 1797-1798. There was a second Paris edition in French in the same year which might have been more available for Cossigny.

<sup>12</sup> The turtle illustration is from <https://brewminate.com/the-politics-of-the-turtle-feast-in-18th-century-england/>