

## A collection of consecutive mathematical problems

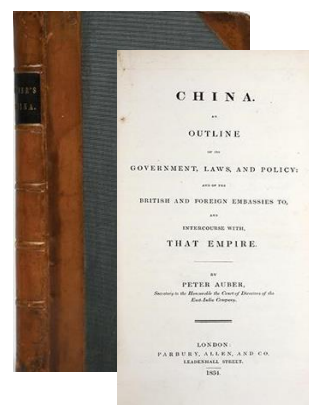
*Peter Auber, with a side of Thomas Manning and roast pig*

We don't know a lot about Peter Auber (1770-1866). At the early age of 16 he became a Company man and remained that way for the next 50 years. He was born in London, and entered the employ of the East India Company (EIC) in 1786, rising to Assistant Secretary, then Secretary from 1829 to 1836, when he retired with a handsome pension of £2000 a year<sup>1</sup>, which over his remaining 30 years would amount to £60,000.<sup>2</sup> He must have been married since there is recorded a son, the Rev Charles Bransby Auber (1820-1867). Somewhere in his early days he became a friend of the romantic poet Thomas Love Peacock, since it was on the recommendation of Auber, then Assistant Secretary, that Peacock was employed at India House in 1819 as an examiner, remaining with them until 1856.

Auber pops up frequently in various accounts and documents of the EIC over the years he was Secretary. For instance, in 1832 he writes a letter to the Times, affronted at accusations that a by-election might have been influenced by the Company, with the winners, Robert Spankie and Robert Grant having links with it. Incidentally the losing third place getter was the founder of computing, Charles Babbage, complaining rightly of Company interests against him.<sup>3</sup>

He was also busy, however, as something of an historian and economist, writing three works relating to the Company, India and China. The first was in 1826, *An Analysis of the Constitution of the East-India Company*.<sup>4</sup> This is a legal, administrative and political history of the EIC from its origins to its powerful role as a monopolistic trading and governance company. There has been a question of his authorship, though the dispute is obscure.<sup>2</sup> He picks up on this again in a two volume work published a year after his retirement, *Rise and progress of British Power in India*, 1837.<sup>5</sup> This covers all things on British and Indian history as the Empire expands and is valuable for the author's view from inside the most powerful organisation of the day outside of Government. It is a third book, written in between the other two, that looks at China.

**Auber, Peter.** *China. An Outline of its Government, Laws, and Policy, and of the British and Foreign Embassies to, and intercourse with, that Empire.* London: Parbury, Allen, and Co., 1834. pp viii, 419, coloured folding map of the Pearl River after James Horsburgh, 8vo. Cordier 70-71; Löwendahl 1736; Lust 553.



The hand-coloured map is rather special. It is by James Horsburgh (1762-1836), an EIC hydrographer who as a result of a couple of voyages out to China, prepared valuable navigation charts of various sea passages for the Company. He had returned permanently to England in 1805, taking up the hydrographer post in 1810. This particular chart, titled *Chart of the Canton River, reduced from that lately constructed by James Horsburgh esq., Hydrographer to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> East India Company* is that of the Pearl River delta and was first issued by Horsburgh in 1831. It located all coastal sites from Macao, the islands out as far as the Ladrões, Hong Kong, and inwards to the Bocca Tigris, Whampoa and up the river in to Canton itself. Many of the accounts of voyages into Canton

from the 18<sup>th</sup> C through to the Opium Wars describe and sketch this area and the anchorages, forts, islands in great detail, and this chart is one of the finest and most evocative of the time. A later version issued in 1847 after Horsburgh's death, is titled: *To Chas Marjoribanks Esqre and the other Members of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> East India Company's Factory at Canton. This Chart of Choo Keang or Canton River, Is Inscribed by Their Obedient Servant, Jas Horsburgh*. It is embellished with Chinese names, more details around Hong Kong including an insert of Victoria, and blocks of text, and includes later information from Belcher's 1840 surveys.



The book was written at critical time for the EIC as it transitioned from a monopolistic trader to something more like a political administrator. In 1813, their trading monopoly with India had been removed and with China, they were given 20 years to, as Auber puts it, '*act in the joint characters of sovereign and merchant*.' His intention in the book, at the urging of the Board, was '*to provide something useful in the future conduct of the Company's affairs.....As the period approaches when the trade with China is to be thrown open, inquiry is made for some definite information regarding principles upon which the Company's intercourse has hitherto been maintained in Canton, and the countenance given to the British trade by the local authorities at that port. The present work has thus been thrown together in the form of a connected outline, shewing also very briefly the nature of the government with which the Company's agents have had to deal, and the attempts which have been made by foreign nations to establish, upon the basis of formal treaty, a regular intercourse with that singular people*.'

Auber's first chapter is largely a discussion of the big economic issues of the day that might impinge on the Company's activity from 1830 into the future. Thus there is much on currency, on the corn laws and free trade, and on navigation laws, which really means regulation of international shipping. Because of the 1813 Act opening up India trade, the EIC felt that '*the whole of their financial operations mainly depended upon the continued successful prosecution of the China trade, which might be put to hazard by an indiscriminate resort of British subjects to Canton, or by any interference in the tea trade....*'. This is what underlaid the Company's growing dependence on the opium trade, thus controlling the other major trading commodity, and paying for the export of tea by the Company.

With the coming opening of the China trade, Auber is in the position to be contrasting this with India: '*The open trade with China will be entered upon under circumstances widely differing from those which existed when the trade with India was thrown open. In the latter country the British authority was paramount.....As regards China, we resort to a country in which we have not a foot on the ground, and where we are confined to one port, at which our permanent residence is doubtful. The habits, manners, and customs are quite foreign to our own. The laws of China have been compared to a collection of consecutive mathematical puzzles*.' And here, he writes, just 5 years before the British took military action: '*...we must not forget that each nation has a right to be governed as she may think proper. No State has a right to interfere with another as independent as herself, or to set herself up as a judge of the conduct of the sovereign, or to constrain him to alter such conduct because it may not accord with the views of those who voluntarily resort to his*

*dominions.* But even from as far away as London, he knows that: *'Late events have led to the expression of opinions in favour of a less pacific course of policy towards the Chinese.'* Retiring in 1836, we might wonder what his views were after 1840 and the first Opium War, that clearly was looming.

It transpires that this first chapter is the one of more interest than might be expected. The next chapter contains a series of not very well coordinated pieces of information on China, its government, religion, laws, etc, which couldn't have been new to the EIC. Auber leans heavily on current accounts such as those of Du Halde<sup>6</sup>, Guignes<sup>7</sup> (including his fanciful theories linking Egypt and China), Gutzlaff<sup>8</sup>, and the Macartney and Amherst embassy narratives of Staunton<sup>9</sup> and Ellis<sup>10</sup>.

The third chapter is on foreign (non-British) missions and embassies prior to Macartney. He starts in the 13<sup>th</sup> C, through Marco Polo, then Portuguese, Dutch, and at some length, the Russian missions with Ides and quoting extensively from John Bell. This all provides him with background for the next three chapters, on British intercourse with China in general, and then then Macartney and Amherst embassies.

Auber describes what is necessary in carrying out trade through Canton, along with the titles of the Chinese officials to be encountered. He charts the EIC from Elixabeth through the 17<sup>th</sup> C, tussling with the Dutch, and by 1715, *'the intercourse with Canton had assumed k somewhat of a regular trade.'* The period through to the 1740s was one of continuing struggle with tariffs and duties, supercargoes in the middle of controversies over kowtowing and national issues such as searching of British vessels. In 1736 the Qianlong Emperor assumes the throne, and in 1741, Anson arrives in the first British Royal Navy ship to enter the waters, the *Centurion*, bristling with guns and intent to assert British supremacy. Anson eventually left to capture Spanish prizes, something seemingly easier to do than bringing the Chinese to order.

The next chapter takes the story up to 1791. *'It will have been apparent from the detail already given, that the Chinese, instead of relaxing in their conduct toward the English since their first intercourse with Canton, in consequence of the supposed increased value of their commerce and the length of their connexion with China, only inflicted additional impositions upon the trade, and as the supercargoes justly stated, acted as if they were "aware that the importance we attached to its continuance induced us to submit to almost every indignity."* The feeling of distrust and apprehension manifested towards British subjects was, in some degree, traced to the impression occasioned by the extension of our arms and possessions in India, and to the opinion which the Chinese entertained of our character for encroachment, where we once obtained a footing.' Its worth remembering that over this period, other nations such as the Swedes continued to successfully trade without issues of national dignity.<sup>11</sup>

And so to the Macartney embassy. Auber's account is interesting for its EIC viewpoint. He writes from and for the Board of Directors, whereas the first-hand accounts of Staunton and Barrow, though Company men, are more attentive to British imperial politics at large. The EIC was at first sceptical, but noting that the greatest political powers were for it, decided to go along with it. *'The Chairs* [Chair and Deputy Chair of the EIC Board] *expressed great doubts as to the probability of any substantial and permanent advantage being derived by the Company or the country at large from the measure; but as contrary opinions had been adopted by some of the highest authorities, and as the nobleman* [Lord Macartney] *proposed for the mission was considered*

*to be particularly well qualified for the purpose, the chairs thought, if the experiment must be tried, the opportunity ought not to be neglected.'* In other words, it was better to be on board than otherwise. *'...although the Court of Directors saw no reason to alter the opinion they had originally formed as to the probable result, they afforded every aid in their power to promote the end contemplated in its appointment.'* He points out, rightly, that since much had been written on the embassy, it would have been superfluous to repeat it. *'Thus terminated the embassy. It has been justly observed, that the ambassador was received with the utmost politeness, treated with the utmost hospitality, watched with the utmost vigilance, and dismissed with the utmost civility.'* A much politer version of the quip from Andreas Anderson, Macartney's valet, *'We entered Peking like paupers; we remained in it like prisoners; and we quitted it like vagrants.'*<sup>12</sup>

With the excitement of the Macartney, and 20 odd years later, the Amherst embassies, the interregnum often doesn't get much treatment in histories. Auber shows that there was considerable follow up, with letters and gifts exchanged between the Governments, and some improvement in trading operations: *'the embarrassing expedient of stopping the trade, which used formerly to be put in force on the most trifling occasion, as well as interference on the part of the mandarins in the allotment of the business, had not been resorted to for some time.'* Auber records disputes with the shipping, peace with France in 1801, and the American flag raised in Canton for the first time on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January, 1801, although American ships had sailed to China under their before that date.

There is more on the Company's ships put in service to the Crown, and a note that the Company had sent out a gardener in 1805 *'for the purpose of collecting the vegetable productions of the Country: he was maintained at the Company's charge, and a botanical painter was engaged to make drawings of the plants under the direction of the gardener. A description of the properties of the plants was to be sent home.'* Auber doesn't say who this was or anything more on the issue. A number of 'gardeners' went out to Canton in these early years of the century. John Haxton was with Macartney, though never mentioned, and only listed as 'A Gardner' by Anderson. He was still there, or had returned, in 1814, sending plants back to Joseph Banks. Plants were occasionally brought back by EIC captains at the time; Captain Robert Wellbank is recorded as bringing back *Camellia* species, and a Joseph Poole was specifically sent out around 1818, on an East Indiaman, to collect for English nurserymen.<sup>7</sup> There seems to be no record of Auber's gardener.

Then in May 1806, Auber records that the Chairman of the Court of Directors received a letter from Mr Thomas Manning. Manning notes that he always had a deep interest in China, with a determination to visit it and *'...by my own observations and researches,.....dissipate some of the obscurity and doubt which hangs over its moral and civil history.'* He pointed out that at Cambridge, he had *'pursued my mathematical studies to an unusual extent, and have there given lectures on all the branches of that science. I have long been conversant with the theory of medicine, and have for the last six months been attending to its practice...'* He then spent three years in France following the peace, studying the Chinese language. *'It was my intention to proceed from England first to Russia, and thence have endeavoured to make my way into China, by the North;...'* but he had given up that idea, being unable to improve his knowledge of Chinese in England, and wanted to obtain the Company's support to travel to Canton, hoping to travel into China further from there. After a quiet word from Sir Joseph Banks, which in those days was pretty much all you needed, the Court of Directors notified the Select Committee (the EIC's administration in Canton), that *'We have paid Mr Manning's passage to*

*China, and direct that he be permitted to reside at the Company's factory.'* And so Manning sailed for Canton, with creditable mathematical credentials and rather dubious medical ones. Its worth a diversion here.

**Thomas Manning and Chinese roast pig: *Beard and chopsticks do not make a Chinese.***

In 1823, Charles Lamb, essayist and a central character in the British romantic movement of the early 19<sup>th</sup> C, wrote a famous essay: *A Dissertation upon Roast Pork*, published in 'Essays of Elia'. Here are the opening lines:

*'Mankind, says a Chinese manuscript, which my friend M. was obliging enough to read and explain to me, for the first seventy thousand ages ate their meat raw, clawing or biting it from the living animal, just as they do in Abyssinia to this day. This period is not obscurely hinted at by their great Confucius in the second chapter of his Mundane Mutations, where he designates a kind of golden age by the term Cho-fang, literally the Cooks' holiday. The manuscript goes on to say, that the art of roasting, or rather broiling (which I take to be the elder brother) was accidentally discovered in the manner following.'*

The essay goes on to describe how Bo-bo, the son of the swineherd Ho-ti, accidentally burned down their house, taking with it a litter of piglets. The father returning, started to beat his son, but was overwhelmed by the smell of their great discovery, roast pig. They decide to keep it a secret, but a succession of house burnings soon gave the game away, and so the story goes on.



*From A Dissertation Upon Roast Pig  
By Charles Lamb, Illustrated by L. J. Bridgman.  
Boston, Lothrop, 1888*

The 'M' in Lamb's fanciful essay was far from fanciful. He was Thomas Manning, and had become a friend of Lamb's from their Cambridge days. They remained friends for most of their lives, indulging in often nonsensical humour, their letters variously collected and published.<sup>13</sup> Lamb's describes Manning in a letter to Robert Lloyd, Feb 7, 1801:

*'I believe I have told you I have been to see Manning. He is a dainty chiel<sup>14</sup>. A Man of great power – an enchanter almost. Far beyond Coleridge or any man in power of impressing – when he gets you alone, he can act the wonders of Egypt. Only he is lazy, and does not always put forth all his strength: if he did, I know of no man of genius at all comparable to him.'*

Lamb's use of Chinese characters and history was not unusual in the years post-Macartney and more so after the second British embassy to China under Lord Amherst of 1816. Chinese were caricatured on the stage and in print as the ultimate in exotica, and familiar as the source of the substantial and popular exports of tea, silk and porcelain. And apparently, of roast pig.

Thomas Manning (1772-1840) was one of England's earliest sinophiles, now the subject of a recent biography<sup>15</sup>, and studied mathematics and philosophy in Cambridge. However, he showed his contrariness and increasing eccentricity, by failing to come away with a degree, since he was opposed to taking the required oath of allegiance to the Church of England. On the voyage out to Canton he decided to grow what became his signature beard and after a time in Canton, noted that it was then a foot long, and he seemed very proud of it. Around this time he also decided to wear Chinese dress, or some version of it, which he liked for its comfort and looseness.<sup>16</sup> Supported by the East India Company, and used by them for translation, he must have cut an ambiguous figure in the Canton factories.

Manning was a bit like Alice. Every attempt he made to penetrate the interior of China, and ultimately meet the Emperor, resulted in him ending up further away. He made a few attempts go beyond the Canton's prison-like borders, unsuccessfully petitioning the Emperor offering his services as astronomer and physician. He once escaped outside the Canton limits hoping that his dress would disguise him, but was soon returned in a basket slung from a pole. His compatriots let him know that '*beard and chopsticks do not make a Chinese.*'<sup>17</sup> He sailed to Cochin China on a Company voyage, hoping to find a way through China's southern borders, but never set foot on land. He then courted Siamese officials in the hope of joining their mission to Peking but failed.



Thomas Manning. Royal Asiatic Society. Attr. J M Davis.

Manning made a last effort to enter through China through another back door. He used his contact with the EIC to get permission to travel into Chinese controlled Tibet, via Bengal, and Bhutan, to Lhasa itself, hoping then to proceed further to his personal Shangri La in Peking. He never published an account of his journey. However his journal and notes were collected up by the notable explorer and writer, Clements Markham, at the time Secretary of the Geographical Society, and published, together with other accounts, in 1876, with a second edition in 1879. It seems to have been printed as a separate 82 page booklet in the same year as it was published in the combined accounts for western exploration of Tibet that Markham edited. A reprint was issued in India in 1971 as part of a series *Bibliotheca Himalayica*.<sup>18</sup>

Mannings daily notes and jottings written out by his sister, and are deposited at the Royal Asiatic Society and now digitized, with a substantial cache of them rediscovered in 2015.<sup>19</sup> Markham in 1876 turns the notes into more of a narrative form, and is not too impressed with what he has to work with: '*And, as for those who know how to find it, there is much wheat to be gathered amongst Mr Manning's chaff*'. The editor of the Indian reprint of 1981, H K Kulöy, however, remarks that the reader might find '*Mr Markham's introduction and editorial notes, occasionally superfluous, sometimes incorrect, and at times repetitive...*'.

Manning is one of the most relaxed travellers you might ever encounter. Not being an official emissary, and armed only with some appropriate letters and passports, he is under no obligation to maintain an official status, demanding appropriate accommodation and



receptions. So, independent as always, he is happy to sleep anywhere, is relaxed over his meals, and if he has to wait an hour or two for arrangements for horses or accommodation, he sits and observes the passing life or the views. His journey is extraordinarily lacking in drama or crises, though perhaps it is his laconic style that disguises this. He sets off on September 1811, posing usefully as a medical man. He passes through Bhutan and reaches the Tibetan border where he finds a Chinese general and his soldiers. He cures a few and gets on with the general, who agrees to let him travel with them into Tibet. The most entertaining thread through the account is Manning's tussles with his Chinese servant from Canton whom he calls Munshi; they speak Chinese together. Munshi is argumentative, bad-tempered and always concerned over his status as Chinese, disapproving of Manning's lack of concern for dignity and officialdom. *'The Chinaman is as cross as the devil, and will not speak'*. And again: *'A spaniel would be better than my Chinese servant.'*

All through the journey, it is the Chinese officials, who are clearly running things in Tibet, and with whom Manning has to deal. They have been sent to these far-flung posts as administrators, managing towns and villages, the postal services, providing horses, accommodation, and the focus of deference and gifts. The Chinese claim over Tibet is not new. All the way he provides medical services and the word spreads. He seems to have an endless supply of mercury, arsenic, antimony, bark infusions, pills and lotions which seem remarkably effective in most cases. This continues into Lhasa, where he is required to doctor high Lamas and Mandarin officials. The General he travels with is *'no better than an old woman, though very much of a gentleman, and very civil and polite to me.'* The General talks and smokes with him, and feeds him, *'giving him a tolerably good dinner, but his cookery was but indifferent. I thought his wine excellent.'* The General is *'greatly taken with my beard, and seemed if he never could sufficiently admire it.'* Manning's beard, very long by now and combed and remarked on even today, was a constant source of amazement.



*The Potala, Lhasa, from Kircher's China Illustrata 1667. Included in Markham's book on Bogle and Manning, 1971.*

Manning eventually enters Lhasa and gets his audience, and there is a tender moment when he has his first one with the Grand Lama, then a 7 year old boy. *'The Lama's beautiful and interesting face and manner engrossed almost all my attention....His face was, I thought, poetically and affectingly beautiful. He was of a gay and cheerful disposition; his beautiful mouth perpetually unbending into a graceful smile, which illuminated his whole countenance.'* After much discussion through interpreters, Manning asks the Lama for books on his religion and history, which he later received. He ends his account: *'I was extremely affected by this interview with the Lama. I could have wept through strangeness of sensation.'*<sup>20</sup> But it was the Chinese, not the Lama who was in charge and Manning failed to get permission to proceed into China and reversed his steps back to Bengal.

In the end, he does get to Peking. In Canton at the time of the Amherst embassy of 1816, he was taken on as an interpreter, not without discussion about his beard and costume. The official accounts of Henry Ellis, and that of the naturalist Clarke Abel, don't mention

Manning. However, he does get notice in George Staunton's later notes on the embassy, published for private circulation in 1824. Amherst, suffering from the primness that later played a part in his failure in Peking, told Staunton that *'had the gentleman not been so specially recommended by the Select Committee, he should have entertained strong doubts of his being the proper person to accompany the embassy; both on account of his peculiar costume and appearance, and the report which prevailed that he had rendered himself obnoxious to the Chinese government.'*<sup>21</sup> Staunton's reply was that although the Committee regretted Manning's eccentricities, his value as interpreter rose above any objection, and Manning had undertaken to dress down for the occasion anyhow. And so away Manning went, along with 12 musicians and in total, 75 personnel accompanying Lord Amherst. He pops up a little later with the interminable question of whether Amherst should kowtow. Staunton advised against it, even though he had been present with Macartney and would have seen how that much more urbane and enlightened diplomat managed it. (He took the knee). Manning considered *'a compliance inexpedient under existing circumstances'*. This from someone who bowed and kowtowed to all and sundry in making his way into the Lama's presence in Lhasa.

During the embassy's return, Manning *'made two unsuccessful attempts to procure books at booksellers. 'In one shop he had made his selection, and was just laying down his money, when someone, a stranger apparently, came in, and warned the shopman of the edict, by which the sale of books to us, was expressly prohibited; after which no arguments could induce him to suffer Mr. Manning to complete his purchase.'*<sup>22</sup> And finally we find Manning lecturing junior mandarins: *'They were.....made to listen to a very able and severe lecture in their own language, from Mr Manning on the subject of their inattention and discourtesy'*<sup>23</sup>, subsequent to a dispute over accommodation.

Manning returned with others of the Embassy in the *Alceste*, which was wrecked near Sunda (Indonesia) in May 1817. The passengers were rescued and later stopped off at St Helena on the South Atlantic, visiting Napoleon, on the way home. Mannering has always said that his return from France was facilitated by Napoleon, then back in power, personally providing a passport, a story not validated. But it seems Manning thanked the Emperor anyway. He returned to England that year, lived until 1840, apparently plucking out every last strand of his beard, before dying from the effects of a stroke.<sup>24</sup>

Auber treats with the Amherst Embassy in Chapter VI, as he covers the EIC in China year by year. Most of his discussion is on the interminable to-ing and fro-ing of mandarins as they and Amherst try to resolve the ceremonial issues. The Embassy eventually makes its way as far as Peking, are hassled by officials, but with continuing refusal to kowtow, then told to leave. The refusal, and control over the whole proceedings was as usual in the hands of the court mandarins, and the absence of a more enlightened emperor such as Macartney had to deal with in the Qianlong Emperor, added to the confusion. They returned inland by the same route as Macartney, taking some four harassed months, and arrived in Canton having achieved nothing. Subsequent edicts from the emperor showed some level of repentance, though Auber quotes one *'Hereafter there is no occasion to send an ambassador so far...I therefore sent down my pleasure to expel these ambassadors and send them back to their own country, without punishing the high crime they had committed.'* Auber doesn't mention the letter written by the EIC Select Committee in Canton, noting *'the insolent manner in which the negotiation was broken off by the Court in Peking, we cannot but congratulate Your Lordship on the subsequent edicts issued by the Emperor of China evincing a degree of repentance and a wish to remove the*



*merited censure from himself that could not have been expected from this arbitrary monarch.'*<sup>25</sup> Officially, Amherst's failure is all the Emperor's fault.

As he moves through the years, clearly quoting from the records of the Court of Directors and the Select Committee, the period from Amherst through to 1833 is littered with complaints between the mandarins, the Hoppo, the merchants, the supercargoes, the Company Captains, the British military, and anyone else trying to trade. There are frequent altercations, the occasional assault and death disrupting things. And there in 1820 is a fortunate suicide. *'On the 27<sup>th</sup> November, a Chinese was accidentally shot in a boat at Whampoa. A committee of commanders was nominated by the Select Committee to proceed thither for the purpose of inquiring into the affair. An edict was issued, that the chief should give up the murderer, and a strict search was ordered to be made in every ship for his discovery.'* But then on the day for the search, a butcher on the *Duke of York* killed himself in a fit of insanity. *'The singular circumstance of the event occurring at the moment that the search was about to be made in the ship, presented the opportunity of communicating the fact in such terms, that without a direct asservation on the part of the Committee that he was the man who caused the death of the Chinese, left the local authorities to infer such was the case.'* It seems that no-one believed for one moment that the suicide was the culprit, but all were happy to accept it and move on. Diplomacy on all sides wasn't dead.

He ends in 1834 with an account of a piratical conspiracy by some British and American sailors out of a job in Macao, *'...the object of which was to seize upon the company's cutter, and carry her off to the north-east coast of China, with the intention of plundering Chinese junks, and seizing the John Bigger, a British vessel employed there as an opium-receiving ship.'* The conspirators were found out, and the ringleader was *'a person named Henry Steele, lately second mate of a ship called Sir George Murray sailing under the New Zealand flag, with a pass from New South Wales.'*

Auber adds a section on Japan, and then some *Concluding Remarks*, a list of the Presidents of the Select Committee, and three Orders in Council of the British Government concerning regulation of the trade with China by British citizens. It all looks forward to an unregulated trading era, disfigured by the immoral opium trade and enforced by British guns.

But back to the New Zealand ship, the *Sir George Murray*. This was built in the Hokianga as a trader, part owned by the Māori chiefs Patuone and Taonui, and in 1830 was seized in Sydney for not flying a national flag. Of course at this stage there wasn't one, and the incident prompted James Busby, British Resident, to have a flag designed. Three options were presented at Waitangi in 1834, and the one selected by the chiefs was the one we know of as the United Tribe's flag, eventually recognised by Britain, and still occasionally seen flying today. There it was at the head of a mast in Macao in 1834.



<sup>1</sup> About £290,000 at today's value. The company looked after it's men.

<sup>2</sup> Buckland, C E Dictionary of Indian Biography. London, Swann Sonnenschein, 1906. p.19.

<sup>3</sup> <https://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2015/05/must-i-break-my-promise-or-lose-my-bread.html>

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<sup>4</sup> Auber, Peter. An analysis of the constitution of the East-India company, and of the laws passed by Parliament for the government of their affairs, at home and abroad: To which is prefixed, a brief history of the company, and of the rise and progress of the British power in India. London, Kingsbury, Parburg, and Allen, 1826.

<sup>5</sup> Auber, Peter. Rise and Progress of the British Power in India. London, Allen & Co; Calkin & Budd, 1837. 2 volumes.

<sup>6</sup> Du Halde, Jean Baptiste. The General History of China: Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea and Thibet. London, John Watts, 1736; A Description of the Empire of China and Chinese Tartary, Together with the Kingdoms of Korea, and Tibet. London, Edward Cave, 1738–41.

<sup>7</sup> Guignes, Joseph de; Gaubil, A. Le Chou-King, un des Livres Sacrés des Chinois. Qui renferme les fondements de leur ancienne histoire, les principes de leur gouvernement & de leur morale; ouvrage recueilli par Confucius. Traduit & enrichi de notes, par Feu le P. Gaubil, missionnaire à la Chine. Revu & corrigé sur le texte chinois, accompagné de nouvelles notes, de planches gravures. Tilliard, Paris, 1770

<sup>8</sup> Gützlaff, Karl Friedrich August. Journal of two voyages along the coast of China, in 1831 and 1832, the first in a Chinese junk, the second in the British ship Lord Amherst; with notices of Corea, Lewchew etc.. New York, 1833.

<sup>9</sup> Staunton G. 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 Pekin; as well as of their return to Europe; with notices of the several places where they stopped. London, W Bulmer and Co. MDCCXCVII [1797].

<sup>10</sup> Ellis H. Journal of the proceedings of the late embassy to China, comprising a correct narration of the public transactions of the embassy, of the voyage to and from China, and of the journey from the mouth of the Pei-Ho to the return to Canton. London, John Murray, 1817.

<sup>11</sup> See an account of Pehr Osbeck and other Swedish naturalists in the 18<sup>th</sup> C. <https://ianferg.nz/the-greatest-rivers-often-come-from-the-least-springs/>

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, Gertrude Alison (ed). The Letters Of Thomas Manning To Charles Lamb. London, Martin Secker, 1925.

<sup>14</sup> Chiel is a Scottish term for a young man.

<sup>15</sup> Weech, Ed. Chinese Dreams in Romantic England. A life of Thomas Manning. Manchester, Manchester University Press., 2022.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 109.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 118.

<sup>18</sup> Markham Clements, R. Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa. Edited, with Notes, and Introduction, and Lives of Mr. Bogle and Mr. Manning. London, Trubner and Co, 1876; Manning, Thomas (ed Markham) Narrative of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa (1811-12). Edited, with notes and life of Mr. Manning, by Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S. London] Printed by William Clowes and Sons, 1876; Markham, Clements Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa. Edited, with Notes, and Introduction, and Lives of Mr. Bogle and Mr. Manning. London, 1876. Reprint: Bibliothca Himalayica, Series 1, Volume 6, ed H K Kulöy, New Delhi, Manjusri Publishing House , 1971.

<sup>19</sup> <https://royalasiaticcollections.org/manuscript-of-narrative-of-the-journey-of-thomas-manning-to-lhasa/>

<sup>20</sup> Markham, 1971, pp. 265-0277.

<sup>21</sup> [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. Pp. 8-9.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p. 316

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 453.

<sup>24</sup> [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary\\_of\\_National\\_Biography,\\_1885-1900/Manning,\\_Thomas](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-1900/Manning,_Thomas)

<sup>25</sup> Peyrefitte, A. The collision of two civilizations. The British expedition to China in 1792-4. London, Harvill, 1993. pp. 504-512.