

Young George Thomas Staunton's diary of the British Embassy to China.

Part 2, covering 30 August 1793 – 1 February 1794

Introduction

The great British Embassy to Peking, led by Lord Macartney at the end of 1792, has never lacked for first-hand accounts. The official narrative was written by Sir George Leonard Staunton, Macartney's deputy, and published in two volumes with a folio atlas of plates and maps in 1797. Macartney's valet, Aeneas Anderson sneaked in, with the help of a smart publisher, with his account published in 1795. He broke the rules, since it was agreed that no one on such missions should publish before the official account, and was scorned for his presumption ever after.

Another account was published in German in the same year as that of Staunton, by a panicking Johann Christian Hüttner. This was based on letters he had sent back to friends who decided to publish them before Staunton. Hüttner was tutor to Sir George Staunton's 12 year old son George Thomas, and a translator to the Embassy.

Samuel Holmes, a soldier in the Dragoons forming the Embassy's guard, published his short account in 1798, and a few years later, Sir John Barrow, third in charge and Comptroller published his two volumes in 1804, and then incorporated Macartney's own journal (never separately published) in his life of Macartney of 1807. Barrow also wrote a volume on visiting Cochin China (Vietnam) as part of the Embassy's voyage.

There were various other publications, compilations, and accounts from authors who were safely in England, such as Winterbotham (who wrote from jail) and Cawthorn, and a memoir from the Embassy's scientist Dr Dinwiddie, published much later by his relative, William Proudfoot-Jardine, in 1868. The latter also published a very critical account of Barrow's book, in 1861.

There may be other diaries, journal and papers not published. We do know that among them is a diary rather more remarkable than most. George Thomas Staunton (1781-1859), with a precocious education supervised by his father, was only 11 years old when he embarked with his father and his tutor, as a valet to Lord Macartney, on September 29, 1792. As he says in his later memoirs of 1856¹, his attendance was a condition that his father imposed in accepting the invitation to second his friend Lord Macartney, along with the demand that he be accompanied by his tutor Hüttner. One or two more in some 600 people, which included musicians, militia, scientists and artists, servants, and sailors, would hardly be noticed.

On the voyage out, young George learnt some of the Chinese language from a couple of young Chinese men who had been sourced from the Naples Jesuit College, and taken on as interpreters. And he wrote a diary covering the Embassy right up to their departure from Macau in June 1794. The diary has rarely been referred to. The later Sir George Thomas doesn't mention it in his memoirs, and indeed gives comparatively little space to the Macartney Embassy, deferring to other accounts.

¹ Staunton, George Thomas. *Memoirs of the chief incidents of the public life of Sir George Thomas Staunton. ..one of the King's Commissioners to the Court of Peking, and afterwards for some time member of Parliament for South Hampshire, and for the borough of Portsmouth. Printed for Private Circulation. London, L. Booth, 1856.*

Some modern writing on the affair does note that the young boy's diaries often give a more authentic and open account of events than the more official narratives.²

The diaries are among a collection of Staunton's papers held by the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library of Duke University, North Carolina, in the US. They cover the years 1791 to 1796. This includes the diaries of the years of the Embassy (1792-1794), and then of travels in Europe with his father. The diary Staunton titled 'Second Part', covers the months 30 August 1793 to 1 February 1794. This period includes the journey from Peking to the Emperor's summer residence in Jehol, north of the Great Wall, departing Peking September 2, 1793, and the events at Jehol with the audience with the emperor and celebrations for his birthday. The diary then covers the return to Peking, departure and the more than 2 month journey down the Grand Canal and associated waterways to Canton, the time in Canton, then the removal to Macau before the return home in March 1794. It ends in February 1794 while still resident in Macau.

This diary has been digitised and made available by Duke University and has been transcribed below. The earlier diaries are currently (December 2025) being similarly digitised and will be incorporated into this document at a later date. Thanks are due to The Duke library for their willing co-operation. The diary is in the form of a notebook, well-worn, bound in quarter morocco with marble boards. Staunton numbers the pages starting from 97, obviously leading on from the previous set. He writes initially across the whole page, but from p117, Monday September 30, he changes to writing, much more neatly, only in a column occupying the right half of each page. This allows him to occasionally write extra notes, doodles, practice his Chinese characters and hand-writing, and in one case make a wonderful little sketch, on the blank left side of the page.

Staunton's hand-writing is thankfully quite large and mostly easy to read and decipher. He doesn't bother much with capitalising the start of sentences, or with commas and full stops. Sometimes the entries are little more than notes. Staunton's spelling is pretty good for a very literate 12 year-old. I have retained several usages which are either common to the time, or at least common to George, e.g. hansom, severall, pallace. His spelling of Chinese place names is variable, but can usually be worked out with regard to contemporary or modern names. There are some, mainly small villages and towns, which would require more searching.

My efforts at editing are more of a once-over than particularly scholarly, but are a start. I have cross-referenced to Hüttner's account in several places, since tutor and pupil were together all the time, and surely compared notes. There is also some cross-referencing to Staunton and Holmes, but a greater effort at cross-referencing the different accounts, including Barrow's and Macartney's would prove valuable. It seems useful to get this diary available as is and continue to work on it, along with the other diaries when they come available. The long canal and river journey to Canton has been cross-referenced with the two maps provided by GL Staunton in his folio, prepared by John Barrow, and denoted 'GLS map' in the footnotes.

Staunton is a plain-spoken observer, simply recording scenes and events, with no attempt at much interpretation. This makes his recording of their time at Jehol valuable, including the audience where he was summoned by the Emperor to say a few words in Chinese to him, and rewarded with a yellow silk purse from his belt. He gives a fair record of the entertainments, gardens and buildings and places where they stay. And he records, as have others, the death of an Embassy member which was not allowed to be declared until they were safely out of the Emperor's house and down the road. Compared with his tutor Hüttner, or father George Leonard, he only infrequently provides further information on the wider aspects of China, the court, or the people; he largely sticks to what

² See for example, Peyrefitte, A. The collision of two civilisations. The British expedition to China 1792-94. London, Harper Collins, 1993. p xxii.

he sees. Of course Hüttner was writing home to his friends, and Staunton was writing notes for his official account.

His most interesting and more detailed entries are for Jehol, and Canton and Macau where they stayed longer and had the opportunity to wander around, recording what they saw. Staunton's record of the canal journey to Canton is a little dull, as was the journey itself, confined mainly to comments on mountains the river, crops and scenery, with occasional descriptions of mills and locks, graves and temples. The Embassy on its canal journey was acknowledged by soldiers, music and guns at towns, but its members did not always enter them, or record much of what they saw. There are occasionally frustrations as well. For instance, during the canal journey Staunton notes that he translated into Chinese a letter from Macartney to the Emperor, but fails to tell us what was in it. He presumably was aware that that was not his privilege. His description of their time in Canton and Macau however, provides details not in the other accounts, including visits, sightseeing, dinners, thus giving a different layer of observation and information.

Staunton does provide very interesting information on the big issue of the kowtow, confirming that it was not the critical issue that has been assumed in many commentaries since, and a point of failure for the Embassy. It clearly wasn't. He gives many instances of Macartney and his retinue bending the knee and bowing to the Emperor as an acceptable obeisance that didn't go as far as the nine-times prostration of other Chinese and foreign dignitaries. This even included bowing to an empty throne, or, as was the case in Canton, to a letica covered in yellow with the Emperor's edict in it. It is notable that GL Staunton in his official account omits many of these ceremonial occasions, possibly not wishing to suggest that Macartney was obliging the Court. His son had no such worries.

I have presented Staunton's page numbers in bold, and run the daily entries through these pages, as written. The page numbers can be ignored, but are useful for locating the entries. There are occasional gaps indicated by dots where the writing couldn't be deciphered. There is a lot more that could be done in editing and commentary, though how much more value added might be questioned. In the meantime, while waiting for copies of the earlier diaries that can then be assembled with this one, young George is worth a browse.

A brief timeline of the Embassy

1792

September 29: departure from England

1793

June 20: anchored off Macau

August 9: leave the ships near Tiensin (Tianjin) to sail by junk up the Peiho (Hai) river toward Peking.

August 17: land just outside Peking. Visit the city and Yuen-ming-yuen (Yuanmingyuan), the summer palace, where they first meet the Emperor.

September 2: depart for Jehol to have an audience with the Emperor and attend birthday celebrations.

September 26: arrive back at Peking.

October 7: depart Peking for Canton, on the Grand Canal.

December 19: arrive at Canton.

1794

January 8: Leave for Macau.

March 8: depart Macau for England.

September 6: arrive home at Spithead.

Principal publications by members of the embassy, and contemporaries.

Alexander, William. The Costume of China, Illustrated in Forty-eight Coloured Engravings. London: William Miller, 1805. Also, Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Chinese. Illustrated in Fifty Coloured Engravings with Descriptions. London: John Murray, 1814.

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.

[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.

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

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.

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.

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

Hüttner, Johann Christian. Nachricht von der Britischen Gesandtschaftreise durch China. Berlin: Vossischer Buchhandlung, 1797. Fr trans by Winckler (Paris: Pillot, 1800). Eng. Trans. J. C. Hüttner's Account of the Journey of the British Embassy through China and part of Tartary (tr. Ian Ferguson) The Journal of the Hakluyt Society May 2022. Pp. 52.

Proudfoot-Jardine, W. A biographical memoir of James Dinwiddie. Liverpool: Howell 1868

Proudfoot-Jardine, W. 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.) Proceeded 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 (1861)

Staunton, Sir George (Bart.). 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

Journal of a voyage to China. Second part.

P97

Friday the 30th

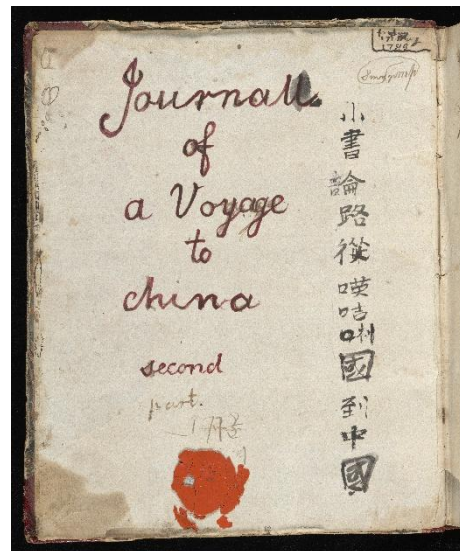
Today Mr Raux³ one of the missionaries got me made a nice square table in a little time. The carriage for our going to Geholl⁴ in was put up.

Saturday the 31st

Today we exercised the Chinese horses in drawing about our carriage in that they might do it the better on our journey to Geholl.

Sunday the 1st of September 1793

This morning we again exercised the Chinese horses with our carriage. Today came here two missionaries, Mr Gramont⁵ and Dezhao⁶. Today Mr Roe¹ dined with us. This evening the Roman Catholic Bishop of Pekin⁷ with several missionaries came to see us.



Monday the 2nd

Early this morning we set for Gehol. Lord Macartney only went in our English carriage, but my papa went in a Chinese sedan chair his having a little of the gout. We went 20 lees⁸ which six miles before breakfast. Our breakfasting place is called Chinghoe⁹. The road is not paved but dusty with rows of very large willows on each side. The country is well cultivated

P98

but not so many village by the side of road as we before saw on the side of the river. We passed by a funeral. The procession was long, the people wore some black and some white clothes. There were some who went before who were appointed to howl and cry, the bier was painted with gay colours and supported by several men before which were carried several banners of different colours supported on red poles, the foremost of the banners had wrote upon it the sex of the person interred -

After breakfast we went 30 lees or 10 miles to a palace where the Emperor and his mandarins sleep on passing this way. After a journey of 35 lees or 10 ½ miles we stopped at a place called Tou-Ling-yoe to water the horses and to get a little fuel. We went generally to the norward, we kept at about 6 miles from the mountains. The countryside was very well cultivated with several sorts of millet and

³ Father Nicolas-Joseph Raux (1754-1801), a Lazarist missionary who arrived in China in 1785, was liked by and proved very helpful to the Embassy. GTS sometimes spelled him Roe.

⁴ Jehol, now known as Chengde. It was the summer residence of the Emperor and being beyond the Great Wall regarded as part of Tartary, where the Manchu emperors came from. GTS variously spells it as Gehol and Geholl.

⁵ Father Louis de Grammont (1736-1812), ex Jesuit and Vincentian missionary active in Peking at the time of the Embassy.

⁶ Fr. José Bernardo Almeida, a Portuguese priest provided by the court, but whom Barrow notes the Embassy had been warned as being unfriendly. He had a Chinese name So Dezhao. The writing looks more like Gezhaio, but almost certainly refers to this Chinese name for Almeida.

⁷ Probably the Franciscan Alexandre de Gouvea from Portugal, occupying the see in Beijing from 1785 and until his death in 1808.

⁸ The li was known by the British as the Chinese mile, about a third of an English mile at the time. GTS refers to lees throughout the diary.

⁹ Likely to be Qinghe, now in the Beijing suburbs, at the time an imperial post house on the road to Jehol.

beans. The country still flat and sandy. We arrived at 20 hours to a house where we stopped to sleep. It was one of the Emperors places many of which he has upon the road.

P99

Tuesday the 3rd.

This morning early we set off again. We went 20 lees before breakfast. We breakfast near a town of the 3rd order called Way-zoo-sien at a poor inn.

After breakfast we went about 40 lees or 12 miles to such a place as we were in yesterday with a large town, of the 3rd order called Yee-sien¹⁰. In the morning we passed several small rivers and some dried ones. Afterward we went over a small hill and then entered a large plain encompassed on every side by mountains. We at last arrived at a place the same as that of yesterday. The roads were very good and in general very even. Today we saw in the distance of about 4 miles upon the mountain, part of the Chinese great wall.

Wednesday the 4th

We went off early this morning and went 30 lees or 9 miles before breakfast, and 38 lees or 11 miles after noonday. We breakfasted at a small Miou¹¹ called Miou sung miou, and then continued our journey to a town of the 3rd order Shishusien, a little beyond which we stopped at such a place as we were in two nights before. In the evening we took a walk in the country.

P100

Thursday the 5th

Early this morning we set off again to continue our journey. At 6 o'clock the thermometer at 68. We went in sedan chairs, the road being too bad to go in the carriage, but it followed us close, as the road was not at all impracticable, but full of steep ascents and descents. After going 30 lees we arrived at the great wall of China. 2 or 3 miles before we came to the wall we went under a gateway called the South heaven. We breakfasted at an inn near the wall, after which we went to see the wall. It is now falling fast to ruin, but yet is in several places perfect. It is double and about 10 feet in thickness if both taken together the space between filled up with earth and stones. Every 100 or 200 paces there are towers then not inhabited. There are we are told three walls parallel one to another. Near the wall near a thousand soldiers with music were presented to us they fired guns and huzzahed at us as we grouped.

It is at noon very hot and dusty. We went on 40 lees to our sleeping place. We saw people already

P101

preparing the road for the Emperor's return. We arrived to dinner and sleep at one of the Emperor's houses in the evening. We took a walk up the side of the mountain where we saw several curious plants.

Friday the 6th

Early this morning we continued our journey, but we breakfasted before we set out. We went only 40 lees today. At a little more than half way we stopped at a miou, and then the road being bad, we went in a The road was very mountainous and rocky. We passed several artificial woods for the Emperor. This morning the temperature was only 62 and was not more than 68 the whole day today and for some days past. We saw several dromedaries or two humped camel loaded with charcoal and other things going to Pekin. I saw also them upon their ponies to be loaded, many of the horses have their nostrils slit up that they might breath the more freely.

P102

¹⁰ Yi Xian, is the name of the county in Hebei Province, site of the Qing Emperor's tombs.

¹¹ This would be the Chinese name for a temple, Miao. GTS refers to Miou throughout.

The people here (as generally happens in mountainous places) are subject to the swelled neck¹². Now we have past the China wall and are now in the tartary yet the great numbers of Chinese who are here preserve their manners, customs and language and in most all of which the Tartars fall as them.¹³ We slept every night at some of the emperors pallaces in each which there is a simple room for himself and his courtiers and an enclosed part behind. The Chinese carriages are very bad as even the best of them have but two wheels and no springs.

Saturday the 7th

Early this morning we set off 8.5 lees to breakfast at a place called Vaungchiouyintzes and then went on 35 lees more to one of the emperor's pallaces. At every little distance we saw a small square containing about 10 or 15 soldiers in each, by these forts an alarm may be spread all over the country in a few hours. Today we saw several of the poplar *Populus alba*¹⁴. Today as we took a walk towards the wood, we found both the common and a species of large leaved oak called the Russian oak¹⁵.

P103

Sunday the 8th

Today we continued our journey to Geholl. Went 30 lees to breakfast, 10 lees more remaining to go to Geholl. The last 3 lees we went in a long procession, full dressed with the music. We came to one of the emperors pallaces to reside in. Several mandarins came to see us.

The evening we went to see the prime minister called houchungfan. We were sitting by other minister after conversing with him for about an hour. We returned back [added later in smaller neater hand, though still Staunton's: in the evening we went to see the Principall Colau called Hou chung fan¹⁶. We found him sitting with four other persons in one of the rooms of the palace. He received us sitting very coldly and addressed in a proud imperious manner, however he gave us warm milk to drink and a seat to my papa but not to Mr Plumb¹⁷ or me. We conversed with him for about an hour then took our leave.]

Monday the 9th

A fine day. Today the tartar mandarine¹⁸ Chintaghin came here. The mandarins kept at a distance the rest of the day. Today Mr Parish¹⁹ found the lat²⁰ of this place to be 40;58th.

Tuesday the 10th

Today the chin taghin, chiou taghin and vauntaghin came here²¹. The first of which was degraded two degrees of his mandarinat. Cool weather.

¹² Goitre associated with iodine deficiency was common in the northern countryside. Mentioned also by Hüttner.

¹³ Hüttner at this stage also notes: Mixed marriages of the Tartars and Chinese, one government, and one language, naturally produce the same customs. But since a wolf can never entirely deny its particular character, here too a few features stand out which distinguish the Tartar noticeably from the Chinese.

¹⁴ The white poplar, *Populus alba*, is indigenous to China and commonly grown across the country.

¹⁵ Possibly *Quercus mongolica*, indigenous to the area.

¹⁶ Colao or Colau was a term used mainly by Westerners denoting a senior Government official. The principal Colao was Hou Chung Fan who carried out much of the negotiations with Macartney, and would have been equivalent to the Prime Minister or First Secretary in the Emperor's court..

¹⁷ Mr Plum or Plumb was the Chinese interpreter Li Zibiao. See Harrison, *The Perils of Interpreting*, for an account of his life and role with the embassy.

¹⁸ GTS consistently spells mandarin as mandarine throughout.

¹⁹ William Parish was a member of the Royal Artillery with the Embassy, and a trained draftsman who made a number of notable sketches during the journey, and whose notes were later used by GL Staunton.

²⁰ latitude

²¹ Chin, Chiou and Vaung are status names for mandarins, denoting high, middle and princely status.

Wednesday the 11th

Today went again with the ambassador to the colau Hoachungfan. He received us more politely than before and in the more interior part of the palace. He gave us warm milk twice. After conversing for about two hours we returned.

P104

Thursday the 12th

Today we opened the presents that we brought here for the emperor.

Friday the 18th

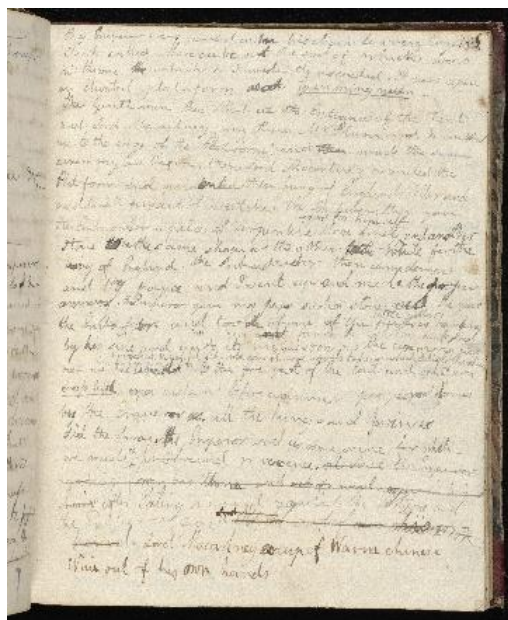
Cold day. Sent our presents to the pallace.

Saturday the 19th

At 6 o'clock this morning we set out to the emperors pallace to see the emperor. We were first conducted to a tent in the emperors garden or park, where we remained about an hour. In the meantime there came into the tent several people with the red transparent Button and the three-eyed peacocks feathers.²² We soon found them to be chief or kings of the many provinces of Tartary which are tributary to the emperor. And now three kings are come here to pay their yearly obeisance to the emperor. At the end of an hour we left the tent and were told that the emperor was coming. We then stood by the side of the road which the emperor was to pass. He came in a gilt chair supported by 16 men. As he passed we went upon one knee and bowed our heads down.

P105

The emperor was carried on his chair to a very large tent called Munculo at the end of which was his throne which he immediately ascended.²³ It was on an elevated platform as at Yuenmingyuen²⁴. The gentlemen then stood at the entrance of the tent and Lord Macartney, my papa, Mr Plum and I walked up to the edge of the platform and made the same ceremony as before, and then Lord Macartney ascended the platform and presented the King of Englands letter and a small present of watches. The emperor then gave the Embassador a piece of serpentine stone finely carved for himself and another stone in the same shape as the other but white for the King of England. The Embassador then came down and my papa and I went up and made the proper ceremony. The emperor gave my papa such as stone as he gave the Embassador and took of one of the little yellow purses hanging by his side and gave it to me. He asked that I should speak



²² Different coloured buttons, and peacock feathers, were the badges of different levels of office given by the Emperor.

²³ Hüttner says of the tents or yurts: 'One was far higher and wider than the others, with yellow awnings and carpets, decorated with painted lanterns and paper hangings. In front it had a covered entrance, on both sides of which there were cushions and low tables with a wide variety of refreshments. Behind that one could see a throne of the Emperor. The Chinese gave this particular period of waiting the Tartar name: Mungkubo, the real meaning of which our interpreter could not tell me, and for this short time the Ambassador and his entourage waited the arrival of the Emperor.' It is possible that GTS's term is that given by Hüttner.

²⁴ The famous summer palace in Peking, later destroyed by English and French troops under Lord Elgin in the second opium war.

some Chinese words to him which I did thanking him for his present. As soon as the ceremony was over we returned to the fore part of the tent and set down cross legged on cushions before dinner prepared for us by the emperor. All the kings and princes did the same. The emperor sent us some wine for which we made a profound reverence. After eating we went again to the throne and emperor gave Lord Macartney a cup of wine out of his own hands.²⁵

P106

Sunday the 15th

At 5 o'clock this morning we went to see the emperors garden. We soon arrived at the gate of the gardens, but as the emperor had not passed by yet we could not go to the gardens. It being a very cold morning we retired for about an hour to a small lodge near the gate where there happened to be a good fire. We afterwards went to a small tent where we waited till the emperor - when he came we bent one knee and bowed by the side of the road. He stopped opposite us and said he was going to a Miou or temple and would not invite us to go with him as we did not adore his gods, but that he had ordered his minister to show us his gardens. We thanked him and he went on to the Miou and we turned back to go to the gardens. Lord Macartney, my papa and I went on horseback through the gardens with the prime minister conducting us as a great favour but the rest of the gentlemen all walked. We first entered a park full of several handsome trees. The herbage was coarse and seemed not to have been much tended to. We passed by a very high Pagoda with gilt on one side and the Emperors hunt on the other.

P107

We came first to the side of a piece of water made by art. We got off our horses and went into a large handsome covered boat and rowed to a small but Beautiful Pallace closer to the water. In it we saw a handsome hall in which there was the emperors throne. On one side way a carved piece of agate said to be a Septer of dignity and as a sign of peace and prosperity in the Empire, on the other side was a ~~spitting~~ covered basin.

There were thrones in some of the other rooms in the like manner only smaller. Before some of the thrones are tables with small stone images, stone vases and and Indian We saw there several curious watches and watch works and mirrors most of which were English. Upstairs we found a very handsome gallery from which we had a fine view of the lake, which tho not very wide yet winds a long way through the garden, which would more properly be called a mountain path. The lake is partly covered with a very beautiful red flower with large leaves called the Nenuphor or the Nymphox columbo of Linnaeus²⁶. * Here we saw a large carved agate with verses cut in it made by the emperor. From hence went and to several other Pallace's, sometimes on horseback sometimes in the boat. They in overall were pretty much the same with the first. The garden altogether was very handsome but adorned with trees rather than with flowers.

P108

Monday the 16th

Today my papa took a walk in the country. Today as the emperor wished it I dress for him the Purse he gave me.

Tuesday the 17th

This day being the emperors birthday we went very early to the Pallace, we waited some time in an antechamber and then went into an interior court, where we saw 2 or 3 hundred great mandarines and princes assembled in rows. We then heard a very solemn music and at a signall being made we went on one knee and bowed down to the ground. We repeated this ceremony nine times with the other mandarins except that they both bowed their head and forehead on the ground. All this time we did not see the emperor who was inside. We now went to see the Western side of the emperors

²⁵ Hüttner gives the same account but with more detail.

²⁶ Probably what is now known as *Nymphaea rubra*

gardens. We saw several beautiful Pallaces and Pagodas, and romantic scenes in this part of the garden, the hills were very steep and close to each other and between them traces of there being landslides in the rainy season. We saw several deer between the trees. Some of the palaces were covered with green and others with yellow porcelain. The ornaments of room were mostly of different precious stones variously carved.

P109

From the garden we went to see several fine large mious or temple. In one we saw 500 gilt statues of Bonzes²⁷. In another place we heard the bonzes ... their prayers and a gigantic statue of foe²⁸ riding upon tygers. We then went to a very large miou or temple 5 storeys high and covered with gilt tiles. It was full of several very handsome rooms and we had a very fine view from the top of it.

Wednesday the 18th

This morning we went to a play acted in the Pallace. We went first to the emperor who was sitting on his throne before the playhouse. We made the ceremony as usual and gave us each a purse so I had two purses. He gave to Lord M. some drawings of his own doing and some precious stones. We then went to see the play. First was the sea with wild animals and fishes swimming about with men upon their backs.

P110

After boats went grouped, then a gigantic root of the Nephuya came forward. Afterwards the scene changed to a battle and the exercise of the soldiers. As soon as it was over we returned to our house. In the evening we went to see the fireworks. We first came to the royal tent, at the entrance of which the emperor sat, and, we with the kings and princes in rows before the tent leaving a large area in the middle opposite to the emperor. First there came fighting men, by pares (pairs) as soon as one thros (throws) the other down the victor made a prostration to the emperor and went off. After repeating this several times, there came people of various countrys, some of whom were mandarines, with music and dancing, then there came several people holding a pretty long piece of bamboo, then a young boy climbed to the top of it, and stood upon it, and made several singular and ridiculous gestures. Then there cam a man who lay upon his back on the ground and supported with his feet lifted up in the air a very large, heavy jar, which if it had fallen upon him must have killed him. He also turned it round and around with his feet. Then a little boy got into the jar and climbed up and sat upon it and then very artfully

P111

he got head foremost into it again. This being finished there came another man with a great many dishes, each of which having twirled upon his finger he put upon a small stick fixed to his boots, so they remained all twirling for a considerable time. We then saw some people going round and round upon some very large wheels with their axel trees put on high poles, these from the weight were always upright. Then there came several 100 people with red lanterns who formed with them festoons, pyramids and Chinese characters in compliment to the emperor. Then they let off several characters and wild fire, then out of a large box that was drawn up high they let fall several hundred lanterns, one of which lighted all the rest. But first of all the bottom of the box fell down as if by accident, then the flames rushed out with burning paper, out of which fell the lanterns, each of which had a light in it. Before the fireworks there was rope dancing. In the course of the entertainment there was tea, meat and fruit handed about.

P112

Thursday the 19th

Today Mr Plum went to the colao with a note from the Embassador copied by me in Chinese.

²⁷ Monks.

²⁸ Fo, the Buddha.

Friday the 20th

A very rainy day. Preparing to set off for Peking tomorrow.

Saturday the 21st

Early this morning we set off for Peking. The road was not so good from the rain of yesterday, we pass the curious mountain that we saw coming. We arrived at about half past ten in the morning at the same place where we stopped before called Lanpingsien, having now gone 40 lees or 12 miles. From last night's rain we saw several small rivers very much. We passed several loaded camels. Sometime after our arrival, one of the soldiers of the artillery who had been some time sick died. As the Chinese were very superstitious and thought it improper that anyone should die in the emperors houses, so we did not declare that he was dead until he should be moved out of the house.²⁹

P113

Sunday the 22nd

A fine day. We went 30 lees or 9 miles before breakfast to a place called Vaungchiajetzai. Here the soldier (Reid) was declared to be dead as was buried according to ceremony. After breakfast we went on 40 lees to a place called Chaungshaniue at one of the emperors inns. This morning it was very cold, but at noon it is on the contrary very hot. The road was in some places very stony but in general very good. After having dined we took a walk near the foot of the hill.

Monday the 23rd

This morning we set off for one of the emperors inns. At a village called leon kien faung where we dined. All the way there is a road made particularly for the emperor when he passes upon and nobody was allowed to go, which also was obstructed with piles of stones and holes dug upon so the mandarines were very angry when we would go on the emperors road and at last forced us to leave it. We went on in the afternoon to near the wall. In the evening

P114

I took a walk with Dr Guilan³⁰ to a part of the wall upon the top of high mountain from which we had a fine view of the country, the wall, and 2 or 3 large villages in the valleys. We picked up several pieces of the wall and small shells which seemed to have fell from the bricks or mortar. We saw the wall extend itself upon the tops of the highest mountains just upon the ridges. We after having satisfied our curiosity we returned fatigued to the Inn, where we had tolerable accommodations though not as good as in the emperors Inns.

Tuesday the 24th

We set off early this morning and went 100 lees or 30 miles in one day. Breakfasting at one of the emperors inns. Today we again saw the wall but at a great distance.

Wednesday the 25th

Today we went 30 lees or 10 miles and left the mountains and came into the plains.

Thursday the 26th

²⁹ This was the artilleryman Jeremiah Read, who was buried the following day at 'Kola-choa-yen' according to Samuel Holmes, p.145. Dysentery 'had by this time crept amongst us in the most alarming manner' (Holmes). The same medical stories are related in Staunton, vol 2, pp. 280-281.

³⁰ Dr Hugh Gillan, a Scottish physician in the entourage, d. 1798. See *Mr Gillan's Observations on the State of Medicine, Surgery, and Chemistry in China*, in J. L. Cranmer-Byng (ed.), *An Embassy to China: Being the Journal kept by Lord Macartney During his Embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung 1793-1794*. London, 1962, pp 279-90.

Early this morning we sent off for Pekin. We breakfasted at Chinghoe which is 6 miles from Pekin. The emperors road goes no further than Chinghoe and the emperor goes to yuenmingyuen before he goes to Pekin on arriving.

P115

At the gate of our habitation we were met by several mandarins who came to pay their respects on our arrival. We found all the gentlemen except Mr Barrow³¹ and Dr Dinwiddie³² who were at yuenmingyuen but came here in the evening. Mr Maxwell³³ told us some [news] from Europe that he learned from the Missionary. We also got letters from Mr Nyen and heard that a brother of Mr Plum (who is a blue buttoned mandarine) is just this afternoon arrived from the Southward of China, and that Mr Cho³⁴ came with him and is now in Peking. It is much warmer than at Gehol.

Friday the 27th

This morning we began to open the rest of presents for the emperor some of which are very handsome. We heard that the Planetarium³⁵ is quite finished and now going to yeunmingyuen.

P116

Saturday the 28th

Early this morning Mr Barrow set off for yuenmingyuen. A very pleasant day.

Sunday the 29th

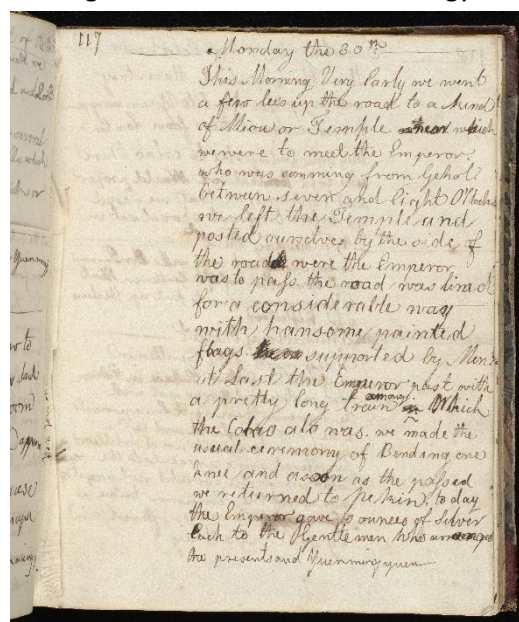
This morning I went with Mr Barrow to Yuenmingyuen. I saw all the presents laid out in order all in one end of the room. Indeed they made a very beautiful appearance and were much admired by the Chinese. In the evening Lord Macartney, my papa and the other gentlemen set out to Yeunmingyuen to sleep.

[Up to this point, GTS has been writing across the full width of the page. From here on, he writes only on the left half of a leaf, leaving left half blank, but often with doodles, a drawing or two, and added notes. His handwriting is noticeably more regular and readable.]

P117

Monday the 30th

This morning very early we went a few lees up the road to a kind of Miou or temple near which we were to meet the Emperor who was coming from Gehol. Between seven and eight o'clock we left the temple and posted ourselves by the side of the road where the emperor was to pass. The road was lined for a considerable way with handsome painted flags supported by men. At last the emperor passed with a pretty long train among which the Colao also was. We made the usual ceremony of bending one



³¹ Sir John Barrow, Comptroller and third in command in the Embassy. He also wrote an account of the travels.

³² Dr James Dinwiddie, scientist and mathematician in charge of assembling the complex scientific gifts. He wrote a short account of his experiences. Barrow and Dinwiddie did not go to Jehol and neither did the militia man Samuel Holmes.

³³ It is not clear who Maxwell is.

³⁴ Paolo Cho, the other interpreter provided by the Peking court.

³⁵ Dinwiddie's particular task.

knee and as soon as he passed we returned to Pekin. Today the emperor gave 10 ounces of silver each to the gentlemen who arranged the presents at Yuenmingyuen.

P118

Tuesday the 1st of October

This morning Lord Macartney and my papa went to Yuenmingyuen to receive some letters from Canton. They saw and spoke to Calao there who told them it would proper and convenient that we should go before the frost set in.

Wednesday the 2nd

Today I was not very well. Mr Barrow and some others of the gentlemen went to Yuenmingyuen to put up the lens and reflector.

Thursday the 3rd

Today most of the gentlemen went to the Tartar pallace in Pekin. I did not go as I was not well. The emperor then sent some presents for the King of England, and to the gentlemen, servants and soldiers. We offered some presents to the Calao which he would not accept of them, nor would the emperor take a carriage offered him by Lord Macartney.

P119

Friday the 4th

Fine weather. Preparing to set out in a short time. We have made up a paper of things to be requested from the emperor.

Saturday the 5th

Today we were told that we should go the day after tomorrow.

Sunday the 6th

Today one of the soldiers dyed.

Monday the 7th

At twelve o'clock today we set off for Tuncheou³⁶. We first went to a house where we saw the colao. He showed us the emperors answer to us folded in yellow silk. We made to it the ceremony of bending the knee as the emperors edict. The colao then said a few civil things and wished us a good journey. We were near 5 hours coming to Tuncheou where we arrived very much tired. We slept at a miou as before.

P120

Tuesday the 8th

Today we went into our barges to go down the river. They were not so good as those in which we were in before. Before dinner we took a walk to buy a few things. In the evening we sculled down the river.

Wednesday the 9th

This morning we went slowly down the river and made but little progress. The country is flat with but few trees. We past a small village with two small bridges. Cool pleasant weather.

Thursday the 10th

The weather cold and now and then windy. Spent most part of the day in waiting for one of our boats which could not immediately proceed the water not being deep enough.

³⁶ Tongzhou, now a district of Beijing. GL Staunton gives it as Tong-Choo-Foo.

P121

Friday the 11th

A cold morning,. The wind right against us. We were saluted once or twice by soldiers with music by the side of the river. Today we passed a city of the third order called Vauching sien. All the high millet which we saw coming up the river we now find out down and in its stead the beginnings of a new crop. Now perceived the river much diminished in size.

Saturday the 12th

Today we past a small but populous village called Tongtzien. The tides come from the sea through Tiensin³⁷ to this place. Near this place we went over to the boat of a very great mandarine who accompanys us all the way,

P122

called Sung taghin³⁸, to receive an edict of the emperor, containing something as to our being well treated on the journey.

Sunday the 13th

This morning we arrived at Tiensin. This town is lately made a fou or town of the first order. Here we saw several of the sea junks. Here the river divides into two parts. The one we came down from Tuncheou is called the Paichei and the one we are now going up is called the Tuechou. Here the great mandarine sent us presents of fruit, meat, tea, then about a mile

P123

beyond Tiensinfou we stopped for about a half an hour. In the meantime we walked a little in a small garden belonging to a miou. From this place one side of the river was planted with very large and hansom trees.

Monday the 14th

Fine weather, something warmer than before. The side of the river was much adorned with uncommon large willows and other hansom trees. The banks of the river are pretty high.

Tuesday the 15th

Fine weather this morning. We past a large town of the third order.

P124

Wednesday the 16th

The country much adorned with trees interspersed with villages. Today we past a large city of the 2nd order called Tzaung Chou. We perceived it to be about a mile square and were told that it was equal in size to the city of Tuncheou. It is the place of nativity of Mr Cho.

We perceived inside the walls the upper part of an old large building resembling that of an European cathedral. We continued our way through this river

P125

which winds considerably and is well banked to prevent inundation which not withstanding frequently happens, as the country for the most part is as low or even lower than the surface of the water in the river.

Thursday the 17th

Few trees and the grain just springing up. Cold weather. Today we saw a vessel loaded with cotton, The only we had seen.

³⁷ The port city Tianjin

³⁸ Hüttner notes him as well: 'The Emperor had the embassy accompanied by the Minister of State Tsung-ta-dschin, He soon won all hearts. This excellent man was distinguished by his modesty, his undisguised benevolence, and the most amiable readiness to please whenever he could.'

Friday the 18th

This morning we entered the province of Shantong³⁹, at which time the tartar and some lower mandarins left us, but others soon came to take their place. The first town we passed is called Taecheou.

P126

Saturday the 19th

The country as before very cold and windy. The river winds more than any other river I saw. Past several small towns.

Sunday the 20th

The river flowing very strong so we found some difficulty in getting up. For several nights past we have been saluted with loud gongs, rockets and crackers, and the daytime with detachments of soldiers, more or less the people are still being curious and crowd the sides of the river to see us.

P127

Monday the 21st

The sides of the river barren and the weather very cold, as some mornings the thermometer as low as 42, and some appearances as if there had been frost during the night.

Tuesday the 22nd

This morning we arrived at a large town called Lingin⁴⁰. A little before our arrival at it we past a very fine pagoda 7 stories high with small windows and without bells. Having past the town of Lingin we entered the great royal canal by a kind of lock or gateway which I did not see. The canal was wide and the banks very high. Were large plantations of cotton by the river for several days past.

P128

Wednesday the 23rd

Going on very well we past an opening into a cavity that if the canal might not overflow but have a place for a vessel. Sometime after we went between two large thick stone works about 10 foot above water, just leaving room for the boats to go through and to prevent them from rocking or hurting their sides. *[added to the left of the text: * Past several of these stone works which serve instead of locks, the space between projecting sides there being stopped up at pleasure with board folded up for the purpose, but are taken off at a moments warning. Near some of them the canal widens itself into a kind of basin for trading vessels that might have occasion to lye there.]* We kept them in the middle with poles. In the evening we past a large town called Tungchaungfoo⁴¹.

Thursday the 24th

Today we saw the mountains. The canal is above 60 feet wide. Saw several large trees. Fine weather. We now go very fast

P129

In the evening my papa went into Sungtaghins boat to receive another edict of the emperor with a present of cheese.

³⁹ Shandong

⁴⁰ Linging at the confluence of the Wei river and Grand Canal. Staunton, 'An Authentic Account', in the Atlas map, gives this as Lin-sin-choo, dated 22 October. William Alexander, the artist on the embassy, painted watercolours here, at the start of the Grand Canal. Hüttner gives it Linsching, the city where the Grand Canal departs south.

⁴¹ GL Staunton gives this as Tong-Whang-Foo. Possibly modern Taucheng on the Grand Canal.

Friday the 25th

Lord Macartney went again this morning to converse with Sungtaghin. We past a great many junks, most of them at an anchor and as far as I could perceive, none of them loaded. At the weather is warm and pleasant. The banks of the canall all being generally high often prevent our seeing this face of the country from our windows as we might otherwise. The land quite levels before but distant mountains to be seen on both sides.

P130

The land now is mostly planted with a kind of wheat.

Saturday the 26th

Today we found the canall to go thro' pretty large but not deep lakes⁴², with several little islands, great numbers of fishing boats, and abundance of a beautiful flower (which we saw before near Pekin) called Nenuphox [Nymphaea]. The canall was separated from the lakes on both sides by a high banks.

P131 [on this page, GTS has drawn a landscape picture of a village with houses and trees, with seventeen square towers as noted for Sunday 27th]



We saw at a moderate distance a small stony hill with houses and trees, we found the lake to continue a great way. The canall even was very serpentine. The trees are mostly planted near the canall. The weather warmer than before.

Sunday the 27th

Moderate weather. Today we came pretty near the mountain. We past several villages, we observed a large one particularly which was at some distance, on account of it having within itself seventeen square towers.

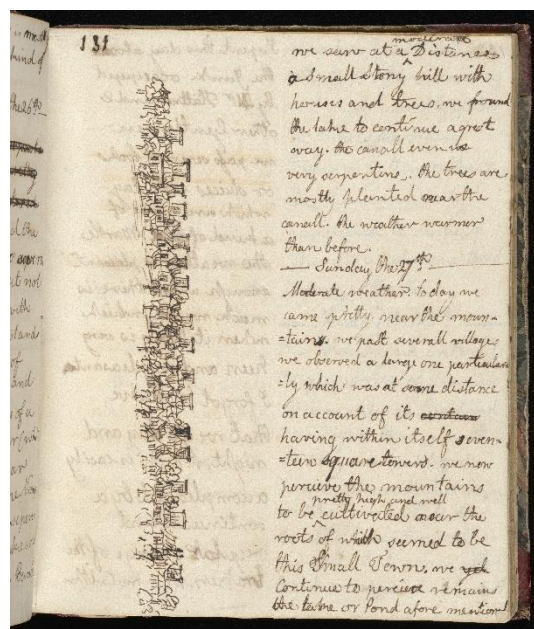
We now perceive the mountains to be pretty high and well cultivated, near the roots of which seemed to be this small town. We continue to perceive the remains of a lake or pond afore mentioned

P132

I spent This day aboard the junk occupied by Mr

Hüttner⁴³ and 3 other gentlemen – we past several locks or sluices each day which are made of a kind of hard marble. The weather is pleasant enough unless there is much wind, which when it blows is very keen and unpleasant. I forgot to observe that we go day and night, which is easily accomplished by a continuall and regular change of the trackers⁴⁴, who not withstanding

P133



⁴² Ci-ning Hou, and Tou-shang-hou or Nan-shang-hou on GLS map.

⁴³ Johan Christian Hüttner was GTS's tutor and a translator on the embassy.

⁴⁴ The vessels were being hauled down the canal with ropes by men employed or dragooned as trackers.

particular attention often run away and consequently delay the boats while they are getting others. This however, only happened to some of the mandarine and carriage boats.

Monday the 28th

This morning we entered the province of Kiannan.⁴⁵ In some places the land was higher than usual so they were obliged to cut several feet down in the ground to be able to continue the canal, but soon after the land returned

P134

to its usual level. At two different times the canal branched out. It was very warm and comfortable today.

Tuesday the 29th

Several small streams at different times branched out of the canal and flow various ways. The canal is continually lowering, as at every sluice or lock there is a violent current of the water forwards which is occasioned by the water being

P135

a good deal on this side of the lock than beyond it. Today we returned to the province of Shantung. Today we were very sorry to hear that the *Lion* and *Briggs* had left Tchusan 17 days ago and the *Hindustan* only left at Tchusan⁴⁶. Fine weather, a little rain in the evening.

Wednesday the 30th

A very cold and windy morning. The wind was so strong against us that we could not go on for the best part of

P136

the day. It continued extremely cold. We past one or two sluices against one of which we were driven by the force of the wind of the sideways which gave us a violent shock and made it difficult for us to get away from the sluice. Nothing remarkable ashore. Today we got again into the province of Kiannan.

P137

Thursday the 31st

Not so cold as yesterday. Today we entered into a branch of the yellow river which is much wider than the canal. This evening we past a town of the third order called peeyee sien⁴⁷. Today we past thro' a lake such as before all covered with fishing boats. Today the great mandarine Sungtachin went aboard Lord Macartneys junk and had a pretty long conversation with him.⁴⁸

P138

Friday the 1st of November

We are not far from the Yellow river, but as we run parallel to it we shant see it until we turn into it tomorrow. One of our gentlemen went over to it, found the water to be extremely thick and muddy and to run with a current of near six knots an hour. I did not perceive much cultivation on the side of the river.

⁴⁵ The old province of Kiangnan, now largely Jiangsu, containing Nanking as mentioned later.

⁴⁶ The *Lion* and *Hindustan* were the British Royal Navy ships carrying the Embassy, and eventually met the canal travellers at Canton as agreed. Chusan was the island off the coast from Ningbo. This meant that only some of the Embassy could join a ship at Chusan and the rest continued down the Grand Canal and onwards to Canton.

⁴⁷ Possibly the Grand Canal city of Pizhou zhi in Jiangsu Province. On this day denoted on Staunton's map, they passed a town called Sou-tsin sien, before crossing the Yellow River.

⁴⁸ GLS notes that a number of letters between the Emperor and Macartney were exchanged at this period as they approached the Yellow River.

P139

Saturday the 2nd

This morning we entered the yellow river, which appeared to me to be about _____

In the morning we past a town of the third order called Ching Cho Sien.⁴⁹

The waters of river were very yellow and muddy as we expected and with a strong current. The water appeared pretty rough. About 10 o'clock we turned out of the Yellow river into a smaller river running parallel to it and then into a canal. Today for the first time in China we had a few oranges, which however were not bigger than a very small apple. We soon came to gate thro' which the water run

P140

most violently with a great descent of the water. In the afternoon we past a town called Ching sien with houses better than any we had seen yet. At the end of the town was a double sluice where the water run down with great violence. A small boat passing would be in danger of being swamped unless great care was taken. In the town we past several mios or temples.

Sunday the 3rd

Today we past some well built towns. Saw several rice grounds. The canal is much higher than the country

P141

In the evening we past by the side of a very large lake indeed, which appeared quite like the open sea as it extends to the horizon. In the mountains of this province the tea tree grows, but can not grow in the marshy ground that this canal passes thro'. Today they sent us sheeps milk which tasted like cream.

Monday the 4th

This morning we past a small town with very long keys⁵⁰ of stone. In the evening we arrived at a very large town of the first order called Yongcheufoo⁵¹, very famous in China for its size and the beauty

P142

of its buildings. The wall continued for about a mile close to the canall. The canal is covered all near the town with several large junks and innumerable small ones.

Some time before we arrived at this time we were saluted with near 250 soldiers, some with bows and arrows and others with match locks. Near where they presented themselves was a camp after the Chinese fashion. There was a large tent for the commanding mandarine. The others were small like ours, but those of a side touch one another.

P143

Tuesday the 5th

This morning we past a very large town called ChinChaungFoo⁵² whose wall continued close to the canal for two or three miles. Sometime before we came to this place we went a little way up the great river Kiang⁵³ which is much wider than the Yellow river. Today we past three bridges arched with very large stones very curiously placed. Upon one of them was a house with a chimney of which we saw very few to the northward. We now began to see several houses with two stories and altogether much better built.

P144

⁴⁹ There is a slight mismatch between GTS's dates and the dates on the GLS map. This town does not easily match any on the map.

⁵⁰ Presumably quays.

⁵¹ Yongzhou, in what is now Hunan Province, on the southern bank of the Xiang river, and now a cultural heritage site.

⁵² Tching-Kiang-Fou on the GLS map. Modern day Zhenjiang where the canal meets the Yangtse River.

⁵³ Yangtse River.

than before. Today we saw a very fine white pagoda 7 stories high. In the evening we past a pretty populous village called Canhten. The banks of the river were very high and the land is very well cultivated and adorned with trees.

Wednesday the 6th

Fine weather. The land well cultivated, severall distant. Today Lord Macartney had a conversation with the great mandarine Sungtaghun. The country planted – a great deal of rice and a little cotton and a little wheat.

P145

Thursday the 7th

Today we past thro' a well cultivated country and at last arrived at a last and populous city reckoned the finest in China called Sucheoufoo⁵⁴. We first past thro' the suburbs which are very large and populous. The houses are built to the edge and sometimes even some way into the water upon stakes or piles. An immense crowd of people, both men and women, were collected at the doors and windows of the houses and even in the boats and junks to see us. We saw several houses two and three storeys high. Immense numbers of large and

P146

small junks in the river – we past under several large stone bridges with one arch and one with three arches. From the suburbs we turned into the country and then made an angle and came near the wall of the city which we followed till dark. – today we saw several pagodas in the country and one or two within the walls. This evening we saw a very long bridge over a lake of above 90 small arches⁵⁵.

P147

Friday the 8th

We are now I believe in the province of Chekiang⁵⁶. Fine weather. Beautifully cultivated country. We past under a handsome bridge of three arches – we saw several plantations of mulberry trees.

Saturday the 9th

A very rainy day. Past very large plantations of white mulberry. The fuyuang⁵⁷ of Chekiang lately made Suntoo or viceroy of Canton called Chuangtaghan came to meet us, so Lord Macartney went aboard of his junk. We saw him there with Sung Lahin and another red buttoned mandarine.

P148

He was very civil and obliging. He is to come with us to Canton where he will take up his new office. In the evening we past a town called Hin miensien⁵⁸.

Sunday the 10th

A very cold morning. About 10 o'clock we arrived at Hancheoufoo⁵⁹, the capital of Chekiang, near which place we went under a handsome stone bridge of three arches. We did not come near the walls of the city but stopt

P149

in the middle of the suburbs. Today the Suntoo or viceroy of Canton went aboard Lord Macartneys boat to speak to the Embassador. We stopt all day in the suburbs.

⁵⁴ Suzhou. Sou-Tchou-Fou on GL Staunton's map.

⁵⁵ Mentioned by Hüttner, and that Sir John Barrow 'whose veracity cannot be doubted' had verified the number.

⁵⁶ Zhejiang

⁵⁷ The Fuyuan was the equivalent of a Governor of a district or province.

⁵⁸ Shi-ming-shien on the GLS map.

⁵⁹ Hangzhou, still capital of Zhejiang province.

Monday the 11th

This morning Mr Barrow and Mr Plumb went to see the new junks we are to have going down to Canton. They returned with a very splendid account of the town and shops. Today the Ambassador received some letters from Tchusan letting him know that

P150

Sir Erasmus Gower was gone to Macao in search of medicines for his sick.⁶⁰

Tuesday the 12th

This morning I copied a Chinese letter for the Emperor which Lord Macartney soon after gave to Sungtaghin, and today Chaungtaghin, the viceroy of Canton, came to see my papa who has the gout.

P151

Wednesday the 13th

Today Sungtaghin came aboard my papa's junk. Today I wrote a letter to my Mama to go by Capt Mac^{sh}.⁶¹ Coldish weather.

Thursday the 14th

Early this morning we set off in procession with the soldiers through the city of Hancheoufoo to get to the river Kiang where there were smaller junks waiting for us. There were umberellas of ceremony carried before, an honor done to us for the first time. Hancheoufoo is a very large and handsome

P152

city. We past under severall triumphall arches, all of which were of stone and curiously carved. The shops are very good and large, and from many of them I saw hanging very fine and exceedingly valuable furs. The streets are very narrow and paved with a kind of rough flagstones. Going through the town we went over

P153

severall small bridges which were only I believe over artfull dykes with hardly any water in them. Immediately on our leaving the city, we entered on a fine prospect of mountains, valleys, trees. Then we continued our road in this manner for a few miles when we suddenly descended into a large sandy plain miles on the side of a great river called Tengkiang⁶². On the plain we were saluted with guns, music and severall

P154

hundred soldiers. On the brow of one of the mountains was a beautiful pagoda.

We went into our junks, which were indeed small, but convenient enough for two persons. They are arched and matted at top. As soon as the viceroy of Canton arrived, we set sail down the river Tengkiang.

P155

Friday the 15th

On our waking this morning we found ourselves encompassed by the most beautiful country I ever remember to have seen. On one side was an extended plain planted with eatables, among which are

⁶⁰ There was concern that Gower in the *Lion* might not stay long enough in Canton to be there to carry the Embassy home. Letters went back and forwards to Chusan and Canton, and in the end, the party split in two, with some proceeding from Hangzhou to the coast to Chusan to sail to Canton with Gower, and Macartney and the main members of the party (including the Stauntons and Hüttner) proceeding to Canton in the inland route. GL Staunton explains all this in detail.

⁶¹ MacIntosh was commander of the *Hindustan*, which together with the *Lion*, were the RN ships carrying the Embassy.

⁶² The Qiantang river that runs by Hangzhou.

fir, chestnut and the tallow tree, which is a very handsome tree from which the candles are made. It is mostly planted by the riverside and its [leaves] are partly red and green. Behind this plain are distant mountains appearing from behind one another.

P156

But on the other side the mountains rose immediately out of the water in the forms of rock or steep precipices. They are indeed higher than any in England or Scotland, but they are all covered with tree to the tip top, but I believe with little else. Tho' this river is so fine, yet it seldom exceeds 3 or 4 feet in depth. The bottom is a bed of round stones which are covered with a greenish matter. Our junks which drew little more than a foot, oftentimes rubbed

P157

and struck against them. The evenings are cold and the mornings windy.

Saturday the 16th

As before. The river winding between steep rocks and mountains. We past many small towns where we were saluted by smart guns and soldiers. We past two very fine white pagodas on the way, tip tops of two green mountains. Today we found the tea tree in flower and in fruit.⁶³

P158

Sunday the 17th

The river often divides into narrower streames, and seldom more than 2 or 3 feet deep, and often less than one foot.

The mountains are now more distant and not so high. Today the Suntsoo of Canton sent us presents of silks etc etc. This evening two gentlemen of the Liukiu Islands⁶⁴ were shown to the Ambassador. They are mostly black but well looking. Few towns.

P159

Monday the 18th

The mountains very distant. Large beds of stones on each side of the river, which is rather winding. Cold windy weather. The stream as before violently against us.

Tuesday the 19th

Today for the first time we saw plantations of orange trees. They have a deep green colour and all the fruit has been picked off. We saw also plantations of sugar cane, 8 foot or more high, and some times we saw the bamboo. The river in some places is still and deeper than in others.

P160

Saw the Indian corn growing, and many large birds flying about the river edge. The country altogether well cultivated and planted with trees.

Wednesday the 20th

Fine weather. Rugged mountains rising directly from the water on one side, with a bank with trees on the other, and the river as before. Today we arrived at the end of our journey in this river at a town called Chaunsien⁶⁵, where we stopped till night.

P161

Thursday the 21st

This morning early we left our boats and set off in sedan chairs thro' the country for 22 miles to another river where there were boats to take us on to Canton. We had an excellent road all the way, not very wide, but made like the gravel walks in a garden, and when we went through the

⁶³ Zhejiang Province was and still is a major tea growing region.

⁶⁴ Probably the Loo Choo, now Ryukyu Islands administered by Japan. GLS gives Lequese Islands.

⁶⁵ Hüttner gives this as Tschang-ssan-schein, and Barrow as Tchang-san-shien. Possibly modern Qiantang River.

wet rice grounds, it was made so high as not to be at all damp. We saw no marks of wheels upon the road. Several small fir trees planted on the otherwise barren mountains, at the roots of which we saw several tombs, which have the appearance

P162

of small stone houses, with little grated windows. The valleys are planted with rice, vegetables. We saw several wild bushes of the tea plant but none planted purposely. We stopt at one o'clock, half way at a village to dine. They showed [us] into a well furnished apartment and they brought us a good dinner in the evening. Here is the division between the two provinces Chekiang and Kiangsi. We arrived at the end of our journey at about five o'clock. **[added to the left of the text] Every mile or so we went through a village, which tho' without walls around them, have gate ways coming in and going out of them. Today we saw several people making use of what is our chainpump⁶⁶ to raise the water which is conducted through the rice grounds and other plantations requiring water by small canals made for the purpose* - some time before, we came to a river which we crossed on a wooden bridge but saw them preparing a stone one of four or five arches.

P163

At last we came thro' some very extensive suburbs to a walled town of the third order called Sueshanshien. We soon got thro' the town, which is small, and came to another part of those same suburbs. The streets are narrowish but full of people, and the shops well stocked with everything. At last we turned down a long flight of steps, down to the side of the river where we boats ready for us, but something smaller than those we had before. **[added to the left of the text] The Chinese prefer human ordure to any other manure, and on that account have people and places for collecting of it.*⁶⁷

P164

Friday the 22nd

This morning we went to visit the Suntoo. He was in his boat or barge which was not better than ours. After a long conversation we returned. It rained the whole day. The boats remained still as we were not yet prepared to set off on our journey. *[a box on the left of the text] They have (as we were told by the Suntoo) in the province of Petcheli and its neighbourhood, two crops in the year, the first of wheat and the 2nd of millet, and three crops a year of rice elsewhere.*

Saturday the 23rd

Raining as yesterday. This morning we set sail down the river which is called Juouchou⁶⁸. This river is as shallow as the one we left. We have for the most part mountains rising on one side and a continued plain on the other. The land here, and that which we past thro' the day before yesterday, is naturally

P165

barren, but had been much improved by art.

Sunday the 24th

Nasty weather inclining to rain. The mountains often rising perpendicular out of the water, with young fir trees on their tops. The land very unfit for culture on both sides. Towards the evening we saw sugar cane planted. In one place we saw four or five singular hills quite rounded off toward the top and without any verdure whatsoever. The weather cleaned up towards evening. ** [added to the left of the text] We saw several small watermills, some for sugar (here as elsewhere GTS give the Chinese characters for sugarcane). Some of these mills were built in the middle of the river, which being very shallow, was easily done, so the waterwheel is turned by the current.*

⁶⁶ Described in some detail by Barrow and Hüttner.

⁶⁷ GLS gives a long description of this and agriculture at this point, suggesting that the same topics were discussed at various times, with individuals each adding it to their journals.

⁶⁸ Macartney gives this as Yu-san-chien, and Staunton as Eu-shan-shien, dated 21 November.

Monday the 25th

A fine day. We awaited the whole forenoon at a town called Quechisien for some of our boats which were left behind. The river

P166

the river is deeper now and sides more cultivated than before. *[added to the left of the text]* Today, two of our gentlemen who were walking on shore were thrown down and violently used by two soldiers in the presence of a blue buttoned mandarine. The Suntoo hearing of this deprived the mandarine of his button, and then flogged him, the soldiers wore the cangue and would have had their ear pierced (?) had not L Macartney begged off that part of the punishment.

Tuesday the 26th

This morning the river suddenly widened itself into a kind of lake where we could see the bank but of one side, and had an open horizon. However, in an hour the river returned to its proper breadth as suddenly as it before widened. It remained tho' very wide and its sides green hills or well cultivated plain. We often slept when we came to a town.

Wednesday the 27th

The land is quite a plain like the province of Pecheli with but few trees. The river is wide and deep like any other. Its waters are almost as discoloured as those of the Yellow river.

P167

Last night I am told that we past thro' a part of the great lake Poiyang⁶⁹ and entered another river, which as the one we left, enters into the great lake but from a different quarter. The streams course is against so we had trackers, but the wind also being against us, and it being very cold, we stopt between 4 and 5 o'clock. Indeed the thermometer was this morning at 46 and 48. Today we saw a flight of large white birds about the river, which I am told are a kind of heron.

P168

Thursday the 28th

A fine day. The land quite flat and cultivated. We saw several sepulchres which were only small mounds of earth by the side of the river. This country about the 5th month of the year is laid all under water by the inundation of the Poiyang lake and of the rivers that run into it. Today we saw several live cattle grazing. The river some times forms small islands. In the afternoon we arrived at Nanchaungfoo⁷⁰ which is the metropolis of the province. We did not see much except for an enormous number of vessels as we stopt before we

P169

entered the town. We were saluted with 2 or 3 hundred soldiers on the banks. The viceroy of Canton and the feyuen⁷¹ of this province sent us presents of silk, tea, etc etc.

Friday the 29th

We slept all night but set sail early in the morning. We avoided going thro' the town on account of the number of vessels lying there, so we turned up another branch of the river. The river which we have been coming up is called the takiang⁷². The river is pretty wide but not above 4 or 5 feet deep in many places, but as the water is very muddy, we could not see the bottom.

P170

Saturday the 30th

⁶⁹ Poyang lake in Jiangxi province.

⁷⁰ Nanchang.

⁷¹ Feyuen denotes Governor..

⁷² Kan-kiang-ho in GLS map, Ta-tchiang in Hüttner, the modern day Gan.

Fine weather but rather coldish. Fine string wind so we went near 7 miles an hour. We past today a very fine white pagoda and saw some high mountains at a distance. This evening we arrived at a town called Sincansien⁷³ where we were saluted with guns and music, indeed since we left Hangcheufoo we have been saluted with guns from every village that we past. **[added to the left of the text] When the Chinese soldiers are arranged in order by the side of the river where we or the viceroy are to pass, on many occasions, as we go by, fell upon their knees, a ceremony which appears very singular to us.*

Each boat has its foe⁷⁴ or Pagod to whom they make large sacrifices

P171

on their departure from any place, of silvered paper, paper boats, meat, salt, etc etc., then throw into the water.

Sunday the 1st of December 1793

The mountain again close to riverside but not very high but few fir trees. The river is pretty wide and often inundates the surrounding lands. It is however not as we sometimes, tho not often, have grazed the ground. The wind has been strong and favourable for some time which made us go about 7 knots an hour, but as the current is against us for three, reduces us to 4 miles. Some of our boats were nearly overturned by a violent gust of wind.

P172

This evening we past a town of the first order called Sigenfoo where we were saluted as usual. We saw little of the town as it was dark. Today we saw a very high pagoda.

Monday the 2nd of Dec.

The country sandy and very dry. The hill not high or abrupt. Few fir trees to be seen. The country in man parts tan and covered. Today when some salutes fired the echo was very loud.

The generally from each place fire six guns, three for the viceroy and three for the Ambassador.

P173

Tuesday the 3rd.

The country level and less cold than before. We past a small wood, the trees are most of them green and some inkling to yellow. The country in some parts hilly and even rocky. We saw several rocks jutting up in the water. Towards evening we came to some very high and well cultivated mountains. On both sides of the river we saw severall plantations of a shrub covered in white flowers much resembling the tea tree and we were told

P174

produces oil. The whole day the sun has been behind the clouds and has not once shined out, which seldom happens in these latitudes. Moderate winds and favourable.

Wednesday the 4th

High mountains rising gradually from the sides of the river, they are in many places planted with trees, and every now and then a house or military station, but had (hardly) any ground without vegetation. The day cloudy as yesterday and inclined to rain. A good deal of the bamboo by the side

P175

of the river. The land being barren and mountainous is not so much cultivated, however we saw a good deal of the sweet potatoe⁷⁵ growing and a little corn. Today we came to what they call the 18 cataracts which are no more than a strong current between rock and large stones that jut up in the

⁷³ GLS map gives it as Sintou-shian or Sin-kan-Shien.

⁷⁴ Buddha

⁷⁵ Not indigenous, but possibly introduced in the late 16th C from the Philippines to help reduce famine in the eastern provinces.

river, however are dangerous to pass at night so as soon as it grew dark the boats gathered together and stopt till morning. We saw some cane today and a great (deal) of the bamboo.

P176

Thursday the 5th

High mountains. Rather sandy than rocky. The land is of a red ochrish colour which is upon the mountains on any parts uncovered. Many sands and rocks in the middle of the river which is in many parts very shallow. A good deal of the cane planted, the cane looks low at a distance but is often 8 foot high.

P177

Friday the 6th

This morning our boat being very leaky we changed it for another. Prerupt⁷⁶ sandy mountains planted thickly with fir trees – the same as before.

Saturday the 7th

Fine weather. The river so shallow that we could hardly get on. The cane and the bamboo very plentiful, and we saw often on the banks of the river a curious machine for raising the water to the top of the bank which is often 20 or 30 feet high.⁷⁷

P178

Sunday the 8th

Fine pleasant weather and a beautiful country. The plains are covered with the sugar cane, and here and there a plantation of the bamboo which looks like a wood of green trees and not a marsh of reeds. The mountains are studded with young fir trees of a light green. The river winds very much and is not so wider beyond a great deal as it was before. We past today two or three villages. Very little of the tallow tree.

P179

Today we saw a fine white pagoda.

Monday the 9th

Fine weather. The river very narrow and shallow. The mountains very high and rocky and rising prerupt out of the water. Very little cultivation except that of fir trees, as the land seems dry and barren – the mountains are covered with wild shrubs and flowers. In the evening we were saluted by soldiers carrying lights, and at last arrived at Nangangfoo⁷⁸, the end of our journey in this river. The Suntoo or viceroy of Canton who has hitherto been with us, from this place goes on before us to Canton to prepare everything for our arrival there.

P180

Tuesday the 10th

Early this morning we left our boats and set off in sedan chairs thro' the country for a journey of about 27 miles. We stopped halfway to dine at a place called [name not given]. The road is well paved but narrow. We went through several rice grounds as all the valley was converted into them. The mountains

P181

are covered with trees, plants and flowers, and the last crop has been just reaped so we saw nothing but the stubbs of the rice. No sugar at all. A great number of graves or built burying places shaded

⁷⁶ An archaic word no longer used, meaning abrupt or precipitous.

⁷⁷ Hüttner mentions water wheels at this point. He also notes that their convey om the river amounted to some 60 vessels, something not mention by GTS.

⁷⁸ Nangan

with young fir trees which seem to have been planted on purpose. After having gone about six miles we came to some very high mountains (perhaps the highest in China) called Meilingshan⁷⁹.

P182

which divide the province of Kiangsee⁸⁰ and that of Canton. They are internally calcareous rock which is partly covered with a dry sandy soil which will but produce wild shrubs or trees. A passage for the road was often obliged to be cut out from the rock. We past several military stations where we were saluted by its soldiers.

P183

We stopped to dine at a village, but in a large and well furnished room. The dinner was very good , but no fruit. After dinner the land grew flat but the same soil as before. We arrived a little after dark. The only cattle that we saw today were bulls, buffalos and pigs.

We first went through some very long suburbs and then entered a large town called Nananianfoo⁸¹. We were conducted to

P184

a large house in which was the hall for examining students. There they brought us supper and tea. Near this house is the river where the boats are that are to carry us to Canton. They are by far the worst that we have seen yet. They are indeed big as those we had before but not so convenient. They draw only six inches water. *[added to the left of the text] The women here have large feet and wear the same clothes as the men and are only to be distinguished from that sex by their not shaving of their hair. The poor of both sex wear straw sandals.*

P185

Wednesday the 11th

Today about noon we set off. The land is rather flat but with little cultivation. A great deal of the bamboo and large and handsome fir trees. This river is so shallow as our boats tho' drawing so little water often get aground, and are obliged to be pushed off by with the main force of men.

P186

Thursday the 12th

We stopt all last night but set off again at four o'clock in the morning. The mountains small and covered with trees and shrubs of various kinds. The land rather sandy rather than rocky and the bed of the river is sand. This evening we came to a place of the third order called Seeshinsien where we stopt till nine o'clock and then went

P187

again. At this place near the shore was a large house most elegantly furnished for the reception of the mandarins that pass this way. Today we saw steep sides of hills cultivated, which I hardly remember having seen before, unless made up first into flat ridges.

Friday the 13th

This morning we passed 5 singular bluff rocks or hills called oomahtee or five horses heads.⁸² About one o'clock we came to a large town called Soucheufou⁸³. There we stopped and changed into larger and better boats. The river being

P188

much deeper than before. This evening Chioutaghin sent us some very handsome presents of china. We stayed here all night. *[on side of page] Today we saw several coal mines on side of hills worked*

⁷⁹ Now the Meiling National Forest Park.

⁸⁰ Kiangxi

⁸¹ Hüttner gives Nan-tschang-fu and GLS map, Nan-sheun-fou.

⁸² Hüttner calls them 'U-ma-tchu, i.e. the five horse heads', and there is an engraving of these by the Dutch engraver Jakob van der Schley in Prevost's 'Histoire Generale des Voyages' (Paris 1746-1759).

⁸³ GLS map gives it Tchou-tchou-fou.

horizontally with[out] and kind of machine as all is done there by the labour of men. Most of the coal we saw was in a kind of powder or rather what is called calculm⁸⁴ coal.

Saturday the 14th

Fine warm weather. The mountains very rocky and uncultivated, and rising bluff from the water with little or no verdure on them. Today we saw for the first time boats worked with

P189

several oars since we left Pekin. The small boats we saw were often sculled by women.⁸⁵

Sunday the 15th

This morning we came to a small town called Sieutewchaung where we stopt for some time, Near this place is a very large high rock perpendicular on all sides and consequently inaccessible. On that side which is washed by the river the Chinese have hollowed out a moderate sized cavern which they made

P190

a miou or temple, and have lodged there a few bonzes. This cavern is open to the day in three places one above the other. The first is close to the water side, the next is about fifty feet above the water, and the uppermost 90 or 100. In each of these apertures facing the light is an altar, idol, and everything belonging to their devotions. The rock is of marble and is called

P191

Quonying Shan and from it the miou Quonyingmiou and the adored idol Quonyingpuce.⁸⁶ We went to see this place as soon as the boats had anchored. Having crossed the river, we entered the cavern. Large stone steps to ascend by cut out of the rock. It is dark going up but not so much so as to require a candle. The sleeping rooms of the bonzes

P192

which are towards the interior part of the cavern we were not permitted to see. The cavern altogether is very dry and no wind coming in – comfortably warm. In at the second aperture is a small boarded room furnished with chairs and an altar of the idol poosce. The sides of the room, which are but bare rock are

P193

in many places with cut out caracters, which form for the most part, abstract sentences of morality or fabulous historys of the idol Pusce. Here they offered tea. From this going up still higher, we came to the 3rd or uppermost aperture which is every way like the one we had left only smaller. Just above this on the outside is a large mass of

P194

rock attached but very slightly to side of the great rock, and appears as if just going to fall upon the heads of the people below. We at last descended and returned to our boats. Going, we gave something to the bonzes for which they seemed very thankfull. A little before noon we set sail and continued our route.

P195

We came towards evening to some immense and singular rocks jutting upright from the side of the river, and from the sides and tops of these, other small ones sticking out in every singular form and attitude that can be imagined, and again in the interstices between these growing out plants and shrubs as singular as the rocks that bore them.

⁸⁴ It is not clear what this is. Culm is a name for powdered waste coal, or perhaps it incorporates ‘calcium’ as in carbonates or other powdered forms.

⁸⁵ GLS also mentions this here, again suggesting the young Staunton was copying down information discussed among the Embassy members.

⁸⁶ Guan yin is the female Buddhist bodhisattva, associated with compassion, first given the name of Goddess of Mercy by the Jesuits in China. It is a popular idol in China and across Asia. GTS’s use of the term pusce or poosce is not clear. Hüttner in his description refers to altars and figures of the Buddha.

P196

Monday the 16th

This morning we came into another river called Ti Ta Cho⁸⁷ which is and has continued all day to be above half a mile wide. On our entering this river we left the mountains and then into a very extensive plain pretty well cultivated with cane and others

P197

of that kind. We past a town called Sanchieusien⁸⁸ today. We saw several pagodas. They are always an unequal number of stories high – five, seven and nine

Tuesday the 17th

Warm and pleasant weather. The river wide as before. We past a town called (no name given)

P198

For some days past we saw on the river great rafts of wood, often continuing without interruption for several miles and some times upon them piles of the same wood.

Today we saw three most elegant boats sent to us by the Suntoo who is already in Canton.

P199

Wednesday the 18th

This morning we anchored within a few miles and cant go on till tomorrow. Opposite to where we anchored are several large and handsome nursery gardens which we went to see. All the plants (some of which are very curious) are all in pots to be sold. About eleven Colonel Benson⁸⁹ and the Commissioners came from Canton. They brought with them our letters and the latest news from Europe. We were told

P200

that the Indoostan (Hindustan) had a very unpleasant voyage there having been in one continued storm from the time they left Tschusan till they arrived here, and in consequence of which was near being lost. The gentlemen dined here and left for Canton in the evening.

P201

Thursday the 19th

This morning we went into those handsome boats which I mentioned to have seen the day before yesterday, and in them sailed to Canton.⁹⁰ We landed opposite to a very large tent in the suburbs where the Suntoo and several other very great mandarins (in their dresses of ceremony) were waiting for our coming. We went through the

P202

tent into a handsome furnished room with a throne at the end. Here we met the Suntoo with the other very great mandarins who were preparing to make nine bows and three genuflection to the throne at the end of the room, as thanking the emperor for our safe and pleasant arrival here. We followed their example⁹¹, this ceremony being

P203

ended, we retired with the mandarins to a large and handsome hall, where they and we all sat down according to our ranks, and then offered us tea and milk. The Suntoo, after he had said several polite

⁸⁷ Unclear which river this was, but will be part of the Pearl river (Zhujiang) system that passes through Canton

⁸⁸ Modern Sanshui urban district, where the Xijiang, Beijiang, and Suijiang rivers meet.

⁸⁹ Lt. Col. George Benson, Commander of the militia and who had sailed to Canton with the RN ships rather than travel on the inland canal route with Macartney.

⁹⁰ Hüttner notes: 'on 19 December, after an uninterrupted journey of seventy-four days, or over three and a half months from Peking, we arrived in Canton.' However they left Peking on 7 October, which would have made it two and a half months.

⁹¹ Its notable that here, as elsewhere, GLS does not mention the Embassy performing the ceremony.

things, got up and attended by the other great mandarins, conducted us to the house (or rather pallace) that he had prepared for us. After having

P204

stayed here for a few minutes they all returned. The Suntoo ordered to built for us a stage in one of the courts of our habitation where he entertained us the whole day with the acting of Chinese plays, and sent us a very grand dinner in their way. At three o'clock we dined in the English fashion (everything that we wanted

P205

being supplied by the factory⁹². Most of the houses on our residence were quite new, and built in the English fashion and a large and very handsome garden around them. This evening we saw some of the officers of the Lyon⁹³ that are there.

P206

Friday the 20th

Today the hoppoe⁹⁴ or mandarine of the tributes was to entertain us, which he did by sending a very profuse dinner and the acting of a comedy for the whole day.

This mandarine, who collects all tributes and dutys in this province, has been here only two months. He has the caracter of being a still more avaricious and wicked than his predecessor, as he has already forced out by unjust means from some Chinese merchants here two hundred thousand dollars, and as even tried to extort dutys on our ships notwithstanding the Emperors order to the contrary.⁹⁵

P207

Saturday the 21st

Today the Hong merchants⁹⁶ were to entertain us, which they did as the hoppoe did yesterday. This morning the Dutch and Spanish compradors came to salute Lord Macartney. This evening Choutaghin sent for some nankinese jugglers for our diversion – who performed several curious things, such as twirling plates or dishes on a pointed stick, throwing the same or jugs in the air and

P208

and their dexterously catching them again. Then taking three pointed knives, tossing them from one hand to the other, having always one in each hand and the third in the air, and with this various juggler tricks not worth mentioning.

P209

Sunday the 22nd.

Today I went over the river which is here a good deal wider than the Thames, to the English factory, which indeed is very elegantly built. However, we did not stop there long, but went to look at the principall shops in the neighbourhood. I was very much surprised to see wrote upon the doors of much of the shops the names of the shopkeeper and

P210

and often even what was to be sold within in Roman caracters and still more so in finding that most of the shopkeepers spoke very intelligible English. Most of the streets are very narrow and crowded.

⁹² The East India Company warehouse and trading depot. These, as with the same for other countries, were called factories.

⁹³ HMS *Lion*, the RN warship carrying the Embassy, along with the *Hindustan*.

⁹⁴ The hoppo was the Government official that all foreign trading ships had to deal with. One of the most powerful, and wealthy, of the principal officials in Canton.

⁹⁵ Specifically also mentioned also by Hüttner.

⁹⁶ The collection or guild of merchants holding the monopoly from the Emperor to carry out trade with foreigners. GLS provides more detail on this.

We saw a very large china warehouse, as full and as well stocked as any of our English ones. In all the streets where we were there appeared to be only shops and no private houses.

P211

an indeed, altogether the streets very much resembled those in the Merceria in Venice⁹⁷. This evening the Viceroy and the huppoee came to pay a visit to Lord Macartney and stayed there for two or three hours.

Monday the 23rd

Fine weather. The trunk bringing ashore from the Lindersteen⁹⁸

Tuesday the 24th

Today I again went across the water. Among other shops I went to is that of a painter

P212

and into that of a modeller. In the first we saw overall small but handsome paintings on oil colours in the Chinese and English fashion, also some very pretty paintings on glass. In the second we saw great numbers of draped figures painted in clay in the manner of large dolls, and we were told that the body was perfectly done

P213

under the clothes as the face and the hands that were uncovered. Also figures with inclining heads, such as I have often seen of porcelain in England. Today Sir Erasmus Gower arrived with Lord Mark Kerr and Mr Stewart from the Lyon and they dined here⁹⁹.

P214

Wednesday the 25th

Christmas Day

This morning Mr Parish went with most of the soldiers aboard the Lyon.

Today we all went over the water to dine at the factory. A little before dinner we went to see Mr Duncan¹⁰⁰ who showed us some very handsome drawings of plants and several curious growing ones. We dined in a very large and handsome room adorned with several large and beautiful pictures.

P215

We were above 50 at table, consisting of the gentlemen of the factory, most of the captains of the Indiamen, and us. In the evening we returned to the house. The weather is grown much warmer since our arrival there, so be rather to hot than to cold, notwithstanding that about this time

P216

the gentlemen here have been obliged to make use of a fire.

Thursday the 26th

Some thing colder than before so as to be able to have a fire. Today Sir Erasmus returned to the Lyon.

Friday the 27th

Today Dr Gullan¹⁰¹ went aboard the Lyon. Today sailed five of the Indiamen.

P217

Saturday the 28th

⁹⁷ The historic shopping area near St Mark's Square and the Rialto Bridge.

⁹⁸ Unidentified, possibly one of the Indiamen..

⁹⁹ Gower was the commander of the *Lion*. Lord Mark Kerr was then a midshipman on the *Lion*, later becoming a Vice-Admiral, and Stewart was possibly Capt. Lord William Stuart, an officer on the *Lion*.

¹⁰⁰ Possibly Alexander Duncan who was the company's doctor at the factory.

¹⁰¹ Dr Hugh Gillan, physician on the Embassy.

Rainy weather and some thing colder than before and damp. This evening there came here several gentlemen from the Lyon.

Sunday the 29th

This morning Lord Macartney went in the barge aboard the Lyon. Today we received more letters from England. This evening we went

P218

to see some curious machines in clockwork (singsong) at Capt. MacIntoshes. One among the others was particularly curious, being a beautiful pyramid with golden serpents continually twirling around it and four dragons at its base spitting pearls, and round it is continuing walking an elephant who at the time both moves his trunk and tail.

P219

This evening Dr Gillan returned from the Lyon.

Monday the 30th

This morning we went over the water to Mr Beale¹⁰² who showed very many curious machines in clock work such as came from Coxs Museum¹⁰³. Among other was a little ~~Boy of wood~~ automaton who drew perfectly well

P220

the Prince of Wales leaning on his horse and a dog, at the same time moving his head and eyes. In another was a little automaton who danced and made divers odd attitudes upon the light rope. In another was a large pile of fruit with a dog near it, and if you took away a loose piece of fruit the dog began

P221

to bark. In another a large stag and the dancing dogs and bear. In another were some small pictures all different, and any one of which being put in a certain place in the lower part of the machine immediately appeared a similar one at the top. In all these machines accompanied their motions with very pretty music

P222

of bells. From hence we went to see some very beautiful coloured drawings of Mr Arthurs representing the different trades, the making of the tea, and all the different kinds of boats on the rivers.

We saw also a map of China by the Chinese but

P223

better than those already made by the Europeans. We then returned over the water to our house. Today the Comisions dined with us. *[added on the left of the text] Today the hupoe offered some presents to Lord Macartney and to the rest of the gentlemen, however Lord Macartney would not accept them.* Today we received accounts of the Walsingham Indiaman being arrived at Macau, and that she had left some more of the Indiamen in the Straits of

P224

Malacca, and that some about that place was taken the Princes Royal Indiaman by three French men which are said to be a sixty, a fifty, and a large frigate, but I am not sure whether that be true nor not.¹⁰⁴

P225

Tuesday the 31st

¹⁰² Thomas Beale, a long time merchant in Canton and Macao.

¹⁰³ A display of automatons and clocks by the jeweller James Cox in London, but the company was closed by the 1790s, with its famous contents dispersed.

¹⁰⁴ The East Indiaman the *Princess Royal* was taken by three French privateers on September 27 near the Sunda Strait. She was later retaken by the British.

Pleasant weather. Today a little before dinner the packetts arrived here from the Walsingham – who left England the 7th of June last but we received no news later than the 26th of May. This evening my paper went ashore.

P226

1794

Wednesday the 1st of January 1794

This morning we heard that the emperors edict was come. We then into a hall before our house where the Suntoo was where we all sat down. After a few minutes a lectica¹⁰⁵ covered with yellow with the edict in it attended with the same ceremony of music, umbrellas and soldiers as if

P227

the emperor himself had been there, as we kneeled and bowed to it as it passed with the other mandarins. The Suntoo then delivered the edict to Lord Macartney who received it with all due ceremony. We then left the Suntoo and returned to the house. Soon after we went over the water. We first went to see how the Chinese cut glass

P228

which they do with a steel instrument instead of a diamond which we use. We then went to see the making of small looking glasses. Having some leaf tin of the proper size upon which they spread some quicksilver, and then lay it on the glass which finished the operation.

P229

We then went to see the burning and painting of the Chinaware. The first was done by heating the ware in fires of different degrees till it should be able to bear the heat of the furnace where it remains till it is red hot. In the painting I saw nothing remarkable

P230

except that the gold paint was used hot. We then saw the cutting of cristall which is done not with a saw but with a moderately tempered wire. We then went to the factory where all the gentlemen were to meet to dinner as we did on Christmas day. When it began to grow dark

P231

we returned to the house but the gentlemen stayed to supper.

Thursday the 2nd January

This morning Dr Gillan and Mr Hüttner went aboard the Lyon, and on the 30th of last month at Macau, the Hawke, Exeter and Henry Dundas.

P232

Friday the 3rd

[at the left of the text, GTS adds up days and notes that it is 475 days]

Dr Gilland and Mr Hüttner [returned] last night about one o'clock. Today the Hawke's packet arrived. All the three ships are arrived at Wampoe. During our absence from the Lyon, Mr Ommory and Tippet were made Lieutenants and Mr Roper

P233

commands the Amelia, a French brig taken by the Lyon.¹⁰⁶ Today Mr Arthur, Merop and Cumming dines with us.¹⁰⁷

Saturday the 4th

¹⁰⁵ A letica is a litter or sedan . From the roman usage.

¹⁰⁶ William Ommory and presumably Mr Tippet, who so far hasn't been traced, served on the Lion. Captain Roper commanded the Amelia

¹⁰⁷ Cumming was a British merchant or supercargo, possibly also known as Pigou, but there is no ready record of Merop. Arthur has been previously mentioned.

This morning Manqua and Pankequa, the two principal merchants here came to see Lord Macartney. Today Choutaghin and Van taghin

P234

and Mr Carteret. This evening the packet arrived from the Henry Dundas. *[added to the left of the text] Duels were fought at Tschuan between Mr Ma--- and Mr Ham---, another between Mr Ket---- and Mr Tom---, and the third between Mr Coo--- and Mr Cham---].*

Sunday the 5th

Yesterday was published a favourable edict of the Suntoo and today a second.

Monday the 6th

Agouti, the Spanish Comp[edore] came to visit Lord Macartney.

P235

Today I went over the water to the factory. We went first to the Dutch factory to see Mr Van Brucken, the Dutch Superintendent here.¹⁰⁸ We afterwards called at Mr Brown and Capt. Macintosh¹⁰⁹.

Tuesday the 7th

This morning we went in a boat towards the city walls. On landing,

P236

we entered sedan chairs in which we were carried thro' the city to the Suntoo's palace, where being arrived we were met by one of attendants who begged us not to trouble ourselves in walking in, upon which we immediately returned in that consistency (with) the Chinese ceremony. The shops are very well but the

P237

streets are narrow and the houses low, and altogether by no means superior to the other towns I have seen in China.

Wednesday the 8th

This morning we went off in the barge for the Lion.¹¹⁰ We first went over to the factory to meet the Suntoo, hoppoe and

P238

fuyuen¹¹¹ who were also to be there. Lord Macartney introduced the commissioners to them. They then set down to a small collation and seem very well pleased. After about an hour's stay we took leave of them, and accompanied by our two mandarins Chioutaghin and Vangtaghin while they returned to their houses. The Lion is with all the other merchantmen at a place called

P239

Wampoa¹¹². The country from Canton is mostly flat and marshy, except a few hills about Wampoa. About six miles from Canton we passed a very handsome pagoda nine stories high and near Wampoa another. Wampoa is about 13 miles from Canton. In going, which took about an hour and a quarter, we first past all the Indiamen

P240

¹⁰⁸ Not clear who this was. The leading Dutch official at the time was Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest,, who later in the year was joined by Isaac Titsingh, who took that role. Van Braam led the Dutch mission (and wrote an account of it) to the Peking Court in 1794.

¹⁰⁹ MacIntosh was commander of the *Hindustan*, the other RN ship carrying the Embassy.

¹¹⁰ The Embassy is now leaving Canton to board the Lion at Wampoa and sail for England.

¹¹¹ As noted previously, the Fuyuen was the Governor of Canton, who along with the Suntoo or Viceroy and Hoppo, customs and tribute official, were the most senior and powerful of the Chinese officials

¹¹² Whampoa (Huangpu) was the principle anchorage for foreign ships in the China trade.

who manned and hailed us as we past. There were a few Americans, Spanish, Dutch and Geneoese. Most of the ships have struck the masts¹¹³, except the Lion and Hindostan. We at last got aboard the Lion who indeed looks very handsome. She fired us a salute of 19 guns. Chioutaghin and Vantaghin and 3 other mandarins

P241

and ate very heartily. The former two were very much affected on leaving us after being so very long continually with us.

Thursday the 9th

This morning we went ashore upon Danes Islands¹¹⁴ which is little more than a quarter of a mile to the Lion. This island is not much inhabited but is in many parts cultivated

P242

with the sugar canes. We saw on shore a house for preparing the sugar.

The sugar canes are first squeezed between two rollers which were turned by buffalos. The juice so squeezed is first well drained to cleanse it of any dirt or earthy particles. It is then put in boilers to boil off the water, after which the remainder

P243

is put into earthen pots in the form of a cone, whence it is left to harden. Today the Commissioners came here from Canton to dine, and returned in the evening. This evening we went aboard the Hindostan where we drank tea. We went also to the Henry Dundas and the Osterly. Very fine weather and smooth water all day. This morning we unmoored the ship. Also Chioutaghin and Vantaghin sent their servants with

P244

presents of fruit, and to know how we were.

This evening we got up anchor and set sail, but soon anchored again.

Friday the 10th

Early this morning we got up anchor and set sail. The sand is very low and the water very shallow, being often no more than four fathoms. About 11 o'clock, there being very little wind, we got the boats out too.

P245.

In the evening we anchored near the second bar, beyond which we saw laying at anchor a Swedish merchantman who is to set sail for England in a few days. Very calm and pleasant weather.

Saturday the 11th

This morning we got up anchor and sailed as near as we could without getting aground. We then anchored and wait for the next

P246

high tide to cross the bar.

[The pilots in general are paid 40 dollars for their trouble, 20 of which they are obliged to give to the mandarins, 3 for two boats to sound and 10 for two attendants, so there only remains 7 for the pilot himself.]

In the evening we set sail. We once just touched the ground but did (not)

P247

stick. We anchored in about five fathoms water this side of the bar, the pilot not thinking it safe to cross it tonight.

Sunday the 12th

¹¹³ To strike masts was to lower upper masts and heavy spars. A practise used in storms at sea and in long-term anchorages.

¹¹⁴ Danes Island then was about 10 miles down river from Canton.

Still at anchor, the fit tide for crossing being at night. This morning one of the men ran the gauntlet three times round the ship for stealing.

P248

Today we sent a ship to the Swedish ship with our letters. In the evening we got up anchor and warped over the bar, having the proper track marked with boats, the shallowed water was four fathoms. Having past the bar it deepened to five, and six, and seven. We set sail with a favourable wind. We past the

P249

Swedish ship about nine. She is a very large ship. We anchored a few miles beyond the Swedish ship.

Monday the 13th

This morning there sprung up a fine breeze which increased as we went on, so we got through the Bocca Tigris¹¹⁵ about 10 o'clock, which is very narrow at the entrance of the river. It is surrounded with

P250

barren hills and pointed rocks. On each side of the narrow part of the river called Bocca Tigris is a small fort, both which saluted us as we past. The Bocca Tigris is about a mile wide. The island of Lintin¹¹⁶ is about 10 leagues beyond Bocca Tigris. We past it at about 2 o'clock. We at last anchored about six miles from Macau. This evening Colonel Benson went on shore, notwithstanding

P251

the roughness of the sea and the violence of the wind. We lowered the royal mast, and soon after the top gallant masts. Very cold and windy all day.

Tuesday the 14th

This morning it blew very hard, and the weather exceedingly cold. After dinner there came aboard a Portuguese gentleman from the Governor¹¹⁷ inviting us to come ashore. But Lord Macartney declined it

P252

till tomorrow. About noon the wind much abated, but the waves still continued to make the ship roll and pitch. About five o'clock Colonel Benson returned from Macau.

Wednesday the 15th

This morning we went on shore in the barge.¹¹⁸ The Lion saluted us with fifteen guns. Tho' the wind was very moderate yet there remain sufficient swell to give a very unpleasant motion to the boat, tho' hardly

P253

any aboard the ship. The distance of the Lion from Macau is about six miles. On our landing we were saluted with guns, music and soldiers. The Governor met us on the beach and conducted us to his house. He then introduced us to his wife, a young Portuguese lady. After some time we left the palace to go to Mr Drummond's house¹¹⁹ (our new habitation)

P254

to which place the Governor accompanied us, and invited us to dine with him today. This morning the procurator, Mr Marchine¹²⁰, came to see Lord Macartney and my papa. About two o'clock we

¹¹⁵ At the mouth of the Pearl river.

¹¹⁶ Island (Nei Lingding) which was a key anchorage point in the delta.

¹¹⁷ Vasco Luís Carneiro de Sousa e Faro.

¹¹⁸ Hüttner notes that the Embassy stayed at Macau for about 2 months, 'the only rest time for the embassy since their departure from England'.

¹¹⁹ James Drummond was a member of the East India Company's Select Committee at Canton.

¹²⁰ The procurator was the Portuguese official for handling trading requirements, such as passes, between the Portuguese traders and Chinese officials.

went to dine with the Governor who had provided several handsome sedan chairs for our conveyance. A very handsome

P255

dinner was served up in the Portuguese style, with a great many black, and a few white servants attending: the meat part of the dinner being over, we rose up and seated ourselves at another table, on which were served fruits and a variety of sweetmeats. After this we went into the breakfast room to drink coffee. At five o'clock we went to drink tea at Mr Beales¹²¹

P256

who showed us the rouge used by the Chinese ladies.¹²² It has all the appearance of thick green paper, but in being a little moistened and then being gently rubbed on the face or hands imparted a very natural and beautiful red colour.

Thursday the 16th

This morning some Armenian gentlemen came to visit his Lordship. I spent a great part of the day in walking in Mr Drumond's garden which is very beautifully laid out. Today

P257

Lord Macartney was visited by the Governor, (and) the Portuguese captain whom we had seen at Touron Bay¹²³. This evening Mr Plum arrived from the Lion.

Friday the 27th

[On the left of the text on this page GTS tries out his script by writing Friday in different styles]

Very pleasant weather today. Mr Parish to take a plan of the garden. The late Governor¹²⁴ (who is still here) came to visit Lord Macartney.

[today was seen a very extraordinary meteor]

P258

Saturday the 18th

This morning Lord Macartney and my papa went to pay a visit to the Bishop¹²⁵, and Mr Benson and Mr Winden took a ride out. This evening I went to see a house belonging to the church where Mr Plum lived for 11 months when he was here last in 1773.

P259

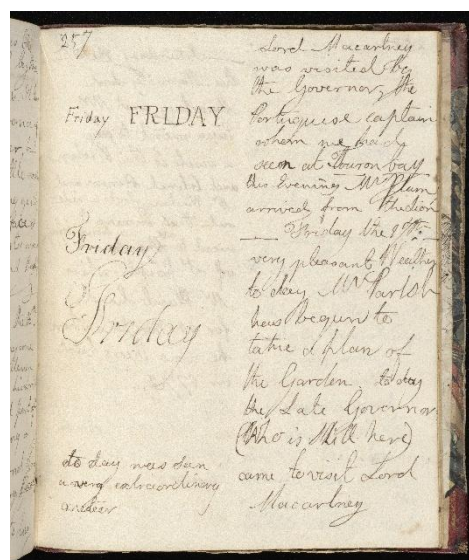
Sunday the 19th

Today Sir Erasmus Gower dined with us. Fine weather. The church bells of Macau ringing all day.

Monday the 20th

Today the Governor of Macau and his Lady dined with us and staid afterwards to tea and supper. The lady came in a very handsome parlequin and was particularly drest on the occasion. Between tea and supper some of the gentlemen played cards.

P260



¹²¹ Probably Thomas Beale who was a trader resident in Macau at the time,

¹²² The most common rouge uses at the time was of pigments extracted from safflower leaves.

¹²³ Touron Bay in Cochin China, now Da Nang in Vietnam. They must have met on the voyage out.

¹²⁴ Francisco de Assis da Silva.

¹²⁵ Marcelino José da Silva

The judge, Commander of the troops here and some Aide de Camps were also of the party. They returned about 11 at night. This has been the coldest and windiest day we have had since we left the Lion.

Tuesday the 21st

Fine weather today. Mr Proctor dined with us.

P261

Wednesday the 22nd

Today I went to see Mr Sittondall, a French priest who is here today, the Procurator Mr Marchine and Mr Sittondall and a Spanish fryer [friar].

Thursday the 23rd

This morning I took a walk with my papa to the factory. Today there arrived here an American vessel, the captain of which we met at the factory.

P262

We visited also Mr Burgogne and Mr Digne, neither of which were home.¹²⁶ In the evening the Governor came to drink tea with Lord Macartney. The evening my papa wrote a letter to my mama, there being a small vessel here which is to sail to England tomorrow or next day.

P263

Friday the 24th

Ther about 84^d

The gentlemen here of an evening amuse them playing Kriket [cricket].

Saturday the 25th

This morning we visited Mr Digne and afterwards dine at the factory, and in the evening went to see the gentlemen play at Kriket¹²⁷.

P264

Sunday the 26th

This morning we went to see several of the churches, some of which were very handsome, painted and adorned in the Roman Catholic stile. We then went to see Mr Proctor who conducted us to Mr Turkey¹²⁸ a Russian gentleman where we met the captain of a French Ship here which Sir Erasmus chased into Macau Roads. Today Mr Digne and Mr Sittondall dined with us.

[listed on the left of the text] In Macau there are thirteen churches. La Misericordie, La Cathedral, St Paolo, St Augustino, St Josepha, St Clara, St Antonio, St Lorenzo

P265

Monday the 27th

This morning Mr Marchine made us a present of some very ancient casks. Today we went through the market, where besides eatables, were all things that are for ornament and those that are for use. Among other things there was a great show of ornaments, artificial flowers, and crackers for the celebration of the

P266

Chinese new years day which will be in a few days. They begin to fire crackers many days before that time.

¹²⁶ A Mr Bourgogne was a prominent independent trader in Macau at the time. Digne (sic) is unknown.

¹²⁷ Cricket

¹²⁸ Unidentified.

Tuesday the 28th

This morning we took a walk round the town and went to see Mr Turkey. Today Mr Burgogne dined with us. Yesterday the Chinese porter of the factory dyed.

P267

Wednesday the 29th

Today Lord Macartney wrote a letter to the Viceroy. Today the Portuguese captain from Touron Bay and his son in law dine here. In the evening Mr Burgogne and his two daughters drank tea here. My papa and I drank tea at Mr Losey and a Dutch lady. She lives in the Dutch factory which is one

P268

of the largest and handsomest houses in the town.

Thursday the 30th

This morning we took a walk around the town to a Chinese pagoda among the rocks near the sea. It is very small but singularly situated. We also went into the Senate House, in which we saw several charters which were granted to the Town of Macau engraved in Chinese characters upon stone.

P269

Yesterday arrived from the Lyon Mr Jackson and Mr Warren, who with the old governor and Mr Digne dine with us today, and in the evening the present Governor drank tea with us.

Friday the 31st (January 1794)

This morning we took a short walk about the town. Today being the Chinese new years day they fired crackers.

P270

continually all last night as well as today, all the Chinese if ever so poor make it a rule to put on a new suit of cloaths (clothes) which last the poorer sort throughout the year. All the Chinese adorn on this day the fronts of their houses with gilt and painted paper. The whole day is spent with feasting and merry-making, all the shops are shut up and nothing is to be sold but eatables. But a Chinese

P271

have ever so little money but he will spend it on crackers and such like things for the celebration of this day. Crackers are the only kind of fireworks they make use of, but of those all day long. Today the Russian gentleman Mr Turkey and his son dine here.

P272

Saturday the 1st of February

This morning went again to see Mr Dosey who shewed us the garden belonging to the Dutch factory which is handsome enough but is quite flat and without variety. The house is very large and elegantly furnished. We afterwards went to see the house of a Mr Acestu¹²⁹, a Portuguese man a priest but has

P273

been in the militia. His house is the large and handsomest in the place. It is furnished the Portuguese stile but in a very costly and elegant manner. The house is in front three storeys high, the staircase is double and of a handsome granite. The floors were handsomely painted and in some of the rooms elegant

P274

carpets laid over them. Many of the rooms are large and in one of them we saw hung five lustres¹³⁰ and five lanterns. The windows jutt out a little from each of which there is pleasant prospect.

Annexed to this large house there is a large garden proportional to itself in size and elegance. Besides

P275

¹²⁹ Unidentified.

¹³⁰ Glass prisms, or candleholders, or candelabras.

a large apartment of trees and flowers is a large aviary in which besides small birds, are several peacocks, pheasants and doves. In another place are several earthen cells full of rabbits, also there are in the garden Chinese grottos, bathing places, places for playing at nine pins, also there are several large summer houses.

Today a Danish gentleman dined with us. Mr Turkey sent us a present of raindeer skin gloves. This evening we went to see the Portuguese captain. We saw also his wife and four daughters. We afterward went to and drank tea at Beules.

The diary ends here.

The following blank page is as shown. It includes a curious drawing where the edges are the text of the Lord's Prayer



The final page is shown here.

