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### Failure Military Arrangement Research Based on George Macartney's Embassy to China

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#### ABSTRACT

Macartney's visit to China is an important event in the history of Sino-foreign relations. In the arrangement of welcoming the British mission, the military participation of the local troops was an important component emphasized by Emperor Gaozong (Qian Long Emperor) of the Qing Dynasty. This paper analyzes the different historical backgrounds, political significance, transformation process, and related reasons of several military participations. It was the "change of situation" in the diplomatic process that caused the change of the attitude of Emperor Qianlong and his ministers towards Britain. It then led to the change of military participation. However, military participation as a political means was more negative in the British embassy records, which means that the attempt of Emperor Qianlong to suppress the mission became a "failed arrangement". It reflected the divergence of power between China and the West in the late 18th century.

Keywords: George Macartney, Qianlong emperor, history of Sino-British Relations.

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Macartney Mission to China is an important event in the history of Chinese and foreign relations. As Qianlong Emperor said, Military arrangement was essential during the whole process. However, by escorting, the Qianlong Emperor's attitude to the roles of the military in diplomacy changed from courtesy to deterrence to those from England.

There are many reasons for the Qing government at such a disadvantage in the diplomatic relations with the British, and such information asymmetries might be one of the reasons. As Macartney left China, he predicted, "With only three masts, we will flat the Chinese coastal forces in a week". It is interesting to find out how European reacted when they came to China. Therefore, we want to emphasize British ambassadors' records and opinions of Qing's military force and society.

As for the military participation in the reception of Macartney's mission, Emperor Gaozong of the Qing Dynasty made his instructing to the local governor more than once. The purpose of each engagement varied. The essay, based on the previous studies of the Macartney Mission to China, including the historical records of the Qing government and British embassy at that time, aims to analyze how the arrangement of the Qing army changed to serve the British embassy, which reflected the influence of British mission's objective to go to China. Therefore, from the description to each other of the British embassy and Qing army, we can conclude Qing's failure in diplomacy.

# 2. MILITARY INVOLVEMENT ON THE WAY TO MEET THE MISSION

To such a "submissive" state, the edict announced by the emperor instructed the detailed arrangements for the reception of the British ambassadors, including the participation from the local army in meeting with the mission. From the text, we also can notice what we called "The Institution of Celestial Empire ". The text said that "Such foreign countries came with the admiration to our great culture. Is there any possibility that came with another intention? However, Qing Dynasty with majesty and dignity should represent the Institution of Celestial Empire by consolidating the defense power along the coast..."[1].

It is common for the Emperor to analyze the purpose of coming to China through a petition from the foreign ambassador. Emperor hopes to see other countries were subjected to them, meaning the frontier stability. It was also an indication of the Qing Emperor's political ideal was the "Lord of World".

For Great Britain, it was the first time for them to visit China. To Qianlong Emperor, the only information he had to judge their intention was the letter reached from Francis Baring at that time. Without a doubt, to cater to Qianlong, the government officials of the Qing Dynasty deliberately soften their statement about communication with "equal status". Instead, they shape the mission having a fascination to honour and flatter the prosperity of Qing. For example, the petition of the mission was polished by adding the words like "Celestial master", "Please your Majesty", and "we are a small and humble country," etc. [2].

The local governor was ordered to take care of and escort to the capital if a tribute ship came from the country. 18th year of Qianlong when Borduggar sent envoys to "pay tribute". It was birthed in Macau, Guangdong. At that time, the governor of Guangdong and Guangxi, Ali Gun, dispatched soldiers to the coast, led the troops, and put the ranks together. This time the English tributary vessel should follow suit when it is moored at its entrance. This kind of foreign barbary comes from sincere admiration, but does his turn have his intention? Therefore, at that time Qianlong emperor believed that military engagement is "unnecessary".

However, military involvement is necessary according to the institution of the Celestial Empire, which, as a tension, urges military participation to become a requirement of no need. The institution of the Celestial Empire was a simple expression in the resources of the Qing dynasty from the era of emperor Qianlong to emperor Xianfeng. Institution of Celestial Empire had various meaning in the diplomatic discourse of Qing dynasty based on the specific object according to Shangsheng Chen. It means the procedure of diplomacy and protocol, strict laws and levels, foreign trade system etc. to the western counties. Sorting from Collected Codes in the Qing Dynasty and Universal etiquette of the Qing Dynasty Made by the Imperial Order, military force mainly appears in the parts below [3].

The first part was Chayan Kanhe (Registration system). Kanhe system has long existed as a military identification measure. During the Hongwu reign (1368-1398), due to the Tribute envoy and Messengers from overseas countries are difficult to verify, foreign merchants usually disguised as envoys to be awarded by the government and earn profit trade. Therefore, the

Ministry of Rites was ordered to implement a registration system. Those trades will be verified by the register and thus prohibit any possible cheating. Such institution was kept to the Qing dynasty.

The second part was guarding the Mission during their entrance to Peking and their departure. The Mission has a large number of members and carrying cherish tribute. Their security naturally deserves a safeguard. The verified foreign envoys came for tribute. Register art code has been sent to the local officials, requiring a commissioner from each province and military officer, if necessary, as a company. Local military forces of each province will take the guard's responsibility along the journey of the Mission. Garrison should be sent to the stations) The mission entered from the border and guarded with local troops along the way of entering and departure. What is worth knowing is that the troops defend the threats that damage the security of the mission and the potentially illegal activities of the Mission itself. The protection is a dual political measure.

The third part is the garrison of Jingshi Huitongguan (the reception hotel of the capital). Huitongguan, as the reception of the capital, was a place for the Mission's rest and the storage of the tributes, which the Minister of War governs. Similarly, with the duty of the troops along the journey, military participation in this period also has a dual intention. After the ambassadors arrived at Peking, Huitongguan had informed the Minister of War to arrange the guard of the Mission in the hotel and forbid their private contact with officers or citizens. However, since the relationship of tributary states has been established and consolidated after the dominance of the Qing dynasty, the practical sense of this part had been constantly decreased. Therefore the institution was finally abolished in the 53rd year of Emperor Qianlong (1788) when the Mission of Myanmar came to visit for emperor Qianlong considered the audit and suppression to the Mission were needless, the Ministry of War only in charge of verification and protection of the envoys.

Based on the words of the Qing Emperor Gaozong, the Institution of Celestial Empire referred to defense work through escorting missions when enter and leave Qing, including protection and surveillance to their potential illegal acts. Considered that it is the first time Great British sending the mission to China, it also needs the military to play a ceremonial role, showing the majesty of the imperial. Although military participation through the process of tribute as guardianship was detailed regulated, the army displayed in the ceremony had no clear regulations.

The governor of Zhili, Liang Ken-tang, has "The Oder, the locals, and all the equipment shall be in order upon passing" [2]. In addition to preparing land routes, Chang Lin considered the possibility of coming by sea. "battleships unfurl their flags, all soldiers are

altered by shuttling "[2]. *Qian Long wushibanian Yingjiliguo rugong shimow* was perfectly evident in the correspondence between officials, showing the interaction between local administration and military organs, receiving the news that the British tribute ship would land on Tianjin [2].

After receiving a reply from the governors of the provinces, Emperor Gaozong issued and emphasized the military involvement in the reception of the mission. Qianlong Emperor once again emphasized both "army orderly" and "surveillance of foreign ambassadors" were the necessities of "Institution of Celestial System". Gaozong emperor was concerned the locals took it so seriously that it might be rude to the missioners. So, the compromise was the British mission needed only by scrutiny and a moderate degree of caution. Therefore, although military involvement was the guardian of the country, more was played as an honor guard. This conclusion changed finally when the mission has more communication with the Qing.

### **3. THE MILITARY INTERFERENCE DURING REPATRIATION**

In contrast to the attitude when the mission just came to China. Qianlong Emperor realized the British were not as deferential as he thought, as the mission moved from Beijing to Rehe.

"The Rites controversy" was the trigger of conflicts between them, went through the whole diplomacy process at the same time. About ritual, it related to the dignity of the country implicitly, which means that any mission which followed the rules of Qing's rites would be treated with courtesy. Otherwise, they would be suffered from "left out, rejection, or banishment from the emperor".

After the visit of Magarney's mission in Rehe province, Qian Long Emperor complained about the disrespect of Magarney. He attributed to the excessive flattering increased arrogance of the mission. Therefore, he put forward orders to local officials that by performing military involvement to showed Qing's grave and dignified bearing.

It can be deduced by the condemnation from the emperor that the so-called "military participation" in the process of diplomacy did not act as a deterrent. Therefore, it is necessary to change its status quo by reducing their special treatment, reflecting on the way by sending the clothing and food of lower quality. Also, showing the solemnity of a soldier is inevitable. From the above, we can notice that the role of military involvement had been changed from showing the Qing dynasty's system like a "big brother" to intimidating the mission abide by the Qing's "emperor court system". This change from political and courtesy to realistic threatening. Besides the Rites controversy, the series of requests made by the mission to GaoZong Emperor was another non-negligible factor of changing Qing's attitude.

Under the historical narrative model in the past, Chinese scholars believed that the many demands made by the British mission were regarded as aggressive acts of imperialism. The Qing government's refusal to demand was a reasonable move to safeguard "national sovereignty" and resist imperialism. There is nothing wrong with this explanation under the revolutionary historical view. Still, such a rearview view ignores the historical situation that has not yet formed the modern concept of state and sovereignty in the middle of the Qing Dynasty. It is also difficult to explain the true motives of the series of actions taken by the Qing Dynasty. Based on the analysis of the current archives, Emperor Qianlong's attitude has changed considerably. Not particularly when he discovered that a mission that gave him birthday tribute asked him to violate the national system and undermine the country's dignity. It was simply right. The disrespectful grace of the "heavenly power". When the mission was about to leave Beijing, Emperor Gaozong of the Qing Dynasty issued a decree to the Minister of Military Aircraft and the local governor.

Most modern Chinese historians held that GaoZong Emperor regarded the demands made by those British missioners as an encroach to Qing's imperialism. It seems an "intuitive" conclusion for those who were born in a socialist country. However, that historian overlooked the concept of states and sovereignty when the middle of the Qing Dynasty was not yet formed. From the historical records, the attitude of Emperor Qianlong was changed considerably when he found the mission who were supposed to be in here for the Lord's birthday and pay the tribute, now dared to demand equal trade relations, violating the country working system and undermining the dignity of the country. Because of that, Emperor Gaozong announced an edict to the Minister of Military and local governor when the missioners were going to leave Beijing: "Great Britain was a tough country among Europe, heard that they plundered the shipowners of the western countries. Such savages should no longer stay in China, no longer one minute..."(The requirements includes allowing British merchants trade in Ningbo, Zhoushan and Tianjin; Sending British to Beijing and permit the setting of quarter in Beijing; Rent an unguarded island near Zhoushan to the British merchants to supply their storage of goods; Divide an area to allow British free flow of trade without prohibition, tex and duty exemption to the British merchants from Macaw to Guangzhou; Legislate tariff regulation and tax as according to the regulation.)

Gaozong Emperor was proved wrong for his envision of Macartney's mission before they came to

China. Therefore, the intention of military involvement was also changed from "unnecessary" to "necessary".

As a monarch who ruled China for more than half a century, Emperor Gaozong, on the one hand, refuse the request of the British mission. On the other hand, Gaozong notice that the rejection would inevitably cause the dissatisfaction of the British, especially as the country which dominated Europe around the 1790s.

Therefore, the so-called "military display" could let the missioners realize Qing's military advantage if the conflict between the two countries really happened.

Hence, as the emperor considered, Emperor Qianlong, on October 4, 1793, decreed to the local government when the Macartney mission left Beijing [4].

In addition, Emperor Gaozong appointed Songyun, the Ministry of Imperial Household Department, to supervise this mission. For Emperor Gaozong, the nomination represents the distrust for the local governors for the over-flattering to the mission fostered their arrogance.

The next day, GaoZong added more to local officials [5]. Like the instruction of GaoZong made above, the attitude towards the mission had changed from GaoZong's discontent about "Rites Controversy" to an aggressive performance to Great Britain, on the understanding of Britain gradually deepened. It could be proved by the evidence that Songyun leads the military instead of the local governor, and taking this opportunity to rectify the battalion and improving military strength of the Southeast where long-term peace in there would weaken the military force.

Also, there was more precise instruction in the imperial edict to the official, including calculating the time when the mission was about to arrive, deploying more troops, and rebuilding the city defense and equipment. Besides, there were novel ideas proposed by local governors. Viceroy of Liangguang Changlin held our sailors who most of them hold bow may not be overpowered with the British with rifles". With the experience working in Zhejiang, he hopes to recruit "swimmers who dive under several feet below the water to paralyze their ships by sawing the rudders." Although the proposals were denied, it could be suggested that local officials also take this escorting as an eve of the conflict.

# 4. IMPRESSION, CONSIDERATION, AND JUDGMENT OF BRITISH MISSION

Did emperor Qian Long achieved his political purpose through his elaborate arrangement? Macartney, who failed to develop a trading treaty, had given a negative answer in his assessment during the departure from China. If China forbids England from trading or causing great loss to us, then several galliasses are enough to destroy their coastal fleet and block their shipment between Hainan Island to north Zhili. The end of the First Opium War had proved his estimate at that time in some way.

Previous research had to pay much attention to the diaries and memorials of the British mission. Macartney's assessment was usually cited as a symbol to prove the decline of the Qing dynasty as well, but the formation of the impression below is lack of discussion. Why the great endeavor of emperor Qian long and his officials lead to such a negative evaluation as well as extreme judgment? What did the military participation on purpose behaved in the eyes of the British mission? To understand the difference between idealism and reality, we need to return to the impression and thoughts of their target, the British mission.

According to the mission's diary, on June 29, 58th year of emperor Qianlong (1794), the mission gets their first contact with the coastal military forces of the Qing dynasty coming to welcome and left a detailed record of the military participation of emperor Qianlong during the welcome process.

Sailing from seaport to inland canal, the mission found the crowd coming to view had filled their surrounding, along the south bank of Hai river was the army of Qing dynasty. The river (Hai river)was almost blocked. On the south bank stands the Chinese army, which was quite serious and lined up and salutes. John-Barrow roughly counted the number of the army in the reception. Entering the Bai He, we saw many houses sitting on the right bank. The roofs were covered with mats, but the decorations were weird, with colorless ribbons and various kinds of silk. About 300 soldiers wearing uniforms (not fit for battle in our point of view) and lined up [6].

After arriving at the sea god temple in Tianjin (a temporary stage which local officials prepared for the mission), the station was mostly guarded by the soldiers. According to the record of Macartney, apparently, those soldiers were specially ordered to keep neat and solemn, appear in time. Before we arrived, the camps were closed. Soldiers went out for guard when we approached, each armed with a steel blade. Nobody holds any firearm [7]. These soldiers appeared when the mission approached, which shown their intention of exhibiting the solemn of the army of the Qing dynasty. Such a close distance made it possible for Macartney to leave a detailed description of the soldiers of the Qing dynasty through careful observation. The uniform was made of blue cloth or feather, decorated with a wide red edge; an extra troop of horsemen stands in front of the temple, they didn't arm with knife or handgun, but a bow and a bunch of arrows, look like an ancient British warrior [7].

Considering the uniqueness of Macartney's mission, Flags, armor, and other items should be neat and bright to show solemn is a higher requirement of emperor Qianlong. Records of the mission showed that to meet this standard, local officials paid their main effort on increasing the amount and rate of the local army, thus make military participation as intensive as possible during the reception. In the coming journey to Peking, all of the activities or actions of the mission were accompanied by the military troop. The Chinese official guard is marching along the riverbanks in the day, camping towards the port at night. They keep watching until the next day morning when our sail continued [6]. "Even whenever a European takes a walk on the bank, Chinese soldiers will be there for escort [8].

The military participation also extends to some reception activities on land. For example, when inviting the mission to watch the operas, many soldiers line up along the banks ranging to a mile outside the theatre. The soldiers wearing uniforms and stand firmly. Flags were beyond counting. Observing from far, the status was serious and inaccessible. There is also a military band, playing music magnificently when our ship passes [7]. When passing any big city or military depot,3-gun salutes were fired by the local defending troop. Military participation along the journey is, without doubt, an implementation of the requirement of emperor Qianlong. Its dual nature has been discussed previously. Near the banks stationed plenty of soldiers, once witness our ship, the troop marching from their camps, salute by the bank, raising their flag and playing the military music, lighting thousands of lanterns as bright as day in the night [7].

Actually, the mission members had realized the political intention of the military participation, like what Staunton had commented. On the one hand, it indeed indicated how the Chinese government protects and valued the British mission. Meanwhile, it reveals their intention of supervising the mission's movement [7], which simply makes it clear. A long-term close guard also developed the mission member's interest in these soldiers. Anderson had made a detailed record of the wearing and habit of these soldiers.

After arriving Jehol comes the unpleasant ritual conflict and the refusal of requirements. Emperor Qianlong had a new cognition to the mission. He emphasized the necessity of military participation in the mission's departure during their journey to Guangzhou, within a more particular arrangement to the local officials. Due to the return from Peking to Guangzhou drives from the inland canal, the mission had to face a longer stay on the land compared with their arrival landing in Tianjin, which is actually a method of how emperor Qianlong threat the mission by means of showing military forces of the Celestial Empire to these barbarian British. Like their coming, the British mission left a rich record of military participation on their way to Guangzhou.

Alike the reception, whenever passing medium or large cities and the military depots, numerous troops marching to await. When the ship arrived, the local army marches to meet. In a word, all along the way, once we pass the military depots, all the soldiers greet for reception, raising their flag, playing the music, and firing the cannons three times, also sometimes sending fruits and snacks to the ship [7].

More essential in this section is how military participation differs from the past. According to the mission's record, the increasing numbers of the troop and the change of their manners were significantly different compared with the past. As Macartney had written, one thing must be recorded before I arrived at Guangzhou. After we had passed the Nazhou Fu, there are extremely serious troops greeting us in every city. Such greetings were seen everywhere. Army along these places was also considered had been ordered by their officials to show respect. However, the great amount, solemn attitude, threatening intention behind greetings had made me doubt [7]. Such kind of feeling is different from the first contact with the army. Anderson was also attracted by an enormous troop wearing armor, well equipped, which includes many marched artillerymen, about several thousand in total, with innumerable glaring flags, they had a stately discipline. He was also aware that their cannons were larger than we've ever seen in China [6]. Changing of situation urged Emperor Qianlong to put forward a higher requirement to the local military participation. Among the limited political approaches, what the local officials could do was add troops and reinforce the defense. These actions also appeared in the memorials from local officers.

# 5. CAUSES OF NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT FROM THE BRITISH MISSION

The members of the British mission had recorded what they've seen and how they feel about the military participation along the way. It isn't hard to find that the mission had a deep impression on the enormous reception troop, but only to the scale. Besides the comment of Macartney (Sir George Macartney), Anderson (Aeneas Anderson), Barrow(Sir John Barrow), and Staunton also express their negative comment to the army of the Qing dynasty. Standing on the far-reaching sight of history, neither did emperor Qianlong achieve a psychological threat of making them revere through the elaborate arrangement of military participation, nor did his frighten in defense of reality threat works when it failed in the First Opium war half a century later. Negative comments of the British mission became the main reason that was causing the military intention of the government of the Qing dynasty to run reversely.

Firstly, not like the observers or the voyagers in the past, the specific observation of all aspects of China by the Mission is not simply a byproduct of their stay in China, collecting information of China to support the British Government and decision making of East India Company is a special mission given by Dundas [9]. Meanwhile, Macartney Mission wasn't really utterly ignorant of China. After the Sinomania in the 18th century, the far-off Eastern image gradually became clear in the Europeans' sight. Various pamphlets and travels were big sellers. It is recorded that the Battleship Lion, which Macartney took, had a tiny library filled with all kinds of books about China on the market [9]. Thus, Macartney and his colleagues have some knowledge of China, making it possible to deal with the ostentation of emperor Qianlong more rationally. What's more, Macartney has accumulated rich experience of diplomacy during his long-term career as British Ambassador to Russia. His identity as a diplomat enables him to behave differently from those explorers or merchants when dealing with foreign affairs, especially diplomatic crises, indifferently and calmly.

Therefore, both Cherishings during the perception and the threat during the departure made little impact on an experienced diplomat. Secondly, the primary origin of the negative assessment is an overall impression of the army of the Qing dynasty basing on their specific observation and evaluation compared with Britain and other European countries. The records of the mission have been roughly summarized in the preceding. However, description like magnificent appearance or solemn formation frequently appeared, many problems of the army of Qing dynasty had already exposed from the details:

Macartney had a record of his dialog with Wang Wenxiong about the army's equipment of the Qing dynasty. It is said that each province stores 500 flintlocks in the armory, the rest of the weapons are matchlocks, bows, and arrows, swords, and shields. Macartney had labeled Why Chinese didn't replace matchlocks with flintlocks? Wang explained that the flintstones are difficult to strike, while matchlocks are slow but steady, but this excuse didn't convince Macartney. He believed that the arrogant Chinese refuse to widely use advanced weapons from the west. Despite the understanding of this dialog, we can at least conclude that Macartney had noticed the equipment of our army was outdated [10]. However, even the matchlocks as mainstream hot weapons were not as stable as Wang had explained. In the record of Anderson, an interesting detail showed that the gunmen were hanging a bow under their muskets on their left, carrying a quiver, usually with arrows in the amount of 12. Other soldiers carried matchlocks looking rusty [6]. Although emperor Qianlong had emphasized well equipped, so did the official of zhili province require for a trim dressing, the impact of implementation seems

against its intention. Even the observation of Anderson on the ship had witnessed the rusty matchlocks those soldiers equipped, besides these accompanied troops were arranged exclusively, no wonder why the combat effectiveness of the army of Qing dynasty drops heavily in his point of view.

Military equipment is certainly the major factor that influences military strength. A war may depend on many other factors such as the quality of soldiers, the system of the troop, etc. It was the frequent military participation and the visit that provides a chance to the mission for research to the army of the Qing dynasty. As Macartney wrote"[7]. Beside the equipment, Macartney also noticed the dressing and low military quality of the soldiers, thus put forward a fundamental doubt to the combat effectiveness of our army. These questions also attracted other members of the mission. Along the bank of Haihe River, Anderson noticed that the soldiers wearing fat black cotton trousers wore neat uniforms when lining up and salute. After that, they will take the uniform off and return it to the storage until the next time they line up. Their common clothes were the same as the civilians. They also take part in different occupations or farming [8]. Obviously, there exists a difference between the military system of eastern and western. Still, the British, who were unfamiliar with Chinese institution, considered it a clue indicating the Chinese army had a low level of professionalization, and therefore lack of combat effectiveness.

Similarly, the rough old-fashioned city defense also limited the exertion of Chinese military forces. During the sailing on Hai river, besides the soldiers along the bank, defend facilities of Tianjin city also got the special attention of some mission members. According Wushibanian to Qianlong Yingjili Rugong Shimo(British Tribute in the 58th year of Emperor Qianlong(1793), strengthening the view makes a good exertion of military participation during the perception, the army and government had decorated the coastal battery. The record of Anderson had a specific description of this battery. There was only one battery in this place, just a cubic tower, which seems more like a decoration than for defense. Though it was close to the sea and supervised the estuary, there was no cannon on the fence. " [6]. The mission was astonished by the situation lacking combat readiness and realized that some defending facilities are just specious.

Finally, we need to set their observation to the military forces under the overall impression of the Qing dynasty to understand the assessment of Macartney, after all the feelings and impression on several aspects eventually affect their comprehensive evaluation. The end of the 18th century is under the sunset of High Qing, accompanied by the Ten Great Campaigns, reveals various social problems. Previous research had paid much attention to the social problems reflected in the

record of the British mission. All in all, different from the curiosity and yearning in the time of sinomania, during months of stay in China, Macartney's mission was primarily criticized and even astonished to the extreme poverty, unhealthy mental state of the common people, rude approaches of the government, corruption of the officials and the out-dated technology [11,12, 13]. The publishing of these records had brought a storm to Europe, curiosity, and fever to the east in the time of sinomania vanished, the British view of China had changed since then [7].

### 6. CONCLUSION

The failure of emperor Qianlong's elaboration has complex reasons, which are closely related to the mission's identity and knowledge background and influenced by the overall impression of the mission on China. However, it is the inevitable result of the evaluation of the Qing army by the British mission as an "Observer" and the comparison between China and Britain. In recent years, with the rise of the "China Central view", a new discussion has been made on the east-west division at the end of the 18th century. For example, David Pomeranz had doubted whether there is a "diversion" between Britain and China in the 18th century through his comparison of England and the Yangtze Delta in The Great Divergence. However, when discussing this question in the contemporary context, the records and judgments of Macartney's mission can undoubtedly provide us with a new vision.

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