The First British Book about Bhutan: A Publishing History of Turner’s *Account of an Embassy*

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**Abstract**

British political (and other) missions to Bhutan spawned scholarly publications. These included addresses delivered to the meetings of learned societies and subsequently printed in scholarly journals, or else published as books. Such publications conjured up an image of Bhutan that fit the aims and interests of the expanding British Empire, and there was a broad audience for such works, whether scholarly or popular. This article explores the publication history of the first British book concerning Bhutan, Captain Samuel Turner’s *Account of an Embassy to the court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet containing a narrative of a journey through Bootan and part of Tibet*, which appeared in 1800.

**Introduction**

British media portray Bhutan as a Romantic place. One book title, for example, refers to the country as the “Kingdom of the Peaceful Dragon”.1 Bhutan is known as well for being the only Buddhist kingdom and for emphasis on Gross National Happiness2. It is not necessarily the case, however, that those aspects of life in Bhutan that capture the British imagination are viewed in the same way by the Bhutanese. Indeed, as Françoise Pommeret has argued convincingly3, the advent of

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3 Pommeret, Françoise (2000). “Recent Bhutanese Scholarship in
young Bhutanese scholars trained in current historiographical methods will naturally result in exploration of different questions and problems in the historical and political development of Bhutan from those that western scholars deem important. With the rise of the Bhutanese publishing industry, marked by the approval of a Bhutanese ISBN prefix, and which enables the worldwide dissemination of knowledge beyond its borders, these are exciting times for the intellectual exploration of the social and cultural history of Bhutan.

The idea that the British and Bhutanese have different views on the country is nothing new. Samuel Turner’s book *Account of an Embassy to the court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet containing a narrative of a journey through Bootan and part of Tibet* was only the first of many British books to discuss Bhutan. These publications, often stemming from first-person accounts to travels in the mountain kingdom, were published successfully in Britain and achieved a broad audience throughout the long nineteenth century (almost co-terminus with a study by Sarkar and Ray, which was an era of British near-hegemony in the region. British interests at the time, reflected in these publications, were the people, places, plants and animals in Bhutan - but also the furtherance of British interests, whether commercial or military. As the translator’s preface to the French edition states, “The English, whose daring genius led them to almost every part of the globe for commerce and to increase riches, have been careful not to neglect Tibet.”

Travel books are an immensely popular literary genre. Indeed, when Gervais Clouzier and Claude Barbin published in Paris *Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Ecuyer Baron d’Aubonne, qu’il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes* in 1676, that same year summaries of the book were published in English by the

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History and Anthropology,” *Journal of Bhutan Studies* 2(2).
Royal Society. An English edition translated by John Phillips, *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier*, was printed in 1677 by William Godbidd and sold by Robert Littlebury and Moses Pitt, the latter operating out of the traditional place in London for booksellers, St. Paul’s Churchyard. Godbidd (sometimes Godbid) was best known as a printer of music; he was successful as a printer, for a survey of 1688 reports that he operated three presses, employing five workmen, and two apprentices. The success of the book—other printings were made in 1678, 1680, and 1684—must have whetted the appetite of publishers for more such tales of overseas adventures.

To cement the relations established after the visit of George Bogle to Tibet in 1774, Warren Hastings—Governor of the Presidency of Fort William—proposed a new mission to the country soon after receiving news of the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama. Samuel Turner, a Lieutenant in the Honourable East India Company and a relative of Hastings, was chosen to

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6 Royal Society (1676) “Observations concerning some of the most considerable parts of Asia” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, November. 711–715, and (1676) “More observations of Monsieur Tavernier’s Voyages” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* December pp. 751–758. The latter may contain the first Western usage of the word Boutan.

7 The offices of Littlebury and Pitt were located in Little Britain, an area of London dominated by booksellers. Pitt was “one of the most important booksellers in the second half of the seventeenth century.” Plomer, Henry R. (1907) *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667*, London: Bibliographical Society, p. 147.


9 This may have been a case of copyright violation. The book was entered into the register of the Stationer’s Guild on April 13, 1677 by William Godbidd, so the other editions may have been published without permission. In *The Stationer’s Company* (1914) *Transcript of the Register of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1604–1718 A.D.* (Volume 3), only the one Godbidd printing is listed, p. 34.

lead the mission and was given his instructions on January 9, 1783. After completing the mission, in 1799, he was promoted to Captain. In addition, Turner was awarded a small pension and - in January 1801, a few months after publication of *Account of an Embassy*— he was elected a fellow of the oldest and most prestigious scientific organization in the world, The Royal Society.

Turner’s book, though, was not the first information that the Anglophone world had about Bhutan. John Stewart, FRS, communicated an early account of his travels to the Himalayan region in a major scholarly journal in 1777. British geographer Major James Rennell FRS, who was seriously wounded during fighting at the Bhutan border, published a description of the region in 1781. And one can speculate that those who had returned from the travels with George Bogle and with Samuel Turner recounted their tales in the coffee houses of eighteenth century London. By 1800, a published account of travels to the region might have seemed an extremely interesting venture to a publishing house. The expedition of Turner was a natural one to bring into book form, since several incidents of the Embassy had already been published by Turner in the journal *Asiatick Researches*.

354. Pemberton (see below) states Turner was a member of the Bengal Military Service.


14 *The Gentleman’s Magazine* in 1800 (mis)states that “Mr. T’s account was first published in vol. I of the *Asiatic Miscellany*, 1789. In fact, it first appeared as Turner, Samuel (1788) “Copy of an Account given by Mr. Turner, of his Interview with Teeshoo Lama at the Monastery of Terpaling, enclosed in Mr. Turner’s Letter to the Honourable the Governor General, dated Patna, 2nd March 1784” *Asiatick Researches* Vol 1 pp. 199–205 and, in the same volume, “An Account of a Journey
an Embassy\textsuperscript{15}.

**Typesetting and printing**

In 1800\textsuperscript{16}, W. Bulmer and Co. printed Turner’s immensely successful *Account of an Embassy to the court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet containing a narrative of a journey through Bootan and part of Tibet: To which are added views taken on the spot, by Lieutenant Samuel Davis; and observations botanical, mineralogical, and medical by Mr. Robert Saunders*. The author dedicated the book to the chairman, deputy chairman, and directors of the Honourable East India Company. Lieutenant Samuel Davis (1760–1819) of the Bengal Engineer Corps, whom Hastings appointed as surveyor for the Turner mission, eventually became a director of the same East India Company and, on June 28, 1792, was also elected a Fellow of the Royal Society\textsuperscript{17}. Robert Saunders was a surgeon and botanist. Both Saunders and Davis had scientific papers published on their Bhutan-related work\textsuperscript{18,19} by the Royal Society, the former before to Tibet”, pp. 207–220, while in Volume 4 (1795) he published “Description of the Yak of Tartary, Called Soora-Goy, or the Bushy-Tailed Bull of Tibet”. pp. 349–352.


\textsuperscript{16} The dedication page is dated May 1, 1800, so publication must have taken place after that time.

\textsuperscript{17} Davis had published several papers on Hindu astronomy, and it was on the strength of these that he appears to have been elected to the Royal Society.


book publication and the latter posthumously. Saunders observations were incorporated as part IV four of Account of an Embassy.

The book was published in a quarto edition (xxviii + 473pp) that was priced at two guineas. This had a calf cover and gold stamping; on the inside, the book had marbled end papers, and was printed in eight-page signatures. Furthermore, the spine had raised bands, which —although a mark of high-quality bookbinding - were becoming unfashionable in late eighteenth century Britain.

A deluxe edition was available in an Imperial quarto size with a tan calf cover and a red morocco spine label bearing the short title “Embassy to Tibet” stamped in gold. (“Morocco leather... is the finest of all leathers and most suitable for elaborately gold-tooled books.”) The price of this edition was four guineas. One copy recently available for auction had the coat of arms of Sir Simon Richard Brisett Taylor, second baronet of Lysson Hall, set in gilt on the front cover and printed in the front end papers, suggesting that the book had a wealthy clientele and that bookbinding could be carried out to order. The deluxe and regular editions were printed with the same type; the covers and the quality of paper used in printing were the only differences. As with classical typography—“a good, readable type is an invisible type, invisible in the sense that it never conspicuously makes its presence known”—the book is set with the same

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20 Signatures in the front matter are marked with lower-case letters, the text proper has signatures with capitals. As usual, various letters, such as W, are missing. After Z, Bulmer marks the signatures Aa and so forth.


22 Inflation calculators indicate that four guineas in 1800 is the equivalent of £450 at current prices, close to 40,000 BTN.


display type throughout, with emphasis being achieved by variations within the font itself, such as a large bold initial at every chapter opening and the use of italics for subheadings. Bulmer also made extensive use of thick and thin rules, rather than swelled or “English” rules that were becoming popular in British book printing at that time. The hallmark of Bulmer’s volumes was the clearness of type, rather than any type of printer’s ornamentation. One of the reasons for this clarity was, having been disappointed earlier in his career by the poor quality of ink obtained from outside sources, Bulmer eventually came to produce his own ink to high standards.

William Bulmer had earlier established the Shakespeare Press with George Nicol and developed, with William Martin, the Bulmer typeface especially for use in those books; their famous edition of Shakespeare was printed over the years from 1790–1805, and were thus still being produced when Account of an Embassy was published. Bulmer was highly regarded, “As a printer of sumptuous books...William Bulmer is generally accorded first place.” An Account was one of five books printed that year by Bulmer for G. and W. Nicol. George Nicol wrote, albeit in relation to the Shakespeare Press, that “I will venture to say that the specimens of typography which will soon appear ...will convince all Europe that Mr. Bulmer is second to no man in his profession.” Indeed, under the influence of its President, Joseph Banks, the Fellows of the Royal Society had decided on December 22, 1791, that Bulmer should be the printer for its publications, because of the “avowed superiority of Mr. Bulmer’s

*Publishing* 5(2), p.126


29 Advertisement to the Boydell Shakspeare [sic], Pall-Mall, June 4th, 1791.
Bulmer began work with George Nicol by or before Lady Day (March 25), 1790, on which date Bulmer was living in Cleveland Row. Bulmer’s printing shop was in his own house. The front matter gives the address of Bulmer and Co. as “Cleveland Row, St. James” and the printer’s mark indicates it was printed at Russell Court. William Bulmer, though, lived at Number 3, Russell Court, which opens onto Cleveland Row itself.

Font-matching software suggests An Account of an Embassy was composed using the Bulmer typeface, which was originally cut in 1792 by William Martin, who had trained under master typefounder John Baskerville and who had joined Nicol in 1786. The typeface resembles Bodoni and is a transitional typeface, characterized in part by ball terminals to its letters. It is through Martin that Nicol and Bulmer were able to publish many travel-related books, as one of their institutional customers was the East India Company. Martin was connected to Sir Charles Wilkins - the Librarian to the Honourable East India Company and who had studied Bengali, Persian, and Sanskrit. Warren Hastings, who was to send Turner on the embassy, commissioned Wilkins to produce a font suitable for printing Bengali texts, to aid British workers in India in learning the language. After Wilkins returned to England, Martins approached the Honourable East India Company with a request. At their meeting of February 2, 1803, the Court of the company, after having received a letter of recommendation from Wilkins, voted that Martin could “assume the title of Oriental Type Founder and printer to the Company, with the privilege of using their armorial bearings in the title pages of such works as he may be employed to print under their authority”.

30 Isaac, William Bulmer, p.41.
31 Ibid., p. 21. He paid £1.3s.4d per quarter to rent the premises.
Thus Martin and Bulmer began to publish a number of works for the Company and to publish works in Asian languages, such as a Persian grammar\(^{33}\) and a polyglot dictionary.\(^{34}\) Martin, and consequently Bulmer, showed great expertise in typography, typesetting, and printing given that two of the most difficult types of books for British publishers to produce are those that involve mathematics (and they published the *Transactions of the Royal Society*) and those involving non-Roman alphabets. On Martin’s death, it was observed that “his Greek and Orientals formed perhaps the most valuable of his collection.”\(^{35}\)

**Booksellers**

The booksellers were George Nicol and his son, William. George Nicol, too, was well-established in their trade, as he was the official bookseller to King George III and held the title of “Bookseller to the Great Wardrobe” from 1789 to its abolition in 1792\(^{36}\). An intriguing character, George Nicol’s second wife Mary Boydell—part of the influential Boydell publishing family—was the subject of an attempted murder by one of her jilted suitors, Dr. John Elliot.\(^{37}\) *Account of an Embassy* must have been one of the first books published by G. &W. Nicol, as they began the business together in 1800; prior to that, from 1791–1799,

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\(^{33}\) Jones, William (1809), *A Grammar of the Persian Language* was typeset by Martins and printed by Bulmer in its seventh edition; the first edition of 1771 was published elsewhere.

\(^{34}\) Richardson, John (1806–1810), *A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English*.


\(^{37}\) *Narrative of the Life and Death of John Elliot, M.D. Containing an account of the rise progress and catastrophe of his unhappy passion for Miss Mary Boydell, a review of his writings together with an apology written by himself under the pressure of expected condemnation after his commitment for attempting to assassinate Miss Boydell*. London, 1787
George Nichol had traded as G. Nicol\textsuperscript{38} and it was as G. Nicol, in 1795, that he had partnered with Bulmer to print and sell the related volume \textit{An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China}.\textsuperscript{39} George Nicol and Bulmer worked closely on many volumes over the course of the careers, and their close relationship is reflected in the naming of George Nicol’s grandson as William Bulmer Nicol (to whom William Bulmer left money in his will, as he did to George Nicol’s widow). William Martin, the typefounder, also was closely linked with Nicol. In the Advertisement for the Shakspeare Press, Nicol writes that for three years “he has constantly lived at my house.”\textsuperscript{40} In many senses, then, \textit{Account of an Embassy} was published by a close-knit family—by George and William Nicol, William Martin, and William Bulmer. Indeed, given that each member cared so deeply for the fine art of printing, one might say that their professional lives were an attempt to increase gross national happiness by the publication of high-quality books, of which Turner’s was one.

George Nicol not only advised the King on his book purchases, but also the Duke of Roxburghe. Upon the hugely successful auction of books upon the death of the Duke, money was used to found a club for those who were interested in all matters related to books—the Roxburghe Club. Nicol was thus extremely well-connected to wealthy influential bibliophiles in eighteenth-

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\textsuperscript{39} Stanton, Sir George (1795). \textit{An authentic account of an embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China: including cursory observations made, and information obtained in travelling through that ancient empire, and a small part of Chinese Tartary; together with a relation of the voyage undertaken on the occasion of His Majesty’s ship the Lion, and the ship Hindostan, in the East India company’s service, to the Yellow Sea and Gulf of Pekin, as well as of their return to Europe; taken chiefly from the papers of His Excellency the Earl of Macartney, Sir Erasmus Gower, and of other gentlemen in the several departments of the embassy.” Printed by William Bulmer for G. Nicol, bookseller to His Majesty, London.

\textsuperscript{40} Quoted in Isaac, \textit{William Bulmer}, p.29.
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century London. In Bulmer and Martin he had a typefounder and printer who cherished the same attention to details as Nicol and his clientele did. Turner’s *Account of an Embassy* additionally had fascinating subject matter and beautiful captivating illustrations, which meant that a finely printed edition of the book could command the high prices for the deluxe edition that Bulmer and Nicol produced. It is not surprising, then, that the book was immediately successful.

**Publication success**

The book was excerpted immediately upon publication (what is now known as second serial rights) by *The Monthly Epitome*[^1] and was reviewed soon after publication in October 1800 by *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, which describes the author as providing the reader with “an ample, candid, and interesting detail of his progress and proceedings.”[^2] In 1805, writing his memoir of the philologist Sir William Jones[^3], John Shore (an officer in the Honourable East India Company and the first Baron Teignmouth) quotes from a letter from Jones to Warren Hastings in which Jones had clearly read from Turner’s letters to Hastings about the embassy. In a footnote, Teignmouth describes Turner’s book as “exceedingly curious and interesting” and goes on to state that Turner “whose amiable manners and good qualities had endeared him to his friends, was seized with an apoplexy as he was walking the streets of London and died within two days.”[^4] And John Pinkerton, who had major arguments with the bookseller George Nicol, described *Account of an Embassy* as “without comparison, the most valuable work that has yet appeared on Thibet [sic].”[^5] Beyond the favorable critical

[^3]: Jones is best known for his suggestion that Indo-European languages have a common root.
reception marked by book reviews, Account of an Embassy also performed well commercially: Messrs. G. and W. Nicol reprinted it in 1806, which implies the first printing had sold out (which usually means that a publisher has made a profit from the book) and that, after six years, sales were sufficiently strong to warrant a new printing.

The success of the book was international. Even though many European countries were readying for the Napoleonic Wars, translations of the book were carried out rapidly after its initial English publication. A French edition was published in 1800 by François Buisson (1753–1814) of Paris, a prominent publisher specialising in travel books. The front matter for the French edition includes a list of other travel books that they had available for sale. Jean-Henri Castéra produced the French text. He was an accomplished translator who also rendered the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin into French as well as other travel books. Turner’s book was specially adapted

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47 Five years earlier, for example, Buisson published Meares, John (1795) *Voyages de la Chine à la côte Nord-Ouest d’Amérique, faits dans les années 1788 et 1789; précédés de la relation d’un autre voyage exécuté en 1786 sur le vaisseau le Nootka, parti du Bengale*. Meares’ book was originally published in English in 1791 under the title *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America*. It was sold by John Walter and printed at his Logographic Press (a printing technology that never became popular but in which syllables and words were used in the printing process, rather than individual letters). Walter was the founder of *The Times* newspaper of London. Buisson had published several journals during the French Revolution but was arrested after publishing, in 1796, a book by le Citoyen de la Croix (Jacques Vincent Delacroix) *Le Spectateur Française avant le Révolution*.

The French edition of Turner’s book may well have been commercially successful, for it established close ties between the two publishing houses. In 1797, George Nicol had published *An Authentic Account of the Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* that was also translated by Castéra and published by Buisson in 1804, again with engravings added by Jean-Baptiste Pierre Tardieu⁴⁹.

Other translations soon followed. In 1801, a German edition was published in Hamburg and Berlin by Benjamin Gottlob Hoffmann (1748–1818)⁵⁰, who had a highly regarded series of travel books, in which Turner’s account was included⁵¹. The German text was provided by Matthias Christian Sprengel, an accomplished translator and author, who produced German editions of other travel-related titles⁵². A copy of the German edition, rather than the French translation or the English original, was included in Belgian book sale of 1835⁵³.

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⁴⁹ Sir George Staunton, Bart. (1797), *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China...* was published in French as (1804) *Voyage dans l’Interieur de la Chine, et en Tartarie fait dans les années 1792, 1793, et 1794*.

⁵⁰ Hoffmann soon after joined with August Campe and the publishing company thus formed, Verlag Hoffmann-Campe still exits.


⁵³ S.n. *Catalogue d’une belle Collection de Livres dans tous les genres* (Gand, Duvivier, 1835) p.3.
A Dutch edition was released in Amsterdam the same year, by the printing house of Willem Holtrop (1751–1835), which interestingly included the notes by Castéra used in the French edition.\textsuperscript{54} Holtrop’s father John came from England and published \textit{A New English and Dutch Dictionary} with Willem’s publishing house in Amsterdam in 1789\textsuperscript{55}; extent copies of the Dutch edition of \textit{Account of an Embassy} give no translator’s name, so it may be that Willem Holtrop translated it himself. As with the French edition, the Dutch publisher commissioned their own illustrations, this time from the engraver William Cornelis van Baarsel (1791–1854). A distinctive feature of the Dutch edition is the use of catchwords at the bottom of each page of the printed text, a practice that was dying out elsewhere in the printing industry.

An Italian edition appeared in 1817\textsuperscript{56}, translated by Vincenzo Ferrario (1768–1844). It was published by Sonzogno, a book publisher based in Milan founded by Giovan Battista Sonzogno (1760–1822) and which had only recently been transformed, in 1804, from being merely a printer. A pattern emerges, perhaps naturally, for Ferrario translated other travel narratives for the same publisher, most notably those of the British explorer Mungo Park’s second published account of a journey to Africa\textsuperscript{57}. (The first book had been published in English by Bulmer and

\textsuperscript{54} Turner, Samuel (1801). \textit{Turner’s Gezantschaps-Reis naar Thibet en Boutan: behelzende zeer merkwaardige bijzonderheden deezer landen, tot in 1793} Amsterdam: W. Holtrop

\textsuperscript{55} It was physically printed in Dordrecht, from where Holtrop came, by A. Blussé en Zoon. For the history of Blussé en Zoon, see Arianne Baggerman (2014) \textit{Publishing Policies and Family Strategies The Fortunes of a Dutch Publishing House in the 18th and early 19th Centuries}, Leiden: Brill.

\textsuperscript{56} Turner, Samuel (1817). \textit{Ambasceria al Tibet e al Butan in cui si danno esatte e curiosissime notizie intorno ai costumi, alla religione, alle produzioni ed al commercio del Tibet, del Butan, e degli stati limitrofi, e sugli avvenimenti che si sono succeduti sino al 1793 di Samuele Turner incaricato di quest’ambasceria} Milan: Sonzogno e Comp. Translated by Vincenzo Ferrario.

\textsuperscript{57} Park, Mungo (1817) \textit{Viaggio all’interno dell’Affrica} Milan: Sonzogno. \textit{Translated by Vincenzo Ferrario}. 

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George Nicol in 1799, but Park turned to John Murray to publish his book of 1815). Sonzogno published *Account of an Embassy* as volume XLI of its series *Raccolta de’ Viaggi*; it was dedicated to the philanthropist, the Marchesa Matilde Solari de Loreto.

The extensive number of translations demonstrates the importance of the work internationally. Sales figures are no longer extant, but certainly the book sold worldwide. An advertisement appeared for the book in the *New York Herald* on January 2, 1802\(^{58}\). The book also appealed to members of learned societies: A copy was donated to the library of the American Philosophical Society in 1825\(^{59}\), and one was added “to the library and cabinet” of the American Oriental Society as late as 1866\(^{60}\). A copy of the German edition was acquired from the bookstore of F.A. Brockhaus in Leipzig by the German Oriental Society in 1850\(^{61}\). Curiously, a satirical political poem based on Turner’s account was published in 1839 to criticize the Tory party in England\(^{62}\).

One mark of book’s success is that related volumes are drawn from it. In 1813, a collection of drawings, *Views in Bootan* was published.\(^{63}\) This book, printed in an oblong octavo format and

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\(^{58}\) The New York Times (Saturday, January 2, 1802), page 4. The advertisement was placed by “H. Caritat”, whose bookstore was at 153 Broadway and who described the book as “ornamented by 13 engravings.” In addition to being a bookseller, Louis Alexis Hocquet de Caritat also operated a rental library and reading room. His library contained more than 3,000 volumes and he had over 30,000 volumes for sale. [George Gates Raddin, *Hocquet Caritat and the Early New York Literary Scene* (Dover, NJ: Dover Advance Press, 1953) pp. 30–34.]

\(^{59}\) S.n., (1825) Transactions of the American Philosophical Society vol. 2 p. 499. The book was a gift of John Vaughan.


bound in red morocco and stamped with a gilt edging, took the illustrations by Samuel Davis that appeared in the original publication as a basis for a series of six aquatints. These were composed by Thomas Daniell and subsequently engraved and printed by his nephew William Daniell, R.A., both of whom had spent time with Davis in India.64 When *A Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors* was published in 1816, *Views in Bootan* was one of the three works of William Daniell mentioned in that volume.65

**Further publications**

With Turner’s *Account of an Embassy*, the literary society of Britain was presented with a beautifully designed and printed book on an exciting topic. The bookseller was extremely well connected with the upper echelons of British society, and this no doubt helped with sales of the deluxe edition and, consequently, of the standard edition as well. The success of the book, marked by the favorable reviews, the need for a second printing, and the many translations it spawned, would have demonstrated to other publishers and potential authors that there was a good market for travel-related volumes.


Tibet and India across the Ganges, which appeared as volume 1 of a series “The World in Miniature” printed by C. Green in Leicester Square for Rudolph Ackermann, an émigré from Saxony working in London. Other political missions to Bhutan also saw publication, including R. Boileau Pemberton’s Report on Bootan, which appeared in 1839 and was published by G. Huttman at the Bengal Military Orphan Press. Huttman was the first superintendent of the Press, which sought to teach orphans of British soldiers a trade, and used money from sales of the books to help fund the orphanage\textsuperscript{66}. Pemberton had published two years earlier in a journal on a related topic. Several reports would be published as a compendium in 1865, for Political Missions to Bootan, published by the Bengal Secretariat Office, not only republished Pemberton’s report and that of the Honourable Ashley Eden, but also republished the Journal of the Mission that visited Bootan in 1837–1838 under Captain R. Boileau Pemberton by the Surgeon-Botanist William Griffith as well as Some Account of the Country of Bhutan by Kishen Kent Bose, both of which had originally been published in journals, the former in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal\textsuperscript{67}, the latter in Asiatick Researches\textsuperscript{68}.

With the Dooar War, publications focused more on military matters. In 1865, The Truth About Bootan was published anonymously in Calcutta at the Metropolitan Press, and was followed a year later by a book from David Field Rennie, Bhotan and the Story of the Dooar War. Subsequently, in 1868 Lieutenant R.E. Collins wrote Experience of a Small War, which was published for the author by the Savoy Press. What followed, eventually, was Charles Metcalfe MacGregor’s 1873 Military


\textsuperscript{68} Bose, Kishen Kent (1825) “Some Account of the Country of Bhutan” Asiatick Researches vol. 15 128–156.
Report on the Country of Bhutan, published in Calcuatta by the Bengal Secretariat Press. For a fuller account of the hostilities, see the article in this journal by Wangyal. These events might have garnered some level of public interest in Britain, for question eight of Examination Two of the 1870 Examinations for the Prize Medals of the Royal Geographical Society was topical, asking students to “Describe the position and general physical features of Bootan, Cashmere, Sinde, and Malabar.”

While British involvement in Bhutan may have spread war, there was also an attempt to spread religion. Earlier there had been Jesuits (members of the Catholic religious order, the Society of Jesus) who had come to Bhutan with the intention of converting the population to Catholicism, and they sent reports back to their superiors. There were other Catholic religious orders in the region, including the Capuchins, whose mission to Tibet resulted in an early dictionary. The Baptist Missionary Society also sought converts in the Himalayan region, and consequently in 1799 they sent to Serampore a printer, William Ward, which lead to the eventual publication in 1829 of the Dictionary of the Bhotanta or Boutan Language. It was part of a larger drive to translate Christian holy books into the Himalayan languages.

**Conclusion**

The first British book dealing with Bhutan, Captain Samuel Turner’s Account of an Embassy was a success, both

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70 S.n., (1869–70) Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London 14(3) 251–9
73 Schroeter, Frederic Christian Gotthelf (1826) Dictionary of the Bhotanta or Boutan Language, Serampore. It was based on an Italian manuscript owned by Schroeter and which was translated into English by John Marshman. It was edited by a Baptist minister, William Carey.
commercially and critically. It formed part of a growing sector of the publishing industry dealing with travelogues and adventures. The book benefited from being published by one of the world’s leading typesetters, printers, and booksellers. Interest in Bhutan in Britain continued to grow, and there were many more books published during the long-eighteenth century, whether books that taught British civil servants the various Himalayan languages, gave accounts of political missions to the region, or detailed the events of local wars. These subsequent books, for the most part, came from presses not based in London but in India, reflecting the growth of the publishing industry overseas in the Victorian period. But what Turner’s book shows admirably is that if a book has captivating subject matter, expert marketing, and high-quality printing, it is more than likely to be a great success, one that other publishers worldwide will be keen to emulate.