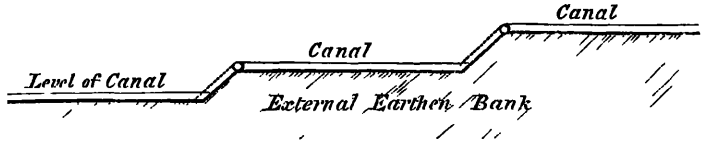
once say, that we launched without ceremony into this grand and beautiful river, about two miles in width, and so gentle that no oblation was deemed necessary. About the middle of the stream we passed the *Kin-shan*, the Golden Island, an imperial possession, containing a palace and a splendid pagoda. The numerous ships of war, of commerce, and of pleasure, gliding on this tranquil stream—the two shores covered with villages and houses as far as the eye could reach—presented a picture more varied and chearful than any that had hitherto occurred. Nor was the canal, on entering it, found to be less lively. Cities, towns, and villages, the whole distance from the Yellow River, were scattered along its banks without intermission; fleets of vessels collecting and carrying the taxes paid in kind, others laden with merchandise, and others in pursuit of pleasure; presented a busy and an interesting scene. But to take a glance at the construction of the canal, between the two mighty rivers of China:—

Here, and in other places where the varied surface of the country required great changes in the levels of the canal, a succession of dams separates the two levels in the form of glacis, of which the following sketch may serve to give an idea. The barges are let down



and hauled up by a windlass and ropes on each bank of the canal; and they pass over a round beam of wood crossing the upper part of the glacis.

In my walks through the grounds of this rich province, to the southward of the Yang-tse-kiang, I met, as I had been led to expect, with whole plantations of the cotton-plant that produces the yellowish-brown which in England is called *nankin*, from its being chiefly grown in the vicinity of that city. I could not discover any difference in the leaf or the pod of this and of the common sort. Cultivation was here carefully exercised; various kinds of pulse and grain in drills, and very luxuriant; buck-wheat in great quantities, from the flour of which is made their excellent pastry; millet of three or four kinds, in high perfection—the *Holcus sorghum* six to eight feet high. I had seen nothing in the shape of a plough.* The valleys were crowded with a variety of trees; two of considerable beauty and great utility—the Laurus camphora and the Croton sebiferum. The shining foliage of the first, mingled with the purple leaves of the second, interrupted by the tall and stately Thuia orientalis—the tree of life—had a pleasing effect on the eye. And the diversified forms of the repositories of the dead, with the usual melancholy cypress, sobered the mind in contemplating the gayer portions of the scene. It was in this bewitching part of the country that my fellow-passenger Dr. Gillan preferred reading the Carthaginian romance of Virgil to the contemplation of the realities of China.

The usual and most direct route to Canton is westerly, by the Yang-tse-kiang, passing Nankin, and thence, against the stream, to the Poyang lake, which is in fact an inland sea; and thence southerly, against

* To open drills in wet or moist grounds, a wooden beam, with a coulter attached to it, is drawn by an ox, a pony, or an ass.

another stream flowing into it; but as some of our party were to join the 'Hindostan' at the Chusan islands, to which the bay of Hang-choo-foo is directly opposite, we had kept along the canal, which terminates at the latter place, and by so doing had the opportunity of passing through the garden of China, and of seeing the two celebrated cities of Sao-choo-foo and Hang-choo-foo. The suburbs of the former took us three hours before reaching the walls of the city, where a multitude of vessels were at anchor. The walls were crowded with spectators, mostly clothed in silk; the ladies in petticoats, not trowsers, a black satin cap with a triangular peak extending to the root of the nose, with a crystal button decorating the head; the cheeks highly rouged, and two vermilion spots like small wafers—very conspicuous—one on the centre of the under lip and the other on the chin. The pleasure and the passage yachts were crowded with these well-dressed ladies, which to us was quite a novel sight, these fair creatures having hitherto rarely condescended to afford us a look at their beauty.

I have noticed elsewhere the explanation of the superior style of dress in these females, as given by the Christian missionaries,—that, in this city and in Hang-choo-foo, females are educated in the pleasing arts of singing, music, and dancing, in order to render them agreeable and fascinating; that they are sold as concubines, or second wives, to mandarins and persons of property, "this being the principal branch of trade that is carried on in those two cities." But I have observed that such an assertion is as unfounded as it is ridiculous; and that the writer must have been credulous to an extraordinary degree, to suppose that the principal trade of

two of the largest cities in the world, with a population of not less than a million of souls, and a most extensive and flourishing commerce, should consist in buying and selling ladies of pleasure. If they had merely said that wives and second wives are bought in a legal way, they might have been believed, for such is the degraded state of Chinese females.

The day before reaching Hang-choo-foo, we passed through forests of mulberry-trees, among which were observed numerous sheds, and people employed in the care and cultivation of silk-worms, which continued for some miles. The canal between the two cities above mentioned is a splendid sheet of water, which terminates in a spacious basin, at this time crowded with shipping; and out of it issue numerous small canals, that intersect the city, and which, passing through arches formed in the walls, fall into a large lake at their feet on the western side. The streets of the city are clean and commodious; and the shops splendidly and abundantly stocked with articles of every description which China can supply.

The *See-hoo*, or western lake, is the seat of pleasure, as well as of profit, to the inhabitants of Hang-choo-foo. As we were to be delayed here a couple of days while the baggage of our companions, about to leave us, was passed over a neck of land to the sea-coast, I prevailed on the good-natured Van-ta-gin to make a party to the lake, to which he most readily assented. A splendid yacht was provided, and another made fast to it, to serve as a kitchen: the repast began the moment we got on board, and ceased only when we stepped ashore. We had at least a hundred different dishes in succession, all excellent of their kind. A thousand barges were sail-

ing to and fro, all gaily decorated with paint and gilding, and streaming colours; the parties in each of them apparently in pursuit of pleasure. The margins of the lake are studded with light aërial buildings; one of considerable extent was said to be the property of the sovereign. The finest flowering shrubs and roots were abundant in the gardens, as were also the various fruits of the country, but all indifferent, except the oranges. Some of the scenery surrounding this lake is very beautiful, and of great variety—the mountains picturesque, and the valleys at their feet made interesting by the number and the different forms of monumental stones, sacred to the memory of the dead, and rendered more interesting by the several groups of surviving relatives, with votive offerings that are much regarded by the Chinese.

Notwithstanding our frequent visits to the refreshment-room in the yacht, so profusely stocked by our friend Van, I did get time to take a sketch of the lake, and of a temple on the opposite side called the "Temple of the Thundering Winds"—*Lui-fung-ta*—perched on the top of a well-shaped hill. From this sketch Mr. Alexander made a pretty drawing, a print of which is in Sir George Staunton's narrative.

The enormous amount of the population of China, as given to Lord Macartney, was considered to be exaggerated, though admitted that the vast extent of territory was sufficient to feed such a number. I have found a note, which I must have got in China, on some statistics of that empire, in which it is stated that the number of walled cities is 4400: taken at an average of 20,000 inhabitants to each (which I believe is not one-half, Pekin being reckoned 3,000,000, Canton

2,000,000, and Sao-choo and Hang-choo each above 1,000,000), our moderate estimate gives 88,000,000 for the cities alone.

On the day following our visit to the lake, Colonel Benson, Dr. Gillan, and myself, accompanied by a military officer and his orderly, rode over a neck of land to look at the yachts preparing for the remainder of our journey. In the evening, on returning, I proposed to cut short the road by a direct line to one of the city gates, which I had gone over with Van-ta-gin two days before. The officer, perceiving our intention, sent forward the orderly direct for the same gate. We spurred our horses after him; on which the officer and the orderly set up such a hue-and-cry, that the whole suburbs were presently in a state of commotion. The gates were instantly shut, and all within was confusion; the gongs were beaten and the guard turned out. I assured them there was nothing to fear—that we were only three, and had no other object than to pass to our yachts. At length, *Van* and *Chou*, with soldiers and attendants, made their appearance, and affected to enjoy the joke of three Englishmen having caused so much alarm to a strong city, which had then a garrison of 3000 men within its walls.

At a few miles from the city, we now took shipping on the river Tching-tang-chiang, flowing from the south into Hang-choo-foo bay. It occupied us seven days against the stream to reach its source, not far from the only city, on its banks, of the third rank, called Tchang-tang-shien. The adjoining country is not deficient in picturesque scenery; the surface is mountainous and romantic, yet was cultivated with great pains, wherever the labour of the husbandman could be

made to avail. In the valleys and glens was no want of trees—the tallow and the camphor tree, cedars, firs, and the tall and stately arbor vitæ. Groves of oranges, lemons, and citrons were seen in most of the little valleys, that sloped down to the river; and few of the cottages were without a small garden and plantation of tobacco; the larger plains were planted with sugar-cane. We had hitherto never fallen in with the tea-plant; here, however, it formed the hedge-rows of the gardens.

We had again a neck of land to cross, in order to get to the source of another small river falling to the westward. With the greatest difficulty, chairs and men to carry them (something such as the Dutch had), or horses, could be procured: the English soldiers who composed the Ambassador's guard were to be carried in these little chairs, shoulder-height; and thus elevated in the air, with their feathers and their firelocks, but feeling ashamed to be dragged along by the poor half-naked and half-famished wretches pressed into the service, they speedily dismounted, and insisted, in their turn, upon carrying the Chinese: this land-journey was about twenty-four miles.

The source of the river *Long-chien-ton* (which flows westerly into the *Poyang* lake) is in the granite hills near the city, of the third order, *Eu-shan-shien*, a mean-looking place, where we stopped a couple of days, of continued heavy rain, which inundated the rice-mills, so as to leave only their thatched roofs visible above the surface of the water. One of our vessels was upset on the roof of one of these mills. During two days' sail, the hilly country continued to be well wooded with camphors, firs, and tallow-trees; but, on approaching the great *Poyang* sea, it assumed the appearance of one

extended marsh, without any visible signs of cultivation. It is in fact the sink of China—a wide waste of swamp, coarse grass, and bulrushes, for ten or twelve miles from the margin of the lake. A few huts, and as many boats, indicated the occupation of the inhabitants to be that of catching fish, which is done by various means. To enable them to take water-fowl, large gourds and blocks of wood are thrown into the waters, to familiarise these creatures to such objects; the fishermen then, keeping their bodies below the surface, and sticking their heads into the gourds or earthen pots, approach the birds in a gentle manner, take them by the legs and draw them quietly under the water.

We had now to be tracked up the river Kan-kiang-ho, which flows from the south into the Poyang lake, after a course of about three hundred miles. On this river is the city of Nan-tchang-foo, where four or five hundred revenue vessels were lying at anchor; these being of that class, which is said to amount to ten thousand. I had the curiosity to go on board one of them, in order to ascertain its capacity. I found its dimensions within to be, length 115 feet, breadth 15 feet, and depth of the hold 6 feet; estimated burden 250 tons. Before this city, therefore, besides the multitude of small craft, were about 100,000 tons of shipping.

At the city of Kin-gan-foo the river became much narrower, the current much stronger, and it required many men to track the barges. The country, however, increased in beauty, fertility, and population, as we proceeded. Hitherto, the banks abounded with larch, firs, the camphor-tree, and that useful plant the bamboo; and the general produce of the soil was the sugar-cane, the dwarf mulberry for the nutriment of the silkworm,

wheat, maize, and holcus. Among the most abundant shrubs on the upper part of this river was the Camellia sesanqua, called by the Chinese the *cha-wha*, or "flower of tea," which it resembles, being in fact of the same genus: and I always suspected the Assam tea to be the same as, or a variety resembling, the sesanqua. Having potted two varieties of the tea-plant and of the sesanqua, and being desirous of adding to them a plant of the varnish-shrub (for which this place is famous), I prevailed on our excellent friend Van-ta-gin to obtain one for me, which he as readily did as he had done the others. They all however, after our departure, began to droop and the leaves to wither. Suspecting the trickery of the Chinese, I caused the pots to be examined, when it was found that not a single plant had the smallest portion of a root, each being a mere cutting from a branch of its respective shrub.

The banks of this river being high, the water was brought up to them by means of a wheel, from 30 to 40 feet in diameter, made entirely of bamboo, without a piece of iron—even a nail. The water is scooped up in the river by the hollow joints of the bamboo, placed obliquely on the outer rim of the wheel, so that each joint on its arrival at the top deposits, through the open end, the water it had carried up, in tanks or other vessels there placed to receive it.

We had now a very serious land journey before us, across the steep and lofty mountain of *Melin*, whose summit is the boundary of the two provinces of Kiang-see and Quan-tung; on the south side of which is the river Pei-kiang-ho, that flows by the city of Canton, and the mouth of which is familiarly known to us by the name *Bocca Tigris*. We ascended this mountain,

some on horseback, others in chairs, over a well-paved road, carried on in a zigzag manner across the very highest point, in which was cut a pass of considerable depth, through a granite rock. The view from the summit is varied and rich, extending over a great part of the province of Canton. Our descent down the slope was gradual for about eighteen miles, which brought us to the city of Nan-shuen-foo. In this distance we had met at least a thousand persons on their way to Nan-gan-foo, each bearing ten or twelve gallons of oil, and among them a number of women.

After passing some six miles down the southern slope of Melin, the mountain had blended into the general surface of the country; then commenced a constant succession of buildings, on the remaining twelve miles, so that it might be considered as one continued street: half their number, however, consisted of places of convenience for passengers—the doors, or rather openings, being always invitingly fronting the public road. Each dwelling, whether alone or connected with another, had a fabric of this kind open for public, and at the same time, for private benefit, and under each was a terrace cistern—so anxious are the Chinese to collect and preserve, for use or for sale, every species of manure, which is universally used in a liquid state, in their general system of dibbling and drilling.

We had no sooner entered the province of Canton, and embarked on the Pei-kiang-ho, than a very marked difference was perceptible in the conduct of the inhabitants. Even the peasantry ran out of their houses, bawling out all kinds of opprobrious language in the jargon of Canton, and the further we advanced towards that city, the more rude and insolent they became. We

had taken up our lodgings at Nan-shuen-foo, in a public temple dedicated to the memory of Confucius, being the college where students are examined for their degrees. It consisted of a long dark room, divided by two rows of red pillars, having no furniture, paintings, or any other ornament than some paper lanterns suspended between the pillars. At the further extremity were several small apartments, in which we contrived to pass the night.

One of these temples, or colleges, is to be found in or near most, if not all, of the great cities; they are schools in fact for young statesmen, where they are instructed and examined in political morality, contained in the books of Confucius, in which is to be found the state religion, and apparently the only one they possess; and it consists chiefly of that kind of command and obedience which is supposed to exist between parents and children, superiors and inferiors, and the Emperor over all, as absolute sovereign. Yet he affects, at least when matters of state go wrong, to ask advice, and even reproof, from his subjects, and tags a moral maxim or two to his self-reproach. Homer appears to have well understood this:—

> "Bold is the task when subjects grown too wise
> Instruct a monarch where his error lies;
> For though they deem the short-liv'd fury past,
> 'T is sure the mighty will revenge at last."

We sailed for two days in our little barges through one of the most wild, mountainous, and barren tracts of country I ever beheld, more abundant in the sublime and awful than in the picturesque or beautiful. Rising from the margin of the stream we observed five remarkable points of sandstone rock, one above the

other, with perpendicular faces, as if they had been hewn out of one solid mountain: they were called the *ou-ma-tou*, or the five horses' heads. Pine-trees appeared on the mountains, and lower down the sloping sides tracts of coppice-wood, in which the camellia prevailed, which with plantations of tobacco, near the fishermen's huts in the glens, were the principal features in the vegetable world. In the defiles of these mountains we observed the adits of numerous collieries, advantageously worked by driving levels from the bank of the river. So long as the mountains continued, the only habitations on the borders of the river were the tents of the colliers and the fishermen. Quarries of great extent occurred in these wild and romantic mountains, from which stones for temples, sepulchral monuments, arches of bridges, blocks for paving streets and roads, and for various other purposes, were cut and fashioned.

At the city of Tchao-tchoo-foo the hills began to recede, and the river to widen; so that we exchanged our flat-bottomed boats for large and commodious yachts. Here, for the first time, we were gratified by the unusual sight of numerous young girls rowing the ferry-boats, employed in carrying passengers across the river. I say gratified, for hitherto (except at Sao-tchoo-foo) we had scarcely set eyes on a female, unless in the performance of some drudgery on the land or on the water, whereas the young girls in question were decently dressed in neat white jackets and petticoats, with gipsy straw hats.

Soon after this, the chain of mountains abruptly ceased, and we entered upon a wide-extended plain,

terminated only by the horizon, and we observed all parts of it in a high state of tillage, the chief products being rice, sugar-canes, and tobacco. The river had considerably increased in width, being not less than half a mile. Canals branched from its two banks in every direction. The whole country might be considered as a garden, producing objects applicable alike to profit and to pleasure. The choicest shrubs and flowering plants of China were here to be met with, collected and cultivated for sale; and these, coupled with the rise of the river by the tide, gave sufficient indications that we were at no great distance from the city of Canton; in fact, on the 10th of December, we halted before a village just in sight of the suburbs of that city.

Here the Ambassador was met by the factory commissioners of the East India Company, who had a general permission from the Viceroy to proceed thus far, to make their parties of pleasure. On the present occasion, with the view of making the *entrée* of the embassy the more striking in the eyes of the Chinese, a number of barges had been prepared with flags, streamers, and umbrellas, with bands of music, and various other insignia of official etiquette. About the middle of the day we arrived before the factories, where the Ambassador was received by the *Song-too*, or Viceroy, the Governor, the Ho-poo, and all the principal officers of government. We were then all conducted to the opposite side of the river, where a temporary building of poles and mats had been prepared for the occasion, within which was displayed the usual screen of yellow silk bearing the name of the Emperor in gilt characters, and before which the Viceroy and other officers went

such marks of sensibility and concern as could proceed from none but sincere and uncorrupted hearts. If I ever could forget the friendship and attachment of these two worthy men, or the services they rendered us, I should be guilty of the deepest ingratitude."

Early the following morning they sent on board twenty baskets of fruit and vegetables as a farewell token of remembrance. We had the satisfaction to hear that, immediately on their arrival at Pekin, both were promoted—Chou to a high situation at court, and Van in the army; and it afterwards appeared that Van, the cheerful, good-humoured Van, had paid the debt of nature, having fallen honourably in the service of his country.

To myself personally Van-ta-gin was always most kind and anxious to make himself agreeable. From the first I endeavoured to converse with him in a sort of *patois* Chinese, in which he was ever ready to make out my meaning; he never passed our yacht without calling out "*Pallo, how do?*" (Barrow, how are you?). At Canton he gave me a mark of his confidence by inviting me to a little evening party, which he appeared desirous should not be publicly known. One evening Lee came to me with a message from Van, requesting me to return with him to his yacht to join a small party of his friends, apologising for not sending the usual card of invitation. I returned with Lee in his boat to Van's yacht, and was introduced into a handsome apartment, and severally to three elegant well-dressed ladies, each of whom I was desired to salute. Next I was presented to a third gentleman, the new Governor of Canton. The ladies were much amused at my clumsy attempts to speak their language,

but being prompted by Van to ask them to favour me with some music and singing, they readily let me know by their compliance, that they had none of that vice which Horace ascribes to all singers, for all three struck up forthwith, accompanied by an instrument of the same nature as the guitar. The ladies conducted themselves with great decorum, yet I felt anxious to know who or what they were; but the question was not to be asked; and after taking a cup of tea with some fruit and cakes, in about an hour Lee came for me in our boat. I asked him if he knew anything of these ladies, but he said he had been so long out of his own country, that he had almost forgotten the manners of his countrymen. He did not know whether Van or Chou had their first or second wives in their own barges with them, but he believed one of the three to be the wife of the Governor of Canton, and the other two her friends. The next day our conductors took their leave in the manner I have mentioned, and the embassy shortly after removed to Macao. We remained at this place several weeks waiting for the homeward-bound ships of the East India Company, thirteen in number, to be placed under the convoy of the 'Lion.' On the 6th of September, 1794, we arrived at Spithead, having on the previous night run between two lines of Lord Howe's fleet, standing down Channel, after having safely lodged his prizes taken from the French on the 1st of June preceding.

Having now in my remarks gone rapidly and slightly over a long journey, by water and by land, of some twelve or thirteen hundred miles, through the heart of the Chinese Empire, and having walked, from curiosity as well as for the sake of making observations, not

less certainly than a tenth part of that distance alone and unmolested, it is due to the inhabitants to declare that I never met with the slightest insult or interruption from any class of the Chinese population, whether official or plebeian; but, on the contrary, the most civil and courteous conduct from the highest to the lowest, with a willing disposition always to oblige.

The two succeeding embassies, it is well known, met with another kind of treatment—that of the Dutch literally from their humiliating conduct and demeanour. The second English embassy to Pekin was treated in a way very unlike the first, and altogether failed; not, however, owing to any fault of Lord Amherst, the Ambassador, or of the gentlemen who composed his suite. No man could possibly be more courteous than his Lordship, or more anxious to obtain the objects of his mission, in which he was ably assisted by one, at least, of the three commissioners; but, unfortunately, it was doomed in its outset to the failure it met with, mainly, if not altogether, by the improper advice given by a certain personage, who had a sort of prescriptive influence in the Treasury at the time, and in some other departments of government.

In order to support such a charge I must put myself into the witness-box. Lord Buckinghamshire, then President of the Board of Control, sent one day to see me, for the purpose, he said, of consulting me on the subject of the letter to be written by the King of England to the Emperor of China. My first and obvious observation was, that as the letter carried out by Lord Macartney gave great satisfaction to the Emperor and his ministers, as was publicly acknowledged by them at Pekin, and also in the Emperor's letter in reply to that

of the King of England, might it not be prudent to follow it up by one of the like tendency on the present occasion? But his Lordship observed, "Lord Macartney escaped the performance of the degrading ceremonial, which is the main point; and how did he succeed without giving offence? Did the letter he presented effect that?" My reply was, "It did not, but it prepared the Chinese for receiving some substitute of homage, which though the court did not and could not accept when tendered, as being contrary to the established rules of the empire, yet as it manifested a disposition to meet them half-way, they were not displeased at it, though disappointed."

"But what," his Lordship asked, "am I to say in the letter to the Emperor which I am desired to draw up?" I observed, "That in my opinion much might result from the nature and style of the letter, from the King to the Emperor; that as obedience to the commands of their sovereign is, with the Chinese, the first of duties, they could not be so unreasonable as to exact, from the subjects of a foreign sovereign, disobedience to that sovereign's commands. It was by his Lordship avowing the most profound respect and reverence for his own sovereign, and proposing to show the same respect to his Imperial Majesty, that prevailed on the Emperor not to insist on the Chinese ceremonial; I should, therefore, humbly advise that the Emperor of China be told, as from the King of England, that he had sent his trusty and well-beloved cousin to his presence, with suitable presents, and with strict injunctions to appear before his Imperial Majesty with every mark of respect, of homage, and obeisance, and with such ceremonial as he is required and accustomed to use, in appearing before his own sovereign."

Lord Buckinghamshire appeared satisfied, and I believe the letter was written to that effect; but Mr. George Rose, on being consulted, interposed his opinion and advice, in direct opposition to that which I had given; thought it nonsense, and that in place thereof Lord Amherst should be instructed to act as the occasion might require, "leaving Lord Amherst to his discretion whether to perform the Koo-too or not, according as he might find himself likely to profit by the one or the other." And thus, with such an instruction in his pocket, and with what kind of letter from his king I know not, was Lord Amherst thrown upon the wide sea of discretion; but he had a steady pilot in Sir George Staunton, a gentleman who, to great mildness, urbanity, and benevolence of disposition, unites an independence and firmness of character not to be shaken by personal threats, to which he appears specially to have been subjected on this occasion: it was through his skill and decision that the Ambassador's bark escaped foundering on the rocks of degradation.

Of the three commissioners whom Lord Amherst had to consult—a number quite enough to ruin any project—two advised the performance of the Koo-too. Sir George Staunton firmly resisted it, and his Lordship wisely adhered to his opinion. Mr. Marjoribanks, in his letter to Mr. Grant, says, "After attempted intimidation had failed, Lord Amherst (strongly urged by Mr. Ellis, the third commissioner) communicated to Sir George Staunton, that he had made up his mind to perform the Koo-too, unless he (Sir George) was prepared to say that his doing so would be injurious to the interests of the East India Company." He did say so; and most assuredly it would have been. Sir George had the strongest grounds for knowing that they were

low enough already at Canton, and that such a humiliation would, at once, throw the servants of the East India Company more completely into the power of the tyrants of Canton.

Lord Amherst wisely therefore refused the degrading ceremony, and was grossly insulted and dismissed, not only without an audience of the Emperor, but without having once enjoyed the light of his countenance, and without even having been admitted within the gates of the capital; but in the true spirit of Chinese chicanery and cunning, the government having once got rid of the intruders beyond the atmosphere of Pekin, the embassy was treated, on their way home, with the same kind of attention throughout their long journey to Canton, as that which the embassy of Lord Macartney had experienced.

Had Lord Amherst carried with him such a letter as I advised, and given a copy of it (always demanded) to the impertinent Tartar minister, on whom his Lordship conferred the title of Duke (*Duke Ho*), and who on landing presented to his Lordship a yellow screen to bow down to, he would no doubt have escaped the insolent outrage to which he was exposed; and, moreover, have been graciously received by the Emperor, after seeing in the proposed letter the notification from the sovereign of England of the conduct his Ambassador was to pursue. As it was, the crafty Duke had only to report to his master his Lordship's own obstinate refusal, without any palliating circumstances.

Subsequent events have brought us into a closer and, it is to be hoped, a more permanent connection with the Chinese empire; and the only way to establish that effectually must be by those, officially employed, having

obtained a competent knowledge of their language. This point, it has been supposed, will be gained by means of the consuls or superintendents at the Eastern ports. Much reliance, however, is not to be placed on these. Looking back for a century and a half to the great number of English gentlemen, servants of the East India Company, in the factory at Canton, we find two, and only two, I believe—Sir George Staunton and Mr. John (now Sir John) Davis—who had conquered the supposed difficulties of the Chinese language, and translated several of their best works in various departments of moral and political literature, and even of the drama and poetry. Before this, it was a subject of complaint that, while the language and literature of China were abundantly spread over the continent of Europe, by means of the studious labours of a few poor missionaries, and two or three literary gentlemen, the English, living in the lap of luxury, had supplied nothing; that comfort and luxury, perhaps, were the very causes of the defection. It was, moreover, a reproach cast on the English nation that, while France, with little or no intercourse with China, had established a Chinese professorship in Paris, England, with her lucrative commercial intercourse, had given herself no concern as to the language and literature of that most populous and extensive, as well as most ancient empire in the world.

The reproach, however, is about to be wiped off. Sir George Staunton, with his usual zeal and readiness to forward any rational scheme for the benefit of mankind, has nobly stood forward, and alone, chiefly by his purse and his pen, has succeeded in obtaining the means of establishing a Chinese professorship, to be appended to the King's College of London. The importance to

those, who obtain official situations in China, and to the country which sends them, may best be secured by carrying with them a knowledge of the language. This is a point so obvious that, it is to be hoped, no lucrative appointment will hereafter be conferred on any candidate, who has not undergone an examination by the Professor, and had the extent of his knowledge certified by him.

There is no difficulty whatever, as has been supposed, in acquiring a knowledge of the Chinese language.* The construction and arrangement of the written symbols, that compose the language, are as simple, as ingenious, and withal as systematical, as the 'Systema Naturæ' of Linnæus, to which, in fact, the classification bears a striking resemblance. The great divisions of the language may be compared to the classes and orders, which are followed by the genera and species.

A brief outline will suffice to give a general idea of the nature of the written and of the spoken languages of China. Of the former some dictionaries contain 40,000 distinct characters or words, some 50,000, and others still more; but four or five thousand are said to be sufficient for reading or writing the language. Each character is a monosyllable, and therefore the name of any one character must necessarily be applied to a great number of other characters; for it would not be easy to make out forty thousand different and distinct monosyllabic sounds in any language; but we shall see how they get rid of this apparent ambiguity.

* My eldest daughter (Mrs. Col. Batty), at an early age, wrote out and made herself acquainted with the 214 radical characters, and would easily have conquered the language, had she been supplied with Chinese books.

In writing forty or fifty thousand characters, some of them apparently complicated, and composed of eighteen or twenty parts or strokes of the pen, there would appear to be some difficulty, but not more, if so much, as in forming the twenty-four letters of our alphabet. In fact, none of the forty or fifty thousand characters, however apparently complicated, have more lines or rudiments in their composition than are comprised in the following six elements, or some small variation of them :—

 *ya*, the number one.

 *ya*, the same.

 *yeun*, to descend.

 *chou*, a point.

 *sien*, bent inwards.

 the same, outwards.

 *kue*,

These are generally found at the commencement of every dictionary, followed by a list of the keys (as we usually name them), or radicals, or primitives, one of which is found attached to every character, and may be called its index, and is placed sometimes on the right side, sometimes on the left, frequently at the top, sometimes at the bottom, and rarely in the middle. Of these keys there are no fewer than 214, which are arranged in the dictionaries under seventeen classes or chapters, the first containing only those characters composed of one line, the second of two lines, the third of three, down to the seventeenth class, comprised of those of seventeen lines, of which there are but two characters. The first seven in the series extend to those of twenty-eight lines,

their average four; the ten next to 126 lines, average thirteen. The class of characters which contain the fewest lines, occupy the greatest number of keys:—

First key  *ye*, one.

 *van*, ten thousand—key above.

 *shang*, above—key below.

 *shia*, below—key at top.

 *shee*, seven—middle.

Second key  *ul*, two.

 *yun*, to speak.

 *ou*, the number five — one part above and one below.

 or  *jin*, a man—a very numerous key.

 *ché*, a young girl, ease, luxury.

 shien, commander of 1000 men.

 *king*, when, at the same time.

 koo, the mouth—a very extensive key.

 *koo*, and number ten, antiquity.

 *koo* and *ta* (great and mouth), to swallow, to devour.

These two last are among the very few, where the key and the character have any correspondence in sense, which is a great defect in the combination of characters.

Generally speaking, therefore, the dissection of a character rarely affords information towards determin-

ing its sense. It is quite surprising how a people, who could strike out so ingenious and methodical a plan, should have committed so gross a blunder, as to lose sight of all connection between the genus and the species, and to place the keys at random, as it were, regarding only the number of strokes of the character to which they are attached.

Thus what can appear to be more absurd than the two following instances:—

杏 the key, wood—the character *over* a mouth denoting an apricot; but wood *under* the mouth 呆 signifying a stupid, ignorant fellow.

Or, take the following, both being keys?—

日	the sun	*kao*, clear, white.
木	wood or tree	
木	wood	*yao*, obscure, great.
日	sun	

Some of the early Jesuits in China undertook to analyse the characters, and to draw from each separate part a concordant signification; but their object appears to have been to prove, that the two parts united generally produced some sacred mystery, while their fervid imaginations prevented their seeing the ridiculous and revolting nonsense of supposing the Chinese to entertain subjects they never heard of. The following are a few of them, extracted from a recent ingenious work of extraordinary labour and research, but not likely to be of much utility:*—

* 'Systema Phoneticum Scripturæ Sinicæ,' by Q. M. Gallery, Missionario Apostolico in China, 1841. Probably a Portuguese who writes in Latin and French.

舟 *tchuan*, a ship generally. This character is explained to contain the history of the Deluge, as in it we find the *ship* 舟, the number *eight* 八, and a mouth 口; that is to say, the ark, with eight persons, Noah, his wife, and children.

婪 *lan*, greatly to long for, to desire. This is said evidently to describe the sin of Eve, being composed of 女 *neu*, a woman, and 木 *moo*, a tree, twice repeated—undoubtedly meaning Eve (*concupiscens*), between the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

恙 *yang*, sorrow, sickness; alluding (we are told) to our Saviour; being composed of 羊 *yang*, a lamb, and 心 *sin*, the heart.—"The lamb of God, whose soul was sorrowful even to death:"—all of which, I need hardly say, is grossly absurd.

It has been stated, that every one of the forty or fifty thousand characters is a monosyllable; and the general inference is, that the spoken language must be monosyllabic; but this is not so—most languages, I believe, in their infancy, were monosyllabic, even our own English, as the Introduction to Johnson's Dictionary will show; but by combining the monosyllables, a more copious and expressive language is obtained. Thus the Chinese phonetic language is supposed to consist of no more than 400 distinct monosyllables; consequently, among their 40,000 characters, all or most of them must be expressed by the same sound. But they have the means of getting rid of this apparent difficulty. By their four intonations their 400 is capable of producing 1600; but what are these, it may be said, to

the 40,000 characters? A man in conversation makes use of the syllable *foo*, father, a monosyllabic sound which has, besides that of *father*, from twenty to thirty different significations, and each may be represented by its own distinct character, but the *sound* is the same, *foo*; if the person spoken to appears to doubt, the speaker adds another syllable to it, and says *foo-chin*, *father*, *relation*, which decides the meaning. The syllable *jin* signifies man—if a crowd of men were to be described, it would be done by *jin-mun*, men many. If a person has to say "I go to-day and return to-morrow," he will use the following: *chin-ge-lai*, this day go; *ming-ge whei-lai*, to-morrow day return (back go).

In fact, a monosyllabic language is almost impossible in the intercourse of mankind, and must of necessity grow into a polysyllabic. Take, for instance, the numerals:—

ye, ul, san, soo, ou, lieu, tchee, pa, kieu, she.
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Here, having counted ten fingers, we stop, as most nations do, civilised or savage. The Chinese thus proceed, as we do:—

she-ye, she-ul, she-san, she-soo, she-ou, she-lieu,
11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16,
she-tchee, she-pa, she-kieu, ul-she, ul-she-ye, &c., to
17, 18, 19, 20, 21,
san-she, san-she-ul, &c.;
30, 31;

and thus till they reach 100, which is *pei, pei-ye,* &c. and so advance to 1000, which is *tsien,* &c.

I have heard it said, that such a language is incapable of being reduced to anything like grammar rules. The refinement of grammar they have not, but enough to

serve the purpose of a population of many hundred millions. For instance, take the personal pronouns *go*, *ne*, *ta*, I, thou, he; *go-mun*, *ne-mun*, *ta-mun*, we, ye, they; that is, I many, thou many, he many. Of the nouns substantive they form the adjective, thus *ngai*, love, by adding *tie* is *ngaitie*, lovely or loveliness; *moi*, beauty, *moitie*, beautiful. The verb, too, is partially conjugated. The word *ngai* (or *gai*) signifies not only love, but to love: *go*, *ne*, *ta*, *gai*, I, thou, he, loves; *go lieou gai*, I loved or did love; *go you gai*, I shall or will love.

In the construction and arrangement of the written character I have said there is much ingenuity displayed, and the combination of the keys with the vast body of the language, according to the lines or strokes of each character, is methodically admirable, and affords a great help for a student to acquire the language; but the want of connection between the sense of the key and that of the character, which is almost generally neglected, shows a great lack of skill in the framers of the language, and is a great discouragement to the study of it.

In the arrangement of the keys, which we have called the *genera*, and the characters with which they are combined the *species*, nothing can be better. Being classified according to the strokes which each contain, beginning with number *one* in each class and order, an index of the keys in the dictionary points out the page in which each of them will be found, and proceeding progressively according to the number of strokes, the character wanted is immediately discovered.

The notion of the Chinese characters being similar

to the Egyptian hieroglyphics seems first to have been derived from a supposed bust of Isis found at Turin, whereon were a number of lines and figures resembling writing—which, having once concluded that they were Egyptian, much resembling the Chinese character, it was immediately set down, that the Chinese characters must be derivatives from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, between which, in point of fact, there is not the slightest resemblance.* To strengthen this conjecture it was also supposed, from some old Chinese writings, that their language was originally the picture of ideas and sensible objects. Thus, it is said, the sun ⊙ *jee*, has been changed to 日 ; the moon ☽ *yué*, to 月 ; a hill or mountain 山 *shan*, to 山; the eye 目 *moo*, &c. This, perhaps, may to a certain extent have been the case, but it must have preceded the time of Confucius, or 550 years before Christ.

Of the literature of the Chinese, I can say nothing; but Sir John Davis, in his excellent work called 'The Chinese,' will satisfy the inquirer on that and on other subjects of science and the arts.† The late Sir George Staunton has observed that "One of the most remarkable national peculiarities of the Chinese is their addiction to letters, the general prevalence of literary habits among the middling and higher orders, and the very honourable pre-eminence which, from the most remote periods, has been universally conceded to that class

* 'Lettre de Peking,' by a Jesuit Missionary, 1773.—Philosophical Transactions, vol. 59.

† 'The Chinese: a General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants,' 2 vols. 1836.

which is exclusively devoted to literary pursuits." The aphorisms or moral maxims of Confucius, greatly extended since his time, are trite and unexceptionable, resembling very much those in the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon. They have histories of transactions and events in the different dynasties, besides several general histories of the empire. They have a regular civil and penal code: of the latter, called the *Ta-tsing leu-lee*, the present Sir George Staunton has given a translation. It embraces minutely the measure of punishment for every offence; yet, large as the volume is, he says the number of different characters employed are short of 2000. Father Premare and some others who have written on the language say, that 4000 characters are more than necessary for every purpose.*

Davis has entered fully on the state of their drama, poetry, and prose fiction. In the library of the East India Company there are no less than 200 volumes of plays. A single work in forty volumes contains 100 theatrical pieces. We had temporary theatres erected at several of the cities at which we made any stay, but they afforded little amusement; the actors speak with a drawling, whining voice, half singing, half crying; the female parts are performed generally by boys and sometimes by eunuchs: they have no change of scene, and one open stage answers for every purpose. It is on this naked wooden stage that the general brandishes his sword, strides three or four times round; and while he

* My MS. Dictionary has 909 pages, each containing exactly 9 characters, or 8181 in the whole, besides the 214 keys, one half of which can be of little or no use, from their very complicated construction.

thus frets and struts his *tour* upon the stage, a horrible crash of what they call music

> "Rends with tremendous sounds your ears asunder,
> With *gongs*, drums, trumpets, blunderbuss and thunder;"

after which he stops short and tells the audience of his conquests.

Many of their plays are not devoid of interest. Premare was the first to translate some of them. His translation of the *Orphan of Chaou* supplied Voltaire with materials for one of his best tragedies—*L'Orphelin de la Chine.*

There is one mentioned by Davis, which displays strong feelings, as well in the female as in the male principal characters. In the weak periods of the Chinese government, previous to the first conquest by the Mongols, the emperor falls in love with a Chinese beauty, whom he makes his princess. A traitorous minister escapes from confinement and goes over to the Tartar camp, describes to the khan the beauties of the princess, and advises him to demand her from the emperor—the khan dispatches an envoy to say, that if he refuses, his hills and his rivers shall be exposed to ravage. The Tartar arrives, the weakness of the emperor and the persuasion of his ministers induce him to surrender the princess, but he insists on accompanying her part of the way. The parting scene, we are told, has considerable interest, and the language of the imperial lover is passionate to a degree that a foreigner is not prepared to expect. Davis must tell the rest:—

"Then at length comes the catastrophe. The Tartar retires with his prize, until they reach the banks of the river Amoor, or Saghalien.

"*Princess.*—What place is this?

"*Khan.*—It is the river of the Black Dragon, the frontier of the Tartar territories and those of China. The southern shore is the emperor's, on the northern side commences our Tartar dominion.

"*Princess* (to the *Khan*).—Great king, I take a cup of wine, and pour a libation towards the *south*—my last farewell to the emperor! [*pours the libation*]. Sovereign of Hân, this life is finished: I await thee in the next!

"With these words she throws herself into the river, and perishes."

There is another tragedy, in which the scene between Richard III. and the Lady Anne is so closely represented, that one might almost suppose Shakespeare had read the Chinese plays. In many others it may be seen, that the women are not so deficient in the qualities of mind, or so much set aside by the men, as is generally thought to be their lot.

The Chinese have also their pantomimes. Lord Macartney, in mentioning the theatrical entertainments given at Gehol,* says, "Last of all was the grand pantomime. It seemed to me, as far as I could comprehend it, to represent the marriage of the Ocean and the Earth. The latter exhibited her various riches and productions—dragons and elephants and tigers, and eagles and ostriches; oaks and pines, and other trees of different kinds. The Ocean was not behindhand, but poured forth on the stage the wealth of his dominions, under the figures of whales and dolphins, porpoises and leviathans, and other sea-monsters, besides ships, rocks, shells, sponges, and corals—all performed by concealed actors, who were quite perfect in their parts, and per-

* Journal of an Embassy, &c.

formed their characters to admiration." His Lordship then says, that these two marine and land regiments, after parading the stage in a circular procession, joined their forces, came to the front of the stage, performed a few evolutions, and then opened to the right, "to give room for the whale (who seemed to be the commanding officer) to waddle forward, and who, taking his station exactly opposite to the Emperor's box, spouted out of his mouth into the pit several tons of water, which quickly disappeared through the perforations of the floor: and the ejaculation was received with the highest applause." He adds, that most of the mandarins present were Tartars.

In works of fiction—as moral tales, romances, and novels—the Chinese may be said to excel; and, being exclusively Chinese, these may be regarded as containing true pictures of Chinese life and of the state of society as it really exists; they are therefore very popular.

Their proficiency in a variety of arts is well known in Europe by the specimens imported from China. In wood and ivory carvings, in the latter more particularly, their skill is unequalled. In the manufacture of porcelain and of silk they are still unrivalled. There is every reason to believe they were the inventors of gunpowder, and of the compass; also of printing, with the materials ink and paper; in the various kinds of the latter, and the modes of its decoration, we have not yet been able to compete with them. In the fine arts, as they are understood by us, they are deficient; their painting and sculpture are indifferent; but their general tact at imitation would seem to require only a little instruction to ensure their success in both.

From the intercourse I had with all ranks, I should say that the natural faculties of a Chinese mind are of the first order, but being misdirected in youth, and confined and confirmed to one fixed and unalterable course through life, which no exuberance of talent can venture to turn into a new channel, no progressive improvement can therefore be looked for, in moral or physical knowledge—no discovery in arts or science. The man, who would rise to eminence in the state, must perfect his knowledge in the moral maxims of Confucius, published above five hundred years before the birth of Christ.

They are, nevertheless, a mild and cheerful people, exceedingly good humoured, and willing to oblige. I allude not to those of the lowest class who mingle with foreigners, but to the respectable class of society; and with regard to these and the upper ranks, I must say that the impression left on my mind, and mostly on the minds of my companions, was—that in our estimation of the character of the Chinese, on leaving England, we were far from doing them that justice, which on a closer acquaintance we found them to deserve.

CHAPTER III.

EXCURSIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND RESIDENCE AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

SECTION I.

Introduction—The Earl of Macartney appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope—Embark with his Lordship as his Private Secretary.

ON our passage home from China, Sir George Staunton, always kind and considerate as to what concerned me personally, said that he expected I would make his house my home; and that Lord Macartney and himself would find me ample scope for employment. I thanked Sir George for this mark of his favourable opinion, and for the many acts of kindness bestowed by him, and only hoped he could spare me a fortnight or three weeks to run down to Ulverstone, to see my parents and friends; and after that I should be proud to devote my whole time and best services to himself and to Lord Macartney. "Go," he said, "by all means, and come to us on your return, when my son will be as glad to see you as I shall."

I therefore availed myself of this first opportunity of taking a run down to Ulverstone to see my parents, whom I found quite well, and delighted at my safe return. It may be supposed that, in this obscure corner of our island, a traveller who had been at Pekin, and had seen the Emperor of China, would be looked upon as a great curiosity; which I certainly seemed to be.

Among the most inquisitive was the old vicar of Aldenham, Dr. Baldwin, a very learned, but singular character, on whom devolved not only the cure of souls, but also of the bodies of his parishioners: he had studied medicine, and thought it his duty to physic gratis all who required his aid; and, it was said, he did not sparingly, and effected many cures. He was a great oddity, as the following anecdote will testify. Working in his garden one day, his old servant the beadle, or verger, came up hastily to him, calling out, "Sir, sir! you are wanted immediately at the church." On his arrival, after a hurried walk, which rather put him out of humour, a man and woman, with a small party, presented themselves near the communion-table. The old vicar, after regarding them well, opened his large book, and without further ceremony began, "I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord." "Sir, sir!" cries out the verger, "they are come to be married." "Married!" says the vicar; "I am sure, by their looks, they are more fit to be buried."

Dr. Baldwin, notwithstanding all his oddities and roughness, was busily employed at this time in translating into English the Hebrew Bible, with comments; and, as he told me, in quarrelling with his publishers for venturing to make some suggestion which he disapproved; as I afterwards understood, he died without his Bible having ever made its appearance. He took me into a room he called his library, which consisted of one mass of books strewed over the whole floor; yet, as it appeared, he could lay his hand upon any volume that was asked for.

During my short stay at Ulverstone, at least half the time was taken up by visits to Aldenham, some three

or four miles distant, on the shore of Morecambe Bay. The vicar's lady and daughter were well-informed and agreeable persons; but not, as it would appear, quite suited to his taste; for it happened one day, when I was engaged in conversation with the ladies, the old vicar, half-opening the door, called out, "I want you in the library; don't waste your time with these gossiping women." I found he had got hold of Du Halde's China; and he kept me a couple of hours at least in explaining to him the nature and construction of the Chinese language.

I had not remained much longer than a fortnight in Lancashire, when I received an intimation of my presence being required in town, on an occasion not very difficult for me to conjecture, at least, as to the nature of the subject. Sir George Staunton had been in communication with Mr. Dundas, then Secretary of State for the Home Department, who had taken a strong interest in the promotion of the embassy to the Emperor of China, and was now desirous that the public should be in possession of an authentic and circumstantial account of its proceedings, to which Sir George, from the position he held, and the interest he had taken in all that regarded China, was alone capable of doing justice. He accordingly lost no time in collecting the necessary materials from each of the suite who possessed any, and in the arrangement of his plan. Besides supplying him with a vast mass of observations, and various and miscellaneous memoranda, which I had not omitted opportunities of making, I procured from some others their respective contributions, and pointed out to Mr. Alexander, from the immense collection of sketches that he had made, such as I thought Sir George

Staunton would wish to have finished for the engraver to elucidate and embellish his work, which proceeded rapidly; and he particularly desired me carefully to look over the proof sheets, and to superintend the engravings, with the assistance of Mr. Alexander, as talented and worthy a man as ever existed, who by his merits as a draughtsman, and his numerous and beautiful drawings of all subjects relating to China, was soon afterwards appointed to the situation of superintendent of the print department in the British Museum.

In 1795, when the official narrative (for so it may be considered) of the proceedings, and of all the circumstances of Lord Macartney's embassy, by Sir George Staunton, was far advanced, the Right Hon. Henry Dundas was removed from the Home to the Colonial and War Department. About this time the Cape of Good Hope had fallen into our hands, and the new Secretary was too sagacious to overlook its vast importance to England, which indeed he had publicly announced, by his declaration in Parliament, that the Minister who should ever think of giving it up ought to lose his head. General Craig, who commanded the troops at its capture, very properly assumed the government, and was ably assisted by Mr. Hercules Ross, who had accompanied him as paymaster of the forces; but the Dutch being considered a stubborn race, and Vatherland having suffered greatly by the English in her trade and the capture of her ships and colonies, the colonists were much out of humour, and refractory.

Mr. Dundas considered it probable, therefore, that a civilian of high rank and character might be more acceptable to the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope as their governor, than a military officer. His

inclination soon pointed out the proper man; and application was made by him to the Earl of Macartney, to ascertain his feeling on the subject. His Lordship had some doubts of his being able to execute the duties, that might be required of him, to his own satisfaction, on account of his liability to gout; but, after due consideration, he agreed to accept the offer, on one condition only, which was readily acceded to—that he should be allowed to give up the government to a temporary successor, after having made his arrangements for the future conduct of the affairs of the colony; and provided he should find it expedient to return to England, that he might do so without waiting to be superseded.

In 1796, Lord Macartney accordingly received His Majesty's commission. He was allowed to take out with him whomsoever he pleased; and to make such appointments for carrying on the government, as he should find necessary or expedient, after his arrival at the Cape. The only one named in England was Andrew Barnard, Esq., as colonial secretary; who took out with him his wife, Lady Ann Barnard, the sister of Lady Margaret Fordyce, both highly distinguished for their talents and social qualities. Some, I believe, went out on speculation: my time had been so much taken up by the printers and engravers, and other occupations, that I only knew of those who were intended to go in the same ship with his Lordship. I had for some time been domesticated with Sir George Staunton, who had purchased a house in Devonshire Street, Portland Place.

Three days in the week generally, Mr. Staunton and I paid our visit to Kew Gardens, to botanise with Aiton's *Hortus Kewensis* in our hands, which, in my

future travels in South Africa, was of the greatest service to me, Kew being in possession of a large portion of the flora of the Cape of Good Hope. We examined most of the plants in the order of their systematic classification, and the only interruption we ever met with was a royal one, when George III. and his Queen came, one day, suddenly into the hothouse where we happened to be; and, of course, we retired.

Towards the end of the year 1796, when everything appertaining to the voyage was in a state of forwardness, it was announced that His Majesty's ship 'Trusty,' commissioned by Captain John Osborne, was to convey Lord Macartney to his government, and that accommodations were to be prepared for his Lordship and suite, consisting of himself and four gentlemen, who were as under:—

Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Barrow embarked as private secretaries.

Captain Collyer (son of Lord Portmore), as his Lordship's aide-de-camp.

Mr. Anguish, brother of the Duchess of Leeds, as a private gentleman, to be provided for.

Other officials found their passage in private ships.

We had, moreover, as passengers in the 'Trusty,' four post-captains, about to proceed to take the command respectively of four of the captured Dutch ships in Saldanha Bay—Captains Burlton, Edwards, Lindsey, and Rowley. Where they were exactly stowed away by Captain Osborne I never discovered, but Burlton, who was a noisy, good-humoured, facetious character, used to make his appearance on the quarter-deck in a morning half-roasted by the heat, jocosely lamenting the condition into which the British navy had fallen

when four post-captains were stowed away and broiled on the lower deck of a fifty-gun ship. We had, of course, the pleasure of their company at dinner, and it is needless to say, how much they contributed to diminish the tedium of a sea-voyage.

Early in January, 1797, we embarked at Portsmouth, and, in going through the Needles, struck upon what is called the bridge, a ledge of rocks running across a narrow part of the strait. The ship forged over it, but began to leak so much as to make our calling at Plymouth imperative. Everything was removed out of her, and we took up our lodgings at the Assembly Rooms, which we found very convenient quarters; and here we remained while the 'Trusty' had her damages repairing, an operation that consumed something more than a fortnight. Lord Macartney remained during this time at Mount Edgcumbe.

When all was ready for a fresh start we re-embarked, and had a pleasant voyage to Table Bay, and all landed, in health and high spirits, in Cape Town on the 4th of May, 1797.

On our landing, however, we found that affairs did not wear the most auspicious aspect; the boors of the grazing farms of the distant district of Graaff Reynet were in a state little short of rebellion. Reckoning upon the change of masters, they had maltreated and expelled both the landrost and the clergyman who had been sent thither by Sir James Craig. Lord Macartney was not a man to be trifled with. He sent for the two gentlemen who had been thus indignantly treated, and decided at once—in order to show the rebel boors the firmness of the British Government—to compel them to receive with proper apologies for their conduct, and to

treat with all due respect, the same two functionaries whom they had insolently sent away and whom he had immediately determined to send back. The landrost demurred, and said that his life had more than once been threatened, and that he, of course, had no desire to return; and the poor parson had been so disgusted and terrified to such a degree that no consideration, he said, should induce him ever more to show his face among such brutes.

When Lord Macartney told me the story, he concluded by saying, "I think, Barrow, you will have no objection to accompany one or both of these gentlemen to the presence of these savages, which may lead them to reflect that it must be out of tenderness to them, that I have preferred to send them one of my own family, rather than at once to bring them to their senses by a regiment of dragoons. Besides this, I have another motive for wishing you to accompany them. We are shamefully ignorant even of the geography of the country; we have no map that embraces one-tenth part of the colony; I neither know nor can I learn where this Graaff Reynet lies—whether it is five hundred or a thousand miles from Cape Town. I am further informed that the Kaffirs, with their cattle, are in possession of the Zuur-veldt, the finest grazing country in the colony, and that these people and the boors are perpetually fighting and mutually carrying off each other's cattle. These matters must no longer be tolerated, and my wish is that some adjustment should be made between these two people. Now, as information on these and various other points is my object, and my experience assures me that you are the person I can most confidently rely on to acquire for me that information; at the same time that I am fully aware

the mission may not be one of the most agreeable nature, I am sure you will not be unwilling to undertake it."

His Lordship certainly could not have proposed anything more accordant with my wishes, or more agreeable to my feelings, than to be the means and to have the opportunity of exploring a most interesting portion of the globe so little, and that little so imperfectly, known. Indeed, I was overjoyed to find myself the happy individual selected. I felt as if the lessons, I had so recently received in the botanical garden of Kew, had been taken on purpose to qualify me for exploring the rich forests of ericas and proteas, and the plentiful harvest of these and other beautiful plants, that I knew would be met with in South Africa, and for viewing them on their native soil. I therefore told his Lordship he could not have conferred on me a greater favour, and that I should immediately prepare everything necessary for the execution of the journey, and be ready to receive his instructions. The only regret I felt was the departure from the agreeable and friendly society of our little party, which was just then experiencing a heavy and unexpected misfortune, in the loss of one of them by an untimely and melancholy death.

Mr. Anguish and I lodged in the same house, near the parade. One morning I asked if he would go to hear the music: he replied, "Yes, I will follow you." Parade being nearly ended, and no Mr. Anguish making his appearance, I stepped to the house, and knocked at the door, which was opened by the daughter of the family, wringing her hands and weeping bitterly, exclaiming, "O sir, Mr. Anguish is dead!" I immediately ran into his room, and to my horror found him

on the floor in a deluge of blood, and a razor by his side. A doctor had already been sent for, and came while I was there; but the deed had been too effectually done to give the slightest hope of remaining life.

Two days before this, he had told me how very kindly Lord Macartney had behaved to him; that he had conferred on him an appointment of 1000*l.* a-year, which left him nothing more to wish for; that he was happy beyond measure, and relieved from a weight that had long oppressed him. He had been extravagant, and might perhaps have been troublesome to some of the Leeds family; but he was remarkably cheerful and agreeable on the passage out, and during the short time at the Cape. The morning on which the mournful event took place, he appeared at breakfast in good spirits as usual, and all thought him happy.

In concert with Mr. Bresler, the landrost (the parson having positively refused to go), I purchased two horses, ten oxen, and a boulder-waggon well covered with a rounded canvas roof, and fitted my cot inside. I took with me a small pocket sextant of Ramsden of five-inch radius, an artificial horizon, a case of mathematical instruments, a pocket compass, a small telescope, and a double-barrelled rifle-gun that had belonged to poor Anguish. The only books I carried with me were Aiton's 'Hortus Kewensis,' and the 'Systema Naturæ,' which were of great importance, affording me both comfort and assistance; some small quantity of wine and spirits; but I left the cooking apparatus, the kitchen utensils, and the table appendages, to the landrost, who had his own two waggons, and a third for his baggage and for the people, his servant and the Hottentot leaders of the oxen. A black boy and a smart

Hottentot took charge of my horses, and some half-dozen Hottentots were engaged to take care of the oxen.

SECTION II.

Expedition to Graaff Reynet, across the Karroo, or Great Desert, to the Drosty of Graaff Reynet.

ON the evening of the first day of July, the landrost Bresler, myself, and our train left Cape Town, and halted on the other side of the Cape Isthmus, near the foot of the Tiger Mountain, at a military post, where we waited seven hours for the waggons, in which time they had advanced through the heavy sand only fifteen miles: having left behind two of the oxen that dropped in the yoke. From a few straggling farm-houses on the skirts of the mountain we got a supply of cattle, fruits, and vegetables.

About twelve miles in advance we passed Simonsberg, whose forked Parnassian summit was said to be frequently hidden in snow. Its name, it seems, was derived, and is perpetuated, from that of an impostor, who practised on the credulity of the Governor by presenting to him an irregular mass of silver, which he pretended to have taken from a rich mine he had discovered in this mountain. The Governor was so enraptured by this rich discovery, that he proposed in council a sum of money to be advanced to Simon, to enable him to work the mine; and, in the mean time, a chain was ordered to be made of the silver already produced, from which the keys of the castle gates should be suspended: where, it is said, the chain still con-

tinues its post as a memorial of the credulity of the Governor and his council.

The Paarlberg, in the neighbourhood, is a large mass of granite, perched on the summit of a green mountain, richly embosomed by a variety of choice flowering shrubs; the tribe of Proteas are most conspicuous on its sloping sides; the species *mellifera*, in particular, perched on the verge of whose vase-shaped corollas may be seen two or three species of the little gaudy-plumed *certhia*, or creeper, sucking out the honied sweets with their long sickle-shaped bills. A great variety of heaths are met with here, and indeed almost everywhere in this part of Southern Africa; I believe not fewer than 400 species had at this time found their way to England. I discovered in proceeding, that the paucity of the human species is amply filled up by the number and variety of the brute creation, from the huge elephant of the forests to the pigmy cavy of the Table Mountain. Of the genus antelope we procured, within the Cape district, the *duyker*, the *griesbok*, and the *klipspringer* (the diver, the grizzled, and the rock-leaper). As soon as night set in, the howling wolf and the yelping jackal filled the air with their hideous and melancholy cries, which continued to pursue us in the dark at no great distance from the waggons. The inferior kinds of game appeared in abundance, wherever we passed a shrubby tract; the Cape partridges, seemingly fearless of man, ran about nearly as tame as poultry in a farm-yard, yet there was no want of hawks and butcher-birds to feed upon them.

The first shot I fired was at a *korhaen*, a fine bird, of which there were great numbers; it is of the genus otis, or bustard; they are wild, and seem to smell

powder, for they always hover over a sportsman at a great height and keep following him on the wing, uttering a violent screaming as if to give notice of the approach of danger; they are called by the Dutch *wilde pauw*, or the wild peacock, to which they have not the least resemblance.

In a cleft of the mountain called the *Roodesand Kloof*, which we had now to pass, we found the vegetation very luxuriant; the *Proteas*, the *Ericas*, the *Ricinus Palma Christi*, the *Melianthus*, and the *Calla Ethiopica*, were most abundant and in full flower. Other objects of a less pleasing nature were the multitude of baboons, which, from their concealed dens in the sides of the mountains, chattered and laughed, screamed, and uttered such horrible noises that we were not sorry to get rid of them and of the rocky pass at the same time.

The valley into which we now entered is a fertile tract, well watered and productive of corn, wine, raisins, and fruits of all kinds, for the table, and for culinary purposes. Game is here plentiful enough: bustards, partridges, snipes, ducks, and mountain geese. Here is also an animal that burrows in the ground, called the *yzerwarké*, the iron-hog (hystrix cristata), the flesh of which is esteemed a great delicacy; the aard-varké, or earth-hog (the *Myrmecophaga Capensis*), is also very common, undermines the ground, and seldom appears but in the night.

This plain of Roodesand extends about thirty miles, and is inhabited by about forty families; the soil is fertile, and they enjoy a plentiful supply of game from the surrounding hills. Hitherto I had been much gratified by the great abundance of subjects

in natural history, constantly occurring both in the vegetable and animal kingdom; the former has supplied the gardens and greenhouses of England with some of their choicest flowering plants: erica, protea, gardenia, borbonia, gorteria, gnaphalium, xeranthemum, and a multitude of other genera, among which are species peculiar to the Cape. Of the protea, the 'Hortus Kewensis' describes twenty-four species, of which I find eleven species marked in the margin, as having been seen by me in this district.

At the head of the Hex River valley, we were to take leave of every human habitation for at least sixteen days, the usual time required to cross the dreary and barren desert known by the name of the Great Karroo, on which nothing, as I was informed, is to be had except ostrich eggs and antelopes. It was therefore necessary to lay in a supply of provisions; and still more so of fresh oxen, which required two days to provide. We were here joined by two grazing farmers of Graaff Reynet, as arranged; each of them had a waggon and a numerous family of children, Hottentots, and Kaffirs. We proceeded on the 12th of July, ascended the last mountain which skirts the desert, and which might be supposed to rise to the height of about 1500 feet in the distance of six miles. Beyond it the face of the country presented a new aspect: an uniformly rugged surface on every side, no diversity of objects, no hills clothed with verdure, no traces of man, not a tree, not a shrub, appeared to break the uniformity of the surface, not a bird or a beast to enliven the dreary waste. A little vegetation—stunted, shrivelled, scattered thinly over a hard surface of brownish clay, yet chiefly of the succulent tribe: the mesembry-

anthemum, euphorbia, cotyledon, and crassula, of all which the Cape herbarium contains a multitude of species, not less than seventy of the first mentioned. Thermometer at sunrise 33°, in the evening down to the freezing-point; in the sun 80°, in the shade 55°.

On the 14th, we halted near a small spring, its margin affording a few rushes and succulent plants. A Cape butcher enlivened our encampment with about 500 head of cattle and 5000 sheep, which he had purchased in the Sneuwberg; the former miserably poor, the latter in pretty good condition. On the 15th, at the Riet Fontyn, or Reed Spring, we met with a thicket of *doorn-boom*, or thorn-tree, a species of mimosa, armed from its summit to the ground with enormous double thorns: on decent soils it forms to most animals an impenetrable thicket. The following day brought us to the bed of the Buffalo River, fifty yards in width, with scarcely water enough to form a rill: the desert around us more sterile and naked than before; the leaves of the few plants so shrivelled up as to give no signs of life. Ten miles further was a small rivulet surrounded by a flat sandy marsh overgrown with rushes, amidst springs impregnated with salt; the salsola, or saltwort, was growing here in great abundance: patches of naked sand were partially covered with a powdery substance not unlike snow; by boiling some, mixed with the sand, I procured crystals of pure prismatic nitre. From the ashes of the salsola and the atriplex albicans almost all the soap used in the colony is made.

The Riet-berg, or Reed-hill, to the southward of our track, had so tempting an appearance, that I determined to go out of our direct line (there was no path) to enjoy the beautiful contrast. Once fairly off the

Karroo, our road lay through clusters of crassulas and aloes, the latter rising above all others in spikes of blood-red blossoms not less than fifteen feet in height. Beyond this flowery ridge, we had to cross six or seven miles over a naked plain, when we encamped on the Wolga Fontyn, where was another range of hills covered with frutescent plants; here we started a herd of fourteen large buffaloes that had been rolling in the spring. For three days' journey the surface had entirely changed, and had become finely marked alternately with bold hills, plains, gradual swells, and hollows, mostly covered with a forest of shrubbery; but an inconvenience was strongly felt, for want of space to bind up the oxen, and for the tents and waggons; worst of all, however, for want of water, which the cattle had tasted only once in three days—the thermometer generally from 75° to 80° in the shade; nor were they safe in this dense forest, where beasts of prey appeared to be numerous. We had on every side a nocturnal concert of the roaring of lions, the bellowing of buffaloes, the howling of wolves, and the yelping of jackals, to which was joined the timid lowing of our oxen.

Among the low hills which surround this place we met with a small herd of zebras and quachas, both animals exceedingly wild, and the former very ferocious. The Dutch boors have no interest, and it may be added, neither the temper nor the patience required to tame them, yet it has been done. I saw at the landrost's of Zwellendam, a male and female zebra, that, while young and attended to, were mild and docile; but by neglect, and probably teasing, had become exceedingly vicious. I was there told that one of the