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AUTO-BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR
OF
SIR JOHN BARROW, BART.,
LATE OF THE ADMIRALTY;
INCLUDING
REFLECTIONS, OBSERVATIONS, AND REMINISCENCES
AT HOME AND ABROAD,
FROM EARLY LIFE TO ADVANCED AGE.

· “ Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.”

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

—
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P R E F A C E.

It may naturally be supposed that he who can sit down, in his eighty-third year, to write a volume of 500 pages, must have been urged on by some powerful motive to undertake such a task at so advanced a period of life; when the faculties of mind and body may be expected, in a certain degree, to have become impaired. I had a double motive for setting about the task:—the first was to gratify what I knew to be the wish of my family; the second, to gratify myself, by taking a wide range in recalling the remembrances of long by-gone years; quite certain that by so doing I should be able to realize the motto of my book, and say “*hæc olim meminisse juvabit.*” But I may also allege a third motive of gratification: that of expressing publicly the many acts of kindness and consideration I have experienced from numerous friends, especially from those to whose patronage I am indebted for the good fortune that has attended me through life.

To me, indeed, the labour of putting together the present volume has proved rather a delightful exercise,

by affording the opportunity of recalling to my memory the youthful companions of early days, and the friends of maturer age, together with the many agreeable associations that crowd into such recollections. If an excuse were wanting for this volume, it might be suggested that, as the lives of so many excellent characters have passed under my *review*, it is but reasonable that I should take a *review* of my own, though less distinguished; and I promise it shall be a true and a faithful one.

Long as my life has been spared, it has passed away in a state of what I may call uninterrupted health—in the full enjoyment of activity of body, and sanity of mind—*mens sana in corpore sano*; and, by the mercy of Providence, I have never had occasion to call in the aid of the doctor but once, and he was a Chinese, practising in the city of *Ting-hae*, in the island of *Chu-san*. A great portion of the first forty years of my life was spent in rambling among the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland, or angling for trout in the mountain-streams; in sea-voyages, or in pedestrian exercises in foreign countries: the next forty years mostly at Charing-Cross, in close confinement for the greater part of the day, and in such sedentary exercise of the mind, as is required of a Secretary of the Admiralty; whose talent may, perhaps, be estimated by some, who know little about it, to lie more in the hand than the head. I may lay claim, however, to some small portion of mental exercise, in

addition to, and in the midst of, the routine drudgery of office, by the production of six quarto volumes, four octavos, three or four smaller ones, about a dozen articles in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and close upon two hundred articles in the 'Quarterly Review;' which may, perhaps, be considered as counting for something in the way of literary labour.

These are the kind of mental exercises, conjointly with personal exertions, that have tended to keep up a flow of health and of animal spirits much beyond the usual period of human existence; and which have encouraged me, even at this late hour of the day, to make trial of my strength in the same beaten track I have trod over for so many years; being not a little induced, as I have before hinted, by a wish to put on record the expression of a feeling of gratitude towards my benefactors; to state briefly the acts or opinions of those under whom and with whom I have served; and moreover, though it may occasionally wear the appearance of vanity, to record the opinions also, in their own words, that they may have entertained of me. No such feeling as vanity, however, can with justice be laid to my charge. I am but too conscious that, in my literary labours—the sources of my amusement—there will be found a great defect both in point of style and correctness of language. The hasty composition of official letters and documents has, I am free to confess, been followed up by a too careless habit of skimming over even graver subjects *currente*

calamo. This is a weak excuse, but I have no other to plead, with regard to the following pages, in claiming the indulgence of the *gentle reader*.

The volume contains—

1. Reminiscences of early life, entirely from memory.
2. Notices and observations on China and the Chinese, from Peking to Canton.
3. Notices and observations on the Colonists, the Kaffirs, the Hottentots, and Bosjesmans of Southern Africa, from personal intercourse; and on the Natural History of S. Africa.
4. Brief notices of thirteen different Administrations, Whig and Tory, of the Navy.
5. Retirement from public life, and employment of leisure time.
6. The origin and successful establishment of the ‘Quarterly Review.’

NOTE.—The small portrait is taken from one of a larger size engraved by Messrs. Graves, from the original painted by Mr. Lucas; and I beg to express my thanks to Mr. Lucas, and also to Messrs. Graves, for their readiness in affording the accommodation of placing it as a frontispiece to this volume.

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* To attempt a description of the events and transactions that occurred in the course of forty years, and which are recorded in the Admiralty, would require another volume even to do little more than to enumerate them. Briefly as they are touched upon in the present volume, they occupy more than 200 pages. In the *Contents*, therefore, it was deemed sufficient to name the parties in each of the thirteen Administrations on whom the responsibility is supposed chiefly to rest.

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AN

AUTO-BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.

Education and Miscellaneous Employment, chiefly at Home.

IN the extreme northern part of North Lancashire is the market-town of Ulverstone, and not far from it the obscure village of Dragleybeck, in which a small cottage gave me birth on the 19th June, 1764; being the only child of Roger and Mary Barrow. The said cottage had been in my mother's family nearly two hundred years, and had descended to her aunt, who lived in it to the age of eighty, and in it my mother died at the advanced age of ninety.

To the cottage were attached three or four small fields, sufficient for the keep of as many cows, which supplied our family with milk and butter, besides reserving a portion of land for a crop of oats. There was also a paddock behind the cottage, called the hemp-land, expressive of the use to which it had at one time been applied, but now converted to the cultivation of

potatoes, peas, beans, and other culinary vegetables; which, with the grain, fell to the labour of my father, who, with several brothers, the sons of an extensive farmer, was brought up to that business in the neighbourhood of the Lakes; and three or four of the sons held large farms under the Devonshire family—Cavendish and Burlington.

At the bottom of the hemp-land runs the beck or brook, a clear stream that gives the name to the village, and abounds with trout.

Contiguous to the cottage was also a small flower-garden, which, in due time, fell to my share; that is, while yet a young boy I had full charge of keeping up a supply of the ordinary flowers of the season. I did more; I planted a number of trees of different kinds, which grew well, but, long after I left home, I understood that many of them had been destroyed by the turning of a road. One of them, however, it appears, has survived, which must be now from seventy to seventy-five years old; and the mention of it kindles in my bosom a spark of gratitude, which an imputation of vanity even will not allow me to suppress. The following extract of a letter, received in 1844, from an aged female cousin, will tell the incident better than I can. My correspondent says,—“Mr. Gilpin” (who is an able and accomplished gentleman residing in Ulverstone) “called to say he was come to take a glass of wine with us, to drink your health in honour; for that day it was your eightieth birthday, and he was sure there was not one gentleman to be found so clever and active as yourself; he was sure you were like one of fifty; he told us that he and Mr. Braddyll were going to put a colour or flag into the *rowan-tree* that you planted when a boy, which

is a fine tree full of red berries, and hoped we would go down to see it. We went down to see it; and I assure you, sir, they had put a dashing flag brought from the Priory. I asked the girls at the cottage if one of them was married. She said—No; Mr. Braddyll and Dr. Gilpin had put it up, it being Sir John Barrow's birthday, and had treated them all, that they might drink your health. That evening Mr. Gilpin had a party of gentlemen to supper, in honour. There is a new wall round the cottage, but the tree was not moved from its place, and the colour hung gracefully from it. There was one lady was glad that she had lived to see it,—that was Mrs. Harrison; she was Miss Betsy Briggs, sister to your old friend. The flag was brought by Mr. Sunderland from the capture of Acre. I am sure that all in Ulverstone must feel the greatest respect for you, for the lane to the cottage was, during the day, the general walk to look at the flag, and to wish health and long life to Sir John Barrow."

I was sensibly affected with this mark of kindly feeling towards one who, from circumstances, had not visited his native place for more than fifty years. All my old schoolfellows had long ago departed this life. My little property has equally, long since, been disposed of. The younger and surviving branches of the family never knew me, and all that keeps up the recollection of the townspeople are a few charities, with which my name, and those of my family here, are associated; and of which there is one in particular I have reason to be proud of—the establishment of a Sunday-school. Just after leaving school, in a conversation with a young friend, we lamented that there was no such thing as a Sunday-school, for the benefit

of poor children, and I suggested that we should propose one—but how? There was no newspaper—not even a printing-press. We, however, drew up a plan, and I undertook to stick it up on the market-cross, the night before market-day. We saw that it excited great attention; it was talked of; a person offered himself to undertake it; and it succeeded so well, that to the Ulverstone Sunday-school I and some of my family are at this time annual subscribers.

My native town of Ulverstone is now, and has long been, in a flourishing state. Situated on the shore of Morecambe Bay, with which it communicates by a canal, the trade in copper and iron ores, and various products of the neighbouring hills, is very considerable. Its proximity to the waters of Windermere, Coniston, and others of Cumberland and Westmoreland, has made it the key, or head-quarters, to those highly picturesque lakes. It can now boast of more than one public library, of several printing-presses, of literary and religious societies, and of a good grammar-school, besides others which are called National Schools. It has a daily mail-coach over the sands to Lancaster, and another three times a-week to Whitehaven. It is lighted with gas, has an abundant supply of good spring-water, and a clear stream has been conducted through the town. Had Mr. West, an intelligent Catholic priest, who resided here, and wrote the history of Furness, been now alive, he might with justice have styled Ulverstone, as he did in that work, “the London of Furness.” He might also have spoken with great truth of the salubrity of the air and the healthiness and longevity of its inhabitants: my good mother and her aunt were striking examples of it.

I cannot forego the opportunity now afforded me to say a word in favour of my native place, where my earliest, and I believe my happiest, days were passed; and, having briefly stated what I have learned from others, I proceed to the subject of my Memoir.

The only scholastic education I received was at the Town Bank grammar-school, under the Rev. William Tyson Walker, curate of the parish church, and an excellent classical scholar, educated at Trinity College, Dublin. Before this the Town Bank school had fallen into the hands of an old gouty gentleman, of the name of Ferdinand (usually called *Fardy* by the boys) Hodgson, whose wife kept a sort of stationer's and bookseller's shop. His knowledge of Latin extended little beyond the *Syntaxis*, *As in præsentis*, and *Propria quæ maribus*, &c.; any further progress could only be had by a removal to the distance of sixteen miles, to the Free Grammar-school at Hawkshead, founded in 1584. Fardy Hodgson was particularly kind to me; and, being pleased one day at the manner in which I had performed my task, he took me by the hand into his shop, and spreading on the counter a great number of books for young people, he desired me to look at them and choose any one I pleased, as a present. I pitched upon a small History of the Bible, with wood-cuts, which so pleased the old man, that he foretold to my parents that I should prove a treasure to them. Trifling as this was, it produced its effect, and has on many occasions recurred to my memory.

Poor Fardy having given up the school, some of the leading persons of Ulverstone, desirous of affording to their children a better education than had hitherto been available, came to an agreement, in order to make the

management of the Town Bank school more worth Mr. Walker's while, to place it on a better footing, and to increase the terms of the schooling. He most readily agreed to what was proposed; and among the many boys, transferred to the care of Mr. Walker, I had the good fortune to be one—was entered when in my eighth year, continued under his instruction until my thirteenth, when I had advanced to the head of the school; having read Homer, and Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Livy, Horace, Virgil, &c. Walker was no mean poet, and excelled in the recitation of verse or prose. He wrote a pleasing descriptive poem in praise of Ireland, and of Trinity College in particular. I recollect it opened with—

“Generous and brave, Ierné, are thy sons.”

His great delight was to instruct the upper boys to repeat passages from Homer and Virgil, and also from the best English poets. I gained some smattering of reputation for my knowledge of Shakspeare, and for the manner in which I could repeat many of the finest passages in his tragedies, and which I retained to a late period of life—some of them even till now—for this tact I am solely indebted to the instruction and encouragement of Mr. Walker.

Annexed to the Town Bank grammar-school was a separate room for those who were desirous of being instructed in arithmetic and mathematics, taught by an old gentleman, who, being a sort of perambulating preceptor, used to pay his annual visit of about three months. From him I received instruction in those branches of mathematics, which are most easily attained under a master, such as algebra, fluxions, conic sections—Euclid needed no master; and I very soon

had an opportunity of acquiring the practical application of many of the theorems and problems to the common purposes of life.

I may here mention one or two circumstances that occurred about the time and shortly after I left school, and which, trivial as they may appear, exerted a considerable influence on the future events of my life. Things of common occurrence are indeed frequently the precursors of important consequences, though not so regarded at the time. Just as I was about to leave the school, a gentleman, who had the management of Colonel Braddyll's estates in Yorkshire, Mr. Cottam, well known in that county, called on the master of Town Bank to know if he could recommend two of the youths, best-informed in arithmetic and geometrical calculations, to assist him in taking an accurate and complete survey of the Colonel's very extensive estate of Conished Priory, near Ulverstone. He immediately named Zaccheus Walker, his nephew, and myself. We were accordingly sent for, and received explanations of what would be required of us; but as neither of us felt qualified to go alone, we consented on the understanding that all should be done entirely under his assistance and supervision.

We remained at the Priory, as well as I now can recollect, about two months, in which time we completed the survey, to the satisfaction, as I was afterwards informed, of Colonel Braddyll; and, I may add, for my own part, to my incalculable benefit derived from witnessing the practised methods of conducting a survey of the various descriptions of surface—for it contained all—level, hilly, woodland, and water; and it was not the less useful to me, from the practical

knowledge acquired of the theodolite, and of the several mathematical instruments in the possession of Mr. Cottam.

In fact, during our sojourn at the Priory, I so far availed myself of the several applications of these instruments, that, on arriving in London, some years afterwards, I extended my knowledge of them, so as to draw up and publish a small treatise, to explain the practical use of a case of mathematical instruments, being my first introduction to the press, for which I obtained twenty pounds; and was not a little delighted to send my first fruits to my mother.

Another circumstance occurred, on leaving school, apparently of little importance, to which, notwithstanding, I must, to a certain extent, trace back my future fortunate progress in life, as will hereafter be shown. In the meantime, the simple fact will be enough for me to notice. Five or six of the upper boys agreed to subscribe for the purpose of purchasing a celestial globe, and also a map of the heavens, which were lodged in the mathematical apartment of Town Bank school, to be made use of jointly or separately, as should be decided on. Our cottage at Dragleybeck was distant a mile or more, yet such was my eagerness of acquiring a practical knowledge of the globe and the map, that I never omitted a star-light night, without attending to the favourite pursuit of determining certain constellations, and their principal stars, for one, two, or three hours, according as they continued above the horizon. It was a pleasure then, and a profit thereafter.

About this time, the son of a farmer on the Priory estate, a midshipman in the navy, made his appearance

at home, with the loss of an arm, sustained in action with the enemy; a remarkably fine full-grown young man. His object now was the church; but he was soon apprized that, being thus mutilated, he was disqualified from officiating in some of the duties of a parish priest, and could not probably succeed in obtaining ordination. He persisted, however, in pursuing his studies to qualify himself for the situation at least of private tutor. Having much communication with him, as a near neighbour, and he being, moreover, a most agreeable and intelligent young man, we became great friends, and soon discovered we could be of mutual assistance to each other. I found him an apt scholar, and was of some use in brushing up his mathematics, and more so his classics, while he informed me of the mysteries of navigation, and of a man-of-war. Even what I then learned might be useful, should it be my lot to betake myself to a seafaring life, and so I considered it; while my friend, some time afterwards, had interest enough to procure the patronage of the Hornby family of Winwick, became tutor to the children, and finally, by his talents, succeeded, through the Derby interest, in obtaining curate's orders; and in that capacity, I believe, continued to serve in Winwick Church till his death. I have no doubt that the present Admiral Hornby was a pupil of the Reverend Giles Chippindale.

For the twelvemonth, or thereabouts, that I remained at home, the employment of my time was directed towards something that was useful or curious. Of the latter, I had fallen in with an account of Benjamin Franklin's electrical kite; and a kite being a very common object with schoolboys, and a string steeped in salt-water, with a glass handle to it, not difficult to be had, I speedily

SECTION II.

Residence and Employment in Liverpool.

I NOW began seriously to reflect on my situation as far as regarded myself, but much more so with reference to my good parents, particularly as the views I took, regarding the future employment of my life, did not exactly correspond with theirs. My father, having been brought up among the Cumberland farmers of the mountains, had imbibed their notions respecting the clergy, whom they venerated so highly, as to persuade themselves that salvation was most likely to be secured to the family, by the introduction of one of the sons into the Church. No wonder, therefore, he should be anxious to educate me for the clerical profession. I had a serious objection to enter into holy orders; I did not conceive that I was calculated for that sacred profession; besides, without a college education, there was no chance of my being ordained, and I pressed this point on my father's attention. A friend, however, he said, had told him that, at a small expense, he could send me, as a *servitor*, or *sizar*, to one of the universities. My parents and myself were most regular attendants at church; and though of a serious turn of mind, as I was by nature and disposition, I could not bring myself to think, that I ever should be reconciled to the clerical office, and therefore was desirous rather, discouraging as the prospect seemed, to take my chance a little longer, in the hope that something might turn up, to afford me employment more suitable to my feelings.

About this time, when I had just passed my fourteenth year, a lady from Liverpool called one day at the cottage, when I happened to be at home, and said, without ceremony, that she came from a friend of ours, and that her visit was to me; that her husband's name was Walker, the proprietor of a considerable iron-foundry in Liverpool; and that in the course of her visit to the north, he had wished her to look out for an active and intelligent youth, to superintend the workmen and keep the accounts of the factory, under the guidance and instruction of one who, from age and infirmity, could not long continue his employment; that the youth would live in the family; that they had one son of about ten years of age, who, being of a weakly habit, it was their object to give him instruction at home, at least for some time to come. "Now," she said, "from the character I have heard of you at Ulverstone, and from age and appearance (perhaps a little too young), I think you would answer our purpose; and I may say, I am prepossessed in your favour; and if you think that such an appointment would suit you, I will write to my husband to mention you to him."

This flattering conversation could not fail to captivate at once a youth of fourteen; and having no relish for an inactive life, seeing no prospect of immediate employment, and anxious to relieve my parents from the increasing expense of maintaining me at home, I thanked Mrs. Walker, and said I should most gratefully accept an offer so kindly made, should Mr. Walker be of the same opinion with herself. The offer was made, on the lady's reaching home, and I lost no time

in proceeding to Liverpool and joining my new friends and new abode in St. Thomas's Buildings.

The establishment of the iron-foundry was not very extensive, but it supplied labour to a considerable number and variety of workmen—foremen, moulders, carpenters, blacksmiths, and model-makers. There was also machinery for boring cannon, and other purposes. My duty was to overlook the workmen, to keep an account of the labour performed and to enter it in the books, to pay the weekly wages, to make the entries of all the metals received and of the manufactured goods delivered. I signed articles binding myself to serve three years; my salary was just enough to keep me handsomely in clothing and a little pocket-money.

Not long after my arrival, among the visitors of the manufactory was an Italian, from Naples, of the name of Leonardi, whose business in Liverpool, he told me, was to ascend in a balloon, the first he believed that had been sent up in England—at least, with any person in it; and as his was intended to be inflated with inflammable gas, he wished to know if he could be supplied with iron filings to produce it. We were just now boring up old guns for the merchants, war being declared against France and Spain, and there were plenty of borings to spare. This new species of flight into the air took hold of my fancy; the borings were supplied, and, with the permission (not readily granted) of Mr. Walker, I prevailed on Leonardi to let me accompany him, to which he made no objection, provided the balloon would rise with both, which was a point he could not say: however, when the day of trial came, the balloon was found wanting; it rose tardily

with Leonardi alone, and I was to be content to remain below.

I passed two years very comfortably, Mr. and Mrs. Walker being excellent people, and very kind to me ; and I found the little son very tractable and docile, and had it in my power to be of some use to him. In the last year of my servitude, Mr. Walker expressed to me his great satisfaction, and said, as his health was breaking down, and would disable him soon from looking after his business, he was thinking of transferring it to his son, and that, if I agreed to continue, my name would appear in the concern, and I should be entitled to a certain share in the profits. To this I could not have the least objection. But, almost immediately after, and before the expiration of my time, he caught a very serious illness, which carried him off in a few days.

It now became a question with the widow, whether she, in conjunction with her son, and with my assistance, should undertake to carry on the business, or whether she should dispose of the whole concern. By the advice of her friends the latter plan was adopted, and probably she was well advised ; for a youth of twelve and of a sickly habit, and myself also a youth under seventeen, might not be deemed competent to conduct a concern of that magnitude. It was therefore disposed of to a Liverpool ironmonger, who immediately offered me terms to continue ; but being a stranger to me, and not likely that I should be considered in the same friendly light as with the Walkers, I thought it best to decline his offer.

During my residence in Liverpool, I had an opportunity of seeing, what very few have witnessed, Mrs. Siddons acting a romping character in a farce (Charlotte,

I think, the name is), the 'Apprentice.' The company had just arrived under her husband, Mr. Siddons, and the bill of fare had been distributed. The lady intended for the character failed to make her appearance, and Mrs. Siddons volunteered to take it, after having performed her part in a tragedy. Having never yet heard of Mrs. Siddons, she being, I believe, but just come out, I paid no attention to her acting. Her reputation, however, was speedily established; and having mentioned the incident in London, it was doubted, and thought to have been a mistake. As I had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Siddons occasionally, many years after, I once took the liberty of asking her the question, observing to her, that my account of it had been doubted, and that some other had been mistaken for her. She replied, that she was then very young, and was often put into characters neither suitable nor agreeable to her.

SECTION III.

A Voyage to the Greenland Whale Fishery.

I WAS now released from all engagements, and had to consider very seriously what line of life I should be able to undertake, and as would most likely procure for me the means of an independent subsistence. I could no longer bear the idea of being burdensome to my parents; besides, a life spent in idleness and inactivity would be, to me, a life of misery. While pondering over various plans of pro-

ceeding, there happened at this time to arrive from the West Indies a gentleman of the name of Potts, a relation of Mrs. Walker, whose health had suffered much from the climate. He was in partnership with some Liverpool merchants concerned in the Greenland whale fishery, and having consulted Dr. Lyon, an eminent physician, he was recommended to take a voyage to Greenland, in one of the ships of the company; and at once decided to do so.

One day, being at Mrs. Walker's, I met Captain Potts there, who, finding I was out of employment, and Mrs. Walker having spoken favourably of me, said that, if I had no objection to fill up a few months of my leisure time by taking a trip with him to the frozen seas, he would be glad to give me a berth in the ship, of which he was part-owner, as he meant to take command of her himself; that such as his table afforded I should share with him. Nothing, at the present moment, could have occurred more opportune, or more consonant with my wishes, and I embraced his kind offer with eagerness. When all matters for the voyage were in readiness, towards the end of March, we embarked in the good ship 'Peggy,' and put to sea. We carried out a medical gentleman, whose services fortunately were not required, my friend the captain having speedily recovered, and no sickness having occurred among the crew.

Being naturally of an inquisitive turn of mind, everything new was sure to engage my attention. All the manœuvres of the ship, reefing, steering, and heaving the lead; the measuring the ship's way, and the taking and working an observation for the latitude—of all these I knew something superficially from my friend

Chippendale, but I now observed them with a practical eye; and Potts encouraged me in putting them to actual practice: he appointed a smart young man to instruct me how to steer, to assist him in reefing a sail, to take azimuths and altitudes, which I knew pretty well how to work—in short, in all the tactical parts of navigation; and the more I learnt of it the more I liked it.

When we arrived at the south-east ice, which in the early part of the season is found to extend from the east coast of Greenland to the west coast of Norway, the appearance of nature was new to me; every side of us being an unlimited plain of ice, on which were innumerable herds of seals strewed upon the surface, like so many sheep scattered over the downs. But our object was the whale, and to get at him we must proceed to the northward, in which we succeeded by taking advantage of openings in the field of ice between the detached hummocks, that were not much larger, however, than those I had occasionally seen in the river Mersey.

In proceeding to the northward, we passed, at some distance, Cherry Island, which, we found from an old book that Potts had provided, was first discovered by Barentz in the year 1575, and named by him Bear Island, from his having killed near it one of these animals, not however a bear, but what is called a morse, or walrus; but, some eight or nine years afterwards, when one Bennet saw this island, he changed its name to Cherie, after the worshipful Francis Chérie, who had sent out the ship; and the conversion into Cherry, as we found it, was natural enough. The multitude of these morses that were afterwards found heaped toge-

ther on the shores and the surrounding ice of this island is almost incredible ; but anything may be believed of the fecundity of Spitzbergen, and its contiguous islands, in all varieties of the animal creation, after reading the interesting and instructive narrative of Captain Beechey.

We kept so far from the shore, that we saw very few of the bears, foxes, or walruses, or of the herds of rein-deer that browse on the shores and low islands of Spitzbergen ; but since the discoveries that have been made and published by the late Northern voyagers, the little that could now be said on a whaling voyage, made nearly seventy years ago, would afford neither novelty nor amusement, and therefore to the fishery I shall chiefly confine myself.

We had not advanced far along the coast of Spitzbergen, before the look-out man called out with a stentorian voice *Fall! fall!*—the notice of a whale being within chace-distance. All was instantly noise and bustle, and apparent confusion throughout the ship—the boats were manned, and three or four persons only left on board. Eager to partake in the chace, I asked my friend the captain to allow me to go and pull an oar. He said “By all means,” and placed me under the boat-steerer of one of the craft. The whale kept blowing and moving on gradually, as if unconscious of what was about to betide her, when the harpooner, standing in the bow of the first boat, darted his harpoon into the prominent part of its back : immediately up went the broad and dangerous tail, and down the monster plunged into the deep, making the side of the boat smoke again by the rapidity with which it drew out the line. In the meantime the rest of the boats spread themselves, to be

ready for its rising; and before it could again plunge, a second boat succeeded in placing a second harpoon in the large carcase. Away it again started, and the loose boats hooked on to the two fast ones, and the increased resistance caused its pace to slacken.

Now was the time for the spikesoneer, with his long lance, to pierce the vital parts, and he did it most effectually, as was proved by the quantity of water mixed with blood that was thrown out of the blow-hole, when a general shout arose, "Her chimney is on fire." She still endeavoured to continue her run; but, smarting with an accumulation of wounds, and weakened, as it no doubt must have been, by the great loss of blood, together with the weight of the boats she had to drag, its pace gradually slackened, and life, by the repetition of the lance, was, ere long, extinct.

The next process is to fix the lines to the body, so as to admit of its being towed to the ship—to be placed there belly upwards longitudinally, close alongside, and properly secured, by being made fast to the bow and stern and also to the midships. It is then marked out by longitudinal and lateral lines, as directions to the cutters-up, a selection of the men, who stand upon the body of the animal to cut out, with their large sharp knives, the masses of blubber; and these being sent upon deck are again cut into strips and put into casks through the bung-holes, which are then closed up and not opened till the arrival of the ship at her destined port. The process on board, with plenty of saw-dust, is perfectly cleanly and void of all smell; what it may be on the discharge of cargo, after a voyage home and exposure to warm weather, I know not.

While the process of cutting is going on, the mul-

titude of the gull tribe which creep upon and cover the carcase of the animal is perfectly astonishing, but Beechey tells us that the sea about Spitzbergen is as much alive as the land. In fact, the quantity of malmouks, burgomesters, strontjaggers, and kittiwakes that literally take possession of the animal is quite amusing; and such is their voracity for blubber that whole swarms of them suffer themselves to be knocked on the head, by the crew, with sticks or any other weapon they can lay hold of.

The whale, when physically considered, is a most extraordinary animal; and it required all the ingenuity, the practical knowledge, and the indefatigable labour and thought, of that greatest naturalist of his day, Linnæus, to give it a proper place in the classification of his *Systema Naturæ*. He found that the cetaceous tribe of animals had nothing whatever common or peculiar to fish, except that they lived in the same element; he discovered that their heart was doubly cellular, and circulated *warm* blood; that they breathed by means of lungs, and that they suckled their young—none of which qualities are partaken by fish;—that they had besides a horizontal tail, which fish have not; no scales on the body, as fish have; and as he had with wonderful skill and diligence divided all Nature into its separate and peculiar classes, as far as known or could be acquired, he placed the whale among those animals that suckle their young, that is to say, in the *order* of the *mammalia*.

The structure of the throat and mouth of the whale incapacitates this huge animal from eating or devouring fish, though living in the same element with itself; the roots of its two lower jaws nearly meet and close the

whole throat, so that nothing but the small tribe of *clios*, small shrimps, and worms, mollusca, or marine insects that abound in the Arctic seas, can serve it as food.

Of the six whales which we succeeded in striking, one of them escaped, but not before it had very nearly occasioned us some mischief. On receiving the wound of the harpoon it made direct towards a field of ice, and went down under it, but as when wounded they never remain long under water, all the boats came close to the edge of the ice; it arose and received a second harpoon, and in plunging down threw up its enormous tail just under one of the boats, which it cast upon the field of ice, with six persons in it, of whom I was one: we none of us received much harm, but the side of the boat was shattered. The creature never again came from under the ice; one of the harpoons was drawn out, and to save the remaining line of the other, it was decided to cut it.

I preserved, with some little trouble, a couple of jaw-bones, which were sent to Ulverstone and set up as gate-posts to the entrance of a small croft close to our cottage. I wished also to have procured a couple of the long spiral horns of the monodon monoceros or sea-unicorn, which make handsome bed-posts, but was unable to succeed. Linnæus says the *dentes* or horns of this animal are two in the young ones, but in the older ones single. Doubting this to be the case, I asked the late Sir Everard Home, some years afterwards, at the Royal Society club, if he had ever met with a sea-unicorn with more than one horn: he promptly replied, yes; that they were all born with two, but that one only grew out, and that the other was supposed to be kept in its socket, as a reserve to supply

the place of the former, should any accident happen to it, in which case it grew out. Wonderful as we know, in a multitude of instances, the provisions of Nature are to supply defects of accident, I appeared still to doubt, when Sir Everard said, "Mr. Cliff shall bring the skull of a narwhal to the Admiralty, and show you the young horn in its socket:" he did so, and with a hammer and chisel, and after nearly two hours' labour, he chipped off the part of the skull that covered it, when there certainly did appear a perfect embryo enclosed; but another question occurred—the old horn had been broken off within a foot of the skull; why did not the young one come out to take its place? The answer, of course, was ready: the old horn might have met with the accident subsequent to the death of the animal, or, as more likely, at the time of its death. I had nothing further to say to my friend Home but to apologise for my incredulity.

In the course of our progress to the northward, and when about half a degree to the southward of Hakluyt's Headland, a strong breeze of wind, from the north, brought down such immense masses of floes or fields of ice, with hummocks approaching in size to icebergs intervening, that we were hastily compelled to make all snug, and prepare for being beset. We had six or seven sail of whalers in sight, each of them doing the same thing; and in the course of a few hours we were surrounded, and so completely beset in the ice, that, in whatever direction we cast our eyes, the horizon terminated in one unbroken surface of that element, with the exception, however, of the seven valleys and the dark crags of Spitzbergen about Magdalena Bay, to which we were opposite; each of these valleys being

filled with an immense glacier, known to the Dutch as the Seven Icebergs (*seven ysgebergte*). It would seem, however, from the accounts of late voyagers, that four only of these icebergs or glaciers are now remaining, and that one of these, Captain Beechey says, "from its peculiar appearance and position, seems as if a very small matter would detach it from the mountain, and precipitate it into the sea." In another part of the coast, it is said, the firing of a gun brought down from the glacier such a mass, as to form a floating iceberg in the sea.

But to return to the situation in which our ship was—beset and helpless. The weather fortunately was tranquil, and on the fifth day a change of wind to the south, increasing to what may be called a brisk gale, by meeting the northerly current, caused so much confusion in the ice, and so many heavy blows to the poor 'Peggy,' that apprehensions were at one time entertained she would not escape without damage. The ice, however, broke up into numerous masses, with channels of open water between them, like so many streets in a town, the whole of which in the course of three days were swept away to the northward and entirely disappeared.

Some of the crew recognised a ship not far from us to be the 'Betsy,' of Liverpool, and Captain Potts wished to go on board to ask how they had fared. Observing a gentleman in a naval undress uniform jacket, who was introduced to us by the master as Captain Coffin, of the Navy; we were told that he had also taken the voyage for the benefit of his health. I believe Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, with whom I afterwards became well acquainted, was at this time only a lieutenant. He informed us that, on the first breaking up of the ice, the

fish were always hungry; that he had just been trying his luck, and had caught a large codfish 63 lbs. in weight, and he asked us to stay dinner and partake of it.

Sir Isaac Coffin was one of those singular characters, who are sometimes called oddities, because their actions are not governed by the ordinary rules of mankind. Whenever he was in a ship passing the tropics, and a fresh breeze blowing, it is said he was sure to be seen on the fore-castle, on the anchor-stock, or on the spritsail-yard, with his lance ready poised to dash into the dolphins, when seen flashing like lightning across the bow of the ship; and he is said to have rarely missed his aim, except on one occasion when he threw himself, spear in hand, on a passing porpoise, and kept afloat astride of his prize, like another Arion, till fetched off by a boat.

Towards the latter period of his life, Sir Isaac went over to an island in the St. Lawrence, peopled mostly by the descendants of his family. In a letter I received from him he said, "I have been among three hundred Coffins, and have built a school to hold about a hundred of their young ones; and in returning, the small vessel having caught fire, I jumped overboard and, to avoid being burnt, was very nearly being drowned; and thus, having escaped these two perils, I suppose I may consider myself reserved for the remaining one—to be hanged."

On our advance to the northward, our little Welsh doctor became very fidgety about witnessing, for the first time, the sun just skimming the northern part of the horizon about midnight, having, he said, lost several nights' sleep, by his vigilance in watching the first emersion of its whole body above the horizon.

He frequently expressed his great delight that the sun, during our stay, was never to set, but permanently to shed his benign rays upon us. His messmates, however, used to check his ardour, and endeavoured to convince him of his mistake, in fancying the glaring light of the sun, reflected from the ice and snow, agreeable, it being not only unpleasant, but injurious to the eyes; that a few clouds and a fog, which would be of frequent occurrence, are a great relief, and that the permanence he so much wished for not only would interfere with his hours of rest, but that he would be puzzled to know when it was time to go to bed, and when to rise—nay, that occasions might happen, when a day or more would either be lost or gained upon the voyage.

All this, however true, was incomprehensible to the Welshman, but he had proof of the latter part on returning home. The long labours of the people in chasing, capturing, towing to the ship, and cutting up the several whales caught, together with stowing the blubber away in the casks and hold, each fish employing all hands forty-eight or fifty hours, made all of us indeed so little careful of keeping time, that we actually did lose a day; and it was not discovered until we entered the Mersey when, on approaching St. Nicholas's Church, we heard the bells ringing and saw a number of people proceeding towards that place of worship. We concluded therefore that it was Sunday, which was confirmed by the pilot, whereas by our watches and the ship's log it was Saturday. It appears that Captain Sir E. Parry, on one occasion, got into this perplexity, and to prevent its happening on a future voyage, he had the dial plates of several watches marked

with twenty-four hours instead of twelve; the first at the top of the dial representing midnight, the twelfth at the bottom mid-day, by which such a mistake could not easily happen.

For my own part I confess that my trip to the Spitzbergen seas was a disappointment. We never once met with a floating iceberg. We saw masses of ice resembling ruined cathedrals, churches, palaces, pillars, bridges, beautiful stalactites, and all sorts of imaginary ruins—the fragments probably of icebergs; and were sufficiently near to observe the jagged and pointed mountains of Spitzbergen from the south point of the coast, to the 80th parallel of latitude, with the numerous deep-indented valleys choked with snow and glaciers—the parents of icebergs; and we came near enough to view the several islands covered with verdure, on which whole herds of rein-deer are said to feed, as well as up the lower slopes of the mountains, clothed with lichens and saxifrage. But my then lack of information has been amply supplied by the late polar voyages, and the whole of the Spitzbergen coast, both by sea and land, described as a most lively scene of animated nature. At this time, however, from all these gratifying objects we were cut off, which I much regretted, but neither did nor could complain. I knew that the fishery, as it is called, was the only object of the voyage; mine was mere curiosity.

With an inherent dislike of inactivity, I had here no difficulty in finding the means of occupation either for mind or body, or both; for the former, a regular journal was kept of the state of the wind and weather, of the barometer and thermometer, the variation of the compass, with such other remarks as were deemed

worthy of notice, which, however, were neither many nor important; and to fill up the long day of perpetual sun I attempted, for the first, and, as far as my memory serves me, for the last time in my life, a poem on the Arctic Regions, in blank verse, after the manner of Thomson's 'Winter.' Poetry, however, I soon discovered was not my forte, and the materials I had to work upon were not of the most inviting nature to the Muse. The feats and fates of whales and narwhals, morses, seals, bears, and foxes, malmouks, burgomesters, and strontjaggers, could afford but rugged materials for blank verse. It was scribbled merely for amusement and to kill time, but my friend Potts carried it off with him, and I know nothing of what became of it. Neither was I wanting in bodily exercise: I could "hand, reef, and steer;" to heave the lead was too much for me; but Captain Potts so far complimented me as to say, that another voyage would make me as good a seaman as many of those in his ship; and he put me down on the books for landsman's pay, and nothing that I could say, when I knew it, would induce him to take it off, his own name being at the head of the list.

SECTION IV.

Death of my late Master of Town Bank School, and Sketch of the History of his venerable Father, the remarkable Minister of the Chapel of Seathwaite.

ON my return from Greenland I hastened to Ulverstone to see my parents, against whose inclination I had gone thither. I was desirous also of visiting once

more my early friends and old school-fellows, and among the first my greatly-respected master, Walker, of Town Bank, whose health I was sorry to find much impaired. Here I remained some months, and passed the time very pleasantly, every one apparently being glad to see me, and asking a multitude of questions about Greenland, of which I could tell them but little. I visited the lakes and the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the beautiful village of Penny-bridge, where the *Crake*, or river from the Coniston lake, falls into Morecambe Bay, and where the fine blue slate is shipped. Near this place I also visited Mr. Wilkinson's iron-works, bearing in mind those I had left in Liverpool; but I had another object—to see the manner in which Mr. Wilkinson had proceeded in obtaining, from the naked sands of Morecambe, a great extent of the most verdant meadow-land that eyes could wish to behold, mostly and simply by driving in stakes to obstruct the tide both in its flood and ebb. I was gratified, in aftertime, to describe what I had seen to one of the most scientific men of the age, the venerable Mr. Cavendish, who possessed a large estate on the opposite side of the bay, and was devising means to do what Wilkinson had effected, only to a much greater extent.

On my return to Ulverstone, the illness of my worthy master of Town Bank school had taken a dangerous turn, which speedily ended in his death; a severe drawback on the pleasure I had promised myself in his society, for he had always been particularly kind and attentive to me; and, indeed, whatever progress I had made in the classics I owed to him. His funeral was most affecting, for he was greatly beloved, and all his

young flock attended. Among others was present his venerable father, eighty years of age, who, to pay this last tribute of affection to the memory of a beloved son, had come down from the farthest point of Furness Fell, some eighteen miles distant, where he had long been minister of the humble chapel of Seathwaite, which was at once his chapel and his school. As this aged patriarch, with his flowing locks white as snow, stood by the grave of his departed son while the funeral service was reading, all eyes were directed towards his venerable figure. At the conclusion of the ceremony, he stepped slowly to the edge of the grave, and there, with uplifted face and clasped hands, the tears trickling down his aged cheeks, was observed to be uttering a silent prayer towards heaven. The impression made on my mind by this mournful scene—the loss of the son, whom I loved, and the grief of the father, whom I respected, more than sixty years have not been able to obliterate.

And even *now* I feel impelled by a strong desire to repeat the history of this good old clergyman, whose whole life was spent in the solitude of the romantic streams and mountains of a secluded part of Westmoreland, instructing the rude and simple peasantry in their duty to God and to man, and assisting them with his advice and by his superior knowledge. I had many particulars of his life at the time, and since that some given by himself, which curiosity, accompanied by a better feeling, had extracted from him. Sensible as I am of the fine example his whole life exhibits, and how many thousands there are of the same calling, not much better in their circumstances, considering the difference in the times, than he was, I shall not hesitate

to give a hasty sketch of the life of the Reverend and venerable Robert Walker.

He was born and educated at a place called Undercrag, in Seathwaite, in 1709, being the youngest of twelve children, the progeny of humble parents. Seathwaite is one of the most beautiful vales in Furness, situate close to the river Duddon, which skirts the counties of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. The small chapel of Seathwaite was used not only for the purposes of divine service, but also as a school for the children of the valley. Here Robert Walker commenced his education, and became so apt a scholar that he was appointed schoolmaster to a similar kind of establishment at Lowes-Water chapel; and here, by the assistance of a friend, he was able to extend his knowledge of the classics, by which, and by his high character, he was readily admitted into holy orders. The *living*, if it may be so called, of Seathwaite had become vacant and was offered to him, and he accepted it; he had previously officiated at that of Lowes-Water, each being of the same value, namely, *five pounds a-year*. Having obtained the living of Seathwaite, he married; and by the frugality and good management of his wife, was enabled to furnish his humble dwelling.

While he remained at Lowes-Water, his narrow circumstances, with an increasing family, and his mild and estimable character, made him universally beloved in the neighbourhood; and his reputation having attracted the attention of a stranger, he was induced to pay him a visit, and thus describes the result. "I found him sitting at the head of a long square table, such as is commonly used in this country by the lower class of people, dressed in a coarse blue

frock, trimmed with black horn buttons, a checked shirt, a leathern strap about his neck for a stock, a coarse apron, and a pair of great heavy wooden-soled shoes, plated with iron to preserve them ; with a child upon his knee, eating his breakfast ; his wife and the remainder of his family, which consists of nine children, were some of them employed in waiting on each other, the rest in teasing and spinning wool, at which he is a great proficient, and when made ready for sale he carries it on his back, and on foot, seven or eight miles to market, even in the depth of winter," &c.

The friend, to whom this account was written, determined to satisfy himself by taking a journey from Lancaster for the purpose of paying him a visit. He found him to be all that was represented ; that his good moral conduct and meek behaviour had gained him an uncommon degree of respect among his neighbours ; and he adds, "a man who, for his candour and meekness, his sober, chaste, and virtuous conversation, his soundness of principle and practice, is an ornament to his profession, and an honour to the country he is in : and, bear with me if I say, the plainness of his dress, the sanctity of his manners, the simplicity of his doctrine, and the vehemence of his expression, have a sort of resemblance to the pure practice of primitive Christianity." The writer of this (signed Mr. C., of Lancaster, in the Annual Register) was so strongly impressed with the character and condition of Mr. Walker, wishing to have a particular account of the value of his curacy and the number and state of his family, he requested him to be kind enough to satisfy him. To whom Mr. Walker replies shortly after in writing :—

“ I should have returned an immediate answer, but the hand of Providence, then lying heavy upon an amiable pledge of conjugal endearment, hath since taken from me a promising girl, which the disconsolate mother too pensively laments the loss of; though we have yet eight living, all healthful, hopeful children, whose names and ages are as follows.” (He here gives the names and ages of three boys and five girls.) “ The annual income of my chapel at present, as near as I can compute it, may amount to about 17*l.*; 10*l.* of which is paid in cash, namely, 5*l.* from the bounty of Queen Anne, and 5*l.* from W. P., Esq., out of the annual rents, he being lord of the manor, and 3*l.* from the several inhabitants of Lowes, settled upon their tenements as a rent-charge: the house and gardens I value at 4*l.* yearly, and not worth more; and I believe the surplice fees and voluntary contributions, one year with another, may be worth 3*l.*; but, as the inhabitants are few in number, and the fees are very low, this last-mentioned sum consists chiefly in free-will offerings.

“ I am situated greatly to my satisfaction with regard to the conduct and behaviour of my auditory, who not only live in happy ignorance of the follies and vices of the age, but in mutual peace and good-will with one another, and are seemingly (and I hope really too) sincere Christians, and sound members of the Established Church, not one dissenter of any denomination being amongst them all. I got to the value of 40*l.* for my wife’s fortune, but had no real estate or cash of my own, being the youngest son of twelve children, born of obscure parents; and though my income has been but small, and my family large, yet, by a providential blessing upon my own diligent endeavours, the kind-

ness of friends, and a cheap country to live in, we have always had the necessaries of life.

“ R. W., Curate of S——,
“ To Mr. C., of Lancaster.” 1756.

About this time the Bishop of Chester was thinking of joining the curacy of Ulpha to the contiguous one of Seathwaite, and offered the nomination to Mr. Walker, who, in expressing his thanks to the Bishop, begged leave rather to decline than embrace it; “for the chapels of Seathwaite and Ulpha annexed together would be apt to cause a general discontent among the inhabitants of both places, by either thinking themselves slighted or neglected in the duty, or attributing it to covetousness in me; all which occasions of murmuring I would willingly avoid; desiring, if it be possible, as much as in me lieth, to live peaceably with all men.”

In order to provide for his numerous family, his habits of industry have certainly no parallel. For eight hours each day, for five days in the week, and on the Saturday morning, Mr. Walker was to be found in his school, which he held within the chapel. Seated in the recess that contained the communion-table, and which supplied the place of a desk, and while the children were repeating their lessons, he constantly employed himself at his spinning-wheel; his evenings were also mostly spent at the wheel, except when acting for his rustic neighbours as their scrivener, making out deeds of conveyance, agreements, wills, or anything that required writing, in which he sometimes passed a great part of the night. With all this he found time to cultivate his little garden and two or three acres of ground, which he rented in addition to his glebe,

less than an acre. He had also chiefly to look after a couple of cows and a few sheep, for which he had the right of pasturage on the mountains. The sabbath was kept strictly holy; the Sunday evenings being devoted to reading the Scriptures and family prayer; his only recreation was on a Saturday afternoon, when he indulged himself with a newspaper or a magazine.

In these pastoral, culinary, and scholastical occupations was the prolonged life of this *wonderful* man (as he was truly called) passed, sixty-six years as curate of Seathwaite Chapel, in primitive simplicity and substantial happiness. A memorandum is said to exist, written by one of his descendants, that he administered the Sacrament to a party which consisted of himself; his wife, to whom he had been married upwards of sixty years; one son and his wife; four daughters, each with her husband; whose united ages amounted to above 714 years, and the distance they had come, from their respective abodes, measured upwards of 1000 English miles. It is stated that the same circumstance had occurred four years before.

In the maintenance of all his virtues he received due support from the partner of his long life. An old servant said to one of the numerous inquirers, "She was no less excellent than her husband; she was good to the poor—she was good to everything." Mr. Walker survived but a short time this virtuous companion. When she died, he ordered that her body should be borne to the grave by three of her daughters and one grand-daughter, and when the corpse was lifted from the threshold he insisted upon lending his aid; and feeling about, for he was then almost blind, he laid hold of a napkin fixed to the coffin, and as a bearer entered the chapel a few steps from the lowly parsonage.

Mr. Wordsworth quotes from the 'Christian Remembrancer' of October, 1819, a beautifully-written character of Mr. Walker, known, he says, to be the work of the Rev. Robt. Bamford, a great-grandson of Mr. Walker. In this it is recorded that "Until the sickness of his wife, a few months previous to her death, his health and spirits and faculties were unimpaired. But this misfortune gave him such a shock, that his constitution gradually decayed. His senses, except sight, still preserved their powers. He never preached with steadiness after his wife's death; his voice faltered; he always looked at the seat she had used. He could not pass her tomb without tears. He became when alone sad and melancholy, though still among his friends kind and good-humoured. He went to bed about twelve o'clock the night before his death. As his custom was, he went, tottering and leaning upon his daughter's arm, to examine the heavens and meditate a few moments in the open air. 'How clear the moon shines to-night!' He said these words, sighed, and lay down. At six next morning he was found a corpse. Many a tear, and many a heavy heart, and many a grateful blessing followed him to the grave."

In Seathwaite churchyard, on a plain blue slab, is the following inscription:—

"In memory of the Reverend Robert Walker, who died the 25th of June, 1802, in the 93rd year of his age, and 67th of his curacy at Seathwaite.

"Also, of Anne his wife, who died the 28th of January, in the 93rd year of her age."

Scanty as was his income, yet such was his frugality and good management that he is said to have left behind him at his decease not less than 2000*l.* in money, and a large store of webs of woollen and linen cloth,

woven from thread of the family's own spinning. His eldest son, Zaccheus, was learning the trade of a tanner, but by his abilities and good conduct he had made himself friends, who procured him a situation in the Soho manufactory of Bolton and Watt, where he succeeded to a share in one of the departments of that magnificent establishment, and where in the year 1805, on paying a visit to my friend the present Mr. Watt, I unexpectedly and with great pleasure found my early schoolfellow, and colleague in the survey of Conished Priory, Zaccheus Walker, son of the former of that name, as a functionary of the Soho, whom I had not seen since our co-operation in that survey.

Having performed the last melancholy obsequies at the grave of my lamented master, and feeling no disposition for engaging in parties of pleasure, I rode over to the residence of my old friend Gibson, the self-taught mathematician and almanac-maker, who expressed himself delighted to see me, and asked a thousand questions about navigating ships in an icy sea, and doubted not that, with my activity and the desire he had observed in me for information, I had almost become a sailor. I told him he was right; that I put a hand to everything where I could be of use; among others, that by the kindness of my friend, I had learned to take and work an observation for the latitude by meridional and also by double altitudes, but no one in the ship was acquainted with any method for obtaining the longitude by observation. "But you ought," he said: "no young man should stop short in any pursuit he undertakes till he has conquered the whole; for, without a profession, as you are, you cannot tell to what good use knowledge of any kind may be applied. Shut up in this retreat

the extent of my knowledge is of a very limited and unproductive kind, but it has been of use to my two sons in London, one of whom stands high in the Bank of England, and the other is manager of Calvert's (I think he said) brewery; it has also been sometimes of use to my neighbours."

He then told me, that as I already knew the use of logarithms, and of plane and spherical trigonometry, I had only to get Maskelyne's 'Nautical Almanac' for the year, and his 'Requisite Tables,' in which were all the rules, and having obtained the height of the sun and moon, and the angular distance between them at a given hour, or the same data with regard to the moon and a fixed star; and by one of the rules in the 'Requisite Tables,' the longitude of the place of observation is easily found. I made a note at the time with a resolution *to find the longitude*, on the first opportunity that occurred.

The mention of my being without a profession recalled the many uneasy moments which that subject had frequently occasioned me. I felt I was an isolated being in society, hanging loose upon it, and having no position in it—what profession could I look up to with any chance of success? The law? None but first-rate talents could hope to succeed in that. Physic? Too late to begin the study of it—and the market already overstocked—railroads had not yet supplied an accession of patients—and the only prospect was that of becoming a country apothecary. And the church? Without powerful friends little to be hoped for beyond a curacy, which barely affords food and clothing; besides, I never could bring my mind to think myself suited for the church, and not having had the benefit of an university education, it was by no means clear that a reverend

father in God would be found liberal and charitable enough to admit me into holy orders. I had under my eye, in the town of Ulverstone, a decayed gentleman, of the age of thirty or thereabouts, who had tried and been refused by two bishops, and was at last ordained to a poor curacy in the North, by the apologist for the Bible, Bishop Watson.

Despondency, however, had never made an impression on my mind; I was in possession of habits of industry, had a great desire to learn, an ardent curiosity, and some few talents to turn these to practical utility. My disposition also was inclined towards optimism; a feeling that affords heartfelt consolation.

Another point touched upon by my friend, *the wise man*, was the success of his sons in London; and this revived the notion, that had often run in my thoughts, of London being the great theatre for a young man to play his part in; and how earnestly I had wished to meet with an opportunity of getting there, with a certainty of any kind of employment, that a young man of decent education and good character could accept: for without such certain employment, there could be but one issue, and that—utter ruin! The good old farmer encouraged me to persevere in my studies, and especially in mathematics, which were a sure foundation for astronomy, and all the rest. I took leave, and thanked him for all his kindness.

I was not in much humour for study; it was, however, varied by trimming up the little garden that, in early life, had afforded me so much happiness. Days and weeks passed on and nothing turned up, except an offer from a Colonel Dodgson, to superintend property he had in the West Indies; but I discovered it to be neither more

nor less than to superintend the negroes. Of course I declined it. At length, however, a prospect was held out which, though not exactly what I could have wished, yet, if offered to me, I determined to accept. It is curious enough it came from the son of the *wise man*, in the Bank of England, who wrote to his father that Dr. James, who kept a large academy at Greenwich, had applied to him to know if he could recommend a north-country youth qualified to instruct from fifteen to twenty of the upper boys in mathematics; to have nothing to do with the rest of the school, and to live in the house; and Mr. Gibson, junior, further added, "He will have to undergo an examination by Dr. Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal." This rather staggered me, but old Gibson said he was quite sure it would amount to nothing but what I could very well answer. Optimism here came to my relief, and I said to myself, this will lead to something better, and, at all events, will take me into the atmosphere of London. I therefore gave the old gentleman a provisional consent: he was much pleased, said he would write to his son in London, tell him all about me, and hoped, that in ten days or a fortnight, he would be able himself to bring the reply to Dragleybeck.

He did so, and also one from Dr. James, which was so perfectly satisfactory, and so urgent for my speedy appearance at Greenwich, that I lost no time in setting out by the coach—railways had not then entered into the head of man—arrived in London—and called on Mr. Gibson at the Bank. He took me down to Greenwich, and there I was fixed, if all went right, for the next three years. The family appeared to be pleasant; consisted of the master, who was a clergyman, and had

occasional duty to perform in the city of London ; his lady ; a son about my own age ; and three daughters, all younger. About eighteen fine young men were introduced as my pupils, three or four of whom were in or destined for the navy, one a son of Lord Anson, and another of Lord Leveson Gower ; which pleased me, as old Gibson had hinted every species of knowledge might be brought into play ; that which he had recommended was on the eve of being so.

I had no examination to undergo by Dr. Maskelyne ; and saw him but once, accidentally ; but, some years after this, I became well acquainted with him at the Royal Society.

I need not dwell on the rules of the school, or the system of education. Suffice it to say, I was very much my own master ; that I was greatly pleased with my pupils, and had no reason to think otherwise than that they were pleased with me ; and I can safely say that, in instructing them, I gained instruction myself ; and by having such youngsters under my tuition, I gained another great advantage, which tended to advance my progress in life. The scholars had six weeks holidays at Midsummer and at Christmas ; and few of those in my class whose parents lived in London or the neighbourhood that did not invite me to their parents' houses ; and thus I made acquaintance not only with them, but with their friends also ; so that at the termination of my engagement, I had a large acquaintance resident in London.

Among these I was pressed by several to give instruction to their children ; and, to such as were well advanced in years and knowledge I had no objection. Among others a lady pupil was recommended to me,

who was most desirous of going through Euclid, and of having explained to her the utility to which a knowledge of it was applicable; that is, the practical application of the theorems or problems. This was Lady Beaumont, the partner of Sir George Beaumont, most agreeable persons, with whom I lived on terms of intimacy during their lives; her ladyship induced a female friend to go through the same process. In this way I passed between two and three years in London, going down to Lancashire each year to visit my family.

On my last visit, before it was my destiny to leave England for a time, I found my parents happy and well, but my mother's eyesight, which had long been failing, was now quite gone; the principal uneasiness it occasioned her, was her inability to attend divine service, the church being a mile from the cottage, my father and mother having for more than twenty years never missed the two Sunday services; but my father read to her the morning lessons and the evening service regularly every Sunday. The loss of sight never interfered with my mother's usual cheerfulness, and the young ladies of Ulverstone were her constant and agreeable visitors.

One day, on my return to town, I was honoured with a visit from Sir George Staunton, a gentleman with whom I had not yet had the good fortune to meet, and who introduced himself by saying he was acquainted with several of my friends, and mentioned Doctor Gillies in particular, and some others, who were accustomed to meet at the Westminster Library. He said the object of his visit was to know if I had leisure time, and was willing to bestow a portion of it to give instruction, in the mathematics, to an only son, between the age of ten

and eleven years, who had been studying the classics under a German gentleman, residing in the house; that his son was a lively, animated boy, with more than average abilities, and great docility; "and," he added, "from the character I have heard of you, I think you both would be disposed to a mutual attachment." I thanked him for the obliging offer, and the friendly and courteous manner in which it was introduced, and was ready and most willing to afford to his son my best assistance. "I suppose," he said, "you are practically acquainted with astronomy, and know the constellations and principal stars by name. I am a great advocate for practical knowledge!" I answered in the affirmative; and the constellations and astronomy brought vividly to my mind, my old friend Mr. Gibson, and the globe and the map of Town Bank school; and I was more than ever persuaded that all is for the best.

Sir George gave me his address in Bentinck Street, where, by appointment, I was to call on the following day.

I found Mr. Staunton to be all that his father had described, and far beyond what my imagination had figured him to be; and I may here say that, from that day to this, in which I am writing, whether together or separated by many thousand miles, we never ceased, as far as practicable, to exchange our mutual sentiments, which seldom, if ever, failed to be in accordance; and with regard to the late Sir George Staunton, I should be the most ungrateful person in the world, if I did not every where, and on every occasion, avow that to him, and through him, I am indebted for all the good fortune that has attended me through life, and that, whether present or absent, he ever had my interest at heart, as I shall have occasion to show.

CHAPTER II.

EARL OF MACARTNEY'S EMBASSY TO THE
EMPEROR OF CHINA.

SECTION I.

Preparation and Departure.

SIR GEORGE STAUNTON said to me one day, "You have no doubt heard rumours about an embassy to China: I have just come from Lord Macartney, who is nominated Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China, and I have consented to accompany him, in the capacity of Secretary of Embassy and Minister Plenipotentiary; and my son George is to be of the party, which, I am not without hope, will include you also; and, under that idea, I have particularly requested his Lordship to place your name on the list of his suite, which he is to give in to-morrow. Knowing, as I have reason to do, his Lordship's desire to have about him such persons as are likely to be useful, in preference to others, I have been able to make a strong impression in your favour, as, I told him, you had already made in mine; but he complains of the East India Company being stingy as to the number and emoluments of his suite. I hope we shall succeed; for it is very much my wish, as well as that of my son, that you should be one of the party about to proceed to a country so little known, and to a city so rarely visited, as Peking; and, if I mistake not, you would be glad of so favourable an oppor-

tunity, which is not likely soon, if ever, to recur." I thanked Sir George most cordially, overpowered with joy at so unexpected a prospect of visiting such a country and such a capital. I could scarcely believe that any such good fortune could happen to one so little known to the world; but I never desponded or abandoned hope—and now that my name was to be brought forward, under such auspices, I became so exhilarated and so overwhelmed with delight, that on Sir George's departure I burst out into the following exclamation—

“ Non cuivis homini contingit adire Pekinum.”

A week or two passed over, in the greatest suspense and anxiety on my part; when at length Sir George Staunton announced to me the joyful tidings, that my name was enrolled on the effective list of the Ambassador's suite, as “Comptroller of the Household;” and that Lord Macartney desired to see me. His Lordship gave to me a list of the number and names of the several mathematical, philosophical, and scientific instruments and works of art, to be taken as presents to the Emperor of China, stating where they were preparing, and desired I would look after them and hasten their completion. I now felt myself to be in harness, and once more joyfully repeated to myself, *Non cuivis homini*, &c.; a line that, many years afterwards, I took occasion to place as a motto to the publication of ‘Travels in China.’

Previous to this unexpected good fortune, I had partly consented to accompany a gentleman, with his two daughters and a governess, to Italy; but he readily released me from any promise made or implied, to

enable me to pursue an expedition at least more agreeable, if not likely, as he said, to be attended with more advantage. Pleasant as a visit to Naples might have been, much more so certainly was the prospect of entering the immense empire of China and its populous capital. Hardly, however, could I yet persuade myself of the reality of my extraordinary good fortune.

I lost no time, it will readily be believed, in urging on the various articles in preparation; and in making also the acquaintance of the Ambassador's suite, who were to be my colleagues and fellow-voyagers. They were as follows:—

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Sir GEORGE STAUNTON, | { | Secretary of Embassy and Pleni- |
| Bart. | } | potentiary. |
| Colonel BENSON | | Commander of the Body Guard. |
| Lieutenant PARISH . . . | | Commander of the Artillery. |
| Doctor GILLAN | | A Scotch Physician. |
| Doctor SCOTT | | A Naval Surgeon. |
| ACHESON MAXWELL, Esq. | | Private Secretary. |
| JOHN BARROW, Esq. . . . | | Comptroller of the Household. |
| Doctor DINWIDDIE | { | A Scotch Philosopher and Expe- |
| | } | rimentalist. |
| MR. HICKEY | | A Portrait Painter. |
| MR. ALEXANDER | | A Draughtsman. |
| DOMINI LEE and KO . . . | { | Two Missionaries brought from |
| | } | the Propaganda Fide at Naples. |
| MR. GEORGE STAUNTON | | |
| MR. CREWE | | |
| MR. HENRY BARING . . . | } | Attachés to the Embassy. |
| MR. WINDER | | |
| MR. HÜTTNER | { | A German Gentleman, Tutor to |
| | } | Mr. Staunton. |
| | | Two Mechanics. |
| | | Guards and Servants. |

The character and talents of Sir George Staunton are too well established to require being dwelt upon

here. As Secretary of Embassy and Plenipotentiary, he carried out, moreover, a commission to succeed as ambassador in the event of anything happening to Lord Macartney, or of his early return home. Sir George had been of infinite service to his Lordship, when Governor of Madras; and such was the value he set on his abilities, that on the present occasion he made it a *sine quâ non* of having Sir George Staunton to accompany him in the above capacities, and on the specified contingent condition.

Colonel Benson was a smart, correct, and active officer, well known to Lord Macartney, and selected by him. Lieut. Parish, of the artillery, was a good officer and an excellent draughtsman in the engineer department, as his drawings of a section and view of the Great Wall of China and other subjects will testify, though generally they were taken by stealth. On his return to England, he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Marquis Cornwallis, as Governor-General of India, fell overboard on the passage out, and was drowned.

Doctor Gillan was a good scholar, a physician, and, moreover, a Scotch metaphysician; he was selected as a fit person to be attached to an embassy like the present, and as a gentleman well calculated to bring home valuable information on all subjects of science and physics connected with China. But, in point of fact, his acquirements were rendered nearly unavailing, partly from indolence of habit occasioned by indifferent health, which rendered him incapable of much energy or activity: a single instance may serve to exemplify this. At my request Lord Macartney had obtained permission from our attendant Mandarins, that I should be allowed to land, whenever I thought proper, from the

barge which conveyed Dr. Gillan and myself, to enable me to walk to a reasonable distance along the banks of the Grand Canal, a permission subsequently extended generally. One beautiful morning, in traversing through an interesting part of the country, I endeavoured to prevail on my fellow-traveller to step on shore for once, and walk down to the next station. He had a book in his hand—Virgil. “My dear Barrow,” said the Doctor, “I have just got to that interesting passage where Æneas and Dido take refuge in the cave from a violent storm; how can I break off at such a stirring part of the story, and leave the Tyrian comrades and Trojan youth seeking for cover from the pelting storm, just at the moment when ‘*speluncam Dido dux et Trojanus eandam deveniunt?*’” The Doctor, I believe, intended to be a little waggish. He supplied a few remarks, however, on the chemistry and medicine of the Chinese, and some other desultory subjects, for Sir George Staunton’s volume.

Doctor Scott had been a surgeon in the Navy, had read a great deal and talked much more. He had fortified himself for the present occasion, by studying that false light, Isaac Vossius, and by getting almost by heart the production of Mr. Pauw, a philosopher of Berlin, who compiled a work of considerable ability, but in many respects not of much authority. He was one of those writers, who derive pleasure in swimming against the stream. Dr. Scott contributed nothing, that I am aware of, towards elucidating the manners, customs, character, or general knowledge of the Chinese.

Acheson Maxwell, Esq., had been private secretary to Lord Macartney in India, and being now in

the same situation, had no opportunity, had he been so disposed, of gaining information to any great extent regarding the Chinese. Being a steady, sedulous, and intelligent gentleman, he received on our return an appointment as Inspector of Public Accounts in the Audit-office.

Mr. Barrow, as comptroller of the household, resided five or six weeks at the palace of Yuen-min-Yuen, to take charge of the valuable presents, and to see them put in order by the two mechanics, to be presented there to the Emperor, on his return from Tartary, where Lord Macartney had his audience. Mr. Barrow occasionally rode from Yuen-min-Yuen to Peking, to look after the property of the embassy, left in the large house appropriated to the Ambassador and suite in the capital; and on the homeward journey to Canton he walked several hundred miles through the heart of the country, and published a large quarto volume regarding China, of more than 600 pages, ten years after his return to England.

Mr. Hickey, an indifferent portrait-painter, was a countryman of Lord Macartney, whose portrait he had painted; and being now out of employ, his Lordship, it was said, took him out of compassion; I believe he executed nothing whatever while on the embassy, but in conversation he was a shrewd, clever man.

Mr. Alexander drew beautifully and faithfully in water-colours, and omitted nothing that was Chinese, from the human face and figure, down to the humblest plant, and so true were his delineations, that nothing before or since could be compared with them. The groups of boats and vessels, with the multitude of persons of both sexes, that were introduced into the pano-

rama of Hong-Kong, were taken from drawings of Mr. Alexander, which my son lent to Mr. Barker for that purpose. On his return to England, the trustees of the British Museum appointed Mr. Alexander to the superintendence of the department of prints and drawings, in which unfortunately he did not long survive. His loss was severely felt and lamented.

Doctor Dinwiddie was a Scotch philosopher, but of what school I know not; he was also called an experimentalist, and expected to instruct the Chinese in electricity and in flying balloons, but it all ended in smoke. On our return, he requested to be discharged and sent to Calcutta, where he meant to deliver lectures, and Lord Macartney very kindly made him a present of all the mathematical and philosophical instruments that were not left in China. The novelty took, in Calcutta, and Dinwiddie is said to have made a little fortune.

The two Chinese interpreters had been sought for and brought from the College *De Propaganda Fide* at Naples by Sir George Staunton, and one of them, Lee, proved an useful and intelligent man. The other, Ko, was a blunt, dull, and dogged person, of little use to the embassy, and likely to be of still less in his mission. Happening one day to have in my hand a Latin copy of the 'Common Book of Prayer,' I gave it open to Ko, who, after looking at it a minute or two, threw it down with violence on the floor, exclaiming "*Est liber diabolicus.*" They were both left in China.

Mr. Staunton, though very young, made great progress in the Chinese language, in which he had afterwards an opportunity of perfecting himself, by an appointment in the Company's factory of Canton, of which he became the chief; and he has published

several volumes and tracts, chiefly on the language of China, besides a curious and valuable treatise on the laws of China, the whole of which he translated into English.

Mr. Hüttner, his tutor, was a good classical scholar, and soon after the return of the embassy was appointed interpreter to the Foreign Office, a situation which he still retains.

Mr. Baring also received an appointment to the factory of Canton, came home, after a time married, and resides with his family at Cromer Hall, in a very indifferent state of health.

Mr. Winder, a young man who had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin, a distant connexion of Lord Macartney, and was entered on the list as assistant secretary, but without anything to do and with very little to occupy his attention. He obtained, on his return home, some civil situation in Ireland, and died shortly afterwards.

Mr. Crewe (I believe, a subaltern in the army), a young gentleman hanging loose on society and a frequenter of the gaming-table, was the son of the celebrated wit and beauty of her day—so beautiful, indeed, that Madame d'Arblay says “she *uglifies* everything near her.” Admired by George Prince of Wales, and adored by Charles Fox, she became the standing toast of the Whigs, was consecrated as their patroness by the Prince of Wales, who, on some great occasion, gave as a toast—

“ Buff and Blue,
And Mrs. Crewe.”

Mrs. Crewe was also a great favourite of Lord Macartney; and she being most desirous of removing her

son out of the temptations of London, earnestly entreated his lordship to take him to China. "The only condition," said his lordship, "on which I can possibly allow him to go is a most solemn pledge, on his honour, that he will not touch either cards or dice or other instruments of gambling, either on board ship or at any place where we may stop." He gave the pledge and broke it—lost to one of the lieutenants of the 'Lion,' it was said, some thousand pounds, not any part of which could he pay; and it was also said he had compounded the debt for an annuity of as many hundred pounds as he had lost thousands. My cabin on the passage home was on the lower deck, and scarcely a night passed in which I was not disturbed by the rattling of dice, or by Mr. Crewe's scraping on the bass-viol. He was a most gentlemanly, good-natured young man, and was urged on by an old Scotch lieutenant, who ought to have known better. Mr. Crewe succeeded his father, who had been created a baron in 1812, and died in 1835.

Before the embassy left England, it was generally understood that great pains had been taken in the selection of the gentlemen who had the good fortune to be included in the suite of the ambassador. The brief description I have here given of them does not exactly correspond with such a notion; but I believe Lord Macartney had, in some respects, to listen to the gentry of Leadenhall Street. If I except the able and interesting account of the proceedings and result of the British embassy to the court of the Emperor of China, by the late Sir George Staunton, (the vigour of whose intellect was not more remarkable than the liberality of his sentiments,) nothing of a scientific, physical, ethical,

or ethnical character appeared from any of them. When, indeed, it was understood that Sir George Staunton had undertaken it, any other work would have been a supererogation. In fact, he alone, who had cognizance of all that was or was intended to be transacted, and the reasons thereof, could have done justice to the subject.

I thought so then and think so still, yet ten years after the return of the embassy to England I was induced to write and to publish a volume, to show the view which I had taken of the great empire of China and its very extraordinary overflow of population, by drawing such a sketch of the manners, the state of society, the language, literature, and fine arts, the sciences and civil institutions, the religious worship and opinions, the population, and the progress in agriculture, the civil and moral character of the people, as my own observations enabled me to do; and the present Sir George Staunton had the kindness to allow me to look over the mass of notes and observations, which I had put into the hands of his father when employed on his 'Narrative.' With these and my recollections on the passage home from the Cape, I endeavoured to settle, in my own mind, the point of rank which China may be considered to have attained in the scale of civilised nations.

Three years after the publication of this work, and thirteen after the return of the embassy, I had permission to publish the manuscript journal of the Earl of Macartney, entitled 'A Journey of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794.' It was annexed as an appendix to my account of 'The Public Life' of the

Earl of Macartney. The journal is exceedingly interesting, and details circumstantially all that occurred on his introduction to the emperor at his palace of Gehol, in Tartary, with his observations and reflections on the country and people, and on the events that took place on that occasion.

That which I am now about to relate is chiefly what happened to me individually, or in which I was personally concerned, taken either from loose notes written fifty years ago, or from a recollection of particular occurrences chiefly in Peking, at the palace of Yuen-min-Yuen, and on our journey by the Grand Canal through the heart of the empire; the whole affording to myself the most interesting episode in the history of a prolonged life.

SECTION II.

The Embassy proceeds in H.M.S. 'Lion' and the E.I.C. Ship 'Hindustan,' and passing through the Yellow Sea, disembarks on the Continent of China, at the Mouth of the River Pei-ho.

THE ships appointed to carry out the ambassador and suite were the 'Lion,' of 64 guns, under the command of Captain Sir Erasmus Gower, and the 'Hindustan' Indiaman of 1300 or 1400 tons, commanded by Captain Mackintosh, an old and highly respected officer of the East India Company. Two more suitable and efficient commanders could not have been selected,

and each of them was personally known to the Ambassador.

The 'Lion,' with her officers, stores, presents, and large quantities of baggage, was so completely filled, that part of the suite were obliged, and I may say delighted, to go in the roomy 'Hindostan;' they consisted of Colonel Benson, Dr. Scott, Dr. Dinwiddie, and myself; and most comfortable we were, being infinitely better accommodated than were any of our colleagues in the 'Lion.' We left Portsmouth on the 26th of September, 1792; had a quick and pleasant passage to Madeira, where the 'Lion' anchored in the Bay of Funchal, an open and dangerous roadstead—as Mackintosh, on a former occasion, had been taught by fatal experience, his ship having been wrecked, and every soul having perished, himself and cook only excepted, who being on shore escaped the melancholy fate of their companions.

Pass we on to the island of Teneriffe, a pleasant sail of four days from Madeira. The town of Santa Cruz, on the eastern side, affords but little that is inviting. The town of Oratava, on the opposite side, is much the same; but the Peak is a majestic object, up which we scrambled as far as to the base of the cone, when a violent storm of thunder and lightning, with torrents of rain, drove us down again. Our next halting-place was the miserable Porta Praya, in the island of St. Jago; and, passing thence to the Brazil coast, we opened out and entered the magnificent bay or inlet of Rio de Janeiro, unequalled, I believe, for its splendid and variegated scenery, by any other of a similar kind in any part of the world.

We passed the curious island of Tristan da Cunha, without landing, and gave a good berth to the Cape of Good Hope, making the best of our way to the curious volcanic island of Amsterdam, whose large crater unites with the sea by a passage over a pebbly beach.

From hence we reached and passed through the Strait of Sunda, and, by the Thousand Islands, came to Batavia, and here enjoyed the gaieties and the luxurious living of the Dutch. But, that which was of more importance to us was, that while here the Ambassador received a dispatch from Canton, announcing the agreeable intelligence that his Imperial Majesty of China had issued a public edict, declaring his satisfaction at the approaching embassy, and directing that pilots should be stationed at every port on the coast of the Yellow Sea to convey his Excellency and suite to Tien-sing, the nearest port to the capital, or to any other that should be found most convenient for the British ships. By this intelligence the embassy was relieved from the necessity of calling at Canton, which was most desirable on many accounts—among others, that of obviating a delay of eight or ten days. A dispatch was therefore sent to Canton to announce his Lordship's intention of proceeding direct through the Strait of Formosa to Chusan.

It was deemed expedient, however, as it was little or nothing out of our way, to look into Turon Bay, in Cochin-China, that being, as it were, a part of, or in close connexion with, the Chinese empire, and the inhabitants being in all respects, except less civilised, similar to the Chinese. They, however, received us well, and with great courtesy; and here, having refreshed our ships'

companies, we proceeded to the entrance of the Yellow Sea.*

Of the frequent storms and dangerous navigation of the Strait of Formosa we had an early proof, by experiencing a tremendous storm, accompanied by loud thunder and fierce lightning, in a pitch-dark night, no land on either side being visible for ten or twelve hours, and the brig, the 'Clarence,' in the midst of islets, rocks, and shoals, the sea high, and breaking all around; so that we might almost have exclaimed with Miranda in the 'Tempest,'—

“ The sky, it seem'd, would pour down stinking pitch,
But that the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek,
Dashed the fire out.”

The storm was, as the Chinese pilots told us, what we Europeans call a *typhoon*, and which some of our learned antiquarians have fancied the Chinese derived from the Egyptian Typhon, the genius of all evil; but where or how they came by it, we are left to conjecture. The Chinese are the least, of all people, addicted to the borrowing of names, and too proud even to adopt a foreign word. In the present instance they are content with their own simple name, expressive of the fact—*ta-fung*, a “great wind.”

* So much has been written concerning the most extensive and populous empire of China, and so much real and valuable information gained by the two British embassies of Lord Macartney and Lord Amherst, to which I have already contributed my humble share; and so much new matter is constantly pouring in upon us since the footing we have obtained, by conquest and negotiation, in or among the most frequented commercial stations along the eastern coast of the Yellow Sea, that little is left for me to dwell upon, but to confine my remarks chiefly to matters in which I was directly or indirectly personally concerned.

Being on the poop of the 'Hindostan' with Captain Mackintosh, I asked him if, in his several voyages to China, he had ever been in such a hurricane as was then raging? His reply was, "Yes, and ten times more severe. Were it possible," he said, "to blow ten thousand trumpets and beat as many drums on the fore-castle of a ship like this in the height of a *ta-fung*, no sound would be heard of either by a person on the quarter-deck or on the poop of that ship." When any story of a marvellous kind was told, Mackintosh was wont to say, "Show me the book:" I asked him jestingly, "Captain, would you put into a book what you have just told me?" His answer was, "Perhaps not exactly in the same words." "No," said I, "I am sure you would make a great reduction in the number of your drums and trumpets."

Having passed this strait, it was decided to detach the brig 'Clarence'* for the port of Chusan; and Sir George Staunton, Mr. Staunton, and myself, with one of the Chinese interpreters embarked in her: the 'Lion' and 'Hindostan' to wait outside of the archipelago of islands, which are represented to consist of not fewer than three hundred, mostly small, and many little better than naked rocks. Four passages lead into the main harbour in the largest island, of which we took the westernmost, one shore being part of the continent. We found the current to run with such whirling rapidity, so irregular, and the water so deep, that to anchor would have been difficult, dangerous, and perhaps in a calm impracticable. In fact, when about the middle of the passage the wind did fail us, and just

* There had been prepared two brigs, the 'Clarence' and the 'Jackal,' to attend the ships through the Yellow Sea.

as we were close to a rocky promontory of the continent called *Kee-to* Point.

Here the current swept the 'Clarence' towards the point with such rapidity, that we expected nothing short of being momentarily dashed to pieces; but, on approaching this perpendicular precipice within twice the ship's length, to our surprise and not less alarm, the eddy swept her round with great velocity three several times. An old Chinese fisherman, whom we had taken as pilot, gave us the consolation, that there was no danger, and that her distance from the rock would be increased after every whirl; and so it was. The lead was thrown, but no bottom at the depth of 120 fathoms. The Chinese missionary of the *Propaganda*, whom we had taken to interpret, and who was usually less composed than his countryman, had indeed on the present occasion an escape from being thrown overboard by the boom of the mainsail, and in recovering himself exclaimed, "*Sanctissima Maria, est miraculum!*"

This is the only passage, on the south side, into the harbour of Chusan. On entering we were met by one of the large Chinese *junks*—as we are pleased to call them (from their proper name *tchuan*). An officer came on board to announce that his vessel would precede us, and point out the proper anchorage. He and two or three other officers were extremely civil, and presented us with a basket of fruit. The *tchuan* led the way; and, clumsy as she appeared, with her stiff unbending bamboo sails, to the surprise of our seamen, they observed her sail quite as well as the smart-looking 'Clarence.' We anchored about the centre of a very spacious harbour, surrounded by the coast* of the main

island and others contiguous to it, so as to give to it a circular shape, and the semblance of being completely land-locked—as it appears from a sketch I took of it from our central anchorage.

Mandarins forthwith visited us; and it was arranged that we should wait on the tsung-ping, or military governor of Ting-hai, the chief city of Chusan, early next morning. He was abundantly civil, received us in his hall of audience, and promised to have pilots ready for us; presented us with tea, fruit, and cakes, and talked of plays, feasts, and entertainments; and was rather surprised at the haste we manifested.

The multitude of ships, several hundreds of different kinds, that were lying at anchor before the seaport town, gave evidence of an extensive commercial intercourse with Chusan; and yet, to our astonishment, the governor told us that the pilots for our ships could only take us to the ports along the coast, as far as the next province. This we said would not answer our purpose; and, moreover, that the Emperor, in his public notification, had ordered pilots to be in readiness at Chusan to conduct the ships of the Ambassador to Tien-sing. This produced a general muster, from which was to be singled out every man who had ever been at Tien-sing. Two only were found to answer the description, but they had left the sea for many years, were comfortably settled in trade, and begged on their knees they might be excused. In vain, however, they pleaded the ruin of their families, the Emperor's orders must be obeyed; the governor was inexorable, and they were ordered to embark in the course of an hour. Such an act of violence and injustice, painful as it was to witness, could hardly be reproved, with consistency, by some of our

naval officers, who might in the course of service have taken part in similar scenes at home.

The city of Ting-hai is from one to two miles from the coast before which the shipping lie. It is enclosed by a lofty wall of masonry, in which are several gates leading into streets of tolerable width; the rest are mere alleys. About the year 1700 we had a factory in the suburb, close to the shore of the harbour, which was walled round, and from which the wives of the factors were excluded. We also obtained a commercial station at Ning-po; but, at the end of some fifty years, the Chinese got rid of us from both.

There is just now, however, in England, a craving desire to exchange Hong-Kong for Chusan—not merely to occupy Ting-hai or the suburb, or both, as emporia for commercial concerns, but to possess the whole island. It is to be hoped, however, that the Chinese will resolutely resist any such demand: indeed, they have done so, and succeeded. To a less jealous people, the possession of a spacious harbour and a large extent of territory, which from its position would overawe the wealthiest and most flourishing commercial cities in the empire—Ning-po, Hang-choo, and Foo-choo, with their numerous ports and suburbs—to say nothing of dispossessing or corrupting some 120,000 families, by taking their lands, or converting themselves or their children into what they deem us—barbarians: and, if these objections were overcome, we should create for ourselves an interminable hatred and jealousy throughout the whole of this great empire. If wisdom and prudence govern our councils, we shall remain content with what conquest has given us. If, indeed, we had asked for Lan-tao or Lin-ting, instead of Hong-

Kong, as being larger, more calculated for a thriving population, and half the distance from Canton, we should have acted more wisely.

I have some reason to remember Chusan, though five-and-fifty years have elapsed since I was there ; not for anything remarkable, except that I had my pulse felt by a Chinese physician, and never since by any medical man in China or elsewhere. Out of curiosity I had partaken of a dish prepared by one of the Chinese pilots from a mollusca (*medusa porpita*), whose transparent colourless jelly had rather an inviting appearance. I had also eaten of some acid fruit presented to us ; in consequence of the one or both, I was seized with a most violent and excruciating pain in the stomach, so bad that Sir George Staunton ordered the lieutenant, who commanded the 'Clarence,' to send a boat on shore to inquire for some medical man, and bring him off. A venerable Chinese physician made his appearance, felt my pulse very carefully, and told our missionary that he would cure me : a person went with him on shore, brought back a packet containing, among other things, a large proportion of rhubarb, and after about twenty-four hours of severe suffering I was myself again. When in course of conversation, many years afterwards, I told Sir Henry Halford that, to my knowledge, I had never before this had my pulse felt, and certainly never since, he threw up his hands and exclaimed, "What would become of *us* if every one were like you !"

The 'Clarence' having once more passed Kee-to Point, less whirled round than before, and got into the Yellow Sea, she rejoined our ships at anchor about five miles off. Some of the officers had made visits to

several of the islands, but to one in particular named Pootoo (Poo-ta-la), the Temple of Budh. This group of islands is remarkable for the number of bonzes or priests of that sect, said to amount to between two and three thousand, inhabiting as many hundred separate temples or pagodas. It would be well worth the while that some of our Chinese scholars—Sir John Davis, for instance—should pay a visit to this sanctuary of Buddhism, and examine what records or legends they possess; for the temples of all sects in China, or the most respectable, have libraries. Sir William Parker, having landed on the Kin-shan or Golden Island, in going up the Yang-tse-Kiang, saw a most beautiful well-bound library in one of the temples, which he intended on his return from Nankin to bring away for the British Museum; but on reconsidering the principle on which hostilities were conducted—to make no reprisals—he decided not to disturb it. He found, however, on his return, that the splendid library was gone, the captain of the French frigate, that followed our expedition up the river, having carried it off, and it may probably be now seen in the king's library of Paris.

One of our impressed pilots had come on board without his compass, and it was in vain to make him comprehend ours with its moveable card, theirs being a simple needle about an inch in length, vibrating within a circular cavity cut in a piece of wood, and so contrived that the centre of gravity coincides with the centre of suspension. On showing one to Ramsden, he admired the simplicity and the efficiency of the contrivance, but thought it applicable only to very short and light needles. The Chinese originality of this instrument may be inferred from the multitude of circles on the wood that

contains it, embracing their system of mythology, their cycles, constellations, their astronomical or astrological science, the mystical characters of Fo-shee (Fo-hi), and, in short, an abstract of all they profess to know on these subjects. The one I brought home contains twenty-seven concentric circles. The name of their needle is Ting-nan-ching—the needle pointing to the *south*; and (Kang-hi) Kaung-shee, who was in the habit of committing his thoughts to paper, thus writes: “I have heard Europeans say that the needle obeys the north. In our oldest records it is said that it turns to the south. The ancients are the first in date; and the farther I proceed the more I am convinced of their knowledge of the mechanism and operations of Nature. Moreover, as all action grows languid and is nearly suspended towards the north, it is less likely that the virtue, which gives motion to the magnetic needle, should proceed from that quarter.” Kaung-shee was the ablest of Chinese emperors, but how could he reason but from what he knew? No Cook, no Weddell, no Ross, had then given him the benefit of their discoveries.

On doubling the promontory of the province of Shantung, the land became hidden in thick fogs; these clearing away, enabled us to see that we were within four miles of the coast. We had opened out, it seemed, the extensive gulf of Pe-tche-lee, and our pilots being evidently ignorant of our situation, we took the advice of the magistrate of Chusan—to navigate from port to port—and at the port of Kee-san-soo took two pilots to carry us to Mee-a-tou and to the city of Ten-tchoo-foo, the governor of which paid his respects to the Ambassador on board the ‘Lion,’ and sent a trifling, as he called it, refreshment, consisting of four bullocks, eight

sheep, eight goats, five sacks of fine white rice, five sacks of red rice, 200 lbs. of flour, and several baskets of fruit and vegetables. He also supplied us with another pilot to take the ships across the gulf of Pe-tche-lee to Tien-sing.

In crossing this gulf with no land in sight, the water had shoaled to six fathoms; an unusual situation for large ships to come to anchor in, but nothing else was left for us. The land was from twelve to fifteen miles distant, and so low as not to be visible from the deck. One of the brigs was despatched to the mouth of the Pei-ho to report our arrival. Here two superior officers from the court had already embarked to wait on the Ambassador, carrying with them refreshments which consisted of 20 bullocks, 100 hogs, 100 sheep, 1000 fowls, 3000 pumpkins, as many melons, apples, pears, plums, apricots, and other fruits, with an abundance of culinary vegetables, and wine in large earthen jars. Many of the hogs and fowls had been bruised to death and thrown overboard, but the Chinese eagerly picked them up, cleaned, and salted them.

The names of these two officers were *Van* and *Chou*, with the addition to each of *ta-gin* (great man). *Van-ta-gin* was a soldier of the rank of lieutenant-general, and *Chou-ta-gin* a civilian, the governor of a district in Pe-tche-lee—two most amiable, well-conditioned, and cheerful men, who attended the embassy from this time till its return to and departure from Canton—men who gained the esteem and affectionate regard of every one in the embassy, having been ever ready to please and to make us all comfortable.

Fifteen Chinese vessels having transported into the Pei-ho all that belonged to the embassy, our two great

ships left the gulf without further delay, the 'Hindustan' for Chusan, there to remain for further orders, and the 'Lion' to Canton.

SECTION III.

Navigation of the Pei-ho from its Mouth to Tien-sing, and thence to Tong-choo, the Port of Peking.

WE were now fairly landed on the continent of China, embarked and moved on, as speedily as a thousand men or more could get our baggage, presents, and provisions into the barges provided to convey them and us up the Pei-ho; and we found them to be spacious, neat, and commodious. Each had a sitting-room and a sleeping-room, with bed-places on the sides, a room for servants, and a kitchen. They are sometimes sculled with a long oar, working on a pivot near the bow, and moved by four, five, or six men, who occasionally land to track the barges. In sculling, the stroke is accompanied with a rude air, in which all join, thus combining cheerfulness with regularity. These barges each bore a flag with certain Chinese characters, which, as some of the missionaries told their correspondents in Europe, implied, "The English ambassador bringing *tribute* to the Emperor of China." The character which these honest religionists translate into *tribute* was 寶, *kung* (valuable), being compounded of two parts, the *key* at the top signifying *art* or *workmanship*, and the other part *rare*, *highly esteemed*—the meaning of the character, therefore, may signify *precious things*, and not *tribute*.

With the exception of the two villages of Ta-Koo

and See-Koo (*Great and West Koo*) near the mouth of the river, scarcely any other deserving the name appeared, till we came to the very extensive city of Tien-sing, about ninety miles from the sea. The banks hitherto had been low on either side, the surface of the country swampy, and covered with coarse grasses and rushes; very little cultivation, and here and there only a straggling cottage of mean description; now and then some half-dozen of these might be seen together. We were all struck with the general appearance of meanness and poverty. Yet the vast multitudes of people of both sexes, that crowded down to the banks of the river, as the barges glided along, were such as to command attention, though the general style of their dress gave no great indication of comfort; but their numbers proved the existence in the interior of plenty of towns or villages, though hidden from our sight by the sunken river and its high banks.

On approaching Tien-sing, we had to pass along such numerous stacks of salt, piled up in sacks of matting, and ranged for miles on both banks of the river, that I was desirous of endeavouring to make some rough estimate of the quantity; and if my data were at all correct, the store of salt here stacked would suffice for the consumption of about thirty millions of people for a whole year, or, as Sir George Staunton calculated, from my notes, the weight would be about six hundred millions of pounds.

The multitudes of people and the craft of various kinds on both sides of, and passing through, Tien-sing, were so numerous that, with great difficulty and delay, we were able to traverse the town in about three hours. The crowd was immense on the two

shores, in the shipping, and on the roofs of the houses ; and it was a singular sight to observe such multitudes with their naked bronze-coloured heads broiling in the sun, and standing up to the middle in the water, all quiet and in perfect silence, exhibiting, as Mr. Davis said on a similar occasion, " a sea of shaven heads in a perfect calm."

The population, whose constant residence appeared to be on the water, was also immense. On the river within the limits of the town, and above and below it, there could not be less than six hundred stationary and trading vessels, all built on the same plan and very much resembling each other. I boarded one, which had a range of ten, others I was told had twelve, distinct sets of apartments, erected along the deck, each containing a whole family. The hold was also divided into ten parts, being one for each of the families located on deck, and laden with articles for the Pekin market. The number of traders and sailors in a vessel of this description could not be fewer than fifty, so that of these alone the population would amount to thirty thousand ; and from what we observed of the craft on the upper part of the river, between Tien-sing and Tong-choo, mostly crowded with men, women, and children, I should conceive that the floating population on the Pei-ho, from its mouth to Tong-choo, the port of Pekin, could not be much under one hundred thousand souls.

At Tong-choo we were lodged in a spacious temple, from which the priests were turned out without ceremony to make room for us, consisting at least of a hundred persons. About three thousand porters were immediately supplied for carrying to the capital, twelve

miles distant, the whole of the baggage belonging to the embassy. The plain between the ships and the temple was like a fair, and cakes, rice, tea, and fruit upon masses of ice, were abundantly exposed for sale; a slice of melon, so cooled, cost a *tchen*, value about three-tenths of a farthing.

I had been taught at Chusan, the expediency of carrying my cot along with me, and here I found its utility; for on turning down the sheet, in the temple, the first object that caught my eye was an enormous scorpion. The cot was forthwith removed from the temple, and suspended between two trees in the enclosed courtyard; but the *cicadas* kept up such a loud and perpetual chirping the whole night as to prevent all possibility of sleep. The thermometer stood at 80°, and had been during the day and in the shade at 88°.

SECTION IV.

Journey from Tong-choo by Land, through Peking; and the Distribution of the Embassy to Gehol in Tartary, to the Palace of Yuen-min-yuen, and to one in the Capital.

THE distance from Tong-choo to the south-east gate of Peking is reckoned to be twelve miles. At five in the morning of the 21st of August, the procession moved forward, more remarkable for the multitude and variety of its component parts, than for the regularity of its arrangement or the brilliancy of its appearance. The motley group consisted, in the first place, of about three thousand porters, laden with six hundred pack-

ages, some of them large and heavy enough to require thirty-two bearers; next to these were eighty-five waggons, accompanied by thirty-nine hand-carts of one wheel each, laden with wine, porter, and various eatables, together with ammunition for eight field-pieces, which closed this part of the procession.* Next to these was the Tartar legate, with the officers of the court, and their numerous attendants, some on horseback, some in chairs, and others on foot; and after them followed the Ambassador's guard in waggons; the servants, musicians, and mechanics also in waggons; the Ambassador, the Minister Plenipotentiary, his son, and one of the interpreters followed, in four ornamented chairs, the gentlemen of the suite chiefly on horseback, the remainder in small covered carriages on two wheels; and last of all, the two officers Van and Chou, with their attendants, closed this motley procession. At the halfway-house we had a breakfast provided, of roast pork and venison, with several made dishes, eggs, tea, milk, and a variety of fruits served up on cakes of ice.

The public road, constructed of large slabs of granite, very ill laid, with deep ruts between them, and their surfaces corroded into holes, was but little adapted for the ease and comfort of those passengers, whose fate it was to be conveyed in small cramped carts, without springs and with no seat within; so that the occupant is reduced to the necessity of sitting on his haunches, and of enduring the perpetual jolting of his miserable vehicle. Mr. Davis, who, on Lord Amherst's sudden departure homewards, had exchanged his horse for one

* These details are taken from my note book, the materials being under my charge.

of these carts, says, "I had abundant reason to regret the choice, for the convulsive throes of this primitive machine without springs, on the ruined granite road, produced an effect little short of lingering death; and the only remedy was to get out as often as possible, and walk." To those who had made choice of such miserable machines, nothing but the novelty of the scene could have made them tolerable. Crowds of native spectators lined the sides of the road, on horseback, on foot, in springless carts, in waggons, and in chairs, all apparently in the greatest good humour, expressed by smiles and grins, and exclamations of delight. Carried in chairs were numbers of Chinese ladies, but the gauze curtains at the sides and front kept them mostly from our view; many well-looking Tartar ladies, however, in their silken robes, were less scrupulous in permitting us to witness their charms.

The only objects of art that attracted notice, on this public road leading to the capital, were a temple or pagoda of the usual kind, and, near it, a bridge of white marble, with balustrades bearing sculptured figures of lions and other animals of the same material. A little beyond these the walls and the lofty gate of the capital appeared in view.

On approaching them, we found the walls to be about thirty feet in height, flanked with square towers at bow-shot distance, perhaps about seventy yards apart; the base of the wall was about twenty-five feet thick, reduced by the slope to twelve feet at the top within the parapet; the middle part of the wall being of earth, held together by two retaining walls of blue brick, interspersed here and there with blocks of granite. The south-east gate, through which we entered, is sur-

mounted by a lofty tower of several tiers of port-holes, closed with painted red doors, appearing not unlike the sham-ports in the side of a ship of war. A second gate encloses a space of ground surrounded by buildings appropriated to military purposes, as the depôt for provisions and ammunition, and barracks for the men, the whole being meant as a *place d'armes*. On this side of the city there are three such gates, and on each of the other three sides two, from which Peking is sometimes called the *City of Nine Gates*.*

In passing from the south-eastern to the north-western gates of Peking, I shall merely notice the objects that met the eye along this route. The first street is wide and straight; the line of buildings on each side of it were shops and warehouses, mostly with open fronts, and in or before which were displayed every possible variety of wares for sale; among other articles coffins for the dead, splendidly gilt and ornamented, were most numerous and made the greatest show, equalled only by the brilliant display of funeral-biers and marriage-cars, with their highly decorated canopies of sky-blue or bright green with gold devices, which were really handsome. Similar decorations and flags were placed before the several houses, exhibiting two long lines of waving colours, of different shape, displaying every variety of tint.

Independent of the valuable wares and merchandise thus arrayed in front of the houses, a multitude of moveable workshops of tinkers and barbers, of cobblers and blacksmiths, together with tents and booths, where tea and rice and fruit with various kinds of eatables,

* I had many opportunities of passing and re-passing the north-western gate, and they are all on the same plan.

were to be sold, had contracted the street, spacious as it was, to a narrow road in the middle, scarcely wide enough to allow two little carts to pass each other: yet, within this narrow space were processions bearing umbrellas, flags, and painted lanterns—trains carrying corpses to their graves with lamentable cries—others with squalling music conducting brides to their husbands—troops of dromedaries laden with coals from Tartary—wheelbarrows and hand-carts stuffed with vegetables; and if to these be added, numbers of pedlars with their packs, jugglers and conjurers and fortune-tellers, musicians and comedians, mountebanks, and quack-doctors—with all these impediments, so little room was left for the persons of the embassy, that it was nearly three hours before we reached the north-western gate.

The great street, we had thus with some difficulty passed through, leads directly to the eastern wall of the imperial palace, that forms one side of that through which we had next to pass. This wall, with its four sides, encloses all the buildings and gardens appertaining to the imperial residence in the capital, and is of itself a remarkable object, being covered along its whole extent with a yellow roof, of a deep and brilliant colour, and so highly varnished as to look like gold. Turning to the right, we had on one side the imperial wall, and on the other a range of private houses. On a second turn to the left, at the end of this street, we had now the northern side of the imperial wall also on our left, and on the right were private houses, without any display in front, and with very little bustle in this part of the Tartarian city.

About the centre of this northern side of the palace

wall are three gates, or rather a treble gate, before which we halted, with an intention perhaps to afford us a glance through them of the imperial gardens, consisting of a large space of ground, which, we could observe, was artificially laid out in hills and valleys, the one being thrown up by the materials taken from the other, and some of the excavations supplied with water, in which were small islands with light buildings upon them; and the hills were covered with groups of trees or large shrubs.

Proceeding to the north-west we passed a double gate, similar to that through which we had entered, not a little overjoyed on finding ourselves once more upon a flagged causeway, bad as it was, and in an open country, having first passed a small suburb beyond the gate. We were conducted to a villa said to belong to the Emperor, about eight miles from the capital, containing a number of small and mean detached apartments, scattered over a surface of ground of about fifteen acres, all of them miserably out of repair, and in so dirty and ruinous a condition as to be totally uninhabitable. The officers Van and Chou were immediately desired to notify to the officers of the court, that these were not accommodations suitable to the dignity of a British Ambassador, who had, however, already communicated his determination to have nothing to do with them, and had insisted upon his immediate removal to Peking. The peremptory decision was immediately responded to; and it was announced that a suitable house in Peking was ready for his Excellency's reception.

On returning to the capital, the premises were found to be large enough, but the numerous apartments all

shamefully dirty and wholly unfurnished; in other respects it was said to be one of the best that Peking afforded. It was built, it seems, by a *hopoo*, or collector of customs at Canton, thence preferred to the same situation at Tien-sing, where, for his roguery in embezzling the revenues, he was thrown into gaol, and his property confiscated. Our conductors told us, that on proposing this house to the Emperor for the use of the British Ambassador, the good old gentleman replied, "Most certainly; you cannot refuse the temporary occupation of a house to the Ambassador of that nation, which contributed so very largely towards the expense of building it." It was in fact a Chinese palace.

It consisted of a large space of ground divided into several courts, with detached buildings on the sides, and artificial rocks crowned with stunted trees rising out of basins of water. Its whole appearance, however, was, to an English taste, destitute of everything like convenience or comfort; which happened to be of less importance, as it was speedily announced, that the Emperor wished the introduction of the Ambassador should take place at Gehol, in Tartary, about 140 miles from Peking; that such of the presents as were most valuable and the least bulky should be presented there; and that the large and valuable mechanical and scientific instruments should be fitted up in the great hall of audience at Yuen-min-Yuen, for the Emperor's inspection at his return: and now my charge began to be serious. To prepare for this, Dr. Dinwiddie and myself, with our two mechanics, had apartments allotted to us in the palace of Yuen-min-Yuen, and the remainder of the suite, not intended for Tartary, were to be left in Peking.

Having picked up some little knowledge of the spoken language (difficult only in catching the correct tone of pronunciation) on the passage from England and since our arrival in China, by the assistance of our two Chinese Catholic priests, and also from our attendant mandarins and the bargemen, I was less annoyed at this temporary banishment, more especially as the principal officers of the establishment of Yuen-min-Yuen were directed to grant me unconditional leave, whenever I should find it necessary or proper, to visit the capital, where the mass of our property remained, and also to afford me the means of doing so ; and it is but justice to say, that a horse or one of the small covered carts was always at my disposal. From the Chinese servants who were granted to me, and the numerous mandarins and workmen appointed to arrange the presents, I extended the little knowledge I had previously acquired of their language.

On my first arrival at this palace, I found Chinese workmen busily employed in breaking open the packages, to my no small alarm for the globes, clocks, glass lustres, and other frangible articles, the danger to which I considered to be inevitable, as indeed it would have been if entrusted to less careful and dexterous hands than those of Chinese, of which I had already experience. On the conveyance of these valuable articles to the great audience-hall I had the satisfaction to find that not a single article was either missing or injured.

After having positively rejected a set of mean apartments, and very dirty withal, I succeeded in obtaining some that were larger and more decent, which our attending mandarin took care to tell me belonged to one of the ministers of state. A gentleman now intro-

duced himself to me, whom, though in a Chinese dress, I immediately perceived to be a European. He spoke Latin, said his name was Deodato, a Neapolitan missionary, ordered by the court to act as interpreter; he offered his best services, and hoped he might prove useful to us: and it is due to him to say that, during a five weeks' residence here, I received from him the most friendly and unremitting attention. Signor Deodato was an excellent mechanic, and, in that capacity, was of great value in keeping in order the numerous pieces of clockwork, previously here assembled, having found their way from London *viâ* Canton.

To make amends for the shabby kind of apartments, considered good enough, however, for a minister of state, we sat down to an excellent dinner, consisting of a great variety of dishes neatly dressed and served up in porcelain bowls. The best soup I ever tasted anywhere was here, made from an extract of beef, seasoned with a preparation of soy and other ingredients. Some vermicelli we found delicate, and all the pastry, made with the flour of buck-wheat, was unusually light and white as snow. Our fruit was iced, and it appeared that in the neighbourhood of the capital ice is within the reach of the poorest peasant.

An old eunuch, who seemed to be the guardian and director-general of the palace, by his interference and inquisitiveness, was the only cause of interruption to the unpacking and distribution of the valuable instruments for the Emperor; but I soon put a stop to his meddling in matters that did not belong to him and of which he knew nothing. As soon as we got them set up in the hall of audience, visitors of all ranks, from princes of the blood to the lower class of mandarins

and plain citizens, came daily to look at the presents, and principally at the English *tribute-bearers*, whom, I believe, they considered as the greatest of the curiosities. Among the visitors came, one day in great state, the president of the tribunal of mathematics, accompanied by Govea, a Portuguese missionary and titular bishop of Peking; also Padré Antonio and his secretary—all three members of this learned tribunal. Their object was to make themselves acquainted with the nature and use of the astronomical instruments, and more especially of the grand planetarium, in order that they might be able to give a correct description and explanation to His Imperial Majesty, and to afford proper answers to such questions as might be asked.

From the few questions that were put by the president of this learned body respecting the planetarium, it seemed that the only conception he had of it was, that in the principle of its construction it was similar to one of those curious pieces of musical mechanism (only on a larger scale) which in the Canton jargon are called *sing-songs*; and that it was only necessary to wind it up, like a jack, to set it a-going when it would tell him all he wanted to know. The bishop and his companions appeared by their questions to be little superior in mathematical and astronomical science to the president. This gentleman, however, was apparently of a mild and placid temper, pleasing in his manners, and of a modest and unassuming deportment. His secretary was a keen, sharp fellow, very inquisitive, and wrote down the answer to every question proposed. Next day the bishop came unattended by any of the Chinese members of the board; and I learned from him that the

astronomical part of the national almanac, such as calculating the eclipses, the times of new and full moon, the rising and setting of the sun, &c., were entrusted to him and his colleagues ; and he admitted that their calculations were much assisted and facilitated by the *Connoissances de Tems*, which they regularly received ; and from this, and by knowing the precise difference of the meridians of Paris and Peking, they were enabled to give all that was necessary for the Chinese to know ; that the astrological part of the almanac was entirely under the direction of the Chinese president and members of the board. He admitted, however, that there were two or three intelligent Chinese, who had made themselves acquainted with the principles on which eclipses are calculated. How often, when among these people, did I think of my poor old friend Gibson, and how much I was indebted to him !

The two elegant carriages made by Hatchett were objects of great admiration ; but it was a puzzling question for the Chinese to decide, which part was intended for the Emperor's seat?—the neat and commodious seats, with their cushions inside, with the windows and the blinds, and every part within, were elegantly fitted for the reception of none but the monarch ; but then a question arose, who was to occupy the elevated position, with its splendid hammer-cloth, edged with gold and decorated with festoons of roses ? To determine the disputed point, the old eunuch, who had a particular affection for the carriages, applied to me, and when told that the Emperor's place was within, and that the elevated seat was for the man that drove the horses—with the usual ejaculation of surprise, *hai-ya !* he asked me if I supposed the *ta-whang-tee* would suffer any man to sit

above him, and to turn his back upon him? "That," he said, "will never do," and asked, if the splendid coach-box could not be substituted for the seat within the carriage or placed behind it?

The Emperor, however, it seems, never once troubled himself about these carriages, if we are to credit the Dutch account; for it is reported by them, who speedily followed us to Peking, that they found them stripped of all the ornamental parts, and bundled into an outhouse behind a parcel of dirty carts.

I had some difficulty in explaining to the mandarins the names, titles, and offices of a collection of portraits, which Lord Macartney had presented to the Emperor at Gehol, and which his majesty had despatched to Yuen-min-Yuen, to be translated into the Mantchoo and Chinese languages. We got over the names pretty well; that of the Duke of Marlborough being written down *Too-ke Ma-ul-po-loo*; of Bedford *Pe-té-fo-ul-te*, &c.; but the portrait of the latter, having been taken in his boyhood, when I desired the Chinese secretary to write him down as a *ta-gin*, or great man of the second order, he immediately said, "I suppose you mean his father was a *ta-gin*." I explained to him that with us neither age, nor superior talents, nor great acquirements, were necessary to obtain the appellation of *ta-gin*, to which many of our legislators were entitled by birth: he also exclaimed *hai-ya!* laughed heartily at the idea of a man being born a legislator, when so many years of close application were required, to enable one of their countrymen to pass his examination even, for the very lowest order of state-officers. But as the Emperor can confer a sort of nominal rank on the descendants of Confucius, but not such as to entitle to office, emolument, or

exclusive privilege, they agreed to put down his Grace as one of that description, positively refusing to give him the title of *ta-gin*, alleging that the Emperor was not so stupid as to believe, that a little boy could have attained the rank of a *great man*.

On the 14th of September, three days before the Emperor's birth-day, Padré Anselmo came to tell me that he feared all was not right at Gehol; that the Tartar legate had been degraded from his rank for deceiving the Emperor, and for not having paid his personal respects to the Ambassador on board ship, when in Tien-sing roads; that his peacock's feather had been exchanged for a crow's tail; and that regard for his age and his family alone had saved him from banishment. The Emperor, it seems, having heard that the Ambassador's portrait was suspended in the cabin of the 'Lion,' asked the legate if it was like him, when it came out that he had never been near the 'Lion,' as his order directed him, but had reported that it had been obeyed.

Two days after this, on going to the hall of audience, I found the doors shut, and the old eunuch walking about in so sullen a mood that he would not speak to me. Groups of officers were assembled in the court-yard, all looking as if something very dreadful either had happened or was about to happen. Nobody would speak to me, nor could I get any explanation of this extraordinary conduct; though I concluded it could be no other than the result of a temporary anger of the old Emperor, for the deception that had been practised on him. At length my friend Deodato made his appearance, with a countenance not less woeful than those of the government officers. I asked him what had occurred? His answer was, "We are all lost, ruined, and undone. Lord

Macartney has refused to comply with the ceremony of prostrating himself nine times before the Emperor, unless a Chinese officer, of equal rank with himself, shall go through the same ceremony before the portrait of his Britannic Majesty; or, that his Lordship's proposal, which he had now to offer, should be accepted—namely, that he himself would perform the same ceremony of respect to his Imperial Majesty, which he is required to do to his own sovereign. And Deodato observed that whatever might be thought of this at Gehol, the great officers of state, in the tribunal of rites and ceremonies in Peking, were, he knew, outrageous, perplexed, and alarmed; in short, that it could not be conceived what might be the consequences of allowing an ancient custom to be broken through, and a new one, of a barbarous nation, to be adopted in lieu of it. But Deodato was, moreover, fearful that the ill effects of it might extend to his own class.

The only visible result upon *us* at Yuen-min-Yuen was the abridgment of our table in the number and quality of the dishes—the usual mode among the Chinese of manifesting their displeasure. Something of the same kind, it appeared, had taken place at Gehol: from the time that the Ambassador began to demur to the ceremony, and to offer conditions, attempts were made to starve him into compliance by an abridgment of his table; finding that to fail, they had recourse to an opposite plan, and became full of liberality, kindness, and complaisance.

On the 21st of September the Ambassador returned to Peking, and notice was issued that, on the 30th, the Emperor would inspect the presents at Yuen-min-Yuen. They were all perfectly ready, and I was not a little

delighted at the idea of turning them over to the Chinese. This was the day fixed for his intended return, and it was notified to the Ambassador, that it was a usual compliment for all public officers to meet him on the road ten or twelve miles from the capital, and that it would be so considered, if his Excellency and suite would join in the ceremony. There was nothing unreasonable in this, and accordingly the whole suite were mounted and arrived on the ground about six in the morning. This road was newly made for the occasion, beautifully rolled smooth and level, well watered, and on each side were, at intervals of about fifty yards, triangles of poles erected, from which were suspended painted lanterns. On the margins of the road, as far as the eye could reach, were thousands of state-officers in habits of ceremony—Tartar troops in their holiday-dresses—standard-bearers without number—military music and household officers lining the two sides of the road. The approach of the Emperor was announced by a blast of trumpets, followed by softer music; and the description, in an ancient and hallowed record, is so strikingly similar to the one in question as to be here appropriately applied: “And at that time, when all the people heard the sound of the cornet, flutes, harps, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of music, then the princes, the governors, and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces that were gathered together, fell down and worshipped”—save and except, it may be added, certain strangers who were present and obstinately resolved to do no greater homage to any sovereign, than that which is required by their own, and who contented themselves by volun-

tarily bending one knee to the ground, as the Emperor of China passed by.

Seated in a clumsy state-chariot, his Majesty bowed very graciously to the Ambassador as he passed, and sent a message to say that, understanding he was not well, he advised him to return immediately to Peking, and not to stop at Yuen-min-Yuen, as had been intended and arranged on leaving Gehol.

The following day, the 1st of October, the Emperor, attended by a Tartar officer, inspected the presents in the hall of audience, and examined many of them more attentively than I could have imagined. He desired the Tartar prince to tell us, through Deodato, that the accounts he had received of our good conduct at Yuen-min-Yuen had given him great pleasure; and that he had ordered a present to be made to each of us, as a proof of his entire satisfaction. The present consisted of rolls of silk, and pieces of silver cast in the form of a Tartar shoe, each being about an ounce in weight. They were delivered by the old eunuch, who wished to exact from us the usual prostrations, even after the Emperor had departed; but I only laughed at him, and asked him where the bamboos were kept; he understood me, gave a grin and a growl, and walked away. I thought it right, however, to desire Deodato to explain to the Tartar prince, who remained, that we had no objection to do as the Ambassador had done at Gehol, and which had been repeated by us on meeting the Emperor; and he immediately said that nothing more was required: accordingly, on receiving the presents, we each placed one knee on the lowest step leading to the throne. I told Lord Macartney what we had done, and he said it was perfectly correct.

In the course of our remaining here, I walked a great deal over the park, and made a rough estimate of its extent—including the gardens and pleasure-grounds of Yuen-min-Yuen—as occupying a space of nine or ten miles in diameter, or about sixty thousand acres. Of those parts contiguous to the palace, which may be supposed the most carefully cultivated, and the numerous pavilions and ornamental buildings in the best order, I can say nothing in praise; no care whatever appeared to be taken of any, nor regard had to cleanliness. The general appearance of the surface, broken into hill and dale, and diversified with wood and lawn, bore some resemblance to Richmond Park, with the addition of large sheets of water, generally covered with a blue water-lily—the *Nymphaea nelumbo* (or *nelumbium*?)—a favourite flowering plant with the Chinese, and possessing something of a sacred character. I saw none of those extravagant beauties and picturesque embellishments which Sir William Chambers has given of Chinese gardening; nothing of the kind appeared within the scope of my rambles, which, however, close to the palace, were mostly made by stealth; for the old eunuch and his gang were continually on the watch to prevent us going beyond the boundary of the audience hall. One day, on strolling towards a large pavilion within a garden, I heard the old monster screaming and running after me, “*Neu-gin, neu-gin, poo hao!*”—Women, women, not good! Not wishing to take any notice, I turned my back upon the ladies, and strolled in an opposite direction.

The only room worth noticing is the hall of audience, which stands alone at the head of a large court-yard; its dimensions within are, length 110 feet, breadth 42,

and height 20; the ceiling painted with a variety of colours, in circles, squares, and polygons, whimsically disposed. The throne, placed in a recess, is entirely of wood resembling mahogany, and beautifully carved. A few porcelain vases, a pair of kettle-drums, a few volumes of manuscripts, and an old English chimney-clock, with the name of Clarke, Leadenhall Street, which the old eunuch had the impudence to tell me was made by a Chinese, constituted the chief part of the visible furniture. A few wretched attempts at sculpture, and some bronze figures, were here and there seen in the courts, the objects fanciful, distorted, and entirely out of nature.

The park and garden at Gehol, called *Van-choo-yewen*—or garden of ten thousand trees—which the Emperor gave directions to the first minister should be shown to Lord Macartney, appears by his Lordship's description to be very different from, and much superior to, Yuen-min-Yuen. He was conducted over the whole park, and has given a detailed and animated description of the endless beauties that met his inquiring eye. He says,—

“It would be an endless task were I to attempt a detail of all the wonders of this charming place. There is no beauty of distribution, no feature of amenity, no reach of fancy, which embellishes our pleasure-grounds in England, that is not to be found here. Had China been accessible to Mr. Browne or Mr. Hamilton, I should have sworn they had drawn their happiest ideas from the rich sources which I have tasted this day; for, in the course of a few hours, I have enjoyed such vicissitudes of rural delight, as I did not conceive could be felt out of England, being at different moments en-

chanted by scenes perfectly similar to those I had known there—to the magnificence of Stowe, the softer beauties of Woburn, and the fairy-land of Paine's Hill."*

From a covered pavilion, situated on an elevated summit, commanding a vast extent, his Lordship says,—

“The radius of the horizon I should suppose to be at least twenty miles from the central spot where we stood; and certainly, so rich, so various, so beautiful, so sublime a prospect my eyes had never beheld. I saw everything before me as on an illuminated map—palaces, pagodas, towns, villages, farm-houses, plains, and valleys watered by innumerable streams, hills waving with woods, and meadows covered with cattle of the most beautiful marks and colours. All seemed to be nearly at my feet, and that a step would convey me within reach of them.” And he adds, “If any place in England can be said, in any respect, to have similar features to the western park, which I have seen this day, it is Lowther Hall, in Westmoreland, which (when I knew it many years ago) from the extent of prospect, the grand surrounding objects, the noble situation, the diversity of surface, the extensive woods, and command of water, I thought might be rendered, by a man of sense, spirit, and taste, the finest scene in the British dominions.”†

Having learned at Yuen-min-Yuen that preparations were making by the officers of government for our departure, I rode over to Pekin to give Lord Macartney information of what was occurring; and, being himself desirous of having the day fixed for this purpose, he despatched a note to the first minister, who returned an

* Lord Macartney's MS. Journal.

† Ibid.

answer by the Tartar legate, to inform him that, in order to prevent any likelihood of being surprised by the approaching bad weather, the Emperor had named the 7th instant (October) for the commencement of the journey; and had issued his orders that every honour and distinction should be paid to the embassy on the road.

SECTION V.

Leave Yuen-min-Yuen and Pekin, on a Journey to Canton, by the Grand Canal, by various Rivers, and by Land, comprising a Distance of Twelve to Thirteen Hundred Miles.

HAVING now carefully examined and seen that all the valuable presents for the Emperor were properly placed, and gone over the catalogue with Deodato, in presence of the old eunuch and an officer belonging to the palace, I gave notice to our small party to be ready the following morning to depart for Pekin. The kind Deodato called on me to take leave, and thus gave me the opportunity of expressing to him, how much I felt indebted for his valuable assistance, and for the constant and friendly attention I had experienced at his hands. He was a gentleman well deserving a higher and more desirable situation than that in which his destiny had placed him; but he said that, so long as he gave satisfaction to his employers at home, and was treated respectfully by the Chinese authorities, he was not disposed to complain. He was a highly-gifted and an amiable man.

On arriving at our hotel in Peking, the Ambassador and the whole of his suite (except Mr. Maxwell and myself), the soldiers, servants, and musicians left Peking about two hours after our joining; some of them on horses, others in the country carriages, forming a sort of procession, before which a Chinese officer on horseback took the lead, having the letter of the Emperor of China to the King of England slung across his shoulders, in a case covered with yellow silk.

As soon as we had settled our final accounts with the Chinese officers and servants attached to our hotel, Mr. Maxwell and I, in the evening of the 7th of October, rode through the streets of Peking for the last time. We were quite alone, not a single Chinese servant, soldier, or officer to conduct us; but I had no difficulty in finding the way to and from our hotel to the broad streets, through which we had before passed, and along which we now proceeded without the least molestation, or indeed, I may say, without the least notice. The difference between the appearance of the streets of Peking and of London is very striking; in the former the crowds of the day retire in the evening to eat their rice, and, following the example of their great Emperor, go to bed with the setting sun; in the morning, when the day begins to dawn, the buzz and the bustle of the populace is like that of a swarm of bees: just the reverse is that of our streets and population, more especially in the early part of the morning, when London is a perfect desert. The late Admiral Sir Roger Curtis was in the habit of mounting his horse, on summer mornings at three o'clock, to ride through the deserted streets of London, when, he said, their geography, and the plans and elevations of the buildings,

appeared at once to the eye unobstructed by the multitudes of the day. At eight in the evening the gates of Peking are shut, and the keys sent to the governor. When Lord Amherst and his party approached the south-eastern gate, it was shut, and his Lordship and the whole of his suite were obliged to travel a great part of the night outside the walls, over a most detestable road, and only arrived at their destination the following morning at daylight.

We had not much time to spare to save us from being locked within the city walls; and it was at a late hour that we joined the rest of the party in the suburbs of Tong-choo-foo, where we were once more lodged among the gods of the nation, in a spacious temple, whose priests are so accustomed to give way to the officers of state, as to resign to us also the temporary use of their apartments without a murmur. Once more we found here so many scorpions and scolopendras within doors, and such myriads of mosquitoes with the incessant noise of the chirping cicadas without, as to defy all attempts to sleep, when the more noisy gong summoned the holy men to their morning devotions, and us to prepare for our embarkation on the Pei-ho.

We found the river now much more shallow, and the barges proportionably smaller, than on our ascent of it, but they were very commodious; and those worthy officers Van and Chou had taken care that no expense should be spared to make our journey as pleasant and comfortable as the nature of the country permitted. Having observed that we were in the habit of using milk to our tea, they had purchased two fine cows in full milk, and prepared a yacht for their reception, to afford us a supply of that article. Whenever

we had to pass near the residence of a chief officer, an entertainment was prepared, and in order to make it more acceptable served up, as they thought, in the English style ; so that we had hogs roasted whole, quarters of mutton, geese, ducks, and fowls the same ; a mode of cookery altogether differing from the practice of the country, which is that of stewing small morsels of meat with greens or rice, and rich sauces.

At Tien-sing, however, our chief conductor, *Sun-ta-gin*, had prepared a sumptuous entertainment, consisting of excellent mutton, pork, venison, and poultry of all kinds, together with a great variety of confectionary, peaches, plums, grapes, chesnuts, and walnuts. Our dignified chief allowed us to walk on shore as much as we pleased, but cautioned us not to go far from the banks, for fear of retarding the yachts or being left behind—hinting at the same time that Van and Chou would be held responsible for any accident that might happen while under the protection of the Emperor.

At some distance from the city, and bordering on the river, was observed an extensive burying-ground, ornamented with weeping willows and cypresses interspersed among the tombs. In a corner of this cemetery was a small temple, with an altar in the centre, and before it I noticed an elderly lady busily employed in drawing out the sticks of fate, but she missed the fortunate number. During the shaking of the cup her countenance expressed much eagerness and anxiety, and her manner betrayed a peevish and muttering tone on leaving the temple, which made me think we had disturbed her in the midst of her devotions. The keeper, one of the inferior priests, being asked by our interpreter what her object was, said, “Nothing less than to draw for a

favourable chance of being blessed with a second husband, the hope of which had been demolished by the decree of fate."

These fatalists are the lowest of the three classes of priesthood in China, said to have existed from the time of Confucius, under the name of Tao-tsé, a sect invented by one Lao-keun—impostors who pretend to deal in magic, to possess the elixir of long life, and to tell fortunes—in all of which they appear to have plenty of custom from the lower classes. The doctrine left them by their founder is truly Epicurean—to live happily is the chief end of man—to take no concern about this life—to eat, to drink, and to sleep are the great blessings of life—and to subdue every passion of the mind that interferes with self-enjoyment.

When with much delay and difficulty we had got through the crowds of shipping at Tien-sing, among which were said to be about five hundred of the Emperor's revenue-vessels with grain for the capital, we turned into the Eu-ho or Yun-leang-ho (the corn-bearing river), which flows from the westward and falls into the Pei-ho just below the city of Tien-sing, situated partly above the point of confluence and partly below it, thus partaking the benefit of the two rivers. The country through which the Eu-ho flows is perfectly level, yet the river runs with such a rapid stream as to require eighteen or twenty trackers to each yacht. We travelled slowly, and towns, villages, and cities, surrounded by walls higher than the roofs of the houses, were constantly in sight. The country wore a pleasing and cheerful aspect; it was harvest-time, and wheat, buck-wheat, and various kinds of millet were under the reapers' hands. Several cotton plantations

were observed with the pods well formed, but not yet ripe.

The usual ceremonies of the full moon delayed us some time. The noisy gong, the harsh squalling music, and the fireworks were continued through the night, and ceased only with the appearance of the sun. In addition to these noises of gongs, trumpets, and crackers, our ears were frequently assailed by the cries of persons under the punishment of the bamboo or whip, for claiming exemption from the service of tracking the barges. When brought together in the morning, it was impossible not to regard these poor people with an eye of pity.

A favourable breeze brought us speedily into the province of Shan-tung at a place called Lin-tsin, where the Grand Canal joins its waters to the Eu-ho, into which it flows with a gentle current, the bed of the river being consequently on a lower level than that of the canal, which appears to have been cut down in a sloping direction from the highest point of land where the river Luen-ho joins from the eastward. The projector would seem to have taken this summit level for the commencement of his undertaking, by which he had the advantage of obtaining two opposite currents, the one flowing towards the Eu-ho, the other towards the Whang-ho, or Yellow River, and of procuring a supply of water for both branches by means of the Luen-ho being made to strike against the western stone bank of the canal by which its stream becomes divided, and flows north and south.

These two currents thus flowing in opposite directions, required some management to make the canal navigable through both arms, on either of which, if left simply as it was, the craft could only be floated down the current

one way. To remedy this defect he caused grooves to be cut in the projecting stone piers of the banks, contracting the width of the canal at certain distances, for planks to slide in, and thus form so many dams, and also a succession of tranquil basins. To regulate and keep up a proper supply of water, openings are made in the two banks of the canal, at the most suitable places, according to the nature of the surface of the country, to let in or out such a quantity of water, as the deficiency or redundancy may require.

At the junction of the Grand Canal with the Eu-ho is the city of Lin-tsin, and near it a tall pagoda of eight or nine stories. These buildings are not of frequent occurrence in China; they appertain exclusively to the Budhists, the second in reputation of the three sects. Their doctrine is derived from the Hindus: their founder, Budh or Fo, was one of the avatars of Vishnu, was expelled by the Brahmins, and he and his followers spread their doctrines through Siam, Pegu, Thibet, and a great part of Tartary, whence it proceeded to China. They have a story, that when Budh withdrew himself from among the living, they burned his body and placed the ashes of his bones in eight vases or urns, and having built a pyramid of eight stories, deposited an urn in each story. Their common exclamation, *O-me-to-fo!* is written up in gilt letters in most of their temples.

We found no impediment or stoppage the whole way. A sufficient number of men are stationed at every dam to hoist up the planks, by windlasses, as soon as the barges intending to pass are collected close to the dams: and the navigation of the canal was as pleasant and agreeable as could be wished. The banks generally swarmed with people of all classes, chiefly

peasantry, when not in the neighbourhood of some city, which was of daily occurrence. The province of Shantung, in the vicinity of the canal, was observed on both banks to be well cultivated. I walked through several large fields of the cotton-plant; the full-grown and opening pods exhibited the wool beautifully white. I sought among the several beds for the yellow tinged which we call *nankin*, but found none; and was told by an intelligent farmer that it grew plentifully in Kiangnan. The wheat here had been cut, but three or four species of millet were very luxuriant; I observed they were all planted in rows, and single-stemmed, as if they had been dibbled. In the swampy grounds rice was the chief culture: the cyperus and the scirpus flourished in the dividing ditches. The musk and water melon, pumpkins, cucumbers, onions, and garlic, and the *pei-tsai* or white herb, were abundant near the farm-houses. Clumps of trees, more particularly large elms, willows, and ash, appeared only near the pagodas or temples, the cemeteries, and the officers' houses.

On descending from the summit level of the canal at *Luen-ho* to the south, we reached what appeared to be a vast extent of swampy ground or marshy country, in which was situated a city named Tse-ning, and near it a lake, of the same name, of considerable extent: and we found that, from this to the proximity of the Yellow River, the whole surface of the country, on both sides, consisted of lakes and canals, and stagnant rivers, which we should call ditches. Small villages and isolated hovels were visible on every elevation left free from the watery element. Boats innumerable were mostly employed in fishing, in all the various ways in which

the finny tribe are caught, and among others by the fishing-pelican.

We were now running parallel with, and at no great distance from, the Yellow River; and the nature of the country, through which its waters were carried into the Yellow Sea, was a sufficient indication that the labour and expense, as well as the perpetual source of terror to the natives, were no exaggerations; and that the anxiety on the part of the government was to obviate, as far as possible, the threatened destruction of millions of acres, and with them of no less a number of human beings, by the overwhelming irruptions of this mighty river which so frequently take place. On a nearer approach to it, the current of the canal, on account of the entire level of the country, had altogether ceased.

In one place the projectors of the canal had apparently deviated from the direct line, to obtain an immediate communication with an extensive lake, the object of which was, as we soon found, to give to the canal the advantage of a large bay, for the accommodation of shipping requiring to pass and repass its mouth, at the point of junction with the Yellow River. On the western bank they had caused to be erected across a portion of the said lake a long causeway, on stone arches, which answered the double purpose of a free boat-passage between the canal and the lake, and also that of a firm road for the trackers employed in tracking the barges on the canal. The vast surface of water and of swampy ground, with which we had for some days been surrounded on all sides, had a sensible effect on the temperature of the air; the thermometer, towards the end of October, having descended in the mornings and evenings to 39° and 40°.

On the 31st of October, having got clear of the lakes, swamps, and morasses, we entered suddenly upon a different and most delightful country, crowded with cities, towns, and villages; the first rarely wanting the usual embellishments of pagodas and high turreted walls. The surface of the country was now picturesque, broken into hill and dale, both well clothed, the summits of the former generally crowned with forest-trees, and the latter smiling with cultivation. The canal, too, from the time we had passed the arched causeway, had begun to put on an appearance of increased magnificence, being here not less than a thousand feet in width, and bordered with stone quays, composed of large blocks of grey marble, intermixed with others of granite. Soon, however, by the contraction of the canal, we found the current, setting towards the river, to be from two to three miles an hour: and the bustle and activity among the multitudes that crowded the banks, and the number of imperial barges on the canal, some moving and others at anchor, gave strong and certain indication, that we were fast approaching the point for launching into the Yellow River, which was confirmed by an uninterrupted town extending for two or three miles on each bank of the canal, to the point of confluence with that river.

Previously, however, to committing our barges to this powerful stream, which rolled along in a rapid torrent, certain ceremonies were deemed necessary to propitiate the ruling deity. An animal of some kind was to be sacrificed—generally a fowl or a pig, with cups of oil, wine, and salt; the last article never omitted. Our little fleet amounted to thirty sail of barges; and, when crossing about the middle of the

stream, the gongs struck up a tremendous noise, accompanied by volleys of squibs and crackers, which ceased only when all were safe on the other side.

Whatever credit we may be disposed to give the Chinese for their ingenuity, in facilitating a communication between most parts of the empire, by canals, it is not easy to comprehend what could have restrained them from affording the same facility by means of good roads, more especially in those parts that have no navigations, and in the northern districts towards the capital, where, for three or four months, all the canals and lakes are bound up in ice. The misery experienced by the Dutch embassy, which travelled to Peking by land, would be almost incredible, even in the least civilised of all countries. From a MS. journal lent to me, the state of the country they were carried over was wretched in the extreme—thrust into little mean bamboo chairs, each borne by four men, so weak and tottering, as to break down with fatigue, frequently in the middle of the night, where not a hovel of any description was to be seen, to shelter them in the midst of winter from the inclemency of the weather; their lodgings, where any, were so miserable, admitting the wind, rain, or snow on every side, that they generally preferred to rest in their bamboo chairs. But many of the details are too disgusting to repeat. Van Braam, a jolly fat fellow, who, from the luxurious life of Batavia, underwent a state of starvation in China, writes to his friend that he had returned as thin as a shotten herring.

Whether such ignoble and ungenerous treatment of a complimentary embassy was occasioned by some ancient dislike to this nation, or by its following so eagerly and

closely after that of the English, and was intended as a discouragement to any further missions of the kind from other nations, we have no means of knowing; but the reception of a second English embassy was not much better, in some respects, than that of the Dutch.

All I can say is, that nothing could be more comfortable or commodious than the whole of the inland navigation on the Grand Canal, and on the rivers of China, from the northern to the southern extremity of this vast empire; and nothing could exceed the unremitting care and attention of those great officers of state, to whom the charge of the embassy was entrusted, not to mention that of the Emperor himself.

We found, as expected, that the influence of the Yellow River, on the south side, with its inlets and outlets, had covered a vast extent of country with swamps and marshes. Beyond these, however, the province of Kiang-nan, in which we still were, rose into hills, and gave the indication of fertility, prosperity, and an abundant population. We were told, indeed—and we experienced it—that the part of the country which we had now reached, and as far as Hang-choo-foo, a distance of 250 miles, was the most beautiful, the best cultivated, the wealthiest, and the most populous of any district, of equal extent, in all China; there being not fewer than four celebrated cities of the first rank close to the banks of the Grand Canal, two of which, Sao-choo-foo and Hang-cho-foo, are among the finest and the most wealthy cities of China.

The face of the country now became enchanting, both before and after passing the great river of Yang-tse-kiang in its south-eastern course to the sea. I may at

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 *Kinshan*, 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 cheerful 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 coultter 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 'Hindustan' 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 aerial 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, Peking 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-tagin 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

through the required prostrations, in token of respect and gratitude to his Imperial Majesty for having vouchsafed us a pleasant and prosperous journey.

It is but justice to the Chinese Emperor and his government, as well as to the officers who had any concern in the affairs of the embassy, to declare that, as regarded ourselves, their conduct was uniformly marked by liberality, attention, and an earnest desire to please. And I may add, without being accused of national vanity, that, in the course of a long journey and daily intercourse, all prejudice against us as foreigners, if it at all existed, speedily disappeared; that, gained by our frank and open manners, they seemed to fly with pleasure to our society, as a relief from the stiff and tedious formalities they were obliged to assume in their official capacity. I have stated in another place * that our two worthy conductors, Van and Chou, constantly passed the evenings in some of our yachts, and I added—“It is impossible to speak of those two worthy men in terms equal to their desert: kind, condescending, unremitting in their attentions, they never betrayed one moment of ill humour from the time we landed in China till they took their final leave of us at Canton.” These two officers were capable, indeed, of real attachment. They insisted on accompanying the Ambassador on board the ‘Lion,’ where they took their last farewell. At parting they burst into tears, and showed the strongest marks of sensibility and concern. Their feelings quite overcame them, and they left the ‘Lion’ sorrowful and dejected. “And here,” says Lord Macartney, “our friends Van-ta-gin and Chou-ta-gin took leave of us. They shed tears at parting, and showed

* Travels in China.

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 Peking 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 Peking, 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 Peking, 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.

乙 *ya*, the same.

7 *yeun*, to descend.

丿 *chou*, a point.

丩 *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	一	<i>ye</i> , one.
	万	<i>van</i> , ten thousand—key above.
	上	<i>shang</i> , above—key below.
	下	<i>shia</i> , below—key at top.
	七	<i>shee</i> , seven—middle.
Second key	二	<i>ul</i> , two.
	云	<i>yun</i> , to speak.
	五	<i>ou</i> , the number five — one part above and one below.
	人 or 亻	<i>jin</i> , a man—a very numerous key.
	仕	<i>ché</i> , a young girl, ease, luxury.
	林	<i>shien</i> , commander of 1000 men.
	全	<i>king</i> , when, at the same time.
	口	<i>koo</i> , the mouth—a very extensive key.
	古	<i>koo</i> , and number ten, antiquity.
	吞	<i>koo</i> and <i>ta</i> (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.
月	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 Phonicum Scripturæ Sinicæ,' by Q. M. Gallery, Missionario Apostolico in China, 1841. Probably a Portuguese who writes in Latin and French.

船 *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; *min-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 ☽; the moon ☾ *yué*, to ☽; 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 Peking, 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 Edgumbe.

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 Drostry 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 *zyerwarké*, 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 *doornboom*, 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

Karoo, 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

8th Dragoons persisted in mounting the female; she kicked and plunged, and threw herself down, but the man kept his seat till the enraged animal, taking a leap from the high bank of the river, threw both herself and her rider into the water; but the soldier, still keeping hold of the bridle, was dragged by the zebra to the shore, where, walking up quietly to him, she put her head down to his face and completely bit off his ear. Some of the bystanders enjoyed the joke, and others condoled with the sufferer: "Now," said Pat, "it's just nothing at all, it will soon grow again."

Among the divers animals about this place were several ostriches, and one of our Hottentots found a nest full of eggs, and brought us a couple; he placed them in hot ashes, and by a small hole made in the end, stirred round the contents till they had acquired the consistence of an omelet, and certainly a better omelet never was eaten. Very often, in the course of my long journeys over the wilds of Africa, have I found an ostrich-egg thus prepared an excellent repast, and fully sufficient for two persons.

On the 17th, we proceeded about twenty-four miles over a rising country, but altogether barren, except that here and there were straggling over the surface a few species of the mesembryanthemum; and among them large patches of the curious and elegant ice-plant. At night the thermometer was down to the freezing-point. The Black Mountains, fifteen miles to the southward, were white with snow. The nights, indeed, from our first entering upon the Karroo Desert, had been so intensely cold, that our horses, accustomed to the stable, had become sick and low-spirited, and two of them died this day under the severity of the weather, a third had

a narrow escape ; several of the oxen had perished, but rather from want of food and water than from the coldness of the nights.

On the 18th, we encamped on the Dwyka, or Rhinoceros River, finding a few streamlets creeping over its bed. Though every part of the surrounding country was destitute of vegetation, a thick forest of mimosa covered the banks of this river, and followed it through all its windings.

Twenty miles, on the 19th, brought us to the Ghamka, or Lion's River, the whole of this distance being as level as a bowling-green, consisting of a hard compact bed of clay, tinged with iron. Not a swell to interrupt the line of the horizon, which was as unbroken as that seen over the surface of the sea ; in vain did the eye wander in search of tree or lofty shrub, or blade of grass, or living creature. The banks of the Ghamka, like those of the Dwyka, brought us some small relief from the horror of the land of utter desolation, over which we had just passed ; here, too, we had plenty of hares, partridges, mountain-geese, and wild-ducks to feed upon.

It may be thought, perhaps, that the time hung heavily on the mind during this long and dismal journey. Not in the least, as far as I was concerned ; whenever a hill or a distant mountain was visible, I took its bearing, and noted the hour at the time, and having proceeded to a given distance, pretty well ascertained by the regularity of the oxen's rate of travelling, I again intersected the line of bearing of the same mountain ; thus, together with the observed altitude of the sun at noon—by the artificial horizon when the natural one was uneven—I had the materials noted down for

transferring them to my chart, which I invariably kept in all my travels, with as much accuracy as circumstances would allow; and this, with my note-book, occupied a part of the evenings in my tent.

At our last station we learned from our accompanying boor, that at the distance of twelve miles to the southward, at the kloof, or entrance to the Zwarteberg Mountains, we should find a farm-house, and others farther on, which were within the district of Graaff Reynet; the landrost, therefore, thought it might be worth while to go somewhat out of our way, for the chance of procuring the loan of fresh teams of bullocks, many of ours having died, others being left to perish in the desert, and the rest so exhausted by the effects of cold, of bad water, and little food, as not to be likely to hold out the remaining part of the Karroo. We therefore proceeded; but before reaching the kloof, a party, mounted on horseback, were observed to be making for the waggons in full gallop. On coming up to the first, they stopped short and fired a discharge of musketry; loaded again, and proceeded in succession to every waggon; and then set off at full gallop back by the same way they had approached, and were out of sight in a few minutes. This manœuvre was interpreted to be a salute in honour of the landrost; and, moreover, as a change of sentiment or conduct—at least, of this portion of the Graaff-Reynettters.

We found here not only a friendly reception, but refreshments of all kinds; wine very tolerable, fruits of various kinds and of good quality, vegetables luxuriant, and cauliflowers measuring eighteen inches in diameter. The mistress of the mansion, at the age of sixty, the mother of sixteen children, was a tall, straight, well-

looking woman, and all the males were above the common size. The effect upon us of such a change, from starvation to abundance, may easily be conceived, but this was not all; we here completed our stock of provisions, and, having procured the loan of sixty stout bullocks, proceeded, on the 23rd, nearly thirty miles, to Sleutel Fonteyn: and, on the following day, encamped on the Traka River, which, however, contained little water, and that little both muddy and salt, its banks being covered with a pellicle of nitre, out of which was growing abundance of the salsola plant. At sunrise, thermometer five degrees below freezing-point.

On the 25th we reached the Great Loory Fonteyn; small quantities of water in holes, muddy, salt, and bitter. As the oxen had obtained no food but the shrivelled leaves or stems of the mesembryanthemum, our journey was continued, though in the dark, in search of some better place for refreshing the cattle. A little clump of mimosas and salsola were met with at the Little Loory Fonteyn.

We advanced about thirty miles the following day, over a naked surface of solid clay, and late at night pitched our tents in the midst of a meadow covered completely with herbage knee-deep. This sudden transition from unbounded barrenness to luxuriant vegetation had much the same effect on our hungry cattle, as our deviation from the desert to Zwarteberg's friendly people had upon us. The oxen, in their impatience, made no small havock in liberating themselves from their yokes and traces, to glut their empty stomachs with food. This place is named De Beer Valley, and is the recipient of small rivers from three several groups

of mountains. Here, too, was plenty of game: three species of antelope: the spring-bok, or *pygarga*; the gems-bok, or *oryx*; the koodoo, or *stripsiceros*.

The spring-bok is always met with in large herds: the peasantry will tell you, to the number sometimes of ten thousand, which is absurd; but in the course of my travels in South Africa I have met with a herd not much less, if at all, than a thousand; they will also tell you, that he will spring at a leap from fifteen to five-and-twenty feet; the hair on the rump, at every spring, sheds back on each side, and displays a surface of snowy whiteness. The gems-bok is a beautiful creature, and of larger size than the former; it is also the least timid of the antelope tribe, so that if closely pressed or wounded, it will sit down on its haunches and keep both sportsman and dogs at bay; in defence it strikes back its long straight-pointed horns, making it dangerous to be approached. The koodoo, on the contrary, though nearly the largest, is the most timid of the family; its body is marked with transverse white stripes on a bluish ground, its fine long horns are twisted in a spiral form, a black mane adorns its neck, and along the spine is a ridge of black hairs.

Our cattle having refreshed themselves with the herbage and mimosa leaves of this valley, we advanced about twenty miles to the Hottentot River, containing a little muddy water. Here, however, we were met by some inhabitants of Camdeboo, a district of Graaff Reynet, who, being apprised of the approach of the landrost, had come a journey of two days, bringing with them several teams of large fat oxen, to convey him to the Drosdy, where, he was informed, the well-disposed part of the district were anxiously expecting him.

On the 28th, our tents were pitched at the Poort, or narrow pass through a ridge of hills that stretch across the desert from the mountains of Camdeboo. Beyond this pass we had hoped to get rid of the interminable Karroo, but were disappointed. Twelve miles beyond it brought us to the first habitation, ten miles in advance to the second; fifteen miles beyond that to the third, which was the last that occurred till we had reached the Drosdy, and distant from it ten miles.

It was late in the evening of the 30th before we arrived at this village, at the entrance of which the landrost was received by a body of the boors on horseback, who welcomed him, in their usual manner, by a discharge of several platoons of musketry. The month of July was thus wholly expended in travelling about five hundred miles, of which sixteen or seventeen days were spent in crossing the dreary Karroo desert, whose width may be estimated to extend, from east to west, about three hundred miles, two-thirds of which, at least, I traversed on foot, with my little rifle in my hand, though game of any kind was so scarce as to be found only in the neighbourhood of the springs.

My travelling companion was not very brilliant, or very active: he stuck to his waggon nearly the whole journey, but spurred on his Malay cook in the preparation of our evening's repast; while I, in a separate tent, wrote out the minutes of the day's journey, and laid down our route on the chart, as already mentioned.

The first business of the landrost was to call a meeting of the inhabitants, to read to them his commission, to administer the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, to

appoint members of the Council, and to explain to them the views and intentions of the British Government, as intended to be pursued by his Excellency the Lord Macartney, who had arrived at the Cape, and assumed the government of the colony; that in addition to his (the landrost's) instructions, he had sent his own secretary, as a proof of the interest he took in the affairs of the colony, who would explain for their guidance the various points of the instructions that might be thought to require explanation; that he was directed to declare to them a general amnesty for the grave offences that had been committed by certain ill-disposed or mistaken persons, and that even to the offenders themselves he was authorised to hold out the olive-branch.

They all seemed to be much pleased, and departed to their homes, cordially shaking hands with the landrost and myself. There was, however, a party under the influence of a clever but mischievous boor, who at night, for the purpose of intimidation it was supposed, had assembled at a sort of tavern in the village, not far from the landrost's house, and whose noise, shouting, singing, and firing of muskets, gave great alarm to Mr. Bresler, who wished me to find out or see what they were really about. I tried to persuade him that it was nothing more than an ebullition of joy at his return, and for the general amnesty announced.

To ease his mind, however, I set off at once, entered the room where they were assembled, and said I rejoiced to find them so merry. They were extremely civil, made me sit down and drink a *sopie* (a dram of *Schiedam*) with them, and professed much friendship for

the English ; but they assured me they had many grievances, which they wished me to know. Unable, from the little Dutch I had yet acquired, to listen or reply to what they had to state, I made them understand that, if they would put down in writing what they had to say, and send it to me, I would pledge myself that their grievances would be taken into immediate consideration, and, if possible, redressed. With this they appeared fully satisfied, and cheered me vociferously. I shook hands with all, and departed.

The paper came in the course of the following day, and the only grievance was, that the Kaffirs had invaded their district with three or four thousand head of cattle, and that the acting landrost had not condescended to give any answer to a requisition made for a *commando*—that is, a detachment of farmers to make war upon the Kaffirs, and take away their cattle. The fact was that the acting landrost had the office thrust upon him by these very people—a weak man, who dared not to give a refusal, and had not the courage to tell them that their old landrost, whom they had expelled, was on his way to resume his office, and that they must wait his arrival.

In my reply to the paper, I told them that my instructions from the Governor were to accompany the landrost to the part of the district where the Kaffirs had located themselves, and to endeavour to persuade them to retire across the boundary into their own country, and that it was hoped we should prevail upon them to do so ; but that it was the decided determination of the Governor to put an end to those *commandos*, which had caused so much bloodshed and ill-feeling on the part of those who were at least disposed to be

peaceable; and, moreover, that the general opinion of their own countrymen, at the Cape and southern districts, was, that the plunder of the Kaffirs' cattle was the main object of these hostile expeditions.

SECTION III.

Expedition to the Zuure-Veldt and Kaffir-Land.

THE landrost having settled affairs in this part of his district, I arranged all matters relating to our intended expedition to the southward, where the Kaffirs had posted themselves; and I laid out the route of our journey, according to the information I could collect. All things being prepared, on the 11th of August we departed from Graaff Reynet, our party consisting of Mr. Bresler and myself, our two servants, and at least half-a-dozen Hottentots, besides an old Hottentot who could speak the Kaffir language; the two hemraaden (or councillors), with their servants, waggons, and oxen, and I know not how many Hottentots—more perhaps of all kinds than were necessary, as we were now mostly to travel through an inhabited part of the country. Our route was S.S.E. as far as Zwart-Kopi Bay, and thence westerly to the Zuure-Veldt, of which the Kaffirs had taken possession; and from thence N.W. into Kaffir-Land, and to the residence of the King.*

* Having, in my two volumes, which passed through two editions, entered into so minute a detail of the nature of the country, its inhabitants, Dutch, Kaffirs, Hottentots, and Bosjesmen, I shall on the present occasion confine my notices to a glance merely of the objects which this part of the country affords, and to the transactions and occurrences connected with the present expedition.

We passed through Camdeboo, the first portion of which was as sterile as the great desert; but it improved as we proceeded. The bullocks were large, and in excellent order; and the broad-tailed sheep were in fair condition. Springboks and ostriches were abundant, and we profited by both of them. We also saw in the course of the day a gnu, a hartebeest, and a quacha.

The two following days we had again to cross a portion of country equally bad as the Karroo, but of a different nature. It is called the Zwaart Ruggens, or Black Ridges. Excepting a small plain, on which we encamped, there scarcely occurred, in the distance of forty miles, a hundred yards of level ground. The road, of course, was execrable: the ridges requiring to be constantly ascended or descended were besides covered with large fragments of loose stones. In other places the waggons had to be dragged over ledges of firm rock. Besides this, we had to cross the Sunday River nine times since our departure—every time in peril of overturning the waggons. These ridges and ledges, however, did not prevent the luxuriant growth of two species of euphorbia: one, scarcely rising above the surface, encloses a milky fluid, not less than a pint, which the farmers assured us was eagerly devoured by the cattle, and made them fat. It is used also for greasing the axles of their waggon-wheels.

On the 14th, we passed through an opening in a ridge of hills, called the Poort, the approach to which was more beautiful than anything I had yet seen. For three or four miles the road over which we had passed was through clusters of *crassulas* and *aloes*, the latter rising above all other shrubs in spikes of blood-red blossoms, to the height of fifteen feet, just as we had

seen them on our journey to Graaff Reynet. In fact, we were now on a portion of the same country, and of the same ridges of hills, as before described.

On quitting this forest of most beautiful and luxuriant shrubbery, at least thirty miles in extent, I observed, at a little distance, a whole line of strelitzias in full flower, which, on approaching, I was pleased to find were not of the species *reginæ*, but a new species (at least in England), with pointed instead of spoon-shaped leaves, and from six to ten feet long. I procured half a dozen roots for the botanical garden at the Cape, whence the plant was sent to England; but I have not happened to meet with any one of them in our hot-houses.

On the evening of our escape from the shrubbery, we encamped on the verdant bank of a beautiful lake, of an oval form, about three miles in circumference, the water perfectly clear, but as salt as brine. The bottom was one continued body of salt, like a sheet of ice—a mass of crystals as hard as rock. Here we found a peasant encamped on the green bank, with his whole family of sons and daughters and grand-children, men, cows, sheep, and dogs. He stated that two of his horses had, in the preceding night, been devoured by lions; that these treacherous animals, like the rest of the feline tribe, lie in ambush till they can securely pounce upon their prey. While we were here, one of the farmer's Hottentots brought down a large male buffalo (*Bos Caffer*), the strongest and the fiercest of the bovine genus. Its immense horns are so broad at the base as to leave only a narrow channel down the forehead; and this is said to fill up with age, giving to the animal a front of horn as hard as rock. The lion

sometimes attacks the buffalo, but always by stratagem, and generally succeeds.

Our next halt was on the shore of Algoa Bay, which the Dutch named Zwart Kop's Bay, from the river of that name, which flows into it. We found H.M.S. 'Hope' at anchor in the bay, having been sent expressly by Admiral Pringle to meet us; and here we remained a few days to examine, and make observations on, the bay and the surrounding country. In Lieutenant Rice I found an expert and intelligent gentleman; and on my proposal we agreed to take advantage of this meeting, to ascertain by lunar distances the latitude and longitude of the best anchorage. He had already obtained the latitude of the landing-place, which I took several occasions to repeat, and found to be $33^{\circ} 56'$, the same as that of the anchorage in Table Bay; and this result occasioned some surprise, as all the old charts made the trending of the land nearly N.E. from the Cape L'Aguillas to Algoa Bay, whereas, by our observations, the said Cape and Algoa Bay are not more than E. by N. of each other. The land, therefore, from the Cape to Algoa Bay, juts out into the sea far beyond what was supposed, and laid down in the charts; and it was probably owing to the want of this knowledge that the unfortunate loss of the 'Grosvenor,' East Indiaman, may be ascribed.

On the western part of Algoa Bay, where the landing-place was pointed out, as being the most practicable and secure, a beautiful verdant terrace of grass and shrubby clumps extended about a quarter of a mile along the coast, but elevated above it, and enclosed on its northern side by a bushy ridge. It appeared to me so lovely a spot, and so delightfully situated, that I was tempted to

declare I would erect there my *baaken*, or landmark, and solicit from the Governor possession of it, either as a free gift or by purchase. Future events, however, put an end to this speculation; and I understand that now a whole line of houses and gardens occupy my enviable terrace.

At the distance of fifteen miles, which I rode over, to the westward of the bay, and close to the sea-shore, I was agreeably surprised to meet with an extensive forest, of many thousand acres, covered with trees of various kinds and dimensions, the most common apparently being the *geel-hout*, or yellow wood (*Taxus elongatus*); many of the trees rose to the height of thirty or forty feet without a branch, with a trunk of ten feet in diameter. Next in size was the *yzer*, or iron-wood (*sideroxylon*); *hassagai-hout* (*Curtisia faginea*). This beautiful tree is used for the naves and spokes of waggon-wheels. *Stink-hout* takes its name from an offensive odour which it exhales while green, but which goes off entirely with age. It is by many degrees the best wood produced in the colony, and well calculated for use in ship-building, either as knees, beams, timbers, or planks. Not being anywhere described, that I was aware of, I gave it the name of *Quercus Africana*. Several other timber-trees were growing here and along the coast, of which I procured specimens to the amount of about forty different kinds; yet in Cape Town a general complaint prevailed of the want of wood, and the extravagance of prices, which no doubt long before this have found a remedy.

The Zwart Kop's River meanders, in its course to the bay, through a valley about twenty miles long, and two to three wide, the hills on either side exhibiting an

unbroken forest of trees and shrubby plants, among which are the tree *crassula*, *euphorbia*, and several *aloes*. The whole of this rich valley was divided among four families, each having not less than five thousand acres of land; yet not content, they made endeavours to burn the enclosing shrubberies, in order to get more grass-land for their cattle, but the heated aloes and euphorbias burst open their stems, and the rushing streams of their juices extinguished the fire.

In game, Zwart Kop's district was the most prolific we had yet seen. We found five or six species of antelope; and among them the *pigmæa*, supposed to be the smallest of hoofed quadrupeds, except only the pigmy musk-deer. We found also a third species of *korhaen*, or bustard, larger than either of the other two, called the *wilde pauw*, or wild peacock; and also the *falco serpentarius*, which the Dutch have named the secretary bird, from the pen-like feathers sticking on its head.

I have so fully described the moral and physical character of the Hottentot, his good qualities, and the cruel and inhuman treatment he receives from the Dutch boors,* that I must forbear, in this place, any further notice of them. In vain have I endeavoured to discover by whom, or on what ground, the name of Hottentot was conferred on the tribe. In their own language, it has neither place nor meaning: they call themselves, in every part of the country over which they are scattered, *Quaiquaæ*. But the mystery is from whence and how they came to the extreme point of a continent, hemmed in on one side bynegroes, and on the other by Kaffirs, neither of whom, nor any other nation on that continent, have feature, form, character,

* Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa.

or colour, bearing the least resemblance to theirs. From all that I have seen of them (and I have had them in my service from five to six years), I have ever found them, with one single exception, an honest, faithful, intelligent, and well-conditioned people.

We are now about to proceed among a very different race of men, called Kaffirs, a name of whose origin they are equally ignorant as the Hottentots are of theirs: they call themselves Koussie. Advancing on our intended visit to the party, who had established themselves within the British colony, on the 29th of August we crossed the ford of the Sunday River, and encamped on its wooded banks, where, during the night, for the first time, we were disturbed by a troop of elephants coming to drink; but on finding the place occupied, they turned quietly away, without further molesting us. We saw them next morning in an extensive thicket, and chased them many hours, but to no purpose.

Thirty miles over a wild and uninhabited country brought us in the evening to the banks of the Bosjesmans' river, after a tedious journey through thickets of shrubbery, in which a road had been cut just wide enough to admit the waggons. The next day we reached the Hassagai-bosch River, whose source is in the Riet-berg, a range of hills that extend to the eastern limit of the colony, and lose themselves in the high banks of the Great Fish River.

We had now passed through a portion of the Zuure-Veldt, on which the emigrant Kaffirs had placed themselves and their herds of cattle; and were about to proceed to an interview with their chiefs, when several farmers with their waggons, and a party of thirty or forty boors, approached, for the purpose, as it appeared,

of accompanying us into the Kaffir country. The two hemraaden who had officially accompanied the landrost now proposed, as a necessary precaution for our safety, to take with us a party of armed men. Poor Bresler was silent, but knowing the Governor's feeling and intention on this subject, I stood forward and declared that not a single armed man should approach the King of the Kaffirs, in my company; that to take twenty armed men into the heart of a country that could bring almost as many thousands into the field would be folly, and would afford no better defence than three or four, and that by multiplying our numbers we should probably multiply the danger of giving offence; and therefore it could not be done; that my instructions were peremptory on that head, and that mine was not a mission of hostility, but of conciliation and peace. They pressed the landrost to interfere, but he told them he could not; that, if they had any apprehensions as to their personal safety, they were at full liberty to return to Graaff Reynet.

We lost them for the present; but as none of us were acquainted with a single step of the country, we took an old man of Upper Zuure-Veld and Van Rensberg, who had been one of the companions of Van Reenen, the person who had proceeded along the eastern coast in search of the unfortunate passengers and crew of the 'Grosvenor' Indiaman; and these we took for the sole purpose of being our guides.

Rensberg was a most useful man; he was not only acquainted with the country, but was an excellent marksman; and an old Hottentot he had with him was still better—from this old man he generally reckoned upon a beast for every ball. With all our care, however,

two or three others joined us in the evening, under pretence of looking after their oxen, and the first night that we passed in Kaffirland no fewer than ten had contrived to smuggle themselves into that country; but they were disappointed in their object.

We had not advanced far beyond the Hassagai-bosch River, when our approach to the Kaffirs was announced by the whole surface of the country appearing in flames. On arriving, in the evening, on the banks of the Kareeka, we pitched our tents amidst several hundreds of these people, who came swarming out of the thick shrubbery that skirted the river. A party of women were the first to salute us, laughing and dancing and putting on all the coaxing manners they could invent, with the view of getting from us some tobacco and brass buttons for their husbands. Good humour, animation, and a cheerful turn of mind beamed conspicuously in all their actions and in their countenances. They appeared to be, as I believe they were, modest without reserve, curious without being troublesome, lively without impudence, and sportive without the least shadow of lasciviousness. Getting over the prejudice of colour, a dark glossy brown verging on black, several of them might be accounted handsome. The rapid movement of the dark sparkling eye gave animation to the countenance; their teeth were beautifully white and regular; and the whole contour of the face and head was equally well formed with that of the European, which it resembled. They were mostly, however, low in stature, strong-limbed, and very muscular in the leg.

The men, on the contrary, were the finest specimens of the human figure I ever beheld. They possessed a firmness of carriage and an open, manly demeanour,

which, added to the good nature that illumined their features, declared them at once to be equally unconscious of fear, suspicion, or treachery. A young man of about twenty, of six feet ten inches high, was one of the finest figures, perhaps, ever created; he was a perfect Hercules. Some wore skin-cloaks, but the greater part were entirely naked. The women wore cloaks that extended below the calf of the leg; they had leather caps trimmed with beads, shells, and pieces of polished copper or iron. In the evening they sent us some milk in baskets made from a species of *cyperus*, exceedingly clever and neat. Having no bread, vegetables, or roots, and rarely killing any of their cattle, they may be said to live entirely, or nearly, upon coagulated milk; and the best proof of its nutritious quality is the general healthy appearance and vigour of their persons.

A chief of the name of Tooley paid us a visit; he was good-humoured and cheerful, but declined entering into conversation on the subject of our visit; he said his brother Malloo could talk to us. It was not long before he made his appearance, followed by a third chief of the name of Etonie. They were all stout, well-formed men, but Etonie might be called handsome; he had a lively, pleasing countenance that always wore a smile, his eyes were vivid and active, his teeth as white as the purest ivory, and his nose of the same form as that of the European.

They were asked if they were acquainted with the treaty that fixed the Great Fish River as the boundary between the Christians and the Kaffirs. Malloo said they knew it very well. "Then," it was asked, "had they not violated that treaty, by crossing the river and

taking possession of the country belonging to the colonists, and thus depriving them of their habitations?" Malloo immediately replied, "There were no habitations where they had fixed themselves; and as to the motive for passing the boundary, he could only say, for his own part, that he had come over for one of the reasons that had carried the colonists *first* after the treaty, into the Kaffir country—that of hunting for game."

It was at once clear that we had a shrewd people to deal with. I told them that the colony had now passed into the hands of a great and powerful sovereign, the King of England, and that his chief, who was now the Governor of that colony, had directed me to say, that the established boundary should be strictly observed by the colonists; but that the Kaffirs and all the others who had spread themselves over this side of the Great Fish River were expected to recross that river, with their families and cattle, returning quietly and peaceably into their own country. And as a proof of the good intentions and friendship of the English Government towards the Kaffir nation, we were now proceeding to their King Gaika with presents from the Governor of the colony.

This intelligence seemed to alarm them; and it was soon discovered that they were on bad terms with the King, and had been obliged to leave the country to avoid the effects of his displeasure. They now entreated our intercession on their behalf with the King, and gave a promise that, if a messenger of peace came to them direct from Gaika, they would immediately return into their own country. We assured them that every attempt should be made to bring about an amicable ad-

justment, and hoped, from the general good character of their King, to be successful ; and thus we parted.

We skirted the banks of the Kareeka, passing through multitudes of Kaffirs and their herds of cattle, which our boors estimated to have amounted, in the course of the day's journey, to not less than five thousand head. Old Rensberg gave us an account of the multitudes of elephants he had formerly seen in this neighbourhood ; he asserted that he had once seen in one troop between four and five hundred, scouring the plains and making for the forests. They are considered harmless, in comparison with the lion, the leopard, wolves, and hyænas, and other beasts of prey, with which this wild and rugged part of the country abounds.

We went out of our way to take a look at the mouth of the Great Fish River. A bar of sand crosses the mouth, but there appeared to be sufficient water for the admission of large boats ; within the bar the width was from three to four hundred yards. Towards the evening a vast number of hippopotami, or sea-cows as they are named by the Dutch, appeared with their heads above the surface, but too far towards the opposite shore to be hit by musket-balls. Sea-cow is a name mal-appropriate enough, but it is still somewhat better than sea-horse, which it has borne from the days of Aristotle and Pliny down to our time ; *river-hog* would best suit it. The water affords this huge animal no sustenance, which it has to seek among the reeds and rushes and succulent plants, that are generally found on the shores of the rivers they inhabit.

The frutescent plants we observed on the forests skirting the Great Fish River were the lofty *ghell-hout*, *euphorbia*, with its trunk of thirty or forty feet high ;

the *erythrina coralladendron*; the *Scotia speciosa*, or African *lignum vitæ*; the *zamia cycadis*, or Kaffir's bread-tree; the *tamus elephantopus*, its stump resembling the foot of an elephant. Among the herbaceous plants, common to the colony, were the *xeranthemum* and *gnaphalium*, to the flowers of which the Dutch have given the name of *seven-yaars'-bloom* — seven years' flowers, a duration which in England we have extended to *everlastings*.

We crossed the Great Fish River into the Kaffir country, passed the deserted villages of the chiefs Malloo and Tooley, and arrived at the River Keiskamma. Between the two great rivers villages and huts abounded, yet not a human being appeared in the two days we had travelled in this part of Kaffirland, till we were met at the close of the second day by one of our interpreters with a Kaffir chief, who had been despatched by King Gaika to invite and to conduct us to his place of residence.

The Keiskamma was here found not fordable by waggons, and the country on the opposite side so mountainous and woody that wheel-carriages were out of the question. I was not sorry for the boors, who had smuggled themselves into the country, and were obliged to remain behind with their waggons; and our Hemraaden were pretty much in the same plight. Indeed, before we came to this river, I gave notice that not a single musket should cross it, and that the landrost and myself, and whoever accompanied us to the King, should go entirely unarmed. By this determination we got rid of the whole party, Hemraaden and all, except Rensberg and the interpreter.

We were four hours in riding fifteen miles. On our

arrival at the residence of the King, his majesty, not having expected us till the following day, had gone to his grazing-village, ten or twelve miles to the northward; a messenger was immediately despatched after him. In the meantime, the King's mother and his queen, a pretty Kaffir girl about fifteen, with their female attendants, to the number of fifty or sixty, formed a circle round us on the ground, and did their best to entertain us with their good-humoured and lively conversation, which would have been more agreeable if directly conveyed, instead of through the medium of a Hottentot interpreter.

While thus pleasantly chatting, Gaika made his appearance riding on an ox in full gallop, attended by five or six of his people similarly mounted. He invited us into his kraal, where the cattle are shut up at night, and received us under the shade of a spreading mimosa. From thence we proceeded to a clear place of grass, on which he requested us to sit down with him, that, as he said, we might the more conveniently hear what each party had to say. He was evidently pleased with our visit, of the nature of which he was fully aware; assured us that none of those Kaffirs who had passed the boundary were his subjects; that they were chiefs entirely independent of him; that he was only a chief himself, but his ancestors had always held the first rank in the country, and were so considered both by Kaffirs and colonists; that he regarded none of his countrymen, who wished to be independent of him, in the light of enemies. In short, he solemnly assured us, that Malloo and Tooley particularly had committed great depredations on the cattle of his people, and that when he sent them a civil message, to inquire if these had strayed into their territories, to his surprise he was informed they had

quitted the country; that he had frequently since sent them proffers of friendship, but they detained his messengers; that to give them no pretext for quarrelling with him, he had forbidden any of his people to molest the habitations they had left behind—the truth of this we witnessed, the villages of Malloo and Tooley remaining unmolested when we passed them.

It was impossible not to be satisfied with the candour that marked his whole conversation with us; and he readily agreed to send a messenger of peace to the Kaffir chiefs in the Zuure-Veldt to invite their return; that none of his subjects should pass the boundary to give them any disturbance; and that he should keep up a friendly intercourse with the landrost, by sending annually one of his captains to Graaff Reynet, bearing a brass gorget, with the arms of His Britannic Majesty engraven upon it.

We were surprised to find so much good sense and prudence in so young a man, and a Kaffir. He was at this time under twenty years of age, of an elegant form and a graceful and manly deportment; his height about five feet ten inches; his countenance open, but marked with the habit of reflection; and he possessed, in a superior degree, a solid understanding and a clear head. To every question, he gave, without embarrassment or reserve, direct and unequivocal answers. His disposition appeared to be amiable. He seemed, indeed, to be adored by his subjects; the name of Gaika was in every mouth, and was seldom pronounced without symptoms of pleasure. He had one wife only, very young and very pretty, by whom he had a little girl called Jasa.

The ceremony of the circumcision of male children

is universally practised among these people, but from whom they had it, is not easy to imagine. That they have descended from the Arabs is most probable: that tribe known by the name of Bedouins are and have long been wanderers over a great part of Africa. Their pastoral habits and manners, their kind and friendly reception of strangers, their tent-shaped houses, and, above all, that grand feature of Islamism to which I have alluded, strongly impressed on my mind, when among them, their Arabian descent.

Notwithstanding the friendly disposition of the Kaffir King towards the emigrant chiefs, we had scarcely reached Graaff Reynet, when it was reported to the landrost that those foolish people had positively refused to return beyond the Fish River, instigated no doubt by the rebel outlaws, lurking in the neighbourhood of that river and in various parts of the Zuure-Veld, and encouraged probably by a set of adventurers, whom we fell in with on our return, chiefly soldiers or sailors, who had either deserted or been discharged from the Dutch army and the Company's shipping.

We arrived at the Drosdy on the 30th of September, having made our long circuitous journey in less than two months.

SECTION IV.

Expedition over the Sneurberg to the Orange River and through the Country of the Bosjesmans.

THREE weeks had scarcely elapsed when we were ready for another expedition. My very general instructions directed me to visit the boundaries of the

by the boors, and their children were seized and made slaves. The result of all this has been the abominable expeditions carried on, under the sanction of the Dutch government, against this miserable race of mortals, by the name of *commandos*, which it was the determination of Lord Macartney should no longer be tolerated.

To bring about a conversation with some of the chiefs of these poor people; to persuade them, if possible, to quit their wild and marauding life, on being assured that the colonists would not be permitted to molest them; at the same time to see the state of this portion of the colony, and of the Christian inhabitants (as they designate themselves), the present journey was undertaken. It promised also many subjects of curiosity; and as no European traveller, except the late Colonel Gordon, had ever ascended the Mountains of Snow, much novelty might be expected from it.

On the 20th of October we departed from the Drosdy, and at the distance of eighteen miles found ourselves among the extensive plains and scattered mountains that compose the Sneuwberg; the latter of which, with their sides of bare rock and level summits, resemble, on a smaller scale, the Table Mountain at the Cape of Good Hope. We encamped on one of these enclosed plains, the thermometer 45° , which, during the day's journey, had been at 83° —the former figure occasioned not so much by the elevation, which, from a barometrical observation in a Dutch MS. journal, appears to be only 4800 feet, as by the evaporation from heavy rain, which at least may probably have been the main cause.

In company of the late provisional landrost of Graaff Reynet, an inhabitant of Sneuwberg, I made an excursion in search of Bosjesmans, a party of whom had

carried off a number of cattle but two days before. In one of the retreats among the mountains we discovered their recent traces; their fires were scarcely extinguished, but the Bosjesmans were gone. We discovered, however, in a cavern drawings of several animals, made, it is supposed, by these people. The animals represented were zebras, quachas, gemsboks, springboks, ree-boks, elands, baboons, and ostriches. The figure of the zebra, in particular, was remarkably well executed; all the marks and characters of this animal were well represented. The materials used were charcoal, pipe-clay, and different ochres. Several crosses, circles, points, and lines were placed in a long row, as if intended to express some meaning. The upper part of the cavern was covered with a thick coating of a black substance, not unlike pitch. In reaching up to cut off a specimen the people called out to me to desist, that it was deadly poison, and used by the Hottentots to smear the points of their arrows, and that it was well known as *klip-gift*, or rock-poison.

As we advanced to the northward the sorry sight of a compact mass of that destructive animal the locust resting upon the ground presented itself, completely covering a space of about a square mile, giving it the appearance from a little distance as if burnt up and strewed over with brown ashes. The waggons drove directly through the mass, compelling these creatures to rise on the wing in a cloud that darkened the air on each side of and under the waggons; the rest remaining quiet, our horses were made to gallop through them, but a few only just under their feet would deign to stir.

On the 23rd we encamped at the foot of a detached mountain, remarkable only for its pointed peak. It

was called by Colonel Gordon the Compass Mountain, as the waters of the surrounding meadows flow from it in all directions. I measured its altitude trigonometrically, and found it about fifteen hundred feet.

The termination of the Snowy Mountains is somewhere about twelve miles to the north-east of the Compass-berg, where a *poort*, or passage through the last ridge opens upon a plain, extending to the northward without a swell farther than the eye can command. Eight miles beyond this pass we encamped on the plain, where the weather was found to be more raw and cold than hitherto experienced; and we observed the Compass-berg white near the summit with snow. The plains, however, were embroidered with almost the whole tribe of syngenesious plants; of these the most abundant were various species of *arctotis*, *othonna*, *cineraria*, *aster*, *calendula*, *athanasia*, *tanacetum*, *senecio*, and *gnaphalium*—all of them at this time in the height of their bloom. Few frutescent plants were met with. Many of the Sneuwberg farmers have never seen a tree; their fuel is the dung of the cattle collected where pent up at nights, dug out in squares like turf, spread out to dry, and then piled up in stacks.

The boors of Sneuwberg appeared to be, in general, a better description of men than those towards the sea-coast—a peaceable, obliging, and orderly people; a brave and hardy race of men: the women also were evidently possessed of more animation, and led a less sedentary and listless life, than those of the lower divisions. Many examples of female fortitude have been shown and recorded. The wife of one of our party having received intelligence, in the absence of her husband, that the Bosjesmans had carried off a troop of

their sheep, instantly mounted her horse, took a musket in her hand, and, accompanied by a single Hottentot, engaged the plunderers, put them to flight, and recovered every sheep.

Proceeding, on the 25th, about twenty miles northerly over a level country without a bush, to the Gordon's Fonteyn, where we encamped, we saw on every side such a multitude of gnoos and quachas, spring-boks and hartebeests, as we had never before met with in any part of the country. Near this spring stood the last Christian habitation in this quarter, the abode of four families, for mutual protection against the Bosjesmans.

We were now in the midst of this wild people, as the boors name them, and to travel with safety through their country it was deemed necessary to increase our numbers; for this purpose the commandant of the district had been ordered to meet us here with an adequate force. He brought with him sixteen farmers and eight armed Hottentots, which, with our own party, the drivers, and leaders, amounted to about fifty persons. We had seven waggons, about a hundred oxen, and fifty horses, besides a flock of fifty or sixty sheep for our consumption. The farmers were all young men, who seemed to be delighted on the present occasion, which they considered only as a jaunt of pleasure.

We collected all our forces the following day at the Sea-cow River, about six miles to the northward of our last station. It is a chain of deep stagnant pools or *gats*, some of which were five or six miles in length, and deep enough to float a line-of-battle ship; neither tree nor shrub adorned its banks; the tall *arundo-phragmites* alone supplied their place, affording food for the hippopotamus, an animal that now and then

makes its appearance in these holes, where it was once found in such numbers, as to give a name to the river; but now they are nearly destroyed.

Twenty miles farther to the northward brought us to a part of the river where Governor Van Plettenberg ended his journey, and caused a stone or *baaken* to be erected, as indicating a point in the line of demarcation between the colony and the country of the Bosjesmans; it no longer exists; the boors, disliking any such lines, demolished it. Here, however, on the opposite side of the river, for the first time since we came upon it, we observed some clumps of large shrubby plants, loaded with a vast number of nests, on approaching which numerous flocks of birds issued from them. They were immediately recognised by the colonists to be the nests of the locust-devouring thrush, whose food is stated to consist wholly of the larvæ of that animal, which they hunt out and pursue wherever they go. They are, it seems, to the locusts what the king thrush is to the ants.

These nests consisted of a multitude of cells, each having a tube leading into it. One general roof covered each clump, composed of interwoven twigs, to protect them from birds of prey. The numbers of these birds, which we disturbed, were not less astonishing than those of the locusts, which we had speedily to encounter. Numerous as the birds were, there was no danger of their wanting their favourite food.

Of the multitudes of the incomplete insect or larva of the locust, which at this time infested this part of Africa, no adequate idea can possibly be conceived without having been an eye-witness. For the distance of ten miles on each side of the Sea-cow River, and

eighty or ninety miles in length, an area of sixteen or eighteen hundred square miles, the whole surface of the ground, as far as we could see, might literally be said to be, or to have been, covered with them. They had completely destroyed every green herb and every blade of grass; and had not the insulated reeds of the river afforded subsistence for our cattle, our journey must here have ended for want of food. To the southward, where these swarms had already been, the traces of their route appeared as if the surface had been swept by a broom, or as if a harrow had been drawn over it. In coming to the first troop, the waggons, as usual, drove right through them, when they rose up on each side like a cloud, and the horses crossed the group in a gallop; those that escaped from being crushed immediately squatted down again. They swarmed in thousands into our tents, to devour the crumbs of bread that fell on the ground. The present year was the third of their continuance in this part of the colony. Their last departure, with its result, is described as rather singular, and it was confirmed by the inhabitants of the lower part of the colony. All the full-fledged insects were driven by a tempestuous north-west wind into the sea, and afterwards thrown back upon the beach, where they formed a bank three or four feet high, between the mouths of the Bosjesmans River and the Beeka, a distance of nearly fifty miles; and our present company assured me that when this mass became putrid, the stench was sensibly felt in several parts of Sneeuwberg.

In proceeding to the northward we reached a *poort*, or gap in the hills, and a little beyond it a second, when we found the surface of the country broken and rugged with rocks, and the hills as we advanced be-

came higher, and their summits were capped with sandstone. This second pass or *kloof* was so narrow, and the river had become so serpentine and hemmed in by such high rocky banks, that we were compelled to make a further search before we could attempt to let the waggons proceed.

We, therefore, took a day's journey on horseback to examine the country and to look out for game. We fell in with spring-boks innumerable, hartebeests, elands, and bonteboks; and quachas, from fifty to a hundred in a troop, were frequently seen, but not a gnou among them. On a previous day we had fallen in with a troop of this singular animal between two hills, amounting to nearly fifty, when our party of boors, six or seven in number, discharged a whole volley of their tremendously-large muskets, which they call *rooars* or *caveers*, into the herd, and killed or wounded five or six. This animal is supposed to be the swiftest in all Africa. It partakes of the character of three others; its head being bovine, its neck and body equine, and its legs cervine. As to its vertical and stiff mane, white streaked with black hairs, it is peculiar to itself, being from two to three inches long and appearing as if cut and trimmed artificially. The animal is so fierce and wild as not to be tamed. In the Surrey Zoological Gardens they had procured one, which was fierce, but not considered dangerous. One day, however, it made an attack upon his keeper and slew him.

Being now in the Bosjesmen's country, the commandant represented the necessity of sending out exploring parties to discover the retreats of Bosjesmen tribes, to which I reluctantly consented; but on a solemn promise that on no other consideration than

that not a shot should be fired upon them;—they were merely to explore and report. That very evening lights had been seen behind some bushes on a neighbouring rocky hill; it was suggested that an attack should be made on them the following evening: I positively forbade any such an outrage, but told the commandant I would go with them myself, and endeavour to bring about an intercourse with them: but in so doing, I must exact a solemn pledge from every man of the party that not a shot should be fired, and that he, the commandant, as the provisional landrost, should be held responsible for the rest—an office he had held, during the time of Mr. Bresler's expulsion.

On setting out, our very devout boors prepared themselves for the enterprise by singing three or four hymns out of 'William Sluiter,' and drinking each a *sopie*, or glass of Cape brandy. We moved on gently and without noise, and the boors, taking another stave and another glass of brandy, advanced towards the hill to observe the motions of the Bosjesmen. A report was made that they appeared to be very numerous; after halting a couple of hours, in order to arrive at the mouth of the defile, in which the kraal had been ascertained to be situated, just at the first dawn of day, when we were proceeding along in solemn silence, our party was divided into three companies with a Hottentot to each to secure an interview; mine consisted of the commandant and another farmer, and we rode directly up to the defile, our Hottentot pointing out the spot where the kraal was placed. By the faint light I could only discover a few straw mats bent between two sticks, and not a single human creature: but my ears were stunned by a horrid scream like the

warwhoop of savages, and immediately followed by the shrieking of women and the cries of children. My commandant and his companion both fired on the kraal, empty as it appeared to be ; I expressed my surprise that he, of all others, should have been the first to break the solemn pledge he had given, and that I had expected from him a very different kind of conduct : “ Myn Got ! ” he exclaimed, “ have you not seen a shower of arrows falling among us ? ” which his companion confirmed, though I certainly had not seen either arrows or people to shoot them.

The report of a musket now reached us from another part of the hill ; and, on riding round the point, to my horror I perceived a poor Bosjesman lying dead upon the ground. The excuse was, that as one of the party was in the act of endeavouring to prevail on the savages to come down, the unfortunate man had stolen behind a rock, and with his drawn bow was taking aim at him, on seeing which another shot him dead. I had hoped that this little expedition would not only have terminated without bloodshed, but might be the means of conciliating the two parties inhabiting the same tract of country, which was capacious enough for both. All that could now be done was to order the party to dismount, to turn the horses to graze, and, having grounded their muskets, to make signs for the natives to approach. This produced the desired effect ; and several little children were observed coming down from the heights to the plain ; we gave them biscuits and other trifles, and let them return ; presently the women and young girls, to the number of thirty or forty, followed, but not without symptoms of timidity. We gave them such trifles as we possessed, and sent them

back to invite their husbands to come down to receive a present of tobacco. The men, however, seemed to hesitate, and the women came to us twice or thrice before they could prevail on more than one man to trust himself with us, and *he* made his approach in the utmost state of agitation—half-laughing and half-crying, like a terrified child. We sent him back with a roll of tobacco; but no more than three others ventured to trust themselves with Christians. These three, however, acquired so much confidence as to accompany the waggons for several days; and they left us, with presents to each of tobacco, beads, knives, flints, and steels, with which they returned to their kraals highly delighted.

I forbear to enter into any further description of the persons or condition of this most diminutive, and certainly the most miserable, of the human race, than what I have already done. In fact, the Bosjesman is neither more nor less than a degraded, blighted, pigmy Hottentot; reduced, perhaps, to their present condition by a constant state of destitution and starvation.

Returning to the second Poort, and on our way to the northward, we found the river meandering round so many rocky points, that we were obliged to cross the stream almost a hundred times; when, just as we were about to abandon any further progress, we fell into a large beaten hippopotamus track, which carried us through reeds and thick shrubbery to the very end of the kloof, about fifteen miles from its entrance, where we had left our waggons. Here we found the termination of the Sea-Cow River, its tranquil waters forming a confluence with another river of prodigious size, whose rapid stream rolled over its rocky bed a vast

volume of muddy water ; its current flowed to the north-westward. At this place it was about four hundred yards wide, and apparently very deep ; the boors had no other name for it but that of the Great River. I had no doubt of its being the same which flows into the Southern Atlantic, on the western coast, where Colonel Gordon saw it and gave to it the name of the Orange River.

In order to know a little more of this river, we returned to our waggons, and by directing our course easterly, we were able with difficulty to approach it ; but seeing no prospect of the waggons being able to get to the eastward, we took to our horses, and followed the windings of the river four days in the hope of meeting with a ford, when we gave up all chance of being able to cross it.

In coasting this river, we gathered on its pebbly beach a coarse kind of opal, cornelians, chalcedonies, and agates, figured in every form and colour, plain and striped. In every part of the Orange River the hippopotamus was found snorting and playing in vast numbers ; our party killed three or four one day, but one only could be hauled on shore : it was a female ; and a full-grown foetus, on dissection, was taken out of the womb, perfect in every part except in the want of teeth and tusks. I put it in brandy, but the jolting of the waggon had, in a few days, reduced it to a jelly.

My small double-barrelled rifle of poor Anguish had, but a few days before, astonished the boors by sending its little ball directly through the body of a spring-bok, from the haunch to the lower part of the neck, and not many days before it performed a neater feat ; two noble *korhaens*, or bustards of the largest

size, were sitting near together on the summit of a rock ; my rifle was loaded with large round-shot ; I fired and brought down one of them ; the other immediately got upon the wing and seemed to take a sweep in the air over its dead companion ; I discharged the second barrel, and brought the bird to my feet with a broken wing. I was alone, and how to get them to the party was the puzzle ; I toiled and sweated for nearly an hour in getting one of them across the horse : it was in vain I laboured to succeed with the other. The boors would not believe that I had shot two, but I compelled the commandant to go with me to the spot : and being a stout fellow—as they all are—he took the second on his horse, and we had a jolly feast ; the bustard being one of the best flavoured birds that fly.

Notwithstanding their conviction of the power of my little rifle, they ridiculed the idea of my joining in the operation of shooting the hippopotami ; somewhat nettled, I insisted that the very next hippopotamus that put its head out of the water should be left to me solely, which was not long in happening. I lay down on the bank—for the animal is both shy and cunning—and waited till his face was turned towards the bank, when I took a deliberate aim and struck him on the head ; he instantly disappeared, but as rapidly rose to the surface, the blood flowing from the wound. I fired the second barrel to make all sure, but the first had given the fatal stroke. He floundered about for a little time, heaving occasionally his huge body to the surface, and in the course of half-an-hour my comrades succeeded in hauling him out on the beach. The boors were now fully satisfied, and more astonished than ever, at the powerful little gun ; they found the ball had entered

just below the eye and had penetrated to a great depth, probably into the brain.

Mr. Bresler, having heard that the gelatinous hoof of the hippopotamus was delicious, had one of them cooked in his iron pot. I had the curiosity to taste it, but, like other jellies, it was nearly tasteless; the land-roast, however, got through the whole foot, exclaiming repeatedly how *lekker* (delicious) it was. My curiosity went no farther than to have a slice from the haunch broiled, which I found to be sufficiently *lekker*—not unlike pork. The tasting of it served me, some years afterwards, to crow over my friend Sir Joseph Banks, who was once boasting, at the Royal Society Club, that he had eaten of every species of animal, terrestrial and marine, from the whale and the elephant downwards, which he thought few men could boast of. “Sir Joseph,” I said, “it is a question if you were ever in the way to taste a hippopotamus.” “No, I have not met with that creature.” “Then, Sir Joseph, I have got to windward of you, for I have.” “Yes, you are too many for me; you have doubled the Cape.”

But Sir Joseph had his retaliation; for the hippopotamus, or its skull, was the cause of some mirth at my expense. I had ordered the skull, being a very large one, to be taken to the Cape, and was thence sent to England, as a present to my young friend Sir George Staunton. One evening, at the meeting of the Linnean Society, there was lying on the table the skull of a hippopotamus, which had been sent as a present, and was much admired for its great size. I happened to say, that I shot one, some years ago, in South Africa, whose skull appeared to me to be of a much larger size. A gentleman present said, in a slow and solemn

tone, "I should not wonder if the two turn out to be one and the same—that on the table is a present from Sir George Staunton." The laugh, of course, was against me.

On the 5th of December we left the river, and directed our course to the southward over a level country, as far as the *Zuure-berg*, or Sour Mountain, from whence the waters flow in opposite directions; those taking a northerly course fall into the Orange River; the other united streamlets flow to the southward into the Great Fish River, the southern boundary of the colony and the Kaffirs. A little beyond this we discharged our party of boors; and, with the intention of skirting the colony to the eastward, we took another party better acquainted with that part of the country.

We entered the division of *Tarka*, close to a lofty mountain named the Bambosberg, from which proceeds a chain of mountains; in one of these we discovered a cavern full of drawings of animals of the larger kind, such as elephants, rhinoceroses, hippopotami, and, among the rest, one of the giraffe. The Bosjesmen had told us that the people, who make these drawings, live on the other side of the Great River, which may account for the drawing of an animal never found on the south side of that river. From hence we made a long excursion in the Tarka Mountains: our object was to find, as we were frequently told there is, the drawing of an animal with a single horn. One of our party said he would conduct us to a cavern where drawings of many animals were on its sides. At the place indicated, we found sketches of several animals, and among them one of the giraffe. Still the object of our search was wanting, and our farmers seemed to be

as anxious as ourselves that what they had told us should turn out to be true.

We therefore continued our search in the mountains, and came, in one of them, to a deep cavern, the front of it covered with shrubbery. One of the boors mounted up the steep ascent, and having made his way through the brushwood, he called out that the sides of the cavern were covered with drawings. I ascended, and having got the bushes partly cleared away to let in light, numerous drawings made their appearance: some tolerably well executed, and among them was part of a figure evidently meant to represent an animal with a horn projecting from its forehead: all the body was covered by the figure of an elephant painted over it. The resemblance of the head to that fanciful animal which we call an unicorn may, perhaps, have been sketched by some of the boors; but that there is a beast in Southern Africa, with a single horn on his forehead, there can be no doubt; or that one species of the rhinoceros, in Southern Africa, is a monoceros; for one of the missionaries brought to England the horn of one he had met with to the northward of the Orange River, which I saw, and which I think was about two feet in length. It is now fifty years since the present reminiscences were originally written; but no other unicorn has since been discovered, except the one-horned rhinoceros above-mentioned. In a letter from Lord Macartney to Sir George Staunton, dated *Castle of Good Hope, July 24th, 1798*, is the following:—

“ I must not forget to tell you that, from what I hear, I am almost persuaded of the existence of the unicorn, ten feet high; the horn of brown ivory, two and a half feet long, twisted, and tapering to the point,

thick at the root as a man's arm, and thick as a man's finger at the end; hoofs and tail like a bullock's; a black short mane; skin like a horse's—colour white, watered with black (I have a pair of slippers, said to be made of it); very fierce; roots up trees with its horn, and feeds on the boughs; an object of worship to the inhabitants, &c. I have just put down these loose particulars, as asserted to belong to this wonderful animal. I am using my best endeavours to come to the truth of the matter, and I shall send it to you when cleared up."

I was at this time absent, for in the same letter it is stated—"Mr. Barrow left us on the 1st of this month on a very distant excursion, which I flatter myself will prove of some amusement to him, as well as of benefit to the public," &c.

In another letter, of a date just one year later, his Lordship is pleased to say (what, as an autobiographer, I am justified in quoting), "Mr. Barrow is returned from his northern tour, which completes his Hottentot travels; and I do believe that no person, whether native or foreigner, has seen so much of the country, or seen it so well, and to such good purpose, as he has done. I imagine his travels will be a great acquisition to the world. His map must be particularly valuable, as it is the only one that can at all be depended on. Every one that I have yet seen published is strikingly erroneous, and shamefully executed," &c.

On proceeding to the southward, little occurred that was curious or amusing. Near the junction of a stream with the Great Fish River, we observed a vast quantity of the tall spreading mimosa, scattered over the face of the country, and in full blossom, with clusters of golden

flowers; and from these were thousands of bees busily employed collecting the material to work up their winter's store. Nests of this little industrious animal were hanging in large clusters from almost every rock, and the honey was now in perfection. The Hottentots say, that when the *doorn-bloom* (*mimosa*) blossoms, the honey is fat.

We here met with, as we were told we should, the little brownish bird to which the name of honey-guide has been given by Latham, from its habit of discovering and pointing out to man, by a chirping and whistling noise, and its fluttering about, the places where the bees' nests are found. It will even fly to a distance to find some human being, to whom, by its chirping, and flying from bush to bush or from rock to rock, it displays its anxiety to point out its discovery. Nor is it wholly disinterested; for after the nest has been plundered, there still remains enough of the honied sweets for the little discoverer to feast upon. The name of this little creature, as given in the 'Systema Naturæ,' is *cuculus indicator*.

If this was the only instance of superior sagacity among the feathered tribe, we should be apt to get rid of the question by ascribing its action to instinct—without, however, pretending to define what is meant by instinct. In Africa (which abounds with tigers and leopards and hyænas—with ravenous vultures, and numerous other beasts and birds of prey), all the smaller and impotent species of the feathered tribe have contrived the means of protection and security for propagating their respective classes. Some construct their nests so that they can be entered only by one small orifice; others suspend them from the slender extremi-

ties of small branches. A species of *loxia* always hangs its nest from a branch extending over a river or pool—the aperture of its long neck, like that of a chemist's retort, almost touching the water. A note in my journal observes that the sparrow, in Africa, hedges round its nest with thorns; and even the swallow, under the eaves of houses, or in the rifts of rocks, makes a tube to its nest of six or seven inches. The same kind of birds in Northern Europe, having nothing to fear from monkeys, snakes, or other noxious animals, construct open nests; and I ask, is this difference the effect of mere accident or of design? Is it, I might have added, the effect of imitation or observation? This, however, is not a subject for discussion here; and therefore I conclude by merely stating that we arrived at the village of Graaff Reynet on the 24th of November, the warmest day I had yet experienced in Southern Africa, the thermometer in the shade and open air being 108°, in the house 82°.

SECTION V.

Journey from Graaff Reynet, by the Sea-Coast, to the Cape.

I HAD soon reason to discover that I had made a false move, which might have proved fatal, in taking the line of route I commenced on this journey. The shortest way to return was that which brought us from the Cape to Graaff Reynet; but my object was to complete the boundary line along the sea-coast, which the direct way home would not have done. Deceived by the heavy and continued rain, that for three successive

days and nights had fallen, both at the Drosdy and in the mountains of Sneuwberg and Camdeboo; trusting to the few springs and the driblets of water which remained in the beds of the rivers, on our former journey over the northern part of the Karroo, and moreover finding that the Sunday and Camdeboo Rivers were so much swollen by the rains as scarcely to be fordable, I could not hesitate; and therefore, on the 9th of December set out, and too soon found by sad experience, that the extent of the rains had been very limited.

The face of the country soon presented one uniform surface of aridity and barrenness. The few saline plants were shrivelled up, crackling under the feet like so many bundles of dry sticks. I passed, with pain, a poor horse at his last gasp for want of food and water: exhausted and hopeless, the only relief that could be given to his sufferings was that of bringing them to a speedy end. A few miles farther, another was lying by the roadside already dead. Our object was now to push on to the Hottentots' River, where I arrived at nine o'clock at night, and found it completely dry.

I now became seriously alarmed for our own cattle: they were not only deprived of water, but there was neither a blade of grass nor a shrub of any sort on which they could browse. Scarcely a living creature had appeared the whole day; but at night, attracted by the light of the candle, there came into my tent such a host of cockchafers that they literally extinguished the candle, and drove me out.

At midnight I again started afresh, and made for the Karooka; arrived at daylight, but found not a drop of water. What was now to be done? I had advanced

too far to think of retreating. I could anticipate the misery and fatality that such a step would be sure to produce; whereas, in case of proceeding, I had hope at least to sustain me, and I was advancing to the southward. The sun rose in all its splendour, to present to my eye a melancholy picture of cheerless desolation, and to my mind the misery of a scorching day. Not a beast of any kind, except my own exhausted oxen, not a bird, or even an insect, was to be seen: every trace of animated nature appeared to have fled from, or been extinguished in, the dreary and parched waste. One hope alone remained for speedy relief, and that was placed on De Beer Valley. The hollow lowings of the cattle, the bleating of the sheep, and the cries of the Hottentot children, yearning in their distress for want of water, were truly melancholy.

Seen from a distance, De Beer Valley indicated no appearance of want of water. It was that of a beautiful green meadow—a blessed oasis in the desert; and the cattle, the horses, and the Hottentots, the moment it caught the eye, scampered away in full career: those even in the waggons were not behind the rest. But I cannot attempt to describe the heart-rending disappointment felt by all, man and beast, on arriving at the deceitful spot, to find the beds of both pools and rivers perfectly dry; I can only say it was most painfully expressed by the looks and the manner of the poor beasts. In one place, shaded by mimosas, was a small puddle of muddy water. Of this I caused to be baled out a small quantity for the horses; and the strong grass and the reeds, still retaining their verdure, were greedily devoured by the oxen; and to this alone I am satisfied that their final safety was owing.

The reeds and rush-like grass having in some degree refreshed the cattle, they were once more put into the waggons; and moving slowly to the southward, we came to a place called the Karree Fontyn, a kind of swamp, containing in places a little muddy and foetid water; but bad as it was, both Hottentots and cattle swallowed it with great avidity. For myself, servant, and Hottentots, a bottle of chalybeate, and another of hepatic water, were acceptable and refreshing.

On the 15th, after proceeding south about five hours, we came to a clear limpid stream called the *Keur Fontyn*, or Precious Spring; and never certainly did a spring of water appear to be more truly precious and delicious. The danger now lay in the excess of drinking after so long an abstinence.

On the 17th we encamped on the banks of the Olifant's River, where several hot chalybeate springs issued out of a bog. The river itself was dry; but fine mimosas, with their golden flowers, enriched its banks. From hence continuing to the southward, we crossed a range of hills, and descended into the *Lange Kloof*, or Long Pass, a narrow valley, continuing to run east and west about one hundred and fifty miles, abounding with streams of water and good pasturage, well peopled, and most of the habitations having good gardens, fruiteries, and vineyards. Through this kloof would have been our direct route, but my anxiety to skirt the sea-coast induced me to cross the only pass of the high mountains, on the south side of Lange Kloof, that is accessible by waggons; and thence to proceed easterly, through the forests to Plettenberg's Bay, about fifty miles.

These forests extend between the Zwarteberg chain of mountains and the sea, from Mossel or Muscle

Bay to Sitzicamma on the south-eastern coast; an extent of about two hundred miles, consisting chiefly of forest-trees, many of them of very large dimensions, producing good timber for ship-building, and for domestic architecture. I procured a list of their colonial names, and of the uses to which they are severally applied, amounting to forty-two distinct species; but I found it impossible, for want of time and from the difficulty of obtaining blossoms from the lofty trees, to get even specimens. In the list will be found some fifteen or sixteen Linnæan names, which, with those of the country, may be of assistance to travellers.*

Numerous small rivers take their rise, and large lakes are found, in these extensive forests. One of the latter, in particular, has broken down its barrier, and communicates with the sea through a narrow opening, in which, however, there appear to be rocks that obstruct the passage of any vessels except small craft. Within, it spreads out to a large size, and its numerous arms run through the forests in various directions. It is called the Knysna. The whole of this line of country is boldly marked, and magnificently clothed; and I do not hesitate to say, is beyond comparison the grandest and most beautiful portion of the whole colony.

On the banks of a small rivulet, not far from Plettenberg's Bay, I met with a whole forest of what I thought to be *Strelitzia alba*, whose tall tapering stems were as regular and well proportioned as the Corinthian shaft. It was called by the peasantry the wild plantain, from its resemblance to the *Musa sapientium*. I have since discovered that the plant is not known in England, and that it may probably not be a *Strelitzia*, but the

* Inserted in Barrow's 'Travels into Southern Africa.'

Heliconia alba. Many of them ran to the height of five and twenty or thirty feet.

In proceeding to the eastward, we found the Kayman or Crocodile River deep and dangerous. It separates the division of Plettenberg's Bay from Autiniquas Land, which the Dutch Government appropriated to itself, on account of the grand forests and fine pasturage. It extends to the Brakke River, which falls from the north, and discharges itself into Mossel Bay. Here I observed a stone building one hundred and fifty feet in length, capable of containing ten thousand bushels of corn. Fish of different kinds are here plentiful, and muscles and oysters are abundant. Near the landing-place, and under the lee of the rocks, were many hundred loads of the shells of these animals.

We crossed the Gauritz River, which, from its frequent and destructive floodings, may be called the sink of the colony. We next had to cross the False River, and then the Kaffir Kuyl's River, and found the country better inhabited. Neat houses were on the banks of the rivers; and the gardens, the vineyards, and fruiteries were more extensive, and kept in a better state of culture, than is generally the case. From Mossel Bay to the westward, the forests had ceased, but the country was found to improve; and the valley that stretches along the foot of the mountains, nearly to the Drosdy of Zwellendam, is very beautiful. This village is composed of about twenty houses, scattered over a fertile valley, with a perpetual stream of water flowing down it; at the head of which is the dwelling of the landroost, with an excellent garden attached to it, surrounded by a plantation of oak.

The river Zonderend, or Endless, brought us into

the district of Stellenbosch; and proceeding up the valley through which the Endless River meanders, I halted at a place called Bavian's Kloof, where there was an establishment of *Hernhüters*, or *Moravian missionaries*. They had been here several years, for the purpose of instructing the *Hottentots* in the doctrines of Christianity. Since the colony had become English, the number of their disciples had greatly increased, the Dutch having had no desire to Christianise the *Hottentots*.

Early in the morning I was awakened by some of the finest voices I ever heard, and on looking out saw a group of female *Hottentots* sitting on the ground. Being Sunday, they had assembled thus early to chant the morning hymn. All were dressed in neat cotton gowns. A sight so different from that I had hitherto been accustomed to witness, in regard to this unhappy class of beings, could not fail to be highly gratifying. Everything about the place was found to partake of that neatness and simplicity which distinguish the character of their instructors. All was done, as it appeared, by the labour of this good people's own hands. The church they had built was plain and neat; their mill for grinding corn was superior to any in the colony; their garden was in high order, and produced abundance of vegetables for the table.

Six hundred *Hottentots* had been brought together by these worthy people, and the number was daily increasing. They had all huts in the valley, each with a patch of ground for vegetables; numbers of the English poor are not half so well off, and few better. Many learn trades, and are paid as soon as they can earn wages; some hire themselves out by the week, month,

or year to the farmers; others make mats and brooms for sale; and some breed poultry.

They attend regularly at church, where it is their ambition to appear in neat and clean attire. Persuasion and example had convinced them that cleanliness in their persons not only adds to the comforts of life, but is one of the greatest preservatives of health; and that the little trifle of money they had to spare was much better applied in procuring decent covering for the body, than in the purchase of spirits and tobacco. Their deportment during divine service was truly devout, and I never heard a discourse, delivered by one of the fathers, more suited to his audience, more replete with good sense and admonition; at the same time so truly pathetic, that tears flowed abundantly from the female part of the congregation. The singing of these was plaintive and affecting, and in general their voices were sweet and harmonious. About fifty, I understood, had been admitted as members of the Christian faith by the ceremony of baptism.

It will scarcely be credited, and yet it appears to be too true, that the brutality and gross depravity of the boors, even so near to the capital, had led about thirty of them to enter into a confederacy to murder the three teachers, seize all the young Hottentots, and force them into their service. On a Saturday evening, they had assembled to carry the villainous intention into effect on the following day. The teachers had some days before been made acquainted with their plan through a Hottentot, who had deserted from the service of one of the confederates, and they sent instantly to acquaint Sir James Craig, who immediately took steps to dissolve the confederacy, and threatened vengeance on their

heads if he heard anything more of it. The overseer of the valley received the letter, and the very day they had assembled for their infamous purpose read it to them, on which the poltroons sneaked off each to his own home.

On the 17th I reached and descended the Hottentots' Hollands' Kloof, a difficult and almost impracticable pass at that time over the mountains into the Cape district; but which now, I am told, has been made a fine turnpike road. Its distance from Cape Town is about thirty-six miles, an easy day's journey, which I made on the 18th of January; not sorry to have brought to an end a seven months' tour, in the course of which many personal inconveniences and difficulties had occurred, to be borne and surmounted only, by a determination to perform a duty, as well as to gratify curiosity at the expense of comfort.

SECTION VI.

Journey into the Country of the Namaquas.

I HAD the great satisfaction to find that Lord Macartney was much pleased with the brief account I had been able to give him, occasionally by letter, and on my return in person, of my travels; of which I told him he should have a detailed account fairly drawn out in writing, but that I had yet another journey to make, in order to complete the examination of the outline of the colony, by proceeding to its farthest northern boundary on the western or Atlantic side, and through that part of it which is inhabited by certain tribes of the Hottentot race called the Namaquas. Lord Macartney said,

“I cannot, in conscience, send you forth again immediately; and, besides, I shall have occasion for you here: however, if you think it advisable now to finish your labours, it is better, perhaps, that you should go at once, and what I wish to communicate to you can be done on your return.” I said, “It certainly was my wish to complete what I had nearly finished, and I shall start forthwith, with your permission, and avail myself of the privilege of taking *voorspan* oxen or cattle, supplied by the farmers, from station to station, for the service of Government free from charge.”

I knew that April was the worst time of the year to commence a journey of this kind, on account of the drought and the approach of winter; nevertheless, I left Cape Town and its fascinations with a covered waggon and twelve stout oxen in good condition, a single horse, a negro slave, a waggoner and leader—my old companions—and an additional Hottentot to attend the oxen as relays. These are afforded for the convenience of those who travel on public service, and are a tax on farmers, which obliges them to furnish these *voorspans* or *forwarding* teams of oxen, free of expense, in consideration of the powder and ball formerly supplied to them by the Dutch Government for their expeditions against the Bosjesmans. I was authorised in both journeys to avail myself of this privilege, which was never once refused, but complied with without a murmur, and, I may add, very rarely exacted from them.

I was alone, and none of my Hottentots knew a step of the way; but I could go, as the Dutch used to send their letters, *van huis tot huis* (from house to house). Eighteen miles the first day brought me to Koe-berg,

twenty miles on the second to *Greene-kloof*. Here I found plenty of water and good pasturage for cattle and horses, and plenty of antelopes and smaller game to shoot. The family of *Slabert*, of *Tea-fonteyn*, is well known to all travellers; it was my next stage, and they amused me with the romances told by M. Vaillant, whom they lodged for some time. The next stage was Saldanha Bay, a much superior anchorage for shipping of all sizes than Table Bay, but surrounded by a deep sandy country and without fresh water.

Saint Helena Bay is the next stage, but exposed to the northward like Table Bay; the Berg River, a great mass of water, flows into it, but the entrance is so sanded up that boats only can cross the bar, and that but occasionally. As it was necessary I should cross this river, I travelled fifteen miles from its mouth to arrive at a ford to get the waggon over, and the deep sand on the opposite side made our progress so very slow that it became dark and required three hours' dragging backwards and forwards before I found the intended halting-place—a wretched hovel of rushes in the midst of a sandy plain; the night cold, and neither food nor shelter for the horses nor water for the cattle. I therefore pushed on at the risk of losing my way a second time, having about four miles yet to proceed through deep sand before I should reach the next station, which, when reached, turned out to be a hovel, very little better than that I had left, where every thing wore evident marks of poverty.

It was on these miserable plains that the Abbé de la Caille undertook and terminated the measurement of his base, for ascertaining the length of a degree of the meridian of the southern hemisphere. In this horrible

tract of sand and bushes he actually measured a base line of 38,802 feet, and repeated it three times over. The British Government, desirous of following up what the French had commenced, established first an observatory near to Cape Town, and having supplied it with all the instruments necessary for astronomical purposes, the astronomer was directed to procure such assistance as should be requisite, and to remeasure the same line; and I have understood that it very closely approximated that of M. de la Caille.

At the end of my next journey the oxen for relays having followed the waggon alone without the Hottentot, his companions grew uneasy about him. Having complained of head-ache on the previous evening, I gave him an emetic, and, naturally enough, they kept repeating in my hearing that he must have died on the road, insinuating that the emetic had killed him. In the morning, however, he made his appearance, having it would seem fallen asleep. Though dark and without knowing a step of the way, he discovered us by the track of the waggon. A Hottentot is wonderfully clever *op het spoor*, that is, tracking foot-marks; he knows the print of every wild animal that he has ever seen, but the great variations in the feet of domesticated animals will sometimes puzzle him; as the wolf, for instance, he easily distinguishes from the tame dog, but he is perplexed by the marks of such dogs as he has not had any acquaintance with: of the numerous species of antelope he will point out the *spoor* of each.

At the eastern extremity of the vast sandy plain, I passed the *Picquet-berg*, a clump of hills that stand in front of a range of mountains, at the foot of which the Elephants' River flows to the northward before it turns

westerly to enter the Atlantic. I found, however, that I had only got rid of the sandy plains to encounter a series of most extraordinary sand-hills. Out of the coarse crystallized sand and fragments of sandstone arose a multitude of pyramidal columns, some several hundred feet in diameter and as many in height; they were of sandstone, bound together by veins of a firmer texture, containing iron. Their cavernous appearance, and the coarse sand in which their bases were buried, left little doubt in my mind, that these pyramids had once been united, making one connected mountain similar to the great northern range. Streamlets of water among these masses had formed a lake called the *Verlooren Lake* (the forsaken or lost lake); but it was not forsaken, being belted by good ground and tolerably well inhabited. I here met with an ardent spirit distilled from water-melons of an immense size.

On the 21st, I turned to the eastward and, with sixteen fresh oxen in the waggon, crossed the Elephants' River, and also the Black Mountain, to which it runs parallel; the latter took me eight hours. On the broad summit, the same kind of pyramids occur, some of which I reckoned to be not less than a thousand feet high; they form the ridge of the great chain, which is about five miles in width. But what strange people the peasantry of the Cape are! On the very summit of this mountain, close to a little spring of water and a patch of ground around it, a boor had erected his cottage, which wretched hovel, in the midst of a violent storm, I found crowded with both sexes in the height of gaiety. The owner had just returned from the Cape, and brought with him a supply

of brandy, with which they were making merry. A cask of *sopie* is purchased by the poorest boor on his annual visit to the Cape, and it has little rest day or night till it is exhausted. Friends and strangers are equally welcome to it as long as it will run.

This range of mountains on the eastern side descended gradually to the commencement of a Karroo plain, where I was visited by a party of Bosjesmans, headed by a captain or chief. This man, I found, was well known, had been prevailed on to quit his marauding way of life with his whole herd, and he and his family had now, for the last fifteen years, lived here peaceably and industriously. He said he had no doubt that many other of his countrymen might be induced to live quietly in the service of the farmers, for nothing could be so miserable as their present mode of life. My Hottentot guide learned from him that water was to be had at the *Lieuw Kuyf*, or Lion's Den, on the other side of the Karroo.

On the 28th, proceeding through a pass of the hills, we entered upon what is called the Namaqua country, consisting of hill and dale, with little vegetation except the enormous aloe known by the specific name of *dichotoma*. We proceeded to the Hartebeest River, which promised well, but was perfectly dry; its bed being pebbly, I had the curiosity to dig about five feet, and came to a stream of pure water trickling through the gravelly bed; and I profited by the experiment on my return in more than one dry river; an experiment which I hope will not be neglected by future travellers.

Near this place was a kraal of Namaqua Hottentots, or, as they are here pleased to call them, Bosjes-

mans, but I could find no difference. I passed the night with them, and saw their sheep, which might amount to three thousand, brought home in the evening; they had also a few cattle and a herd of small spotted handsome goats. The sheep had long, not broad, tails. The next day I came to the hovel of a Dutch boor, amidst the ruins of the *Khamiesberg* mountains; he was a tall old man, with a dingy face almost covered with black hair. In one corner of the chimney sat an old Hottentot woman, over whose head must have passed a century of years. A female slave next made her appearance, of a piece with the two former. Hospitality, however, was found even here. The faggot presently crackled on the hearth, a quarter of a sheep was laid on the coals, and the repast speedily served up on the lid of an old chest, covered with a remnant of cloth apparently of the same piece as that of the female slave's petticoat. A brother and sister of this old gentleman lived each unmarried and separately in these mountains, and, like him, entirely in the society of Hottentots. I was told that they were nearly related to one of the wealthiest families in Cape Town.

I must say that he appeared to conduct himself like one that had, in his earlier days, lived in a different sphere; was exceedingly obliging and gave an excellent *voorspan* for the northward; and I was also further indebted to him for the assistance he afforded me, on my return, by another *voorspan*, which he had sent forward to fall in with the waggon in the midst of the Karroo. I found, however, that with the very best cattle it was utterly impracticable to get the waggon over the last chain of the *Khamiesberg*. I attempted to cross them on horseback, but a thick

fog coming on, followed by heavy rain, I was glad to make my retreat, and to think of bending my way to the southward. Besides, I had now got the last span of oxen I could hope for, on this side of the Orange River, or anywhere beyond the Khamiesberg, had I succeeded in passing it; the only regret I felt was the disappointment of not obtaining a view of the Orange River at or near to its mouth.

There is something very remarkable in these Khamies, or cluster-mountains: they consist of large rounded masses of granite; each mountain being, in fact, one naked undivided rock, and each of these masses bearing a striking resemblance to the two granite blocks in or near to Drakenstein, known by the names of the Paarl and the Diamond, which, however, are mere dwarfs to those of the Khamiesberg.

Close to these mountains are beds of stratified rock, curiously coloured red and yellow; they are taken up in large flags, and therefore called by the boors *plank-stone*; it cuts easily with a knife. Another species of stone is here found, of a greenish colour, indicating the presence of copper. The hills hereabouts, indeed, are called the Copper Mountains, from the quantity of malachite strewed over the surface. That species of stone is also found here, of an apple-green colour, to which has been given the name of *prehnite*, and which the Dutch convert into tobacco-pipes: not the most lasting or suitable material, as the heat destroys its colour.

The poor Namaqua Hottentots were once an independent race; but the influx of the Dutch boors, bad as the country is, has, to a great degree, reduced them to a dependent state; but still in a better condition than their countrymen on the eastern side of the colony:

their huts are extremely neat and cleanly, they are perfect hemispheres, covered with matting, made of sedges, and ten or twelve feet in diameter. The Hottentot considers the lion his most formidable enemy, and is quite certain that he will single him out to be devoured in preference of an European, which I thought not improbable: for the strong smell of his *bucca* (diosma), and the grease with which he smears his body, are sure to give notice to the lion that he is a morsel ready basted for eating.

I now began to think of making the best of my way home, skirting the boundary-line to the westward, through the Under, the Middle, and the Little Roggevelds, and the Hantam Mountains; the last is famous for its breed of horses, of which, however, many perish every season, being poisoned, it is supposed, by a kind of grass, or some other herbage. The *Kom*, or Cup Mountain, is the loftiest of the Roggevelds, being, by Colonel Gordon's measurement, fifteen hundred feet higher than the Table Mountain, or five thousand feet above the Karroo plains. Beyond these plains, and on the northern side of the Orange River, are a numerous tribe of Bosjesmen, or Hottentots, called the *Koranas*, similar to the Namaaquas, who are represented as a formidable people, especially to the Kaffirs dwelling to the eastward of them.

Arriving at the warm Bokkeveld, I was not far from my former track through Roodesand, on my way to Graaff Reynet. Here every thing wears the appearance of comfort: springs that never fail, good grass for cattle, and abundant harvests for the grain farmer; and thus it continues through the district called the Four-and-

Twenty Rivers, which extends to the bank of the Berg River, and is most fertile in corn, grass, and fruits. There seems to be nothing wanting but a certain degree of labour and intelligence in the mode of culture, with enclosed plantations for shelter, warmth, and moisture, to render that part of the Cape district, lying within the great range of mountains, alone fully adequate for the supply of all the necessaries and comforts of life, not only for the town and garrison of the Cape, but for all the shipping that will probably ever enter its ports for trade or refreshment.

I now directed my route across the Tyger Berg, mounted my horse, and arrived in Cape Town on the 2nd of June, without having experienced any of those inconveniences which the worst season of the year and the difficult nature of the country seemed at starting to threaten.

Thus, between the 1st of July, 1796, and the 18th of January, 1797, I had traversed every part of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and visited the several countries of the Kaffirs, the Hottentots, and the Bosjesmen; performing a journey exceeding three thousand miles, on horseback, on foot, and very rarely in a covered waggon; and full one-half of the distance as a pedestrian. During the whole time (with the exception of a few nights passed at the Drosdy House of Graaff Reynet) I never slept under a roof, but always in my waggon, and in the cot that I brought with me in the good ship 'Trusty' from England.

SECTION VII.

Residence on the Cape Peninsula—Departure of Lord Macartney—Appointment of General Francis Dundas—Superseded by Sir George Young, and speedily reinstated—Sent on a Military Mission to the Eastern part of the Colony.

MY first visit on my return was, of course, to the Governor, who gave me a most cordial and welcome reception; he now hoped that my travels were at an end, and that the recollection of my intercourse and negotiations with the rebel boors, the Kaffirs, and the Hottentots, would contribute to the relish of a more civilized society; “but,” he added, “have you seen your friend Maxwell?” “I have seen nobody, my Lord; I considered it my first duty to wait on your Lordship, to report my arrival and proceedings.” “Then you will not be sorry to hear,” he said, “that your colleague is no longer my secretary. Authorised by my instructions, I have appointed him to the situation of *Comptroller of the Customs*, which gives him an advance of five hundred pounds a-year: that is to say, a salary of one thousand pounds; and be assured you were not forgotten in your absence, and that it affords me real pleasure to be able to do the same thing by you, in conferring on you the appointment of *Auditor-General of Public Accounts Civil and Military*, and here (handing me a paper) is your commission.”

I was so overwhelmed with gratitude to my ever-kind benefactor, that such a piece of unexpected good-fortune, coming suddenly upon me, literally took away my speech; I made a low bow, and turned aside in

silence. His Lordship saw my embarrassment, said "Give me your hand," and with a hearty squeeze, "I cordially congratulate you; to-morrow I shall have a new commission to give you of a domestic nature."

I judged what it was to be, for he hinted at it when I proposed to proceed to the Namaaquas. He then said, "I can assure you that Mr. Dundas will not be the last person to be pleased with the report of your several missions." He added, "I shall return you what remaining papers I have concerning your journeys; and if you could spare time to make a fair and complete copy for me to take home and deliver to Mr. Henry Dundas, I am sure you will very much gratify him and oblige me." Nothing, I said, would be more agreeable to me than this. In fact, my narratives only required to be filled up, corrected, arranged, and written out fair, to be fit to put into the hands of the Secretary of State. I placed the complete copy, when finished, in Lord Macartney's possession, and heard no more of it till it came back to me at the Cape, in print, and in the shape of a portly quarto volume.

In justice to my excellent and never-failing friend Sir George Staunton, I cannot omit stating how much I am indebted to him, while in my absence, for the most cheerful and effectual manner in which he had undertaken the management of this volume. He detailed to me the whole of his proceedings. Mr. Dundas told Lord Macartney he must have it published; and his Lordship carried the MS. to Sir George Staunton, who offered it to Cadell and Davies, and asked 1000*l.* for the copyright. They said it was a large sum for the work of an author new in the world; that, before they made their offer, they must refer it, as usual, to a

gentleman conversant with works of this kind, and that in the present instance it would be sent to Dr. Gillies. "Send it to whom you please," was the answer. Dr. Gillies, they reported, gave a favourable account of it, but they hesitated at the price demanded. "Name your own," said Sir George, and they mentioned 800*l.* "Aye, now, I see," he says, "we shall come to an agreement after the true tradesman-like manner, by splitting the difference; say 900*l.*, and I will close with you." It was given; and as a proof of the great attention bestowed on my labours by Sir George Staunton—that kindest and best of friends—the work passed through the press, was sent out by his direction, and arrived at the Cape, together with a favourable review of it, about half-a-year before the evacuation of the colony; but, alas! my friend and benefactor was no more. In a letter of the 2nd of January, 1801—the last, it is thought, Sir George wrote, having died on the 14th of that month—he was not forgetful of me or of my concerns, the concluding paragraph of that letter being, "Mr. Barrow's book is at length finished; it will be published in a few days." His son observes that "even when in the last stage of bodily infirmity, and while labouring under a disease—a paralytic affection—which almost invariably impairs the intellect,—neither the powers of his father's mind nor the affections of his heart suffered any abatement." The same arrival brought me a letter to announce my father's death, after a short illness.

But to return to my narrative. The preparation of my journal of travels did not interfere with the examination I proposed to make of the Cape Peninsula, of which I had yet literally seen nothing, not even more than the outline of the Table Mountain. However, I

was one day in conversation with Lady Anne Barnard, when she asked if I had nerve enough to take her with me to the top of the Table Mountain? I said that if she thought *her* nerves or her strength would not fail her, I should be most happy to do my best to escort her. She only bargained that her maid, a strapping Scotch lass, should attend her. We set out; but on reaching a spot, about midway of the ravine, across which a deep rugged stratum stretches, and must be clambered over, Lady Anne, by perseverance and a little help, got over it; the Scotch lassie, however, became frightened and gave in, and was assisted in getting down to the plain by a man-servant that attended us, and we heard nothing more of her.

I took Lady Anne to the very edge of the precipice, from whence the flat-roofed houses of Cape Town had the appearance of those little card houses made by children, and the shubberies on the sandy isthmus were reduced to black spots like dots on a sheet of white paper. On the weather-worn summit we found growing various shrubs: among others, the *Penœa mucronata*, a tall, elegant, frutescent plant, said to be peculiar to this situation; as is also that species of heather called *Erica physodes*, which, with its white, glazed, gelatinous flowers, exhibits in the sunshine a very beautiful appearance. Lady Anne amused herself by collecting some specimens, and got safe down, delighted with her adventure.

This, however, brought another expedition of a different kind upon a small party of us. Lord Macartney, not displeased to have an opportunity of putting a person on his mettle, said to his aide-de-camp at dinner one day, "Colyear, Sir James Craig's aide-de-camp rode

up to the top of Table Mountain, which was considered a great and singular feat." "I suppose," says Colyear, "others can do it as well as he:" and, addressing himself to Maxwell and me, "Let us take our horses," he said, "to-morrow morning and perform this great feat: but who knows the way?" I mentioned that, in going to Constantia, I rode along the foot of the southern side of Table Mountain, which descends by a succession of strata, like a flight of gigantic steps; and it was up these, as I was informed, that persons have been known to ascend to the top.

We made a party the following morning—we three alone; but when, with great difficulty on the part of the horses, we had reached about two-thirds of the way up, Colyear, standing by his horse, called out for assistance, said he was helpless, his sight was gone, and he felt sick. We made him sit down, and in the course of an hour he partially recovered; but nothing could induce him to remount his horse, which I was obliged to take care of, as well as of my own; and we slowly scrambled down the mountain, two of us leading the three horses. Colyear was as brave a soldier as any in the whole garrison, but on the present occasion his nerves wholly gave way.

On the lower part of the front or north face of the Table Mountain there gushes out of a crevice made by two strata a permanent stream of pure water, gliding over a granite slab, on the face of which are embedded large pieces of tourmaline. Part of this stream was conducted to a fountain at the lower part of the town, where many hundred slaves, in the course of the day, were accustomed to assemble, wrangling, fighting, and rioting for their turn of getting water for domestic pur-

poses. The fiscal had constantly two of his men stationed there to preserve the peace. He said to me one day, "How do you contrive in London to get a supply of water into the houses?—here there are not fewer than a thousand slaves occupied entirely in fetching water into the dwelling-houses." I told him that, without a single slave, the Table Mountain afforded the means of supplying every house in the town with abundance of water, even up to the highest story; and I promised to get a proper plan made out, on my arrival in England, and send it to him.

On the re-capture of the place, Lord Caledon took out the plan, and carried it into execution; and now every house in Cape Town has, or may have, as much water as they choose, to the very top, at a trifling expense, without the necessity of employing a single slave.

Between the town and the base of the mountain are several pleasant residences, with good gardens; the principal of these is the government-house, standing in the midst of a garden of about forty acres; a public walk, of one thousand yards in length, runs up the middle of the garden, well shaded by an avenue of oak-trees, and enclosed on each side by a hedge of cut myrtles. Lord Macartney, whose inclination was to blend the *utile dulci* where it could be done, appropriated a portion of this public garden for the reception, not only of scarce and curious native plants, but also for the trial of such Asiatic and European productions as might seem likely to be cultivated with benefit to the colony.

Most of the useful European plants were already successfully cultivated in the Cape district, and most of the fruits, both European and Asiatic. Of the native

plants, those of the greatest use and beauty are to be found on the sides and at the base of the Table Mountain. On the western side may be seen whole woods of the *Protea argentea*, planted solely for fuel; also the *conacarpa*, *grandiflora*, *speciosa*, and *mellifera*, for the same purpose; and, moreover, the larger species of *Ericas*, *phylicas*, *brunias*, *polygalas*, the *Olea Capensis*, *Euclea racemosa*, *sophora*, and many other arboreous plants, that grow abundantly both on the peninsula and the isthmus.

In the month of September, at the close of the rainy season, the plain stretching along the shore of Table Bay, and known by the name of the Green Point, exhibits a beautiful appearance, the whole surface being enlivened by the large *Othonna* (so like our daisy as to deceive many), springing out of the low creeping *Trifolium melilotos*; various species of the *Oxalis*, in every tint of colour, from brilliant red, purple, violet, yellow, down to snowy white; then the *Hypoxis*, or star-flower, with its radiated corolla of golden yellow, others of unsullied white, and others again containing in each flower white, violet, and deep green, equally numerous and more beautiful.

A walk by the foot of the Table Mountain will delight the admirer of the bulbous-rooted and liliaceous tribes of plants, flourishing in their native soil—the various species of *amaryllis*, the *gladiolus*, *antholiza*, *iris*, and *moræa*—the numerous and elegant tribe of *ixias*—the *albuca*, *ornithogalum*, *anthericum*, or *asphodel*—the beautiful *lachenalia*, of various and lively colours, perhaps peculiar to the Cape—the *Hæmanthus coccineus*, with its pair of broad stemless leaves and deep blood-coloured flower, conspicuously enlivening

the level and nearly naked plain on which it is generally found. But, above all, must be noticed a beautiful little humble ixia, which the Dutch call the *avond-bloom* (the evening flower); it is the modest *Ixia cinnamomea*, which, having concealed itself during the day within its brown calyx, now expands its small white blossoms, and perfumes the air, throughout the night, with its fragrant odour. Nor will the family of the geranium be overlooked, which scents the sides of the hills with its variety of foliage, imitating that of almost every genus of the vegetable part of the creation.

These are fair weather objects; and the climate is generally delightful; but when a storm does come, at certain seasons of the year, it rages most furiously. About the beginning of the spring, that is in September, Table Bay is considered to be safe for shipping, the wind then blowing with its fleecy cloud down the mountain towards the sea; and that safety is calculated to continue through the summer; yet, on the 5th of November, 1799, towards the middle of summer, H.M.S. 'Sceptre,' with seven others, were driven on shore by a north-westerly wind, and the first of them was totally wrecked. The house I inhabited looked directly over the Bay, and the apparent loss of the whole—for all were driven on shore—was one of the most melancholy sights I ever beheld. At one o'clock the 'Sceptre' fired a *feu-de-joie* in commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot; at ten the same evening not a vestige of the ship was seen, but the fragments of a wreck scattered on the strand in myriads of pieces, not a single plank remaining whole. Captain Edwards and his son, with ten other officers, and nearly three hundred seamen and marines, perished, and were

mangled among the remnants of the ship and the sharp rocks. Young Edwards, the son of the captain, was found with a pocket Bible in his bosom. It was necessary to bury many of the men in holes dug on the beach; all that could be taken up were placed on wag-gons and carried to the usual burying-ground. The 'Oldenburg,' a Danish 64-gun ship, was also driven on shore, but at a point where the beach was of sand.

Lord Macartney was spared the witnessing of this sad catastrophe, having left the Cape the previous year. An event, however, had occurred, to call for all that decision of character which his Lordship possessed in an eminent degree. The mutiny in the fleet at home produced a mutiny in the squadron at the Cape, when at anchor in Simon's Bay, in October, 1797. The flag-ship took the lead, and the rest followed; officers were deprived of their commands, delegates appointed, and all the rebellious formalities of the mutineers in England imitated. The firm conduct, however, of Admiral Pringle, after a few days of riot and anarchy, succeeded in establishing order and discipline, and the royal standard was hoisted in the 'Tremendous.' On the return of the squadron to Table Bay, on being joined by some King's ships from St. Helena, fresh disturbances broke out, and the mutineers in the flag-ship again took the lead, while lying at anchor off the Amsterdam battery, within point-blank shot. Lord Macartney determined at once to bring it to an issue; he repaired, with his aides-de-camp, to the Amsterdam battery, ordered the guns to be loaded, and the shot to be heated in the ovens; and, taking out his watch, he dispatched a message to the 'Tremendous,' that if the mutineers did not make an

unconditional submission within half an hour of that time, and hoist the royal standard as a signal of their having done so, he would blow the ship out of the water. The signal of submission was made: had it not been done within the period assigned, no one doubted that Lord Macartney would have played the whole battery upon her, until she was either burnt, sunk, or destroyed.

In a private letter to Mr. Dundas he says, "It appears solely to have proceeded from mere wantonness in the sailors, and a vanity of aping their fraternity in England." And he adds, "This spirit of sea mutiny seems like the sweating sickness in the reign of Edward IV.—a national malady, which, as we are assured by historians of the day, not content with its devastations in England, visited at the same time every Englishman in foreign countries, at the most distant parts of the globe.

‘ The general air,
From pole to pole, from Atlas to the East,
Was then at enmity with *English* blood.’

That which must *now* be shed will, I trust, be the last that shall be necessary to sacrifice, on such an account, in this squadron."

After this, Lord Macartney remained about a twelve-month to conduct the administration of affairs at the Cape of Good Hope, a period that was distinguished by the same system of public economy, by the same integrity and disinterestedness, which had marked his career in every former public situation of his life; and the same good effects were experienced here, as elsewhere, in spite of the national prejudice of the inhabitants. The colony, indeed, advanced rapidly to a

degree of prosperity which it had never known under its ancient masters; the public revenue was nearly doubled, without the addition of a single tax, and the value of every kind of property was increased in proportion.

Lord Macartney, in accepting the government of the Cape, made it a condition that, should his health so far give way as to make it expedient for him to return to England, he should be authorised to transfer the duties to the next in command. He found that event to have arrived, and he wrote to Mr. Dundas to say that, from the experience and the knowledge of the country possessed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General Dundas, he did not hesitate to transfer the government to him, adding, "I am happy on this occasion to express the perfect satisfaction I have received from his co-operation with me, in every instance during my residence here, and it would be great injustice to him were I not thus to acknowledge it."

On the 20th of November, 1798, his Lordship embarked on board the 'Stately,' leaving the Major-General vested with the powers of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and in the enjoyment of the full salary of 10,000*l.* a-year, his Lordship having directed that his own salary should cease from the day of his embarkation. It was a gloomy day at the Cape when Lord Macartney took his leave, for he had made himself beloved and respected by the best part of the inhabitants; but no sooner was his departure made known to the ignorant and misguided boors in the distant districts, than those of Graaff Reynet, anxious to be let loose upon the Kaffirs, held a select meeting, at which they came to a resolution that "Now that the

old Lord was gone away, they would prove themselves true patriots."

And so they did in their sense of the word. Their first act was to rescue by violence, out of the hands of justice, a criminal whom the landrost had forwarded, under the escort of a dragoon, towards the Cape to take his trial. Being a "true patriot," and too valuable a member to be taken off by a regular course of justice, fourteen fellow-patriots followed the dragoon to the Karroo to rescue the culprit. The dragoon, however, demurred, and told them that sooner than suffer his prisoner to be taken out of his hands he would blow out his brains. The landrost's secretary had accompanied the prisoner, and fearing that bloodshed was likely to result, prevailed on the dragoon to let the culprit be taken back to the landrost, to which he reluctantly assented, and the fourteen patriotic poltroons followed back the waggon to the Drosdy, keeping at a proper distance.

These fellows, with a number of boors, whom they had collected near the Great Fish River, set about organizing their forces, with the view of attacking and plundering the Kaffirs, who had remained quiet; but they were anticipated by the vigilance of the new Governor, who directed a detachment of dragoons, a few companies of infantry, and part of the Hottentot corps, under the command of General Vandeleur, to proceed to that district. The moment the marauding party were apprised of this they broke up their camp and dispersed, leaving in the hands of a neutral person a humble petition acknowledging their error and imploring forgiveness. The General returned a verbal answer that until they had voluntarily surrendered

themselves, and laid their arms at his feet, he could hold no communication with rebels; that he should name a certain place and day, and all who should not attend would be considered as rebels and traitors to His Majesty's Government, and would be treated accordingly.

Most of them made their appearance; and such a motley group was quite enough to disturb the gravity of the General, good-humoured as he always was. However, he selected nine of the ringleaders, and sent them under an escort on board His Majesty's ship 'Rattlesnake,' then at anchor in Algoa Bay; and on the rest levied a fine towards defraying the expense of the expedition which their absurd and rebellious conduct had occasioned.

General Dundas was not a little disconcerted by this disastrous turn of affairs happening so speedily after his assumption of the reins of government; and one day, at a large dinner party, he said he had just received a dispatch from General Vandeleur that had made him very uneasy, and the more so as the General was at a loss whom to trust, or from whom to take advice; moreover, as he was ignorant of the language of the Dutch boors, of the Kaffirs, and of the Hottentots, who were all quarrelling and fighting with one another, "who I am to send," he said, "I know not. Barrow (addressing himself to me), can you advise me?" I said, "General, I know nothing of military matters, but have had tolerably good experience of the squabbles and conduct of the three parties you mention, and if you think I can be of the least possible use, I will most willingly proceed to the General's head-quarters." He said it was the very thing that he wished, but he could

not venture to ask it after the fatiguing journeys I had already had. "But," he added, "if you are really not indisposed for the journey, I know of no other so fit, or who would set me so much at ease; but I cannot at least suffer you to go alone; you shall have a serjeant's party of the 8th dragoons, and Lieutenant Smyth, my aide-de-camp, shall accompany you."

Accordingly, without delay, I joined the Lieutenant, with twenty-five mounted dragoons, at the pass called Hottentots' Holland's Kloof, with an excellent horse and a black servant on another, without encumbrance of any kind, determined to proceed rapidly, to partake of the farmers' fare, and to sleep at their habitations for the first time. My route was to be the direct line towards Algoa Bay, where I expected to find the General. I had so recently passed over the same route that no guides were required. My only instruction was to place myself in communication with the General, and to afford him the benefit of my experience and assistance.

I had, however, a separate instruction to take into custody, and to send up to the Cape, a certain boor who was known to be in communication with the rebels of Graaff Reynet, and who had assisted them with gunpowder. Lieutenant Smyth, with a party of the 8th light dragoons, arrested and escorted him to the land-rost; on his return a violent thunder-storm arose, and the rain descended in such torrents as to fill to the brim the channel of a river that, the day before, had not a drop of water in it. The Hottentot, unable to withstand the rapidity of the current, let go the rope; the oxen turned their heads with the direction of the stream; the waggon was upset; and two of the young

men, who could not swim, were seen no more ; and my companion, Smyth, with the rest, had a very narrow escape.

The 9th of March was the hottest and most oppressive day I ever remember to have experienced in South Africa. The horse I rode was so overcome with the heat, that he literally dropped down under me, and was unable to carry me any farther. And now, for the first time, I experienced the sort of comfort of taking up a night's lodging with one of the African boors. We reached at length the hovel of a shoemaker. Unfortunately, it happened to be Sunday, and the shoemaker being known to all his nearest neighbours, within three or four miles, to be a jolly good fellow, who generally had a glass of wine and a strong *sopie* to regale his friends, the house was crowded with people. There were but two apartments; one filled with the company, the other occupied by Smyth and myself. The heat of the weather, and the closeness of the room, with only one small aperture to admit the light, filled with such "a congregation of foul and pestilential vapours," would have nauseated stomachs much less squeamish than ours. How often, in the course of this night, did I bless my good fortune in having the comfortable lodging which my waggon and my cot never failed to supply !

Unluckily the wine-cask and the brandy-bottle were stowed in our room, and the applications to them were so frequent that we resolved to barricade the door; failing to force the door, they attacked the window; but this small pigeon-hole being much too narrow to admit the carcase of an African boor, they had recourse to the expedient of thrusting through a thin

Hottentot girl: but from the peculiar shape of the females of this tribe the lower part refused to follow where the head had passed, and she stuck fast in the window; the girl, however, after a great deal of squeezing and pushing, effected the purpose, and procured for the tumultuous boors a supply of their favourite liquors. To prevent a return we barred in the window. After most vociferous imprecations and thundering assaults, sometimes at the door and then at the window, they thought fit about midnight to leave the house, in search, probably, of another jovial neighbour at the distance, perhaps, of ten or twelve miles.

The farther we advanced the more numerous were the accounts we received of the atrocious conduct of the boors towards the Kaffirs and Hottentots, of which they made no secret. On reaching the Lange Kloof, or Long Valley, this part of the country, with its orchards, vineyards, gardens, and comfortable farm-houses occurring at the regulated distance of three miles, displayed a cheerful and delightfully pleasant aspect. Coming opposite to Plettenberg Bay, I crossed the mountains and assembled the wood-cutters in the vicinity of the bay, the Admiral having wished me to get some information of the quantity and price at which timber could be sent to the Cape. Industrious as the inhabitants might be, the felling of large trees and the dragging of them out of deep glens required so much labour, which they alone were obliged to perform, not having the means of providing slaves, it appeared to me that, in the present state of the colony, no dependence of a supply from this quarter could be entertained.

The boors' horses are never shod; but on returning

to Lange Kloof I found that the shoes of all our horses had either been removed or new ones put on; and what was my astonishment on learning, that both the one and the other had been the work of a young man, born deaf and dumb, who had never seen a horseshoe before, and that both were executed with as much care and neatness as if he had been brought up to the trade of a farrier!—nay more, this sagacious young man, I was told, supported by his ingenuity and industry a worthless, drunken father, and a number of brothers and sisters.

On arriving at the Cantoos River an express from the General summoned us to Algoa Bay. This most beautiful part of the country, less than half a century before this time, had been entirely in possession of the Kaffirs and the Hottentots, amounting to many thousand families, the latter subsisting chiefly on wild animals, roots, bulbs, and berries of various plants; the Kaffirs on their cattle, the milk of which constitutes their principal food.

On our road to Algoa Bay we were met by a party of Hottentots, so disguised and dressed in such a whimsical manner, that I asked one who appeared to be the leader if they had not been committing depredations on the boors: they readily admitted it, for, among other good qualities which a Hottentot possesses, is that of a rigid adherence to truth—he has no deceit—if accused of a crime of which he has been guilty, with native simplicity he will state the fact just as it happened. In the whole course of my travels, and in the midst of the numerous attendants by whom I was constantly surrounded, I can with safety declare that I never was robbed or deceived by any of them.

The leader of the present party, Klaas Steurman, humbly entreating to be heard, began a long oration containing a history of their calamities and sufferings from the boors; the injustice that deprived them of their country, forced their children to become slaves, and robbed them of their cattle; that they therefore resolved to make application for redress before the English troops should leave the country; that the boors, in order to prevent it, confined some to the house, threatened to shoot others if they attempted to escape, and to punish their wives and children in their absence. He then produced a young Hottentot whose thigh was pierced through by a large musket-ball, shot by his employer because he was attempting to leave his service. "This act," said the spokesman, "and many similar ones, resolved us to collect a sufficient force to deprive the boors of their arms, and to take their clothing in lieu of the wages due for our services, but we have stripped none, nor injured the persons of any, though" (added he, shaking his head) "we have yet a great deal of our blood to avenge."

The farther we advanced the more seriously alarming was the state of the country; and it was clear that the connection between the boors and the Hottentots, kept up by violence and oppression on one side, and by want of energy and patient suffering on the other, was on the point of being completely dissolved. Indeed, from the barbarous and inhuman treatment of the boors, of which we ourselves had witnessed so many instances too revolting to be described, it would have been an act of the greatest inhumanity to have attempted to force these poor creatures back again upon their merciless masters; yet a serious difficulty arose

how to dispose of them. There was no difficulty with regard to the able-bodied men; having received so favourable an account of the condition of their countrymen in the Hottentot corps, named the Cape Regiment, they were all ready to join it; but what was to be done with the old people, the women, and the children? Klaas Steurman had an answer ready: "Restore to us our country, of which we have been robbed by the Dutch, and we require nothing more." I endeavoured to convince him that land alone, without other means, would not suffice for subsistence. His reply was, "We lived happily before these Dutch plunderers molested us, and we should do so again. Has not the *Groot Baas* (the Great Master) given plenty of grass-roots, and berries, and locusts for our use?" This clever Hottentot, I could not but admit, had the best of the argument, and my endeavour was, in which I succeeded, to prevail on the party to deliver up their arms, and in the meantime to follow the troops, until some arrangement could be made for their future welfare.

Proceeding on our march along the banks of the Sunday River, we fell in with a vast number of Kaffirs, with their cattle, belonging, they told us, to a powerful chief named Congo, who was at the head of the emigrant chiefs that had fled from Kaffir-land on account of some enmity subsisting between them and their King Gaika, with whom and them I had in vain attempted two years before to bring about a reconciliation. I sent a messenger to Congo to request he would give us a meeting; his answer was, he did not care to come alone, but must be accompanied by a certain number of his people; to this it was replied, any number not

exceeding thirty. With that number he made his appearance, each man being armed with an assagai.

He conducted himself with great firmness, said the ground on which he then stood was his own by inheritance ; that, however, being desirous of remaining in friendship with the English, he would remove to the eastward in three days, but that it was impossible for him to cross the Great Fish River, as "there was blood between Gaika and himself," and that Gaika was then much too strong for him. The decided tone in which he spoke, at the head of his small party, when surrounded by British troops, his prepossessing countenance, and tall muscular figure, could not fail to excite a strong interest in his favour. Though extremely good-humoured, benevolent, and hospitable, the Kaffirs are neither so pliant nor so passive as the Hottentots. The consent of Congo to withdraw from the banks of the Sunday River was not given without apparent reluctance.

The forces being collected, and on their return to Algoa Bay, and finding that Congo had made no preparations for departing, it was thought advisable to renew a message to him, but the messenger returned without being able to see the chief. Whatever reluctance he had shown to quit the colony, it never entered into our calculation that he would be rash enough to commence an attack upon a large body of regular troops. Such, however, was the step he chose to take ; instigated, as we afterwards found, by the rebel boors. Kaffirs now began to appear on all the heights, with a view to attack us ; numbers were observed close upon us, lurking in the bushes ; our force being in a narrow defile, nearly choked with brushwood and surrounded

by Kaffirs, two or three rounds of grape were discharged from two field-pieces in order to clear the thickets.

The persecuted Hottentots were everywhere flying from the cruel treatment of their masters; to get them down to the plains near Algoa Bay was deemed most advisable: and, therefore, accompanied by a few dragoons, I took charge of the Hottentots and their cattle on our journey to the southward; whilst the General marched back into the Zuure Veldt, to pick up a party of infantry employed in cutting off the retreat of the boors into the Kaffir country.

I proceeded to a plain contiguous to Algoa Bay, where, to my great astonishment, I found the whole of the boors and their families assembled, who had been plundered by the Hottentots, with their waggons and cattle, and the remains of their property, awaiting our arrival, in order, they said, to claim protection against the heathen. To be thus placed between two parties—each claiming protection, and each vowing vengeance—was by no means a pleasant situation. My whole strength was about a dozen dragoons; the Hottentots, great and small, were upwards of five hundred; and the boors and their families about one hundred and fifty. Fortunately, the ‘Rattlesnake’ was still in the bay, and I obtained from Captain Gooch twenty armed seamen; and caused a swivel gun to be mounted on a post immediately between the boors and the Hottentots.

After some days of anxiety, I received a letter from General Vandeleur, informing me that the Kaffirs, instigated by the rebel boors, had been led to the bold measure of attacking his camp near Bosjesman’s River, for the sake, he supposed, of obtaining a supply of gunpowder; that the latter had kept up a pretty brisk fire

from behind the bushes; but that the Kaffirs, finding their assagais useless against musketry, rushed forward upon the open plain with the iron part only of the assagai in their hands; that, however, after several rounds of grape and volleys from the infantry, by which numbers were killed, they retreated into the thickets.

The same letter gave the account of an unfortunate affair that happened to Lieut. Chumney and twenty men of the 81st Regiment. Returning from the sea-coast to the camp at Bosjesman's River, his party were surprised among the thickets by a large body of Kaffirs, who attacked them hand to hand with the iron part of their assagais, the wooden shaft having been previously broken off. This young officer bravely defended himself till sixteen of his party were killed; the remaining four got into the waggon, and arrived safe at the camp. Poor Chumney was on horseback, with three assagais sticking in his body; he made a sign for the waggon to set off, and, finding himself mortally wounded, he turned his horse in a contrary direction to that of the waggon, and was pursued by the whole body of Kaffirs; affording thus an opportunity for the small remains of his party to save their lives by flight.

However desirable it might have been to apprehend and punish the rebel boors, who had shown themselves a disgrace to humanity, yet it was not deemed advisable, in order to obtain that point, to wage, in impenetrable thickets, an unequal war with savages, whose destruction would have added little lustre to the British arms, and been advantageous only to the rebels who had urged them on. General Vandeleur, therefore, very prudently withdrew his forces, and marched them down to Algoa Bay, where part were

embarked on board the 'Rattlesnake,' and the rest were to proceed to the Cape by easy marches. Subsequent events, however, delayed their departure, and rendered the presence of troops necessary at Algoa Bay until the evacuation of the colony.

Having delivered over the remaining part of the Hottentots, on the return of the General, and finding I could be of no further use, I set out for the Cape; where, after a journey of sixteen days, performed with two horses, I arrived on the 8th of June, 1799.

SECTION VIII.

*Two new Governors; one Dutch and one English—
The Cape surrendered to the former and evacuated.*

My exploring journeys thus finished by this less agreeable military mission, and having given satisfaction to my superiors, I resolved now to relinquish the good-natured plan of volunteering for further active service, and to sit down quietly to audit with diligence and regularity the public accounts, which was an important part of my duty; to marry a wife, and, that being accomplished, to look out for a small comfortable house near the town, and to become a country gentleman of South Africa. Accordingly, at Stellenbosch, by the Rector Mr. Borchards, related to the family, in August, 1799, I was united in marriage to Miss Anna Maria Trüter, the only daughter of Peter-John Trüter, Esq., Member of the Court of Justice, and the cousin of Sir John Trüter, the Chief Justice of that Court; a lady whose acquaintance I had made the first week of our

arrival at the Cape. In the early part of 1800 I purchased a house, with a paddock, garden, and vineyard attached, named the Liesbeck Cottage, from the river of that name which flowed past the foot of the grounds. My house looked on the west side of the Table Mountain, which sloped down almost close to the gate, and presented a picturesque mass of varied rock and native plants, among which the ericas and proteas were conspicuous; and of the latter the *argentea*, or silver-tree, prevailed. My family consisted of myself, my wife and child, an old nurse, and four other servants.

My stud was limited to two stout carriage horses for drawing a curricule, and two saddle horses: the one a most lively, playful, and intelligent creature as I ever met with. If I mentioned but his name, *Trim* was with me in an instant; if he saw me, it was not easy to prevent his bounding up to me; and how was this brought about? By kind treatment, by showing him and convincing him that he was my pet, by giving him part of my food, bread, biscuit, grapes, and other fruit; and in this way I have always found that the most surly and wild animals may be tamed. My other horse was a grey Spanish pony, a very lively creature, but not so docile as *Trim*. I had an Indian groom and a helper.

Speaking of food: a scarcity of bread-corn was at this time felt, owing partly to a bad harvest, partly to the supplies necessary to be sent to the eastern frontier for the use of the troops, the number of which the rebellious boors, united with the Kaffirs, made it necessary to increase. General Dundas, in this emergency, consulted the Burgher Senate as to what, in their opinion, was best to be done to prevent a famine among the large popula-

tion of Cape Town, a great portion of it being slaves. The Senate advised importation of corn and rice, and without delay. The General then called a meeting of all the English who held official situations; the result was, that with the assistance of the Commissary-General, —who was responsible for the food of the troops, and had correspondence in various quarters, and also the command of money and credit—Mr. Pringle, the Commissary, most readily undertook to write for cargoes of wheat, maize, and rice from India and the Brazils. A corn committee was formed, of which the General was president, and I was named secretary; grain of different kinds speedily began to come in, regulations were made for its distribution at fixed prices a little higher than its cost: and in the third year, when all had come right again, I presented my account, leaving a small balance of profit on hand, after discharging all debts, advances, and expenses.

General Dundas had left England, under an engagement to a lady, a daughter of General Cumming, for the purpose of being united to her in marriage, as soon as he saw himself likely to be fixed here. He was now Governor and Commander-in-chief, and in possession of the Government house fitted up for the reception of his lady; who arrived safe and proved a most agreeable addition to the society of the Cape. But how uncertain is the tenure, generally, of a public appointment—more especially so, on the change of the patron! In the present instance, the Right Hon. Hiley Addington had become Prime Minister in the room of the Right Hon. William Pitt; and Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for the Colonial and War Department; and a new Governor of the Cape one day suddenly made his ap-

pearance, in the person of Sir George Young. I confess I had my misgivings; yet, all things considered, I was a good deal surprised, and immediately waited on the General. He said, good-humouredly, "They have left me at least a plank to float upon; our new chief having brought with him a commission appointing me Commander-in-chief and Lieutenant-Governor of the Cape of Good Hope; and a few lines, from one you know, tells me to remain quiet and wait events."

Sir George Young brought out with him a stupid Irish Secretary and his wife, and a pert young officer as aide-de-camp, and they all lived together in the Government-house. He took an early opportunity—or his Secretary and his wife for him—to give out that the friends of Lord Macartney would meet with no countenance from him; and it was whispered, that as all the civil appointments had been filled up, some vacancies might be anticipated. The friends, however, of Lord Macartney looked upon the manœuvres of the whole party with the utmost contempt. Among other ridiculous freaks, which the weak old Governor took into his head, was that of raising a volunteer corps among the English part of the inhabitants, and just at the time that Mr. Addington was negotiating with Buonaparte the treaty of peace, or that more generally known as the *Truce*, of Amiens. The civil officers of the Cape Government were required to hold commissions in the corps of volunteers, and it was notified to me that I was appointed captain of artillery. I simply declined to take up my commission, as did most of the others; except three or four, who were in the habit of playing fantastic tricks, and who looked for the favourable countenance of Sir George Young.

Sir George brought out with him a Mr. Duckett, a noted agriculturist in England, who was to astonish the Cape farmers by teaching them how to raise two bushels of corn where one only grew before. He had an estate given to work upon, and Government slaves to assist. I think he put in seed, and reaped three crops, the worst and most scanty that had ever been produced; and, of course, was laughed at by the Cape boors; and he left the colony a disappointed man.

Sir George Young, concluding that all Lord Macartney's protégés were blockheads, had brought out with him a German gentleman—one Count Lichtenstein, who was to develop all the mineral treasures of the colony: the silver, copper, lead ores, and coal to smelt them—all of which he knew were to be found, whether from observation or instinct I know not. But this gentleman, previous to his setting out, called on me to ask for information, and I gave him what little I had gathered on the subject. I also gave him some little trifling specimens I had picked up; and, among other matters, a piece of meteoric iron I had cut off from a mass found near Algoa Bay, after very great labour, with a hammer and chisel. This piece of iron was the cause, some time afterwards, of bringing the Count into rather an awkward predicament. One Sunday evening, on entering the room of Sir Joseph Banks, I observed a number of persons crowding round the table, and handing from one to another a piece of iron—Sir Joseph explaining that it was found and cut by Count Lichtenstein from a large *aërolite* he had discovered in Southern Africa. Taking it into my hand, and examining it closely, I said, "Ah! this is an old friend of mine, Sir Joseph: there must be some mistake. This piece

of iron was cut off by me from a large mass found near Algoa Bay, after several hours of hard labour with a hammer and chisel, and was given by me to Count Lichtenstein." On this, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, and said, "I beg your pardon, Mr. Barrow: what you say is quite true, and I beg your pardon—" But I stopped him, and hoped he would not say another word about it; had I known of his being present, I should have been silent to all except to himself.

Great discontent, among both English and Dutch inhabitants, prevailed against Sir George Young's administration; and many complaints are supposed to have reached England. Be that as it may, he was suddenly and unexpectedly recalled. One day, in coming from the Corn Committee, I met General Dundas, who appeared a good deal fluttered. He hurried me into a house, said he was looking for me, and that he had just received a most important dispatch from home, about which he was anxious to consult me. "The King has been pleased to appoint me Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and Commander-in-Chief of the forces, and I have got my commissions. What am I to do?—What communication shall I make to the present Governor?" I told him that, in my humble opinion, he had but one line to take—to cause a proclamation to be issued forthwith, announcing the fact, and that "it is your intention to be sworn in, and to assume the government, to-morrow; and instantly to let Sir George Young know your intention. He, no doubt, has corresponding orders to resign the government into your hands; but he may take his own time, if you do not act forthwith. It will be proper you also immediately communicate with Mr. Secretary Barnard."

He did so act accordingly; and the short-lived administration ceased, with very general satisfaction.

This second government of General Dundas was soon discovered as likely to be of short duration. The treaty of peace, signed at Amiens on the 25th March, 1802, having, among other cessions, decreed "that the port of the Cape of Good Hope shall remain to the Batavian republic in full sovereignty," was some time ere it was officially received here; and thus gave us sufficient notice to be prepared for our departure. Accordingly, in the month of March, 1803, a large force made its appearance to take possession of the ceded colony. The British troops were removed into the Castle, till the whole of them could be embarked for England on board the ships of war and transports at anchor in Table Bay, and the Dutch troops were simultaneously quartered in the large barrack close to the town.

General Jansen, the new Governor, and the civil Commissioner De Mist, were received in the most friendly manner by General Dundas, who immediately resigned to them the Governor's house within the Castle, retaining the Garden-house till all was ready for embarkation. As a large quantity of stores, of various descriptions, were agreed upon to be taken by the Dutch at a fair valuation, commissioners were named, on both sides, to settle this point, and the General asked me to be one of them. This being concluded, and the whole of the troops embarked, a day was named for all being on board, when a frigate arrived in the bay. The Captain landed, sent off the boat back to the ship, looked very mysterious, answered no questions, but desired to be brought immediately to General Dundas to deliver his dispatches. It was in

the afternoon, when the General and the Admiral were in consultation, shortly after which it was observed that Sir Roger Curtis hastened on board.

I was summoned by the General to the Garden-house, where I found Mr. Secretary Barnard and the Captain of the frigate. The General told me that what he had received was an order on no account to give up possession of the Cape till further orders. "And now," says he, "what are we to do? The Dutch have five thousand men, with all their accoutrements, in our barrack, and we have about the same number embarked on board the ships in the bay. The Admiral is just gone on board, and he says that he can very quietly get the men into the boats on the off-side of the ships, and row them rapidly to be landed in the Castle-yard. Once there," observed the General, "we should be in a state to negotiate. Nothing more can be done in this critical conjuncture than to wait patiently a further dispatch from home."

I told the General I had received and accepted an invitation to an early dinner in the Castle, from General Jansen, with whom I had contracted an intimacy from his first landing, he having brought me a letter of introduction from Baron Fagel. "Shall I keep my engagement?" "By all means," said the General; "I shall see him myself the moment the troops are landed." No suspicion of the counter-orders, it was evident, had been received by the new Governor. All went off pleasantly and cheerfully at the Castle; and the two young ladies, daughters of Jansen and De Mist, were lively and agreeable, when, about the middle of dinner, a bustle was heard in the court-yard, the grounding of arms, &c., on which the General, starting up, called out, "Mr. Barrow,

what is the meaning of all this?" To free myself from the dilemma of an answer, I got up and said, "I will go out and see." At that moment General Dundas was in the Castle, and had sent to General Jansen to ask an interview. The Admiral was with him; and these two, with General Jansen and Mr. Commissioner De Mist, came very cordially to the following agreement:—

That in order to prevent any collision between the Dutch troops and the English, the former should remove some three or four miles into cantonments on the pleasant plains of Wynberg, and the English be held in readiness to embark immediately on counter-orders being received from home, for which purpose a part were to be kept in the Castle, and the rest in the barracks—an arrangement that was at once agreed to, and carried into effect. It was certainly a painful suspense; and some of the Radical party, in the town, did their best to cause a rupture, hoping they would meet encouragement from Mr. De Mist, who was supposed to be a friend of Talleyrand; but they were deceived in him: he was an able, agreeable, and, I believe, an honest man.

It was near the end of the year before counter-orders were received from home, to deliver up the Cape to the officers of the Batavian republic. The British troops were immediately put in preparation for embarking, and the Admiral was busily engaged in allotting ships and berths for the civilians. He placed me in a ship of war crowded to excess, and in a dark hole on the lower deck, which I told him at once I should not accept. "But you must," he said: "my orders are to provide for every one, and you must take what I can give you." "I doubt your authority, Sir Roger; and shall appeal

to Lieut.-General Francis Dundas, who alone is my master here."

I saw the General: he immediately said, "I can suit you exactly; I have an Ordnance transport of 350 tons, which I will allot for your exclusive use; and, as you will find abundance of room, you may, if you please, name any one you will to go along with you." I named my friend and companion Mr. Maxwell; a young man, Mr. Pickering, the storekeeper of Ordnance; his lady and child; and a son of Mr. Ducket, the agriculturist. We had comfortable apartments and abundance of room for myself, my wife, our little girl of three years old, and a servant maid. The rest were all well accommodated. Our transport kept good way with the ships of war on the whole voyage; and we arrived with them, after a moderate passage, at Portsmouth in the month of June, 1803.

Note, applicable to the Year 1846.

It is now nearly fifty years since the occurrences related in the preceding narrative took place; and it would appear that in the course of that long interval the affairs of the interior districts of the Cape of Good Hope, as regards the Boors, the Kaffirs, and the Hottentots, instead of improving, have retrograded from bad to worse; and that our troops, and the respectable part of the colonists of the southernmost districts, have been involved, and had greatly suffered in their persons and property. The poor Hottentot, however, can hardly be included; this docile creature may be moulded into

any shape that his superiors think fit, and have the humanity to give him. The Hottentot corps, established by General Sir James Craig, has supported the best of characters, under every succeeding officer, for good conduct, discipline, and fidelity; and both officers and men are spoken of with similar commendations as those bestowed on the Sepoys of India.

But the Kaffirs are a race of men very differently constituted in body and mind. Bold, brave, and resolute, they are not easily persuaded or forced to yield to what they deem an invasion of their rights; this they consider to be their case, on the part of the neighbouring boors, who, they say, were the *first* to transgress the boundary line, for the sake of plundering them of their cattle; that, not satisfied with appropriating the rich country, they have crossed the boundary agreed upon by the colonists and themselves; some driving off their cattle to their own country, and others feeding theirs in the Kaffir country; and that this practice had increased to such an extent that they were compelled to retaliate.

It is not improbable that the Kaffirs are right; for it is but a very short period since the Dutch first set foot on the soil of Southern Africa, and no record exists of the original establishment of the Kaffir nation in the place, where the Dutch found them, and where they then unquestionably had long been settled.

But the question now is, what is to be done to put an end to the murderous warfare that has been and is going on, by the Kaffirs on the one side, and the British troops and the colonists on the other. The Kaffirs have become a most formidable enemy; they are a fine race of men—powerful and vigorous in body, resolute and

undaunted in mind, and fearless in danger. They are well practised in the advantage which the numerous thickets of the country give them, and from which they are enabled to pick off hundreds of boors with their muskets, and with those very arms that the latter themselves have supplied; nor do our own troops escape this concealed enemy.

But the courage and the skill of the Kaffir are not confined to skirmishing under cover of a thicket. When occasion offers he will rush from his cover, break off the iron blade of his *hassagai* from its shaft, and fight with it hand to hand, singly or in a party; in this way he will attack a whole body of troops; and such an enemy is not to be despised.

It might be supposed that some means had been hit upon, ere this, to put an end to this destructive warfare. A plan was adopted by one of the governors (Sir Benjamin D'Urban, I think), to establish the belt of land, between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma, as neutral territory, with a small fort about the centre and one at each extremity: the Kaffirs agreeing to keep themselves and their cattle to the north of the Keiskamma, and the boors themselves and their cattle to the southward of the Great Fish River. This sensible, and it was said successful, experiment, by some change in the Colonial Office or in the governor, was then given up, and the old system of mutual plunder recommenced.

There is just now a Governor, in the midst of the contending parties, striving, and not unsuccessfully, to restore peace, in whom the suffering inhabitants have great confidence. The following extract is from the clergyman of Bathurst:—

“I consider it to be a subject of sincere congratulation at the present moment—the most eventful, apparently, that ever occurred in the history of South Africa—that we have at the head of affairs a man like Sir Peregrine Maitland, respecting whom perhaps there are few who will not unite in the opinion, that the interests of justice and humanity could not have been entrusted to a more upright and watchful guardian. What renders this of such practical importance, at this present time, is the prevalence of an opinion among the most intelligent classes in the colony, that no safeguard can be found that will be so effectual for the maintenance of peace, as that of placing such a number of European settlers in Kaffirland as may be able to exert a controlling, governing influence in the heart of the country. Every other course of proceeding hitherto tried has failed.

“*Bathurst, July 20, 1846.*”

At the moment I was copying the above extract, I read in the Gazette, that this excellent officer, while in the midst of the hostile Kaffirs and labouring for the establishment of peace, was superseded by “The Right Hon. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., K.G.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, to be Her Majesty’s High Commissioner for the settling and adjusting of the affairs of the territories, &c. of the Cape of Good Hope,” together with a splendid staff.

What may be the issue of this *contre-temps*, if General Maitland should have arranged matters before Sir Henry Pottinger’s arrival in Kaffirland, I pretend not to augur; but I will venture to observe, that his success in China is no voucher for success in Kaffirland.

In the former, the gates of negotiation were widely thrown open by victory—one of the best admirals and one of the best generals paved his way to the subdued powers, and by means of able interpreters he could propose and receive terms. If General Maitland has been able to accomplish in Kaffirland what Sir William Parker and Sir Hugh Gough did in China, Sir Henry may not have a very difficult task; but he must probably be content with a Hottentot interpreter, as I was served before King Gaika and the emigrant Kaffir chiefs.

But, supposing the peace to be made, what ought the terms to be, in order to preserve it? The first step, in my opinion, should be to create a Christian population, spread over an extent of country capable of supporting many hundred families, possessing, as it does, an exuberant soil, and as healthy a climate as any in the world. I speak practically, having traversed the worst as well as the best parts of it, summer and winter, sleeping at nights without a roof over my head, except the canvas covering over my waggon; and having never suffered a day's sickness. How many thousand families from the United Kingdom would rejoice to be set down in such a country and in such a climate, if facilities were afforded to them—and what a relief to many parts of the kingdom would their emigration be! But something is first to be done; the Zuure-veld and a great way beyond it must be marked out into parochial districts, and surveyors appointed to settle the limits. The boors must not be allowed unbounded liberty to ramble over what extent of country they please; and they should be compelled to till the ground to a certain extent. I should propose to extend the colony along

the eastern coast as far as Natal, where a part of the refractory Graaff Reynet boors thought fit first to migrate, to free themselves from all control, and then to quarrel among themselves, and separate; and now we have the Natal boors and the refugees joined to some mongrel natives farther to the westward; an union not likely to last long.

But it may be asked, what do you propose to do with the Kaffirs—they are too important a people to be overlooked? They certainly are; for I do not hesitate to say that a finer race of men does not exist, and they require nothing but kind treatment and instruction, with a fair portion of their own land, to make them a respectable and happy people. I should say, therefore, give them undisturbed possession of the western part of the country, commencing from their old boundary along the Keiskamma River and as far to the west and the north as they may find it expedient to go—perhaps till they fall in with the emigrant boors from Natal; reserving to ourselves a western frontier at a prescribed distance from the sea coast, of which the Kaffirs make no use: and while the latter are completing their settlement, let them have from our colonists every possible friendly assistance that can be afforded to them.

But in the first place mark out the limits of what is to constitute our—that is the north-west—colony; divide it into districts or parishes; and assign limits to the portions of the several colonists; ample let them be, but put an end to the rambling and pastoral system; and, to make amends, encourage cultivation of the land, and at the same time the cultivation of their minds.

But I am aware that, in thus establishing or extending a colony in a part of the Cape of Good Hope territory where none has yet existed, I am forgetting that the Colonial Department has an inveterate dislike to the *name* of colony. I had practical experience of this when in the Admiralty: I had made a minute for certain regulations to be observed at the *colony* of Port Essington, on the north coast of Australia. A gentleman from the Colonial Office called on me to request that I would substitute some other word for *colony*, which had become obnoxious in certain quarters. I said, “*establishment* or naval station will do quite as well.” The Cape of Good Hope is already a colony; and it is proposed only to extend its limits. By stationing a small ship of war at Point Natal, one at Algoa Bay, and another at Plettenberg Bay, or one moving about might do for all, to keep up communication, the interior would require only district officers. Something must be done, and that promptly and vigorously; and I see no difficulty with regard to our own people; nor indeed, if proper care be taken to secure to the Kaffirs the quiet possession of a sufficient territory—which they have an unquestionable right to expect—do I see any in that quarter; and the Hottentots are sufficiently tractable and peaceable to be made generally useful to themselves and the colonists.

Taking it for granted, that there is but one opinion among sensible and right-minded men with regard to the advantages of emigration, more particularly where thousands are periodically liable to perish from want of food, I know of no country that affords so large a surface, with so exuberant a soil and so healthy and agreeable a climate, as that portion of the Cape of Good

Hope territory now proposed to be added in extension of the present colony. The emigrants would have the great and immediate advantage of the assistance of the Hottentots—a quiet, intelligent, and industrious race, too happy at the idea of serving English families, from whom they know they will receive kind treatment. The whole of the eastern coast of South Africa might be made a fruitful and flourishing country, as far up as De la Goa Bay, where the miserable country of the more miserable Portuguese nation commences; and which, at the conclusion of the war, I used all the efforts in my power with the then Colonial Secretary to make the northern limit of our possessions, and to pension off the old serjeant who held it as governor.

THE ADMIRALTY.

It occurred to me, that the introduction of a few brief notices of the several administrations of the affairs of the Navy, under which, amounting to *thirteen*, Whig and Tory, I have served for forty years, and in all of which I must necessarily have borne a part, might not be considered as travelling out of the record of a Biographical Life. It is not, however, intended, by so doing, to give anything like a history of the naval transactions of that period, or of the many brilliant exploits that occurred in the course of a great portion of that time, each of such exploits and transactions furnishing, it may be said, a history of itself. I thought it might be interesting to bring together the names of the chief actors in the Principal Department of the Navy, the succession, duration, changes, and the cause thereof, where apparent; and to notice any alteration in the system of management that may have taken place; and, as next in weight and importance, I have added at the head of each article, after that of the First Lord, the name of the First Naval Lord, and of the First Secretary, who is required to have a seat in the House of Commons. I have acted as Second Secretary to all of them, with the exception of Lord Grey's short administration.

THE ADMIRALTY.

SECTION I.

Henry Viscount Melville.

May 15, 1804—June 12, 1805.

Captain JAMES GAMBIER...First Naval Lord.

WILLIAM MARSDEN.....First Secretary.

ON our arrival in London, General Frank Dundas, in laying before Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for War and Colonies, the public accounts and the proceedings on delivering up the Cape of Good Hope to the Dutch authorities, represented to his Lordship the several extra duties I had voluntarily discharged, with great inconvenience and expense to myself, and his inability to make me suitable amends, though the services were public and important; he hoped, therefore, I should be considered, for my six or seven years' services, entitled to some retiring allowance. Lord Hobart could only express his regret that he found his hands tied on that subject, he thought unjustly, but the precedent of refusal had been established by his predecessors, and had become the general custom (methought, with Hamlet, it is a custom more honoured in the breach than in the observance): all he could say was, that he should be most happy to make Mr. Barrow an offer of the first vacancy abroad that might suit him. This might pass for something civil:

but I was more disposed to take my chance at home. I considered, therefore, that nothing further was to be expected from that quarter; but General Dundas did not relax his exertions in my behalf.

In point of fact, Lord Macartney had turned me over to the General, as being one on whom he might rely for assistance in any difficulty that should occur; for that I knew the country and the people better than any other of our countrymen; and I may truly say that the General did not spare me. He now spoke strongly to his uncle Henry Dundas, who, though equally out of office with his friend Mr. Pitt, was not without influence. As already mentioned, Mr. Dundas, on reading my account of Southern Africa, had, in my absence, urged its publication; he now expressed to the General a wish to see me—"If you will bring him to-morrow, Mr. Pitt dines with me." I went, and nothing could be more flattering than my reception; he spoke of the satisfaction which my book had afforded him, that it strongly corroborated the opinion he had given in Parliament, that the Cape of Good Hope ought never to be parted with; but he suggested that I had left rather short one portion of the subject, which he had always considered of vast importance to this country: and that was, its geographical position with reference to India, as a half-way house between our settlements there and England; as a place of refreshment for our shipping and troops; its capabilities for supplying all kinds of produce; its ports and harbours along a great extent of sea-coast favourable to commercial enterprise. "These," he said, "with its capacities in general, which you know better than I do, are the points to which I allude, and which will, I think and hope, amply supply materials for a

second volume." I took the hint, and said, "I will look up what information I possess, and endeavour to meet your views;" which I forthwith set about, and speedily produced a second volume, detailing the political, geographical, and commercial advantages of this Southern part of Africa, which had the effect of producing a second edition of the first volume.

Nothing could be more delightful than this little snug party. The names of Pitt and Dundas were "familiar as household words," and the two had been as inseparable as their friendship was durable. They were now at Wimbledon for a season, and being relieved from the cares and toils of office, were as playful as two school-boys. Lady Jane Dundas and another lady, with two gentlemen of the family, the General, and myself, made up the party. Mr. Dundas asked me if I knew that the new Government had offered to Lord Macartney the office of President of the Council, and that he had declined it, assigning to his friends as a reason that he was sure Mr. Addington's government could not stand. It soon appeared that Lord Macartney was right. It had continued about three years, and in the spring of 1804 Mr. Pitt resumed the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Dundas (now Viscount Melville) was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, his patent bearing date 15th May, 1804. A short time after this, when dining with Lord Macartney, he was called away by Lord Melville in the midst of the dinner, but returned speedily, without taking any notice of the visit he had received at that unusual hour; and as ladies are said to be curious when anything unusual occurs to their lords, so Lady Macartney expressed to Mrs. Barrow her wonder what

could have brought Lord Melville at that hour—something, no doubt, about the new ministry then forming or already formed. Nothing, however, transpired that evening; but about twelve o'clock that same night, just as I had gone to bed, came a note from Lord Macartney to say, "You must be at the Admiralty to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, and send your name up to Mr. Marsden."

I went accordingly, anxious, as may be supposed, to know what was going on. Mr. Marsden took me by the hand and cordially congratulated me. I asked for what? He seemed surprised, and said, "Don't you know that you are appointed my colleague, the Second Secretary of the Admiralty, in the room of Mr. Tucker, whose services Lord Melville has deemed it right to dispense with, on account of his well-known partisanship? But," he added, "Lord Melville desired to see you the moment you came, and he is now in his room." On being ushered in, "I am happy," he said, "to have had it in my power to give you the appointment of Second Secretary of the Admiralty. I am fully aware of the many important services you rendered to my nephew, after Lord Macartney had turned over to him the government of the Cape of Good Hope. I was very desirous of meeting the wishes of that nobleman on your account, and I have already told you that I have been much gratified with what you have written regarding that important settlement, which I have little doubt will speedily revert to us. Being all new here, I need not say how much pressed Marsden finds himself, with the only two lords that have yet joined—old Sir Philip Stephens and Captain James Gambier. Your appointment is made out, and the sooner you put yourself

into harness the better." I told him Mr. Marsden had already engaged me for the day. In taking leave with expressions of gratitude for his Lordship's great kindness, "By the way," he said, laughing, "I hope you are not a Scotchman." "No, my Lord, I am only a borderer—I am North Lancashire." He then said, "Mr. Pitt and myself, but chiefly the latter, have been so much taunted for giving away all the good things to Scotchmen, that I am very glad, on the present occasion, to have selected an Englishman." *

During the three years from 1801 to 1804, when Mr. Addington was at the head of the Government, and the Earl St. Vincent First Lord of the Admiralty, the boasted system of economy and retrenchment, particularly in the naval department, had been carried to such an extreme that the appalling statement delivered by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, and which upset the Government, was found, on the examination of their successors, to be more than true, and that the deficiencies in every species of naval stores in the dock-yards were quite alarming. The few ships left to us were scattered at sea; those at home out of repair, and no timber in store to place them in a seaworthy state, much less to build others; there was neither rope, canvas, nor hemp to make them. It is almost incredible, though asserted on apparently good authority, that, on the conclusion of the truce, falsely

* It is curious enough that, of the ten Secretaries of the Admiralty that have passed through the office in the course of the forty years I remained there, one single Scotchman only held that situation, Captain George Elliot, and he was appointed by Lord Grey. Six were Irishmen—Marsden, Wellesley Pole, Croker, O'Ferrall, Dawson, Corry; and three Englishmen—Parker, Wood, Sidney Herbert.

named the peace, of Amiens, large quantities of hemp had actually been sold to French agents, to save the rent and other expenses of the warehouses in which a preceding government had carefully lodged it.

All this folly had been committed under the erroneous notion that a peace had been established with France under the dominion of the Revolutionary government, and at a time when Buonaparte was overrunning Italy and the north of Europe, and his naval preparations, in combination with those of Spain, were so glaring as to be visible to all except to the infatuated government of Mr. Addington, an honest and good man, but an indifferent minister. That which most astonished the public was that Lord St. Vincent, at the head of the Board of Admiralty, did not take a more decided part in wiping off the disgrace incurred in his own department; instead of which, he and the professional members of his Board were at perpetual variance with the Navy Board, which it seems not doubtful they wished to destroy, and which ultimately the same party did succeed in destroying: very greatly, as it has turned out, to the benefit of the naval service.

The Stone Expedition to block up the ports of Holland, by heaving in masses of rock, contributed, as it was generally said, not a little to Lord St. Vincent's unpopularity and to a good deal of ridicule; a measure, however, which his Lordship disclaimed, and even avowed himself ashamed of. But the whole of his administration was not popular with the public and still less with officers of the navy, who, it seems, were at first delighted at the unusual event of having a naval First Lord as their governor.

Such were the general topics of discourse when I

first entered the Admiralty, a great part of which has been confirmed by Mr. Marsden, in a memoir which his widow has printed since his death. He therein says, when speaking of Lord St. Vincent's Board of Admiralty, "We visited Woolwich and Deptford Yards, at the latter of which we experienced much abuse from the enraged families of the workmen discharged or reduced in their allowances, and with some difficulty escaped from worse treatment" (he told me they were pelted with mud by the women and boys). These reductions were probably unavoidable at the time; but the general character of this naval administration was that of harshness, particularly as it respected the officers of the subordinate departments, with whom some personal ill-will was mixed up; the object (as Marsden states) seeming to be that of finding grounds for delinquencies *presumed* in the first instance. "People ask," he adds, "have not the Admiralty and the courts of law together power enough to punish delinquencies in the dock-yards, or other naval departments? But the object is to get rid of the Navy-Board; they are not faultless. Like most other boards and public offices they have left many things undone; but the visitation did not bring home to them any act of corruption or malversation. It was then tried to drive them out by the most abusive letters that ever were written from one Board to another; but they were too prudent to gratify our gentlemen in this way."*

It was at this time that the detestable Commission of Naval Enquiry was concocted, of which Mr. Marsden thus speaks:—

"And now, this extraordinary Commission is re-

* Brief Memoir of William Marsden, written by Himself.

sorted to in the hope of its operating some way (they cannot very well say how) to the end desired. I know it was their first idea to arm *their friends*,* the new Commissioners, with the power of punishing; but now it is only intended they should inquire and report. The Minister gives way, *par complaisance*, to Lord St. Vincent, against his own opinion of the propriety of the measure."

He continues: "Our Board-room is a scene of anxious bustle and agitation, which sometimes puts me in a little passion, but more commonly makes me laugh; for it is impossible for any person to be more independent of the *inquisitions* and *reforms* that are going forward than I am. * * * * If I resign, I am afraid of its being said that I ran away from the new Commissioners. This is rather a curious dilemma; but, although it looks like a joke, it is serious enough. Well, I must make the best of it; at this season confinement is less irksome than it would be in spring, when, please God, I shall be my own master. In the mean time an open quarrel between them and the Navy-Board, which I daily look for, will bring it to a crisis, and oblige me to determine between double and quits."

Mr. Marsden, at the desire of Lord St. Vincent, remained as Secretary after Nepean had absolutely been driven out by the professional members of the Board. Mr. Addington, to soothe him, gave him the Secretaryship of Ireland and created him a baronet; but he said to his Lordship, "I was convinced, from experience of the tempers, ideas, and conduct of the

* These friends were Charles M. Pole, Ewan Law, John Ford, Henry Nichols, and Mackworth Praed.

professional members of the Board, that I could not possibly carry on the public business with them with the least chance of satisfaction to my own feelings. I explained the defects of the present constitution of our department; expressing, at the same time, my conviction that it was not in his Lordship's power to remedy it, as he could not change their natures nor do without them."*

With such a Board, and in such a deplorable state of the Navy, did the Lord Viscount Melville succeed to the administration of that important branch of the public service; and, perhaps, there was not another individual in the whole kingdom so capable, by his exertion and talent, his aptitude for business, and resolution to look at difficulties with a determination to overcome them, as was Lord Melville. But it was his fate, at the very commencement of his administration, to have the feelings of humanity strongly roused, in a way for which there was no relief. The precious Peace of Amiens was already broken, and the restless spirit of the French leader had driven us into open war, the first instance of which was of a most deplorable nature—the unfortunate collision which took place between two hostile squadrons: that of Captain Sir Graham Moore, consisting of four sail of the line—the ‘Indefatigable,’ of 80 guns, and three others of 74 guns—and that of Spain, of four ships exactly of the same force, in which three of the latter were captured and the fourth sunk.

To the fatality of this squadron was added a most melancholy and distressing event. The ‘*Mercedes*’ blew up with a tremendous explosion, and sank. A wealthy

* Brief Memoir.

Spaniard, with his lady, five sons, and four daughters, each beautiful and amiable, and the sons grown up to manhood, all, with the exception of the husband and father, with one son, perished. With a large fortune, the savings of twenty-five years in a foreign country, did this unhappy gentleman embark to return to his native country. Shortly before the conflict the father and one of his sons went on board the admiral's ship, and there this unfortunate man became the spectator of a calamity involving the fate of his wife, his daughters, and four of his five sons, together with all his treasure—the whole he beheld enveloped in flames and sinking into the abyss of ocean. This wretched victim of misfortune arrived at Plymouth in Sir Graham Moore's cabin, who had been—as all who knew him will readily believe—unceasing in his attentions and condolence: using his best endeavours to administer consolation and whatever was in his power to the alleviation of his sufferings; which, however, it is hardly necessary to observe, were of a nature and extent not to admit of consolation; nor need I observe that Lord Melville was most painfully afflicted at this domestic calamity, occurring on his first entrance upon the administration of the navy.

Scarcely had his Lordship occupied his seat at the board of Admiralty, when another unfortunate disaster was brought to his notice. The 'Apollo,' with about thirty ships of her convoy, out of sixty-nine, were driven on the coast of Portugal and wrecked, with the loss of many lives. A considerable share of blame was attached to the commanding officer, for not having given a wider berth to that coast, and for not steering a course more westerly; and as those of the convoy-ships

that fortunately by doing so did escape, some grounds were afforded for censure.

These were accidents for which no blame could attach to the ruling powers on shore. But Lord Melville suffered no delay to prevent his taking immediate and decisive steps, to obliterate the obnoxious character received of the British Navy, by restoring that good feeling among its members which it had, till of late years, maintained.

The urbanity, the kind and friendly manner in which his Lordship received all officers of the Navy, his invariable good-humour, and probably above all, his admitted impartiality in the distribution of appointments, soon banished from the minds of officers a very general mistake as to his character, occasioned by a preconceived prejudice that all his favours and predilections would be conferred on his own countrymen. It was not unnatural that he himself, as well as others, should entertain some apprehensions of such a prejudice being imputed to him, from the immense patronage given to him in consequence of the several offices he held in Scotland, where a preference of his countrymen was unavoidable; but it may be mentioned to his credit that, during his administration of the affairs of the Navy, he was never charged with any such predilection. The observation he made to me, on my appointment, expressed his feeling and his intention on this subject.

In confirmation of what I have stated I am enabled to give a very striking instance. One day at dinner, when Admiral Lord Duncan and some other officers were present, Lord Melville, in the course of conversation, expressed some surprise bordering on disappoint-

ment that no application had been made for employment by that gallant officer Sir Thomas Troubridge, by Sir B. Hallowell, and others whom he could have expected, and wished to come forward and offer their services, and some regret to think that any of Lord St. Vincent's favourite officers should entertain a political dislike to him, as it could be no other, and said that if Sir Thomas would wish for service he should be most happy to employ him. Having mentioned this to a friend of Sir Thomas, the latter called on me at the Admiralty in a few days, said he was gratified to learn that he was not one of the excluded, and asked if I thought Lord Melville would see him. I replied, "I know he will." He was immediately admitted, and after his audience he mentioned to me his deep regret he had so misconceived the character of the noble Lord. "Sir," said he to me, "he not only received me in the most friendly manner, but told me that if I was ready to hoist my flag, he would appoint me to any vacant station I might choose—I might name my own ship—that it was intended to divide the Indian station into two separate commands, and that one of them should forthwith be at my service. I accepted this frank and friendly offer; he then said, 'Now name your ship, and she shall immediately be prepared for commission.' I named the 'Blenheim.' Now," said Sir Thomas, "was not this a most gratifying reception, and was it not noble on the part of Lord Melville?"

The unfortunate issue of this choice, both as regards the division of the command, which produced, if not a quarrel, at least a serious misunderstanding between the two commanders-in-chief, and the melancholy

catastrophe of the ship on her voyage home, by which every soul on board perished, were most distressing.

Lord Melville suffered no delay to occur in the measures taken for replenishing the dock-yards with every species of naval stores ; perhaps, in some respects, as far as regards economy in the expenditure of public money, his anxiety may have caused him to err in going to the opposite extreme of his predecessors ; but, on the other hand, the depressed state of the Navy and the want of means to recruit it found a justification for his eagerness to purchase stores, and vigorously to set about a general repair of those ships, that had been suffered to rot at their moorings, as well as to lay down a certain number of ships of the line and frigates ; and in order to have in readiness a large and efficient fleet, which the progress making by Buonaparte, now become Emperor of the French, evidently made expedient, he caused at once contracts to be made, in private yards, for building forty ships of seventy guns, which a facetious naval lord of a subsequent Board of Admiralty called “ the forty thieves.” The blame was, if any, in building such a great number of so small a calibre ; but they have done good service.

Nor should it be omitted to notice that a great part of the ordinary was found to be in so crazy a state, as to require new-building at an enormous expenditure of money and time. Lord Melville, therefore, did not hesitate to adopt a plan, suggested by Mr. Snodgrass, of diagonal braces, to be placed transversely from the extremities of the gun-deck beams down to the keelson, and of doubling the outside planking. With these expedients we had a fleet just in time to meet the combined fleets of France and Spain at Trafalgar, and it

was generally thought that the addition of these doubled and cross-braced ships contributed much to the successful issue of that great conflict.

It was soon found, however, that more than common efforts were necessary in the naval department; for notwithstanding the severe losses the enemy had sustained in the destructive battle of the Nile, and in other subsequent actions, such gigantic exertions were made, both by French and Spaniards, under the influence of Napoleon, that their united force at this time exhibited a numerical superiority of ships ready for service. Lord Melville was indefatigable, and in April, 1805, he had got together a respectable fleet; but men were wanting, and recourse was to be had to pressing. The anxiety of Mr. Pitt will be seen by the following note he sent to the Board of Admiralty:—

“Downing Street, April 30th, 1805,
half-past two A. M.

“On returning from the House I have just found these papers; they are of the most pressing importance. I will go to bed for a few hours, but will be ready to see you as soon as you please, as I think we must not lose a moment in taking measures to set afloat every ship that by any species of extraordinary exertion we can find means to man. At such an emergency I am inclined to think many measures may be taken to obtain a supply of men for the time, which would not be applicable to any case less immediately urgent.”

It was this note that hastened Lord Melville's expedient, already in progress, of doubling, cross-bracing, and otherwise strengthening a number of ships of the line, considered unworthy of a lengthened and thorough

repair, and which by this summary process were made fully adequate for temporary service. The event proved the value of the measure by the proud fleet with which Lord Nelson fought and conquered the combined fleets of France and Spain at the battle of Trafalgar.

But the political tactics of "all the Talents" were not likely to be assuaged by the increased energy of their Tory opponents, who had succeeded them in office. It was not believed, however, that, as a body, any personal feeling of hostility existed against Mr. Pitt or Lord Melville. Many of them were known to be living on friendly terms, especially with the latter, whose good-humoured and cheerful disposition was not only calculated to disarm hostility, but to secure friendship. He became, however, a mark for inveterate malice to aim its too successful shaft against; and when a victim is to be immolated, a hierophant is seldom wanting to undertake the part of executioner. The Corypheus of the band, on the present occasion, was Mr. Whitbread, a wealthy plebeian brewer, who had aspired to become a senator. This person undertook to be the chief manager of a trial of impeachment, in the House of Lords, against Lord Viscount Melville, to which I shall allude presently. A short notice of this gentleman may not be unamusing.

Mr. Whitbread, in his opening speech before the Lords, was charged to the brim with invectives, and exhibited a display of animosity unparalleled before such an audience; but in the midst of it, he could not avoid amusing their Lordships with a particular graphical account of his origin and family; whether as a specimen of "pride aping humility," or to display

the talent and ingenuity of the old original brewer, his progenitor, from whom the wealth of the family proceeded, he best could tell. This part of the speech was too good of its kind to escape the poetical acumen of Mr. Canning, who amused himself and many others by giving a clever and playful parody on the brewer's family history, almost in the same words as spoken by the eloquent senator.

Parody on part of Whitbread's Speech before the Lords, in Westminster Hall.

“ I 'm like Archimedes for science and skill ;
 I 'm like a young prince going straight up a hill ;
 I 'm like (with respect to the fair be it said)—
 I 'm like a young lady just bringing to bed.
 If you ask why the 11th of June I remember
 Much better than April, or May, or November,
 On that day, my Lords, with truth, I assure ye,
 My sainted progenitor set up his brewery ;
 On that day, in the morn, he began brewing beer,
 On that, too, commenced his connubial career ;
 On that day he received and issued his bills ;
 On that day he cleared out all the cash from his tills ;
 On that day he died, having finish'd his summing,
 And the angels all cried ‘ Here 's old Whitbread
 a-coming ! ’

So that day I still hail with a smile and a sigh,
 For his beer with an E and his bier with an I ;
 And still on that day, in the hottest of weather,
 The whole Whitbread family dine all together.
 So long as the beams of this house shall support
 The roof which o'ershades this respectable Court,
 Where Hastings was tried for oppressing the Hindoos,—
 So long as the sun shall shine in at those windows,
 My name shall shine bright, as my ancestor's shines,—
Mine recorded in journals, *his* blazon'd on *signs*.’

An Act had passed for appointing “ Commissioners to enquire and examine into any irregularities, frauds,

or abuses which are or have been practised by persons employed in the several Naval departments therein mentioned." The new Commissioners were those applied for and appointed by Lord St. Vincent's Board of Admiralty, as before stated; and well and zealously did they perform their invidious task; going back in their tenth report a long series of years, to enquire into the annual expenditure of thousands and tens of thousands of money, and to search for irregularities, frauds, and abuses in the expenditure of those sums of money; and never were a set of men better adapted, by their persevering industry, for this kind of work.

Lord Melville was a great card to be played. He had served many years as Treasurer of the Navy, and Mr. Trotter as Paymaster; and the latter acted as private agent and banker to the former, received his salary and other monies, and supplied him with what cash he might require; but he advanced him also out of the public money such small sums as were constantly demanded of him for current public services, to avoid his drawing frequently for such trifles on the Bank of England. In short, a running account appears to have been kept for convenience sake, which, though it might have been an irregularity as a private account between the Treasurer of the Navy and the Paymaster, yet it facilitated, without injuring, the public service.

Lord Melville being summoned to appear before these Commissioners, and they having read over to him the several sums received, paid, and replaced for twenty years past, he was then asked, somewhat impertinently, it must be admitted, "Did you derive any profit or advantage from the use or employment of money issued for carrying on the public service of the Navy

(during such and such periods, twenty years before) when you held the office of Treasurer of the Navy ? ”

Lord Melville indignantly replied, “ I decline answering this question. ” He might have told them that he did not condescend to answer so insulting, improper, and illegal a question, which, he believed, no other five gentlemen in England would have proposed, and which a culprit in a police-office would have been warned not to criminate himself by answering. Lord Melville had already told his inquisitors that it was utterly impossible for him, after such a lapse of years and in such a mass of accounts, to enter into any verbal explanation of them, and he desired to refer them to the Paymaster, who had kept a special and separate account of them.

Here was ample ground laid for the exercise of Mr. Whitbread’s decided inveteracy, unexampled even in party violence, and he pledged himself to follow up his charges to the utmost, which were as follow :—

“ 1. For having applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department, in gross violation of his duty.

“ 2. His conniving at a system of peculation in an individual, and for which connivance he denounced him as guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour.

“ 3. His having himself been a participator in that system of peculation ; but as this rested on suspicion only, at present he should not insist upon it. ”

And he ended by reading thirteen resolutions, all of which he had the assurance to call moderation on his part. Moderation, indeed ! to charge a high officer of the crown with being a participator in a system of peculation, avowing at the same time that the charge rested on *suspicion only*.

A specimen of his moderation was soon given: on the next day he moved an address to the King, that this untried nobleman, charged on suspicion only, should be removed from his councils and presence for ever. The Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House that Lord Melville had resigned the office of First Lord of the Admiralty. This did not abate the rancour of Whitbread; he renewed his motion to have him dismissed from all offices under the Crown, and from the King's councils and presence for ever; and in this he was supported by some, but not many, of the Whig party.

Mr. Canning did not think that a case of bare suspicion warranted the severity of the proceedings now proposed, and said, in that pointed and powerful manner which he knew so well to employ, "When I look back to the proceedings in this House in 1795, upon the serious charges then brought forward against two most eminent commanders, and find that their most active defender and most indefatigable advocate was that very noble Lord who has now been the theme of the honourable gentleman's violence and invective, I little expected that, in his present defenceless state, attempts to hunt him down would have been made by the kindred of Mr. Charles Grey and the friends of Sir John Jervis." I believe that this biting remark had its effect, at least in one quarter.

Again, Whitbread still persisting in his motion for erasing the name of Lord Melville from the list of the Privy Council, Mr. Pitt told him his object was already accomplished. He felt it a duty to advise the erasure. "I am not ashamed," he said, "to confess that, however anxious I might be to accede to the wishes of the

House of Commons, I felt a deep and bitter pang in being compelled to be the instrument of rendering more severe the punishment of the noble Lord."

The malignity and the malevolence of Whitbread were not yet satiated. On the 7th of June he concluded an inveterate speech by moving "That Henry Lord Viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours," which was lost by a majority of 77 peers against it. Another motion for a criminal prosecution was carried, but rescinded the next day; and a motion from a neutral party for proceeding by impeachment was carried, on the ground "that the rank and station of the defendant demanded all the respect due to the high order of which he was a member; and that a trial before his peers was more consistent with the spirit of the constitution." An order was then made that Mr. Whitbread "do go to the Lords and impeach," &c. &c.

The committee of management consisted of Whitbread, Fox, Grey, Sheridan, Henry Petty, Marsham, Giles, Folkstone, Orrery, *et id genus omne*—the elect of *all the Talents*. The three charges of Whitbread were multiplied into ten by the managers. The trial commenced on the 29th of April and terminated on the 12th of June, when the Lord Chancellor, beginning at the junior baron, put the question "Is Henry Viscount Melville guilty or not guilty?" and all the Lords present having declared guilty or not guilty, the Lord Chancellor, after casting up the votes, found *Lord Viscount Melville not guilty*. The Chancellor then declared to his Lordship "That the Lords had fully considered of his case, and had found him *not guilty* of high crimes and misdemeanours

charged on him by the impeachment of the House of Commons." About seventy of the peers acquitted him of every one of the ten charges, and he had very large majorities on six of the ten, and the smallest he had was twenty-seven on the second charge, "for permitting Alexander Trotter, his paymaster, to draw from the Bank of England, for other purposes than Navy services, large sums of money, and to place the same in the hands of Thomas Coutts and Co., his private bankers," an avowed fact that could not be negatived.

Though thus completely acquitted, the prosecution, or persecution, so far answered the purpose of Whitbread and his political accomplices (which is supposed to have been the main object) that it incapacitated Lord Melville for acting against them in future, and hastened, as generally believed, the death of Mr. Pitt, which happened on the 23rd of January, 1806, in his forty-seventh year, being of the same age as the immortal Nelson, whose career was cut short on the 5th of October, in the preceding year, and whose remains were deposited in St. Paul's Church the 9th of January, 1806, just fourteen days before Mr. Pitt's death. Another great character, Charles James Fox, expired on the 13th of September, 1806, in the 58th year of his age. He should have died some fifteen months sooner.

Lord Melville continued to enjoy the peace and quiet of domestic life free from the labours, toil, and anxiety which for some years past he had been made to endure. He had looked forward to his son, Robert Dundas, taking an active and important share in public

life, and supporting that character which his exemplary conduct, during the persecution himself had to struggle with, obtained, and which won high praise from all parties. In 1809 he became President of the Board of Control, from whence he was appointed in 1812 First Lord of the Admiralty. Had his father lived but a year longer he would have had the gratification of seeing his son in possession of that high office, which he himself had filled to the satisfaction of all until misfortunes came upon him. He lived mostly on his property at Dunira, occasionally visiting Edinburgh, where he had a number of friends. It was here that he died, after a short illness, on the 27th of May, 1811. "His loss," says Walter Scott, "will be long and severely felt here (Edinburgh), and Envy is already paying her cold tribute of applause to the worth which she maligned while it walked upon earth."

The proceedings in Westminster Hall were looked upon very generally as a party persecution, and Lord Melville met with the greatest kindness and sympathy from high quarters where he had no reason to expect it. But he also received it with increased satisfaction from persons of inferior rank. There is mentioned in 'The Lives of the Lindsays' an instance of the generous conduct of a young man, which affected Lord Melville very much. It is told by Lady Anne Barnard. "Amidst the many cruel emotions that arose to Dundas on an occasion when men are proved, I saw a pleasurable one flow from his eyes in a flood of tears, which seemed to do him good. A young man (the younger brother of my sister-in-law, Mrs. A. Lindsay) was sent, when quite a boy, to the East Indies by Lord

Melville, as a writer; his industry and abilities gave him a little early prosperity; he heard of this attack on Dundas; he venerated him; he knew he was not a man of fortune—he had made five thousand or more—and in words the most affectionate and respectful, manly and kind, he remitted to him an order for the money, should he have occasion for it, to assist in defraying the heavy expenses he must be put to.”

“He read it to me,” says Lady Anne, “with an exultation of satisfaction, and then observed, ‘I have never beheld a countenance but one that did not feel this letter as it ought when I read it, and that one was my daughter-in-law’s, before she knew that I had refused it.’ ‘I hope,’ said she, ‘that while my purse is full, you will never receive aid from a stranger.’ ‘I knew she spoke as she felt; to find two such people at such a moment, is it not worth a score of desertions?’”

This young man was Mr. Dick, afterwards Sir Robert Keith Dick.

Among the voluntary contributors towards proving the falsehood of Lord Melville “being himself a participator in the system of peculation,” was a gentleman I was particularly glad to discover—Mr. Gibson, of the 3 per cent. office of the Bank of England, the son of my old friend the mathematician and almanac-maker in North Lancashire.* He undertook a strict examination of Mr. Trotter’s accounts, of the sums of money he received from Lord Melville, the sums he supplied to him and the sums returned; he calculated

* It was a great pleasure to me to be able to appoint his grandson to a clerkship in the Admiralty, and also to take him as my private secretary—a clever, well-looking youth, but he did not turn out well—the only private secretary I ever had.

the interest on both sides, and the result was that, instead of the noble Lord having derived any profit by these accommodations, the balance of interest *against* him was several thousand pounds. I advised him to show these accounts to Mr. Plomer; but as the trial had ended with a verdict of acquittal, Mr. Plomer thought that, however important they might have been if produced on the trial, they could not now be made available.

Lord Melville, by his early retirement from the Admiralty, escaped many disappointments which his immediate successors had to encounter; but he had also the satisfaction of being well assured, that by his great exertions and prompt measures for meeting the impending storm about to burst from the united forces of powerful enemies, the most glorious naval victory that ever crowned the fleet of England was achieved at Trafalgar. Every administration of the Admiralty has had to grapple with a host of charlatans with their absurd and useless projects, which they call inventions. Lord Melville was not disposed to encourage such, and yet Mr. Pitt and he were accused of allowing an American, of the name of Fulton, to impose upon them with his catamarans to destroy ships of war and all within them, secretly and without any intimation; and this man had the hardihood to recommend the blowing up of ships of war, and destroying the whole crew, unconscious of what was about to happen to them, and to boast of it as a humane invention. This person, after offering his projects to the French and to the Dutch, did apply to the English minister with such credentials as prevailed on Mr. Pitt to ask Lord Melville to provide him some old worthless vessel to blow up in

Walmer Roads. An old Danish brig was procured, and a day fixed, when the two ministers were to be present; but they took care to be in London, and the ship, with the assistance of Sir Home Popham, was fired without the two seeing it or knowing anything of the matter. Who would have thought that forty years after this the same species of delusion, with the same kind of assistance, would have been played off at Brighton?

SECTION II.

LORD BARHAM (*Sir Charles Middleton*).

May 21, 1805—Feb. 5, 1806.

Captain JAMES GAMBIER. . . . First Naval Lord.

WILLIAM MARSDEN. First Secretary.

ON the resignation of the late First Lord, on the 20th of April, 1805, Sir Charles Middleton (created Lord Barham) was appointed to the vacant situation. He had held the office of Comptroller of the Navy for a period of thirty years (from 1775 to 1805), was now eighty years of age or upwards, and, of course, might be expected to bring to his new department a few prejudices from the Board, over which he had so long presided, and from which Lord St. Vincent, in one of his cutting sarcasms, had strongly recommended Mr. Thomas Grenville “to brush away the spiders;” a task, however, which his Lordship himself did not venture to set about, while he was First Lord of the Admiralty.

One of the first points of knowledge, to which the attention of a new First Lord is usually drawn, is the number of vacancies to be filled up; a statement of the available fleet, and of the number of seamen borne; what ships are required to be put into commission; what civil or military vacant appointments exist, or are

likely to occur ; and to find some fault in the arrangements made by his predecessor, if it be only to change them, in order to show his own superior discerning.

Lord Barham, however, at the advanced period of his life, was satisfied to let things go on in their usual course, to remain quiet in his own room, to make few enquiries, and to let the Board consider and settle the current affairs of the Navy among themselves. In fact, he never attended the Board ; but when any doubtful question arose, one of the Lords or the Secretaries took his decision on it in his own room. An instance occurred, however, which called for his speedy interference ; but instead of settling it at once, when I told him of it, as he might easily have done, he actually wrote off to Mr. Pitt, stating the case and requesting his interference on a personal question. The case was this. One morning, as Captain Gambier entered the board-room, the only persons there being Lord Garlies and myself, Captain Gambier had no sooner taken his seat than Lord Garlies, in a loud and angry tone, burst forth at once, saying, “ I despise the man who can say one thing to your face and another thing out of doors behind your back.” “ Do you mean to apply that to me ?” asked Gambier. “ Yes, I do,” said Lord Garlies. Not a word more was spoken, but the Captain took his hat and said to me, “ You have heard how I have been insulted, and I never enter this room again without a suitable apology.” I told the whole to Lord Barham, and he immediately wrote to Mr. Pitt, who speedily came to the Admiralty, and I was sent for. Mr. Pitt asked me to let him know precisely what had taken place ; and having told him, he said, “ Have you any doubt which of the two is the aggrieved

party?" I said that, "Being in utter ignorance of what had previously taken place between them, I can only speak of what occurred in my presence, and I can have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion that Lord Garlies was the first and only aggressor." He then said, "I will soon settle this matter;" and I left the room.

The next morning I found Lord Garlies sitting at the Board. He took no notice to me of what had happened, and in a little time Captain Gambier made his appearance, upon which Lord Garlies rose, and, meeting him, held out his hand, and asked pardon for the hasty and outrageous manner in which he had incautiously and in anger spoken, and hoped his forgiveness. Mr. Pitt, it appeared, on leaving Lord Barham, had written to both. The dispute had arisen from some difference of opinion about warrant officers.

Lord Garlies was an excellent man, but of a warm and sanguine temperament. Gambier, in temperament quite the reverse; of a mild and serious turn, he was pleasing in his manners, and a perfect gentleman. The following incident, which is given in the 'Life of Howe,' is an illustration of his character:—In the midst of the battle of the 1st of June, when the little 'Defence,' of 74 guns, which he commanded, was threatened to be overwhelmed by a French 120-gun ship bearing down upon her, the lieutenant of the after-part of the main-deck, in a momentary panic, ran upon the quarter-deck, and addressing the captain with great eagerness, exclaimed, "D—n my eyes, sir, here is a whole mountain coming down upon us; what shall we do?" Captain Gambier, unmoved, said in a solemn tone, "How dare you, sir, at this awful moment, come to me with

an oath in your mouth? Go down, sir, and encourage your men to stand to their guns like brave British seamen." I asked Lord Gambier some years afterwards if the story was true; his reply was that he believed something of the kind had occurred.

Lord Barham's nine months' administration of the affairs of the British Navy was attended with the most glorious victory ever accomplished, and the most lamented loss ever sustained, by the death of the immortal Nelson.

This bravest of the brave having returned from his anxious chase after the French fleet, as he supposed, had gone to the West Indies; but having been misled, harassed, and vexed in the extreme, he writes an angry but characteristic letter to his friend, Alexander Davison, dated "'Victory,' 24th July, 1805," in which he says: "I am as miserable as you can conceive. But for General Brereton's d—d information, Nelson would have been, living or dead, the greatest man in his profession that England ever saw. Now, alas! I am nothing—perhaps, shall incur censure for misfortunes which may happen and have happened. When I follow my own head I am, in general, much more correct in my judgment than following the opinions of others. I resisted the opinion of General Brereton's information—it would have been the height of presumption to have carried my belief further." He then repeats, "But I am miserable"—and adds "that until the enemy is arrived somewhere in some port in the Bay, I can do nothing but fret."

On the 25th of July he desires Admiral Collingwood to continue the service he has hitherto been employed upon off Cadiz, while he should proceed with

his West Indian squadron to the northward in search of the combined squadron. And in a private letter he tells his "dear Collingwood" he must forego the pleasure of taking him by the hand until October next, "when, if I am well enough, I shall (if the Admiralty please) resume the command."

In the autumn of 1805 Lord Nelson arrived in England, and, being much out of health, retired to a small place he had at Merton, where he remained in quiet in the midst of a pretty garden and in the society of his sister and Lady Hamilton. But the enjoyment he otherwise would have had is said to have been constantly interrupted by conjectures of what the enemy's fleet consisted, what he was projecting, and what was the force and the disposition of his own fleet to meet it. While he was thus tormenting himself in matters of this kind, and in calling to mind the hope he had expressed to Admiral Collingwood, of rejoining him in the month of October, Captain Blackwood arrived with dispatches, announcing that the combined fleets of France and Spain had got into Cadiz. This intelligence admitted of no hesitation or delay—Nelson was himself again. He set off immediately for the Admiralty; told Lord Barham he was on his way to rejoin his fleet the moment the 'Victory' was ready at Spithead, where a squadron was prepared as a reinforcement; and in three days he was again in town on his way to Portsmouth.

He had been with me at the Admiralty in the morning, anxiously inquiring and expressing his hopes about a code of signals just then improved and enlarged. I assured him they were all but ready; that he should not be disappointed, and that I would take care they

should be at Portsmouth the following morning. On his way, in the evening, he looked in upon me at the Admiralty, where I was stopping to see them off. I pledged myself not to leave the office till a messenger was dispatched with the signals, should the post have departed, and that he might rely on their being at Portsmouth the following morning. On this he shook hands with me; I wished him all happiness and success, which I was sure he would command as he had always done; and he departed apparently more than usually cheerful. He had no new commission to receive, nor instructions of any kind; he had come on shore on his own leave, and was returning to reassume the command which he had temporarily left with an inferior officer. This was on the 12th of September, and on the next night he took a last leave of his dear Merton, his friends and family; and the following entry appears in his diary:—

“At half-past ten drove from dear, dear Merton, where I left all which I hold dear in this world, to go to serve my king and country. May the great God whom I adore enable me to fulfil the expectations of my country; and if it is His good pleasure that I should return, my thanks will never cease being offered up to the throne of His mercy. If it is His good providence to cut short my days upon earth, I bow with the greatest submission, relying that he will protect those so dear to me that I may leave behind. His will be done. Amen. Amen.”

On his arrival at Portsmouth the following morning, he hoisted his flag on board the ‘Victory;’ and anxious to lose no time in rejoining the fleet, he sailed the moment she was ready, leaving the rest of the

squadron of reinforcement to follow him. On the 17th he writes from Plymouth to Sir George Rose, concluding his letter thus :—

“ I will try to have a motto—at least it shall be my watchword—‘ *Touch and take.*’ I will do my best; and if I fail in any point, I hope it will be proved that it will be owing to no fault of, my dear Mr. Rose, your very faithful friend,

“ NELSON AND BRONTE.”

On the evening of the 28th September he saw the enemy's fleet in Cadiz, amounting to thirty-five or thirty-six sail of the line, joined the fleet under Lord Collingwood, and re-assumed the command of twenty-three sail of the line; and he mentions six being occasionally at Gibraltar. In a letter of the 1st of October he says,—“ I believe my arrival was most welcome, not only to the commander of the fleet, but also to every individual in it: and when I came to explain to them the *Nelson touch*, it was like an electric shock: some shed tears—all approved. ‘ It was new—it was singular—it was simple;’ and from admirals downwards it was repeated. “ It must succeed if ever they will allow us to get at them. You are, my Lord, surrounded by friends whom you inspire with confidence.” He writes strongly to the Admiralty, to send him frigates and sloops, which he calls the *eyes of the fleet*; and in writing to Sir G. Rose, he suggests that Mr. Pitt should “ hint to Lord Barham to send him plenty of frigates and sloops.” Every letter, indeed, repeats the necessity of having frigates and sloops.

On the 9th of October Lord Nelson issues a me-

morandum of the manner in which, under certain circumstances, the British fleet will go into action. On the 20th the enemy were out; and on the 21st he writes as follows in his private diary:—"At daylight saw the enemy's combined fleet from E. to E. S. E.; bore away; made the signal for 'Order of sailing,' and to 'Prepare for battle;' the enemy with their heads to the southward; at 7, the enemy wearing in succession. May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet. For myself, individually, I commit my life to Him who made me, and may his blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my country faithfully. To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen."

The most decisive battle was fought and the most glorious victory obtained that had ever crowned the naval arms of Great Britain; and the fame of which has been blazoned forth through the four quarters of the world in unfading characters of praise and admiration; while the name of Nelson is hailed in songs of triumph throughout the wide extent of the British dominions.

The report of this most glorious and stupendous victory of Trafalgar was accompanied with the melancholy and lamentable intelligence of the death of Nelson, invincible while life remained. This mixed intelligence of joy and mourning arrived at the Admiralty, in the middle of the night of the 6th of November. Mr. Marsden had retired to rest, when he

was told that an officer had just arrived. On coming down, the officer meeting him with a packet of dispatches, said to him hastily, "Sir, we have gained a great victory, but we have lost Lord Nelson." The impression, which such an abrupt address was calculated to make on the Secretary to the Admiralty, may readily be conceived; and Marsden has left on record the way in which his report of this triumphant but mournful intelligence was received by Lord Barham. He went to him about one o'clock in the morning. "The First Lord," he says, "had retired to rest, as had his domestics, and it was not till after some research that I could discover the room in which he slept. Drawing aside his curtains, with a candle in my hand, I awoke the old peer from a sound slumber: and to the credit of his nerves be it mentioned, that he showed no symptom of alarm or surprise, but calmly asked, 'What news, Mr. Marsden?' We then discussed, in few words, what was immediately to be done; and I sat up the remainder of the night with such of the clerks as I could collect, in order to make the necessary communications, at an early hour, to the King, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Ministers, and other members of the Cabinet, and to the Lord Mayor."

The good old King, with that punctuality and propriety for which he was distinguished, acknowledged the receipt of the glorious intelligence through his Secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, the very same day, in which he says, "However his Majesty rejoices at the signal success of his gallant fleet, he has not heard without expressions of very deep regret the death of its valuable and distinguished commander; although (he added) a life so replete with glory, and marked

by a rapid succession of such meritorious services and exertions, could not have ended more gloriously." And Colonel Taylor adds, "I have not, upon any occasion, seen his Majesty more affected."

The King had expressed much anxiety to be in full possession of every detail and particular respecting this great event; and he testified his great satisfaction that the command, under circumstances so critical, should have devolved upon an officer of such consummate valour, judgment, and skill, as Admiral Collingwood has proved himself to be; every part of whose conduct he considers deserving of his entire approbation and admiration. "The feeling manner in which he has described the events of that great day, and those subsequent to it, and the modesty with which he speaks of himself whilst he does justice in terms so elegant and so ample to the meritorious exertions of the gallant officers and men under his command, have also proved extremely gratifying to the King."

Never can I forget the shock I received, on opening the Board-room door, the morning after the arrival of the dispatches, when Marsden called out—"Glorious news! The most glorious victory our brave navy ever achieved—but Nelson is dead!" The vivid recollection of my interview with this incomparable man, and the idea that I was probably the last person he had taken leave of in London, left an impression of gloom on my mind that required some time to remove; and the glorious result of the victory recurred; though the other could not be obliterated speedily. "The circumstances of the splendid victory of the 21st of October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar," says my colleague, "when nineteen of the enemy's ships of the line were

captured or destroyed, many of the rest disabled, and the commander-in-chief made prisoner, are too strongly imprinted on the public mind to require repetition here.* Suffice it to say, that so effectually was the naval force of our opponents crushed by this defeat, that no attempt was afterwards made to face an English squadron."

The above note must have been written on the receipt of Admiral Collingwood's first dispatch, dated the day following the battle, in which he says the enemy "left to his Majesty's squadron nineteen sail of the line." Seven days afterwards (28th of October) he gives the details of the enemy's losses in another dispatch, thus:—

4 sent to Gibraltar
 10 wrecked
 3 burnt in action
 3 sunk ditto
 9 got into Cadiz, dismasted or damaged
 4 escaped
 —
 33 ships of the line.
 —

or thus:—

4 sent to Gibraltar
 16 destroyed
 9 got into Cadiz; 6 wrecked, 3 serviceable
 4 hauled to the southward and escaped
 —
 33
 —

The four that escaped were fallen in with and captured by four of equal force exactly, under Sir Richard Strachan, in the 'Cæsar,' which, by the way, was one of the *cross-braced* and *doubled* ships.

* In his Memoir.

One result of this glorious victory was viewed in different lights, not contemplated at the time—the abandonment of the right of the flag; a right persisted in with extreme jealousy by us, and looked upon with great hatred and ill-will by foreigners. The right of the flag had invariably been demanded from all nations in the British seas, from a very early period of our naval history. Among the many, a remarkable one may be mentioned. Philip II. of Spain was shot at by the Lord Admiral of England, for wearing his flag in the narrow seas, when he came over with his fleet *to marry Queen Mary*.

At a later period King Charles II., in his declaration of war against the Dutch, in 1671, observes,—“the right of the flag is so ancient that it was one of the first prerogatives of our royal predecessors, and ought to be the last from which this kingdom should ever depart;” and he goes on—“Ungrateful insolence! That *they* should contend with us about the dominion of those seas, who, even in the reign of our royal father, thought it an obligation to be permitted to fish in them.”

The right was maintained by order in Council of 1734, and printed in the Naval Instructions, and continued down to 1806, when the right of the flag was abandoned, in consequence, it may be inferred, of the glorious victory of Trafalgar having swept every hostile fleet from the ocean. The article in the printed instructions, issued after that victory, respecting the flag, was dropped altogether. In the new and the last printed instructions of 1844, a very negative article on this subject runs thus :—

“Her Majesty’s ships or vessels shall not, on any account, lower their top-gallant-sails nor their flags to

any foreign ships or vessels whatsoever, unless the foreign ships or vessels shall first, or at the same time, lower their top-gallant-sails or their flags to them.”

The prohibitory order to *our* ships and vessels appears to be wholly unnecessary, and the *simultaneous* striking of sails or flags next to impossible.

The full admiral's *red* flag, which had been abandoned for centuries—no one seems to know why—was re-assumed in the General List of 1806, on the same occasion that the right of the flag was abandoned.

Previous to the consummation of this grand battle, there was a small one with a small result that was neither victory nor defeat, but may be called a drawn battle with two captured ships of the line. I allude to the action fought by Sir Robert Calder, on the 23rd of July, 1805, with fifteen sail of the line and two frigates, against twenty sail of the line and five frigates, of which Sir Robert captured two sail of the line, and suffered the rest to escape, in order, as he said, to secure the two prizes, intending afterwards to pursue the main body; which, however, he did not—as Lord St. Vincent pronounced, that he would not. An order forthwith issued for trying him by court-martial, for not doing his utmost; and the court found that he had *not* done his utmost, and therefore sentenced him to be reprimanded.

Calder, I believe, was considered a good professional officer, but he lacked judgment. It was in his favour, and he pleaded it on his trial, that he had been flag-captain to Lord St. Vincent in the battle which bears the noble admiral's name, and here he showed a want of judgment morally speaking. When St. Vincent read to him his account of the battle, in which Nelson was mentioned with due praise: “Don't you

think," observed Calder, "he disobeyed his orders?" "Perhaps he did," replied the Earl, "and when you do so with the same effect I will praise you too." He once threw the whole Cabinet into a state of alarm by a telegraph message, when Commander-in-chief at Plymouth. Dispatches had been received from Spain, and Calder, anxious to convey the intelligence to town, sent up the following portion of a message; the rest was stopped by a fog:—"Wellington defeated;" and thus it remained the whole day, to the dismay of those who knew only thus much of it. The arrival of Lord March (I think it was), in the course of the night, brought the account of a great victory over Marmont. The Admiral's head, like the weather, was somewhat foggy. He meant to say, "The French defeated by Wellington," but unfortunately began at the wrong end.

These and some other successes were accomplished during the first six of the nine months that the veteran peer presided over the Admiralty, unquestionably without any effort on his part. On the day of his departure, he did, however, make an effort to benefit—not himself—but his successor. When Lord Barham succeeded to the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, the salary was 3000*l.* a-year; that is to say, 1000*l.*, like that of each of the other Lords, as voted on the Ordinary Estimate of the navy, but an additional 2000*l.* was paid to the First Lord, by the Treasurer of the Navy, out of the produce of old stores. Lord Barham very properly considered this a shabby and incorrect mode of paying a great officer of state; and, on the morning of his quitting office, he sent for me, and desired me to make a minute in his name, and

for his signature, expressing his opinion that, in future, this high officer ought to be put upon the same footing as the Secretaries of State, and to have 5000*l.* a-year on the Estimate of the Navy. It was said with regard to this minute, that Mr. Charles Grey, who succeeded Lord Barham, availed himself of it; and that Lord Barham had left the minute on his desk for that purpose; but of this I am unable to speak, as I quitted office the same day with Lord Barham. I may venture to observe, this neither was nor could be true; for until the year 1811 there appeared on the estimate only 7000*l.* for the seven Lords: 2000*l.*, in addition, being specially voted for the First Lord, whose salary, however, in 1812, was raised to 5000*l.* a-year, and was so printed in the Navy Estimate of that year; but whether in consequence of Lord Barham's suggestion, or of the propriety of the measure, I know not. This sum, however, was reduced by a Committee of 1831 to 4,500*l.*; when my own was permitted to remain at 1,500*l.*, it having been reduced by a former Committee to that amount from the original salary of 2000*l.*

SECTION III.

The Right Hon. CHARLES GREY.

February 10, 1806—September 29, 1806.

Admiral MARKHAM, Sir CHARLES POLE, Bart., and Sir H. B. NEALE, Bart., the three Naval Lords; but which was considered first I know not.

Mr. MARSDEN continued First Secretary.

ON the 10th of February, 1806, a change took place in the Government, by the Tories having been obliged to give way to the Whigs, when the Right Honourable Charles Grey was appointed to relieve Lord Barham as First Lord of the Admiralty. I was fully aware of what was to be my fate, and had it speedily announced to me by a message from the Right Hon. Charles Grey, through Mr. Marsden, expressive of his sincere regret at being under the painful necessity of dispensing with my services, which, he wished to assure me, under other circumstances, he should have been too happy to retain; and he hoped that I would not deem him capable of having dealt harshly, capriciously, or unjustly in replacing an old friend of his, and of his party, in a situation of which I had been the cause, though blameless, of depriving him: a gentleman with whom he was desirous that I should be acquainted, as one who had long been the faithful, confidential, and attached secretary of the Earl of St. Vincent; and who besides had given up the patent place of a Commissioner of the

Navy to follow his old master as Second Secretary of the Admiralty, when the noble Earl, in 1801, became the First Lord.

He was very anxious, Mr. Marsden said, that I should be made aware of the position in which he stood with regard to Mr. Tucker, and that I should acquit him of acting in any shape unhandsomely towards me; and he further desired Mr. Marsden to tell me that if I wished to say anything to him he would be glad to see me at any time.

Misfortunes are said rarely to come single. This heavy blow was but too likely to be soon followed by another. My best and kindest friend and benefactor, the Earl of Macartney, was dangerously ill, and the state of affairs on the Continent, and the death of Mr. Pitt, seemed to impress his mind with deep concern, and to cast an unusual damp upon his spirits; but he continued to read and write till three days before his death, which took place on the evening of the 31st of March, 1806, "while reclining his head on his hand as if dropping into a slumber, but he sank into the arms of death without a sigh and without a struggle," at his residence in Mayfair. Thus did I lose the last of my three powerful friends and benefactors, Lord Macartney, Sir George Staunton, and Lord Melville, the last of whom, though still living, might be accounted dead to the world.

Intelligence had just been brought of the recapture of the Cape of Good Hope, and shortly after I received a note from Mr. Windham, who had now been appointed Secretary of State for War and Colonies, desiring to see me in Downing Street the following morning as early as convenient. Being personally

acquainted with Mr. Windham, and having more than once conversed with him on the subject of Southern Africa, I concluded he wished for some information regarding this renewed acquisition; and so it proved. At nine in the morning, I found him pacing the room, with his shirt-neck thrown open, and looking in his appearance as if something of a most perplexing nature had taken possession of his mind; his first words were, "Mr. Barrow, I have wished very much to see you, for I am greatly perplexed by a minute from Lord Grenville, directing that immediate steps be taken for sending out forthwith a reinforcement of troops, together with a civil establishment, for the protection and management of that important colony, the Cape of Good Hope." "Here," he said, "is a list of the situations and the holders of them when you ceded the settlement to the Dutch; and I find that you were chief of the Commissioners to arrange the surrender. Will you cast your eye over that list and tell me what appointments are to be filled up, and who (if any) still remain to fill them? but first, as I am sorry to find you are become an idle man, let me say, if any one of these appointments should suit you, place your finger upon it, and, with one exception, I will most cheerfully name you for it." The exception was Mr. Andrew Barnard, the former Colonial secretary. I thanked him cordially, but hoped he would give me a day or two to consider of it, as I wished first to see Mr. Grey. "By all means, see Mr. Grey, and I trust he will be desirous of doing something better for you than what I have to offer." I said that I should be most happy to afford him any advice or assistance in my power whenever he thought it could be useful.

I lost no time in waiting on the Right Honourable Charles Grey, and was very warmly received. He repeated the assurance of his regret, and trusted that I was satisfied he could not have done otherwise than re-appoint Mr. Tucker. I assured him of my full conviction that the step he had taken was not only reasonable, but just, and almost imperative; that the loss of such a situation, I need not say, was a serious concern to one, who, with slender means, had a growing family to look up to him for support. He wished very much, he said, for he considered it due to me, that something should turn up worthy of my acceptance. "But," he added, "I must confess that I see little prospect at present of being relieved from that condition which my colleague, Mr. Fox, is said to have described to a friend who made application for some appointment—'My dear fellow, we are already two in a bed.' I can, therefore, at present only assure you of my good wishes and inclinations." I made my bow, and was retiring, when he called me back. "By the way," he said, "you have been some time in the public service, previous to your appointment to the Admiralty?" "Yes, sir; I was two years on Lord Macartney's embassy to China, and seven years at the Cape of Good Hope." "I recollect," he said, "your having been on both, and I have read your account of the Cape with pleasure and profit. I wish you would write down such a memorandum of your services as I can send to Lord Grenville; I think his Lordship should know them: more I cannot say at present."

I could not be otherwise than highly gratified by the kind and considerate manner in which Mr. Grey received and conversed with me, and I lost no time, it may be supposed, in supplying him with the note he

required; and on mentioning the interview to Mr. Marsden, he said, "I am glad of what you tell me; he has either something in view for you, or is desirous of interesting the Prime Minister in your behalf. I know, from the little he has said to me, that he feels the ungracious, but unavoidable step he was compelled to take with regard to you, and that he would not be displeased to find an opportunity of making amends." Knowing, however, the situation in which "All the Talents" found themselves placed on assuming office, I was not very sanguine, though still persuading myself there must have been a kind motive for the step now taken by the First Lord of the Admiralty. In the mean time I could only remain quiet, as I had entirely given up all idea of returning to the Cape of Good Hope, and so I told Mr. Windham.

It was not long, however, before I received a note from Mr. Grey, enclosing a short letter to him from Lord Grenville, of which the following is a copy:—

"Camelford House, 10th March, 1806.

"My dear Grey,

"I have the pleasure of acknowledging your letter on the subject of Mr. Barrow. The particular circumstances of his case appear to entitle him to a proper and favourable consideration; and I do not see any more eligible mode than that suggested of his presenting a memorial to the King in Council.

"Yours, &c.,

(Signed)

"GRENVILLE."

Fortified by such an opinion from such a quarter, I lost no time in drawing up and sending a memorial of

my services to the King in Council, which, in the usual course, was referred to the Board of Admiralty, to be reported upon by their Lordships; and the Board, on the suggestion of Mr. Grey (now Lord Howick), recommended that a pension should be granted of 1000*l.* a-year, to commence from the day of my retiring from the Admiralty, and to be abated from any place I might thereafter hold under the Government.

This information was conveyed to me by the following letter :—

“ Admiralty, June 26th, 1806.

“ Sir,

“ I delayed answering your letter of the 23rd till the Board should have had an opportunity of deciding on the reference from the Council. I have now the pleasure of informing you that a pension of 1000*l.* a-year is recommended as a proper reward for your long services.

“ I am, Sir, &c.,

(Signed)

“ HOWICK.”

In gratitude for the kind feeling shown to me throughout, I am bound to acknowledge that the treatment I received at the hands of Lord Howick, from first to last, was most indulgent, considerate, and attentive; and that few men I believe would have acted, under all the circumstances, with that promptitude and marked generosity, which he was pleased to bestow on my case.

Of what occurred at the Admiralty during the eight months' reign of Lord Howick I know nothing. It commenced auspiciously by the report of Sir John Duckworth's successful action with a French squadron in the West Indies, the account of which came to the

Admiralty just fourteen days after his entry on the business of the office, to which he had succeeded by removal from the Foreign Office, to which he had been appointed on the death of Mr. Fox. In April, 1807, he became Earl Grey; and having continued about eight months, he resigned the government of the Navy to Mr. Thomas Grenville, who remained about five months, when both went out with the rest of the party, Lord Grenville being succeeded by the Duke of Portland.

The dissolution of the Grenville Government was rather sudden, and would appear to have been occasioned very much by mismanagement. On the 6th of March, 1807, Lord Grenville in the Lords, and Lord Howick in the Commons, gave notice of their intentions to bring in a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics. As this measure had always been very obnoxious to the King, prudence at least would seem to have required that His Majesty should have been apprised of such notice being intended. An adjournment took place to enable them to do so; they had an audience for this purpose; but it was too late; and the following day they received an intimation from His Majesty, that he must provide himself with other ministers.

SECTION IV.

The EARL of MULGRAVE.

April 6, 1807—November 24, 1809.

Admiral JAMES GAMBIER....First Naval Lord.
 J. W. CROKER, Esq.First Secretary.

ON the morning of the 5th of April, 1807, while a cart was standing before my door, taking in baggage and some furniture, Admiral Gambier stepped in and said, "Where are you going, Barrow?—not out of town, I hope?" I answered, "No: I am just about to take my little sick child to Jenkins's nursery grounds." "Because," said he, "I come to you from Lord Mulgrave, who desires to see you to-morrow morning at twelve o'clock, in Wimpole Street; and pray don't fail. I see you are busy, and so am I—so good bye." He then left me abruptly. What can Lord Mulgrave want with me? thought I. Having been some weeks in the country, I knew little or nothing of what was going on in the political world, and had only heard some rumours of "All the Talents" being on the eve of retiring; but of Lord Mulgrave I was utterly ignorant even to what party he belonged.

I took care to be in Wimpole Street at the hour appointed; and, when knocking at the door, my friend Lord Arden, passing by, called out, "I am very glad

to see you, Barrow, at that door," and walked on. On being shown into his Lordship's room, he said, "You will probably have heard that the King has been pleased to appoint me First Lord of the Admiralty; and one of my first acts is to offer you, as I now do, the re-appointment to the situation from which, in my opinion, you were unjustly removed; and I hope you will not refuse me." In making my sincere acknowledgments for his generous offer to one who was an entire stranger to him, I assured him that nothing could be more gratifying than the prospect of returning to a public situation that I had so much at heart; and it would be my object and my pride to deserve his good opinion. "But," he said, "I think it right to apprise you, that Mr. Marsden wishes to be relieved, and that it will not be in my power to place you in his situation, for the Cabinet has come to a resolution that the First Secretary of the Admiralty shall henceforth hold a seat in the House of Commons; and that yesterday Marsden's successor was actually named."

I begged to assure him that a seat in the House was no point of ambition with me, and that no consideration would induce me to accept one, even if accompanied with the offer of the First Secretaryship of the Admiralty. "But, if it be not an improper question, might I inquire confidentially who is the gentleman named to be my colleague?" "I will tell you, but it must be in strict confidence, for Marsden yet knows nothing of it—it is Mr. Wellesley Pole." I said, "He is an agreeable acquaintance, of great talent for business, and of an active turn of mind, and I am rejoiced in the prospect of having such a coadjutor."

He then said, "Mr. Marsden is nearly left alone,

without a second Secretary, and he will be very glad of your company as soon as you can make it convenient." My reply was, "I will go to him immediately, and settle with him to be at the Admiralty to-morrow morning at nine o'clock." I did so attend; and from this day, the 8th of April, 1807, to the 28th of January, 1845, I continued, without intermission, as Second Secretary of the Admiralty, when I retired, having completed altogether, from my first appointment in that capacity, forty years, under twelve or thirteen several Naval Administrations, Whig and Tory, including that of the Lord High Admiral, His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence; having reason to believe that I have given satisfaction to all and every one of these Naval Administrations; and I am happy in the reflection, that I have experienced kindness and attention from all.

The Catholic Question having turned out the Whig Administration on the 8th of April, Parliament met pursuant to adjournment, when the new ministry was declared — the Duke of Portland Prime Minister, and Lord Mulgrave First Lord of the Admiralty (having held the office of Foreign Secretary of State in 1805); and, on his leaving the Admiralty in 1810, he was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance. Lord Mulgrave possessed wit and humour in a considerable degree, and was always most agreeable at his own table; he was also an acute critic. A friend of Mr. Pitt once asked that Minister how he could be so incautious as to let into the cabinet one so very much disposed to criticise what others said or did? "For that very reason," Pitt replied, "that we may be told of, and enabled to correct, our many blunders."

The war with France was carried on with great activity, and our fleets and detached squadrons were everywhere successful. The only blot was that miserable affair of the Dardanelles, under Admiral Sir John Duckworth, who acted chiefly on the instructions or opinions of Mr. Arbuthnot, the ambassador, and *he* no doubt followed those of the Government. He prevailed, however, on the Admiral to lie off with his ships at a distance, and to delay, while he negotiated with the Porte; thus allowing the Turks full time—of which they had sense enough to avail themselves—to plant cannon on the walls of the Seraglio, the intended point of attack, and also to extend their fortifications on the shores of the Dardanelles, to annoy, and possibly prevent the return of, our ships: whereas, had Duckworth followed his own views, or acted on the advice of Sir Sidney Smith, he would at once, as he had intended, have laid his ships close to the walls of the Seraglio, and battered them down. Sir Sidney Smith even strongly recommended that they should storm Constantinople, but representations were made against this measure, as being too severe; Sir John speaks highly in praise of the advice and services of Sir Sidney.

On his return, the immense mortars of the batteries threw stone balls of one and a half and two feet, or more, in diameter—one of which, of granite, the Admiral says, weighed eight hundred pounds, and they made tremendous havoc in the ships they struck. The Windsor Castle had two of her ports battered into one and her mainmast carried away by two of these gigantic granite shot. The Board of Admiralty, returning from a dockyard visitation, paid a flying visit to Sir John Duckworth, at his seat on the river Ex; and we were much amused at the sight of two of these large globes of

stone which crowned the gate-posts of his domain, as trophies of his late expedition, on which were inscribed the names of *Sestos* and *Abydos*.

The administration of "All the Talents," which sent out this ill-fated expedition, had considered the Dardanelles to be defenceless, and the Turks ignorant and helpless; but Duckworth's report of the disastrous result, and of the granite shot, must have confounded the projectors of it, had they not been driven from the helm before the account of the disasters had reached this country. One of the party, however, derives consolation "that nothing had been lost to the English character by the failure;" that "no intelligent man thought that those who had burst through the redoubtable Dardanelles were intimidated by the cannon on the mouldering walls of the Seraglio." Intimidated, indeed! No intelligent man would have applied such a word, or insinuated that the gallant Duckworth, or any other gallant admiral, could be frightened at the walls of the Seraglio, or any other walls.

Another feat, of a somewhat equivocal nature as to its propriety, but not as to the skill and management of its execution, fell to the lot of Lord Mulgrave to direct; for the performance of which, as to the naval part, he conferred the command on one of the Naval Lords of his Board—Admiral James Gambier; and Lord Cathcart was appointed to head the troops. This was the expedition to Copenhagen, to get possession, by negotiation or otherwise, of the Danish fleet, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of France, which, by incontrovertible testimony, it was proved to have been the full intention of Buonaparte to accomplish, and which, owing to the obsequious and timid conduct of the Prince Royal and his minister, he would have effected without

difficulty, or even a show of resistance. Every attempt to warn the authorities of Denmark of the treacherous conduct of France, and every proposal of assistance, was without effect, one of which was that of England's receiving and securing for her the safe custody of her fleet, and thus to defeat the great object of Buonaparte. Every attempt at negotiation having in vain been tried, the English cabinet decided on securing the Danish ships at any rate. Admiral Gambier put to sea, and, being compelled to bombard Copenhagen, after the refusal of the Danes to admit him to a conference, he landed. On the 16th of August the Admiral writes, "I have a sad scene before me at this moment—the town of Copenhagen in flames in several places, from our bombardment; and I am sorry to see the great church is destroyed. This is the third day; and if the governor holds out much longer, and we do not get possession by assault, the whole town must be destroyed; which the Dane will consider equivalent to his honour."

On the 8th of September the whole fleet was in our possession, all their naval stores and equipments shipped; and about the end of October the whole arrived in England.

But another expedition, of a far more extensive scale, and much less successful, was set on foot in the year 1809, which terminated the administration of Lord Mulgrave as First Lord of the Admiralty. Early in the spring of 1809, preparations were made for a secret expedition, which in the beginning of August had assembled in the Downs, to an extent unparalleled in the course of the war. The whole time of Mr. Wellesley Pole, for several months, had been occupied in superintending the preparations, and in seeing that

every equipment, naval and military, had been provided, and of the best kind. Before his appointment to the Admiralty, he had, by his attention and activity, brought the small arm department of the Ordnance to a degree of perfection it had never before attained, and the Ordnance department generally was greatly improved by his skill and vigilance. The troops, when assembled near the port of embarkation, amounted to more than 40,000 men; and the naval part of the expedition was composed of 39 sail of the line, 36 frigates, sloops, gun-boats, bombs, and other species of small craft without number; and not less in the whole than 100,000 men were embarked. This great naval armament was placed under the command of Sir Richard Strachan, and the military force (to the astonishment of all) under the Earl of Chatham.

Thousands of spectators were assembled at the several places in the neighbourhood of the Downs; but no one could guess at the destination of such a splendid armament; the general opinion seemed to be that it was intended to make an impression on the coast of France: but, to the surprise of all, after it had sailed, and not before, the discovery was made that its destination was the Scheldt. It was, in fact, intended to sack Antwerp, to get possession of the immense stores which the French had there accumulated, and to seize or destroy the French ships in that part of the river.

The contriver of this scheme was said to be—as indeed it turned out to be—Sir Home Popham; who, by his insinuating and plausible address, had prevailed on Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary of State for War and Colonies, to undertake it; and no doubt the more readily, being assured by the projector of the certainty of success: and to Popham, of course, were en-

trusted the arrangements for the landing and debarkation of the forces; while Sir Richard was to conduct the naval operations.

A day or two previous to the fleet getting under way, Sir Home Popham called at the Admiralty, and pledged himself, in the most solemn manner, without hesitation or the admission of a doubt, to Wellesley Pole and me, that, from his knowledge of the Scheldt, and every part thereof, he was perfectly prepared to conduct the forces up that river as far as Sandfleet, where the troops would be immediately landed, and would reach Antwerp after a short march; while the necessary number of ships should proceed by that branch of the river which turns off and leads to Antwerp.

The first despatch received at the Admiralty put an end to every favourable expectation, and extinguished every hope of a successful issue. Sir Home, however, congratulated himself on having secured the fleet from the danger of a gale of wind, which blew opposite to the mouth of the Scheldt, by carrying it safely into the Room-pot (Cream-pot); and that Lord William Stuart, with ten frigates, had been sent past Flushing up the Scheldt, to reconnoitre, in spite of the gale of wind blowing opposite the mouth; a more absurd and mischievous measure than this could not well have been conceived; for it was the obvious and sure means of spreading over the whole country the alarm of the expedition; and was in fact fatal to it, by rousing the energetic character of the French (always on the alert), who had time to throw such a force into Antwerp as bid defiance to any attempt of ours. In the mean time, Sir Home Popham, the gallant projector, with a great part of the fleet, lay safe and sound, bask-

ing at anchor in the Cream-pot; and Lord Chatham, equally cool and tranquil, at his head-quarters in the city of Middleburg. For want of something else to do, the army bombarded Flushing, assisted by some of the ships of the line and small vessels, and compelled it to capitulate. Towards the end of autumn, for the sake of a little mischief, they began to demolish the works and the basin of Flushing; and, at the end of December, the island of Walcheren was evacuated, but not before its infectious, destructive, and debilitating fever had thinned the ranks of our men; and the disease was brought home to England, where its effects are not entirely eradicated at this day.

All further idea of proceeding up the Scheldt being abandoned, Lord Chatham took the wise determination of returning to England, with the greater part of the troops, leaving the rest on that horrible island Walcheren to take the fever at leisure, of which one-half fell sick and died, and many who returned home suffered a regular annual attack of it for many years. An inquiry was announced to be instituted in the House of Commons into the conduct of the leaders of the expedition; and Sir Home Popham, being previously asked by the Secretary of the Admiralty what defence he meant to set up in the House of Commons? said, "Don't be alarmed; depend upon it, when I get up to speak I shall be so intensely listened to that you may hear a pin drop." He got up, carried the expedition triumphantly till it met with a gale of wind—and, "Sir, without the loss or damage of a single ship, I anchored the whole securely in the Room-pot." The security of a fleet of men-of-war afloat in the Cream-pot, raised such a general shout of laughter, that poor Sir Home's

speech shared very much the fate of the luckless expedition. In fact, serious as had been the mismanagement of an expedition which, under proper commanders, could hardly have failed, the memory of its blunders was suffered by the good-natured public to be buried in something like a joke.

Popham was only laughed at—Strachan upbraided—and Chatham condemned ere, indeed, he had set out: and the public, in the midst of misfortunes, the loss of men by that horrible Walcheren fever, the waste of the national resources, and the blot on our national character, permitted itself to be amused by a repetition of the following epigram:—

“ Lord Chatham, with his sword undrawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.”

SECTION V.

The Right Hon. CHARLES YORKE.

November, 1809 — March, 1812.

SIR RICHARD BICKERTON . . . First Naval Lord.
JOHN WILSON CROKER First Secretary.

ON the change of administration about the end of the year 1809, when the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval became Prime Minister, Mr. Charles Yorke was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty on the 29th of November of that year. He was a man who stood high in public estimation, as a member of the House of Commons, and as a private gentleman indued with the best qualities of head and heart. When Secretary at War he had proved himself not inferior in debate to Fox, Grey, Windham, Sheridan, and the rest of that formidable phalanx which was supposed to have no other individual rival but Mr. Pitt. Mr. Yorke, however, after a fierce opposition from that party, through a series of long debates, carried his plan for the establishment and consolidation of the volunteer system. He reprobated, with honest indignation, and boldly denounced, that un-English and anti-national doctrine, held forth by some of the Whig leaders and inculcated in the Radical papers of the day, that England was no match for France—that the French army, led by Buonaparte, was invincible—and that it would

be in vain for our inferior army any longer to contend against it. Some even went so far as to recommend that humiliating position of England as suing for peace to her most inveterate foe.

Mr. Yorke, however, stemmed this outrageous tide of humiliation and destruction, in a strain of indignant animation deprecating such unworthy feelings put forth by persons calling themselves Englishmen; and, roused by an ardent spirit of patriotism, boldly declared that such doctrines were utterly false; and that he hoped—nay, was sure—England would never so degrade herself as to succumb to France. Well might he exclaim,

“ This England never did, and never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror! ”—

much less at that of a heartless usurper, the offspring of revolution, who had, by violence and tyranny, usurped the sovereignty of France.

Some paltry objections were made in the House to the question of ways and means for carrying on the war. Mr. Yorke scouted such mean and selfish considerations, declaring a willingness on his part “to pay the last shilling he was worth, and to shed the last drop of his blood, to defend the country against the designs of France.” “And so he would,” said a friend to me, who had long and intimately known him; “such is the sterling patriotism of Charles Yorke, that if any personal sacrifice were demanded for the salvation of the country, no matter what it might be, Charles Yorke would be the first man to volunteer it; nay, I verily believe that, like another Curtius, Yorke, to save his country, would not hesitate to repeat the Roman’s example of plunging into the gulf.”

In all respects, Mr. Yorke fully redeemed the pledge he had given in coming into Parliament as an unfettered man; and he took an early occasion of stating in his place, that he reprobated the doctrine of Members of Parliament being guided by the "instructions of their constituents," as being unworthy and unconstitutional. With such independent feelings, Mr. Yorke might be considered as one well qualified to fill the important and responsible situation of First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty. It is a situation that requires great energy and thought in the decision, and promptitude in the execution, of measures concerning naval operations, whether offensive or defensive; of vigilance, in being prepared for either; of knowledge in the selection of officers of approved talent and experience for the command of fleets, and even of single ships.

But there is yet another, and a no less important and responsible duty, which ought to attach to every First Lord of the Admiralty, and which indeed has, fortunately, had a commencement—and that is, to afford opportunities and to hold out encouragement for creating well-qualified officers, by the institution of means whereby naval cadets, midshipmen, mates, and junior officers may be instructed in the practical and scientific parts of their profession; and to give promotion, the greatest reward they can receive, to such as are reported to excel.

Every First Lord of the Admiralty, under whom I have served, has felt the day appointed for receiving officers to be the most painful and distressing part of his duty. He has on that day to listen to their numerous tales of distress and disappointment, and too frequently

to listen to them without the possibility of affording relief. Few, I believe, experienced this painful duty more strongly than Mr. Charles Yorke, who was ever ready to afford his compassionate attention to cases of distress, and to relieve them when practicable.

In the first year of Mr. Yorke's administration of the affairs of the navy, our successes by sea were frequent, and some of them important. Indeed, a week scarcely passed over that did not bring intelligence of the capture of frigates, corvettes, sloops, or gun-brigs, belonging to the French, the Danes, and other hostile powers; of the capture of islands, and the destruction of batteries and armed vessels stationed for their protection: the islands of St. Eustatia, St. Martin, and Saba; the island of Rodriguez, near that of Bourbon—respecting which Commodore Rowley says, “a valuable colony has been added to His Majesty's dominions, containing upwards of 100,000 souls.” In 1811 the island of Lissa was taken by Commodore Hoste, defended by four frigates and gun-boats, two of which were taken, one burnt, and “one stole away and escaped.” In this year, also, the acquisition of the magnificent island of Java crowned the British arms—and the spice islands of Amboyna and Banda, the islands of France and Bourbon, also fell into our possession.

It required a man of Mr. Yorke's capacious mind and firmness of character to overcome the long-rooted prejudices that prevailed among the master-shipwrights in all the dockyards, by which the new system of adding strength to the ships of the British Navy, invented by Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Seppings, was thwarted and opposed; and the inventor himself so tormented, that nothing short of the energy and firmness of Mr.

Yorke could have succeeded in carrying through a system which he, and every unprejudiced person, clearly foresaw would be the means of giving strength and permanence to the sound condition of the British Navy. "At length, however," says Seppings, "a superior power bore down all opposition; the system was adopted, and found to succeed." And it has succeeded, and the only improvement it has undergone is that of changing his wooden diagonal braces into iron ones.

The next great point which Mr. Yorke succeeded in carrying into execution was that of the Breakwater, which had been planned and designed for erection across the mouth of Plymouth Sound, to render it a secure and excellent roadstead for a fleet of ships of war. This great national work had been recommended to Lord Grey, when at the head of the Admiralty, by the Earl St. Vincent, who had himself, when presiding at the Board, fixed his attention on Torbay for the same purpose, and had a survey made to ascertain its fitness. If, however, such a work should be constructed across that bay, the cost would be enormous.

In bringing this important measure as regarded Plymouth Sound before the House of Commons, Mr. Yorke, by the clear and powerful statement with which he introduced his proposal for commencing the operation, silenced the few who, for the sake of opposition, foreboded ruin to the Sound as an anchorage, after an endless expense had been incurred; and, fortified by his own sound judgment, and by arguments in which he was supported and backed by the opinion of Mr. John Rennie as to the propriety and the suc-

cessful issue of the undertaking, and also by all the naval men and others connected with the navy in the House, he carried through his measure most triumphantly.

Mr. Yorke, however, met with opposition from a quarter whence he least expected it. The vast preparations which were making in France, and the activity displayed by Buonaparte in the naval department, required additional energy and consequently increased expenditure in our own; and Mr. Yorke, after due consideration of the force that he deemed expedient to keep on foot, caused the navy estimates to be prepared accordingly. One day, on returning from a cabinet council, he sent for me into his room, and in a flurried manner said, "Barrow, it is time for me to quit the Admiralty, and I shall do so very soon. If Mr. Spencer Perceval conceives that he knows better what expenditure is required for preserving the efficiency of the navy than the Board of Admiralty, which is responsible for it—if he persists in acting upon his present notions, I shall at once tell him he must get some other person more ready than I shall be to follow his suggestions. He tells me I must considerably cut down my estimate; I told him it had been well considered, and that I should not attempt to make any reduction; and that when I move it in the House I shall' willingly explain and assign my reasons for every increased item therein."

I observed to him, that Mr. Perceval, in his capacity of Prime Minister, could hardly venture to take upon himself the task of raising objections against the force which the Lords of the Admiralty had pronounced to be necessary; but that I supposed it was in his character

of Chancellor of the Exchequer that he demurred on the score of expense. "On this score," said Mr. Yorke, "I shall not yield, and the estimate shall remain and be produced in the state it is."

I left him very much agitated; and was quite sure, from his manner and the firmness of his character, that he would either carry his point or throw up his situation in disgust. Two days after this I understood from him that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had satisfied him the objection he had made was a mere question of money, for which he was responsible, and desired that the estimate might stand as originally framed. When brought before the House, nothing could be more convincing to all parties than the reasons given by Mr. Yorke for the increase under present circumstances. Admiral Sir Charles Pole said he had never heard so clear and satisfactory a statement as that of the First Lord of the Admiralty, and he thought there was as little to observe on the present estimates (1811) as on any that were ever produced in that House. Mr. Yorke took every occasion of noticing the gratification he received, from witnessing the affection and regard which the House always entertained for the naval service; and it was no less gratifying to know that the greater part of the world placed dependence on the British flag for protection.

In referring to my 'Life of Admiral Lord Howe,' from whose estimate for building and repairing the fleet the minister reduced 150,000*l.*,—"Such parsimony," I there observed, "for it is not economy when applied to such an object, is the worst policy that could be pursued. It was that, among other things, that drove Lord Howe from the helm of naval affairs; and

in later times it had very nearly produced the same effect on one of the ablest, most intelligent, and most honourable men that ever sat at the head of the Board of Admiralty—Mr. Charles Yorke—who threatened to resign his office because the minister would not consent to grant for naval purposes what he considered necessary to prepare and preserve the fleet in that state of efficiency, which the honour and the interests of the country demanded.”

But I took occasion, some thirty-five years ago, when a discussion was going on as to the comparative advantage of having a naval officer or a civilian at the head of the Board of Admiralty, to give a sketch of the character of the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, who at that time presided. I then declared “my firm conviction” —and I never had occasion to alter a word of it—“that if an unceasing attention to the duties of his office, an intimate acquaintance with the naval history of his country, a vigorous understanding, a manly cast of character, with a disposition to conciliate, and an anxious desire to promote the interests, the comfort, and the honour of those brave men to whom the best defence of the nation is entrusted—if qualifications such as these can be said to hold out a fair promise, then we may with confidence affirm that the lustre of the British navy will not be tarnished under his management; but that its energies will be maintained, and its power exerted to the satisfaction of the country.”

If indeed such men could always be selected to fill the important situation of First Lord of the Admiralty as Mr. Charles Yorke, no question need arise as to his being a naval officer or a civilian; the one is qualified by education (always supposing that education to have

been extensive, sound, and proper) to embrace all kinds of subjects; the other principally confined to one, and that a practical subject—an important qualification, no doubt, but a very limited one, and amply supplied by the constitution of the Board of Admiralty, which gives to the presiding Lord the assistance of two flag-officers (sometimes three), two captains, and one civilian, who has generally been in some public situation, and who, with most of his colleagues, holds a seat in the House of Commons. After all, we shall probably arrive at the proper conclusion, by considering personal character and mental accomplishments to constitute the best qualification to fill an office, on the able and honest management of which depend the fortunes and the happiness of so many thousand families, in every rank of life, engaged in the naval service of their country, from the flag-officer, through all ranks, to the common seaman.

Nothing so deeply affected the sensitive mind of Mr. Yorke as the many unfortunate disasters that occurred by the losses of ships and their crews from shipwreck in the latter part of the year 1811. The 'Saldanha' frigate, commanded by the Hon. Captain Pakenham, was lost off Lough Swilley, on the north-west coast of Ireland. The 'Hero,' of 74 guns, Captain Newman, off the Texel, where she went to pieces, and every soul on board perished. But the most melancholy of all was that of the 'St. George,' of 98 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Reynolds, which had suffered much and was dismasted in the Belt, in the November gales. Partially refitted, she left the Baltic, accompanied by the 'Defence,' of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Atkins, on the morning of the 24th of December, and, a gale

coming on, both ships were stranded on the western coast of Jutland. Six seamen only escaped on a wreck from the 'Defence,' and eleven from the 'St. George;' and the last man that left this ship, on a piece of wreck, on the evening of the 25th, reported that Admiral Reynolds and Captain Guion were lying dead beside each other, on the lee side of the quarter-deck, and that above 500 of the crew had shared the same fate; about 150 were still alive when he left, but none of them were ever more heard of. The 'St. George' was supposed to be in a state which disabled her to beat off a lee-shore in a gale of wind; yet the 'Defence' was in a fit condition to have made good her course; but the brave and generous Atkins, it would seem, could not suffer the Admiral to drift alone, and determined resolutely to stand by him, which he did till both perished. It might be mistaken gallantry, as it carried with it the sacrifice of so many lives. Captain Atkins was Second Lieutenant of the 'Lion' on her voyage to China, already alluded to, I being then his coadjutor, in taking and working out lunar observations.

So sensibly was Mr. Yorke affected by this dreadful catastrophe that it occasioned a violent fit of the gout, which disqualified him from attending the office, from which indeed he was altogether soon relieved by a change of ministers, and by the appointment of the second Lord Viscount Melville, early in the spring of 1812, to fill the situation of First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Yorke's illness was not mitigated by an ill-natured and unfounded report, that the loss of these great ships was occasioned by the Admiralty having

kept them out in the Baltic much too late; those who spread it not knowing, or rather not choosing to know, that the Admiral had a discretionary power to leave the Baltic whenever he thought proper; and, if I recollect right, a caution was inserted in his instructions not to remain in the Baltic to a late period of the season.

On taking leave of the Admiralty, Mr. Yorke said to me, "I hope you will not forget Bruton Street, but that you will let me have the pleasure of seeing you frequently—the more frequently the more agreeable: I mean to remain at home quietly on Sunday afternoons, and as many of them as you can bestow on a gouty and grumbling man will be a great charity." I assured him that nothing would give me greater pleasure than to see him frequently; and that as I was in the constant habit of passing an hour or so in the early part of Sunday afternoons at Spencer House, where Lady Spencer was always ready to see her visitors in her snug little boudoir, I should be too glad to make it in my way to Bruton Street. From this time I dedicated a great part of the afternoons of Sundays to Lady Spencer and Mr. Yorke: of the former I need not say her wit and lively conversation were courted by all; and with respect to the latter, I was his constant visitor from the period of his retirement from public life to his last illness, and can safely say that, in all my intercourse with him, a more intelligent and agreeable man I have never met with; one whose conversation was more lively and instructive, and more full of information regarding the news and topics of the day; always delighted to hear of the successful exertions of the navy, and that

all was going on smoothly and pleasantly at the Admiralty. "Melville," he used to say, "is a thoroughly good man, not wanting in sound sense and judgment, united with their concomitants, propriety and steadiness of conduct."

Mr. Yorke was, however, disposed to be exceedingly low spirited when attacked by a severe fit of the gout, or when any domestic calamity occurred. The awful and somewhat uncertain, or unascertained, cause of the death of his brother, Sir Joseph Yorke, who was a great favourite, shook him much. The boat in which he was sailing was last seen with her sails up, and was no doubt upset by a sudden squall, and all in her perished. She was not far from the shore, and Sir Joseph and his companion were both good swimmers. Mr. Yorke caused every possible inquiry to be made regarding the accident, and as it appeared the storm was accompanied by violent thunder and lightning, the only conclusion to be drawn was, that the boat and all in her had been struck by the lightning. He had a very strong affection for his brother, and was often amused by his eccentricities and droll expressions; but was greatly distressed on one occasion, when his ship was in a state of mutiny, and an investigation was held into the conduct of the crew and some of the officers, who were found to be a most irregular and mutinous set. Sir Joseph himself was driven almost to madness by a marine lieutenant threatening to bring him before a court-martial. He had then a seat at the Board of Admiralty. This officer came to the office to complain, which made Sir Joseph outrageous; and Mr. Croker and myself did all we could to pacify him, and to assure him that the lieutenant was not

worth his notice. These bursts, however, were but occasional.

Sir Joseph Yorke had nothing of gloominess, or despondency, or ill-humour, in his character; he was for the most part cheerful and full of pleasantry. We were in fact a merry Board-room group: Sir George Warrender and Sir Joseph Yorke were of themselves a host of fun, and Croker and I did our best to keep it up. Yorke abounded in odd expressions, borrowed or spoken at random. To Warrender he would say, "Because thy name is George I'll call thee Peter." When he gave up his seat at the Board he told the House of Commons he had turned his stern to the Admiralty: and he once gravely commenced a speech with, "Mr. Speaker, it has long been a disputed point among philosophers which is the greatest of two evils, 'a smoking chimney or a scolding wife.'" But one of the best off-hand things he said was at the expense of poor Sir Robert Seppings: this officer had been on the water one very cold day, and was seized with so violent a tooth-ache as to cause him to land on Tower Hill, and run into the first tooth-drawer's shop that he met with; but the clumsy operator not only eased him of his tooth, but carried with it a slice of the jaw. The poor fellow, having wrapped up his head, was walking in a deplorable state over Tower Hill, when he met Sir Joseph Yorke, who hailed him with "Well, Bob, what's the matter with you?" On hearing his pitiful story, Yorke said, "Why, Bob, knowing that your jaw was but a weak stick of timber, why didn't you take the precaution of clapping on one of your diagonal braces to strengthen it?" Seppings could not forbear laughing

in the midst of his torment at the oddity of the association.

Mr. Yorke was an excellent classic. I frequently on a Sunday visit found him with a copy of Homer on the table, and sometimes with a Greek Testament open, and an English Testament by it. The first time I noticed this, he said to me, "You must not suppose I am refreshing my Greek, or learning it. I have often suspected that certain passages in our English translation are improperly rendered, and when these occur I always compare them with the original, and generally find them, to say the least, loosely translated." He was fond of studying ancient and modern history, and read most of the publications of the day. He was well versed in the historical parts of the Old Testament; and told me he once made an attempt to study the Hebrew language, with a view of reading the Bible in the original, but found it was too late in life to master it, and therefore gave it up.

He asked me one day if I had looked at the extraordinary adventures of Sir Edward Seaward, by Miss Jane Porter, who professes to have possessed the original manuscript. I said I had not; but that as he praised it, and thought it a true and curious narrative, I would look into it; the next time I paid my usual visit I told him it was a mere romance, in imitation of 'Robinson Crusoe,' and neither more nor less than unmingled fiction, from first to last, sprinkled with many pious reflections, and assuming a solemn and sacred character. Mr. Yorke said, "If it is a fiction, I, and many others more sagacious than myself, have been taken in." I told him, that as a date has been given when the extraordinary events are said to have

happened (from 1733 to 1749), it was easy to prove that no such events ever had taken place; that no names mentioned, not even that of the titled narrator himself, ever had existence; that there neither was, nor is, any village named Awbrey within twenty miles of Bristol, of which Mr. Seaward and his wife (Goldsmith) are said to be natives; that no such bankers were in London as are mentioned; no such hotel as that where he and Lady Seaward lodged; nay more, that there is not and never was an island at or near the spot (fortunately the latitude and longitude are given) where he was shipwrecked, and where he lived *à la mode de Crusoe*; and there can be but little doubt that Miss Jane Porter, who says she received the manuscript from the representative of the respected writer, is the sole founder and representative of the family of the Seawards. Mr. Yorke said he wished I would go more into detail; my reply was, I will prove to you all and more than I have now advanced in the next number of the *Quarterly Review*.*

If Miss Jane Porter had not in so solemn a manner pledged herself to have received the manuscript from a friend of Sir Edward Seaward (no such knight having ever existed), she would have gained unqualified praise for her ingenuity of invention, for the moral and religious sentiments in which the narrative abounds, and for the beautiful and affecting language in which they are

Mr. Yorke, towards the end of his life, lived much in retirement, but was at all times pleased to receive the visits of a few old friends.

* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xlvi. p. 480—Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative, &c. Mr. Yorke was fully satisfied that I had proved it to be a mere fiction.

SECTION VI.

ROBERT, LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE.

March 25, 1812—April 30, 1827.

Admiral G. JOHNSTONE HOPE First Naval Lord.

JOHN WILSON CROKER First Secretary.

ON the retirement of Mr. Charles Yorke, the Viscount Melville, who had succeeded to the title on the death of his father, the preceding year, was nominated to the high station of First Lord of the Admiralty on the 25th of March, 1812; the Earl of Liverpool being appointed Prime Minister, in the vacancy occasioned by the atrocious assassination of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, in May, 1812, in the lobby of the House of Commons. During the persecution of his Lordship's father, carried on as it was with all the rancour and bitterness of party hostility, the conduct of the son was viewed by all, political foes as well as by friends, with approbation and applause: and he continued, during the long period he remained in the office of Admiralty, to sustain the character of a steady, well-conducted, right-judging man, of whom it may truly be said, "He never made an enemy, or lost a friend."

In the year following that of his appointment, Lord Melville, perceiving that one great source of naval expenditure was in the dockyards, of which the Admiralty

had but an imperfect knowledge, derived from the general heads of the estimates, and from the Navy Board, by whom they were made up, determined to make annual visitations to the yards, in order to get information on the spot of the details of expense, and generally how it was incurred. He therefore, in the year 1813, made his first visit to each of the dock-yards; a proceeding which had been discontinued (with the single exception of one by Lord St. Vincent) since the administration of Lord Sandwich. All the reductions that were made during Lord Melville's and the Lord High Admiral's administrations were in fact made in consequence of these visitations; and not always in accordance with the opinion of the civil authorities of the Navy. Yet these reductions, though carried to a great extent, were made without infringing on the quantity or the quality of the works to be performed. On each of these visitations I accompanied his Lordship, and some of the Board, and made such a number of notes and remarks, that the visitation-book is among the most voluminous in the records of the Admiralty.

Lord Melville continued to execute the office of First Lord of the Admiralty for a period of more than twice the number of years of any other First Lord on record, except Lord Sandwich, whose two administrations amounted to twelve years; whereas the two of Lord Melville were equal to seventeen years. He first came in on the eve of one of the most eventful, busy, and brilliant periods of the Revolutionary War, as far as regarded the continental operations of the army, under the Duke of Wellington, who, after a series of splendid battles and as many victories, drove the French armies

out of Spain and Portugal, and completed the final overthrow of Buonaparte, and his transportation to St. Helena in the year 1815. In all these exploits it is true that the navy acted but as an auxiliary, though a very necessary, and, it may be said, an indispensable one. But powerful fleets were not called for: they had already completed their task, in the destruction of the Dutch fleet at Camperdown, the French fleet at the Nile, and the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar.

Still, however, a new, a concealed, though not perhaps altogether an unprovoked, enemy sprang up, in a quarter not much to be expected—and therefore, on our part, unprepared in the kind and quality of weapons to be engaged in the conflict. On the 18th of June, 1812, the North Americans declared war against Great Britain; not, indeed, before they had secretly despatched a squadron for the capture or destruction of the return Jamaica merchant fleet, or of any other English vessels it should fall in with. Thus taken by surprise, several of our small vessels of war were captured by the large American frigates, which were designedly underrated; that is to say, one of their mis-named 44-gun frigates was equal in size and power to one of our ships of 60 guns. Originally they were modelled and rated after ours, but, for a special purpose which they had in view, they increased their size and power, and diminished their rating; their object being—for it could be no other—to have the credit of taking an enemy of a nominal equal force, but in reality of a far inferior one; or, as they were not ashamed to say, “their ships would be superior to any single European frigate of the usual dimensions.” In short, every

frigate and sloop that engaged the same classes, *by name*, of the English, were superior to ours in guns, in men, and in tonnage. Take, for example, the ‘*Endymion*,’ which captured the ‘*President*:’—

	ENDYMION.	PRESIDENT.
Broadside metal in pounds	676	916
Complement {	Men	472
	Boys	5
		<hr/> 477
Tonnage	1277	1533

And the ‘*Shannon*,’ which took the ‘*Chesapeake*:’—

	SHANNON.	CHESAPEAKE.
Broadside metal	538	590
Complement {	Men	384
	Boys	7
		<hr/> 391
Size in tons	1066	1135

Thus also the ‘*Guerrière*,’ when captured by the ‘*Constitution*,’ had—517 weight of metal against 768; a crew of 263 against 468; and her size 1034 tons against 1533.

So also in the sloops and smaller vessels engaged, nominally of the same size, the Americans were invariably of superior force. But that accurate and industrious historian Mr. James, from whose ‘*Naval Occurrences*’ the above is taken, has given a detailed list of all captured ships (from frigates downwards) made by each belligerent, consisting of the British national cruisers captured or destroyed, and those of America, with the forces of each.

	Numbers <i>captured.</i>	Guns.	Comple- ments.	Tons.
English had	20	530	2,751	10,273
Americans had . . .	64	660	2,994	14,848
Balance for England	E.+ 44	E.— 130	E.— 243	E.— 4,575

I deemed it proper to extract this statement from unquestioned authority, knowing that there are minds so constituted, as to reject the strongest proof of facts when they militate against their preconceived opinions or wishes, or do not coincide with their party views. Thus, for instance, Lord Darnley, in the face of authentic and of official accounts to prove our success over the enemy, boldly declared, in his assumed superior knowledge of naval affairs, in the House of Lords, and in the presence of Lord Melville, that he found no cause for congratulation; that while our military reputation was raised to the highest pitch, our naval reputation had sunk, and that victory was on the enemy's side, in actions between vessels of the same class: in which bold and unfounded assertion it is charitable to suppose that Lord Darnley was merely mistaken, as the plain statement of facts by Lord Melville must have satisfied him.

His Lordship stated in reply, that, "without answering to such general and declamatory charges, he would ask to what distinct failure the allusion was made? The Americans had numerous seamen, and a multitude of privateers; against these means of annoyance, the protection given to our trade would supply the best answer. We had now 20,000 American seamen prisoners of war—we had captured more than 200 ships

of war and armed vessels, and taken 900 other vessels—we had captured 94 running ships and 38 stragglers: and the whole number of our coasting trade taken by them was *eleven*. And yet the noble Lord asserted that when our ships of war met with an equal force of the enemy, they were always beaten. Lord Darnley, however, was here again speaking at random, and therefore incorrectly.”

It may be as well to record, what indeed may be considered now as generally known, a few facts to convince Lord Darnley and others that our navy was not so fallen as he represented it. In August, 1814, Rear-Admiral Cockburn, on opening out the reach above Pig Point with his gun-boats, discovered Commodore Barney's broad pendant in a large sloop, with a flotilla of a long line of boats astern of her. The Rear-Admiral's boats proceeded rapidly to the attack, but, on nearing the flotilla, the sloop with the broad pendant was observed to be on fire, and soon blew up; the seventeen boats that composed the flotilla were perceived to be also on fire, having trains laid to their magazines; sixteen of them blew up, the remaining one was taken: thus perished this vaunted flotilla, without an attempt to save it.

Immediately after this it was decided to attack Washington, the capital. In the first instance, General Ross, with his little army, marched to attack Bladensburg. The enemy was observed on a height above the town; and the first operation was to make a dash at him, when he fled in every direction, leaving behind him ten pieces of cannon, with a number of killed and wounded, among the latter Commodore Barney. From this place our little army proceeded towards Washing-

ton on the 24th, but it was dark before they reached that city. Some officers, without any troops, after entering the town, were fired upon from the Capitol and two other houses; these were almost immediately stormed by the troops, which had now entered, were taken possession of, and set on fire: after which the town submitted. On taking possession, the President's palace, the Treasury, and the War-office were set on fire; as were the navy-yard and all the stores, a frigate and a sloop, together with the protecting fort, by the natives in the night; what *they* had spared were destroyed by the invaders—ordnance stores, &c. "In short," says Admiral Cockburn, "I do not believe a vestige of public property escaped destruction." Articles captured—206 pieces of cannon, 500 barrels of gunpowder, 100,000 rounds of musket-ball cartridges, and a large quantity of ammunition made up.

The brilliant operations of Captain (afterwards Sir James) Gordon, in the Potowmac, with his little squadron, which had to run the gauntlet through a host of the *élite* of the United States—Commodore Rodgers, with the seamen of the 'Guerrière,' Captains Perry, Porter, and other "distinguished officers," the men belonging to the 'Constellation,' those who had belonged to Barney's flotilla, with troops, riflemen, artillerymen, and militia—all flocked to the shores of the Potowmac to punish the "base incendiaries." The exploits of these gallant commodores, with their forts on shore (one with a furnace for heating shot), their gunboats, ships, brigs, and other vessels, terminated in having killed 7 British seamen and wounded 35; while Gordon captured and carried away down the river 21 of their vessels. But on the return of this expedition

from Washington, it was decided to make a demonstration on the city of Baltimore. The troops under Major-General Ross were landed near North Point. Rear-Admiral Cockburn, always preferring the post of danger, accompanied the Major-General and the army. In the first skirmish the General was picked off by an American rifleman, and breathed his last on his way to the ships. The troops, with about 600 seamen and the marines of the squadron, pushed forwards, attacked the Americans, 6000 or 7000 strong, on their own ground, and supported by field-pieces, and drove them from the field, whence they fled in every direction, leaving behind them a considerable number of killed and wounded and two pieces of cannon. I have mentioned these particulars to show that the boasting of the enemy, and the false and criminating views propagated by their partisans, English as well as citizens, are unworthy of attention; and that whatever America may have suffered in the contest, it was avowedly commenced on her part, and not very willingly continued on the part of England.

Numerous detached skirmishes were, however, necessarily continued by sea and land until the 18th of February, 1815, when Mr. Madison ratified a treaty of peace at Washington. The treaty with France was concluded in November, 1814. This, together with the losses sustained by the Americans, had decided them also as speedily as possible, which was anticipated by the Board of Admiralty, who, in announcing the peace with France, "expressed a hope that the valour of his Majesty's fleets and armies will speedily bring the American contest to an honourable conclusion, safe for British interests and conducive to the lasting repose

of the civilized world." At the same time, it was not deemed expedient to pay off the fleet; for, although the combined armies had planted their standard on Montmartre, Paris had capitulated, Buonaparte had been compelled to abdicate his throne and was banished to the island of Elba, and Louis XVIII. restored to the throne of his ancestors, it was fortunately deemed not prudent to dismantle the fleet or to disband the army.

Notwithstanding these precautions, which implied doubts, at least, as to the establishment of tranquillity on the Continent, universal rejoicing in England occupied men's minds. In this same year the centenary of the accession of the House of Brunswick was celebrated in the most splendid manner, and kept as a day of jubilee in every part of the kingdom. The following year (1815) afforded a mixture of grief and joy—of grief for the escape of the great enemy of Europe from Elba; for the renewal of hostilities by the French; for the escape of Louis XVIII. and the royal family, and for the army got up by the Jacobins; of rejoicing at the overthrow of that army at Waterloo; and the exile of Buonaparte to St. Helena, who, on the summit of this miserable island in the Southern Atlantic, died in the course of four or five years, thus liberating Europe from a scourge as destructive as a pestilence; having given to the world a most striking example of that retribution for excessive tyranny and inordinate ambition, which is due to those who exercise them.

The European world was now nearly at peace. One power only, by its treachery and breach of engagements, called upon the British navy to avenge its dar-

ing perfidy—the Dey of Algiers. Lord Exmouth had carried his point respecting the abolition of Christian slavery, but had failed at Algiers. He and his officers, who had gone on shore, were insulted, and their lives endangered; the state of the weather and of his ships made it impossible to attack the town with any chance of success. He proceeded to England, vowing vengeance on the tyrant; he found that news had arrived of the atrocious massacre of the crews of the coral fishery at Bona; which outrageous proceeding, added to the insult on Lord Exmouth, determined the Government to fit out at once a force which should obtain from the Dey, by intimidation or actual violence, reparation for the late outrage, and for the future a general and unconditional abolition of Christian slavery for ever. Lord Exmouth arrived just in time to ask the command of it. Five sail of the line, five frigates, five gun-brigs, and four bombs composed it. The result is well known, and so is the glorious conduct of the Commander-in-Chief. The Queen Charlotte led on, anchored on the very spot pointed out, within fifty yards of the mole-head—the very horns of the lull—and with two feet water only to spare. The meaning was obvious—conquer or die. Salamé, the Arab interpreter, describes his Lordship on the poop after the action: “His voice quite hoarse, two wounds—one on the cheek, the other on the leg. It was indeed astonishing to see the coat of his Lordship, how it was all cut up by the musket-balls and by grape.”

With the above exception, the blessings of peace and prosperity were abundantly shed on the British empire. From the year 1816 to 1818 almost the whole progeny of the royal family and its branches were marrying and

given in marriage, and among them his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence was united to her Serene Highness Amelia Adelaide, daughter of the late Duke of Saxe Meiningen. The Dukes of Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge each took to himself a German princess. Death, however, was not sparing of its victims. In 1820 George III. died, in the 82nd year of his age, having lost his Queen, Charlotte, two years before. His successor, George IV., in the second year of his reign visited Ireland, and in 1822 embarked at Greenwich for Scotland, and died in the year 1830, when King William IV. was proclaimed.

During all this period of tranquillity there was but little demand on the services of the royal navy. It had since the year 1817 afforded a fitting opportunity of employing a few small ships in voyages of discovery for the advancement of geography, navigation, and commerce. In this year I wrote, and caused to be published in a popular journal, a curious and interesting account of the disruption of large fields and masses of ice and huge icebergs from different parts of the Arctic regions, and their transport far down into the Atlantic. The authenticity of this event was unquestionable, being corroborated by numerous eye-witnesses; it was deemed a fair occasion to explore these northern seas, and renew the attempts to discover a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which had engaged the attention of the learned and ingenious, as well as the mercantile interests of this kingdom, at various periods; and I proposed a plan of two voyages for Lord Melville's consideration, which, after consultation with his colleagues, supported by the recommendation of the Royal Society, was adopted.

In these voyages, Parry, in no less than four explorations, greatly distinguished himself by his adventurous zeal and unwearied exertions, as also by the exercise of his scientific acquirements, and by his judicious arrangements and conduct for the preservation and comfort of the people entrusted to his charge. Sir John Franklin, Sir George Back, and Sir John Richardson, in their boat excursions along the shore of the Polar Seas and on the continent of North America, and by their severe sufferings on these land journeys, cannot be too highly spoken of; and all the other officers, whether employed by sea or on shore, exhibited the most able and splendid examples of perseverance under difficulties, of endurance under afflictions, and resignation under every kind of distress. I thought it due to them, as it was agreeable to me in my retirement, to publish a small and readable volume, containing the essence of the large and expensive official accounts, in order to make the merits of these brave fellows—officers and men—more generally and extensively known. While these voyages were pending, I received the following communication from Edinburgh:—

“ College, Edinburgh, January 22nd, 1821.

“ Sir,

“ I have the honour to inform you, by the command of the *Senatus Academicus* of this University, that, at their meeting on Saturday last, they conferred on you the honorary degree of *LL.D.*, and they request you to believe that they have conferred the degree as a proof of their respect for your literary talents, and for your effective zeal in promoting the progress of science. Allow me to add, that in this case the *graduation* was

moved by Professor Jameson, and carried by the unanimous warm approbation of the meeting.

“To myself, personally, I beg leave to assure you that the motion and the mode of its reception afforded great gratification.

“May you long live to enjoy those tokens of esteem, which every enlightened friend of science and of his country’s honour is disposed to offer to you.

“I remain, Sir, &c.,

“John Barrow, Esq.”

“GEO. H. BAIRD.

SECTION VII.

His Royal Highness the DUKE OF CLARENCE
Appointed LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.

May 2, 1827—September 18, 1828.

Right Hon. Admiral Sir GEORGE COCKBURN. . . First of his Council.
Right Hon. JOHN WILSON CROKER. Secretary.

IN 1827, when Mr. Canning proposed to grant emancipation, or rather certain concessions of relief, to the Roman Catholics, which would probably have paved the way for emancipation, his old Tory associates began to desert him in such numbers, that he soon found himself unable to carry on the Government, without having recourse to some portion of the Whigs, and not to refuse even the assistance of those Radicals, who were favourable to his proposed measures; but it must be admitted that, in return, he never gave countenance to any of their levelling opinions; neither did he acquiesce in the reform of Parliament or the Test Act, or in the other liberal tenets which the Whig party professed; consequently he could not place much reliance on their giving him a cordial support. The plea of the deserters from his standard was, that if he persisted in mooted the question of Catholic emancipation, he would not be able to keep together such an efficient government, as the exigencies of the country required.

Harassed and annoyed by the dissensions and

discussions constantly occurring between the old and the new friends, and more particularly by the complaints, the grievances, and the ill-humour of the few old ones that remained, and the taunts of those that had separated from him—the sensitive mind of Mr. Canning gave way and produced an evil influence on his health, which was observed rapidly to decline; and he felt himself strongly to have been a sort of self-sacrifice to those, who had so long shared his friendship.

Among the separatists was Lord Viscount Melville, who had held the office of First Lord of the Admiralty for fifteen years, a much longer period than it has ever before or since been held by the same individual. When it came to his turn to explain to the House the reason of his resignation, he said, that in his opinion, the Government, as now composed, would not be an adequate substitute for the prudent, able, and useful superintendence, which that of Lord Liverpool had effectually maintained: that, in short, he disliked the choice which Mr. Canning had made of his new friends: and he deemed the most proper and prudent line for him to take was, to send in his resignation; it was not, however, immediately accepted, and therefore he continued to act until a successor should be named.

The Admiralty might thus be said virtually to have become vacant of a First Lord: but the want for a time was fully compensated by a competent Board, in which were three naval officers of high reputation—Sir George Cockburn, Sir W. J. Hope, and Sir Henry Hotham. Sir George Cockburn had been serving seven or eight years as a Lord of the Admiralty; he was known to be an officer in possession

of a vigorous understanding, of thorough professional knowledge in the military, civil, and judicial departments of the service, and of indefatigable perseverance in the execution of the laborious duties of his office. For clearness of intellect, for ability in making himself master of the most intricate and complicated cases, I have never met his equal. He had, moreover, acquired so complete a knowledge of naval and military law, that the Board were seldom unsatisfied with his opinion; and the office of Counsel to the Admiralty was all but a sinecure, a solicitor alone being required.

No inconvenience, therefore, arose during the few months that a chief might be said to be wanting; though no fresh patent was made out to supersede Lord Melville or any portion of the Board; but as soon as the Duke of Wellington was appointed to take the situation of Premier, become vacant by the resignation of Mr. Canning, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence was declared Lord High Admiral of England; and the Lords of the Admiralty then existing continued, not in the capacity of a Board, but as the *Council* of his Royal Highness, to advise and carry on the usual and necessary duties; but deprived of the power of promoting, or even of signing their names to any official document; all of which were either to bear the sign manual of the Lord High Admiral, or, by his authority, that of one of the Secretaries. The Lord High Admiral, moreover, had no seat in the Cabinet. This, it may be apprehended, was deemed proper, from the circumstance of his Royal Highness standing in the position of heir-presumptive to the throne.

When the patent had been prepared, signed, sealed,

and sent to the Admiralty, information thereof was given to his Royal Highness. The same day the Board—now the Council—paid their respects; and Mr. George Fitz-Clarence (afterwards Lord Munster) called on me, with a message from his father, to say that he desired to see me at his temporary residence, in Charles-Street, the following morning. His Royal Highness received me most graciously; said he was well acquainted with the late Lord Macartney, who had frequently mentioned my name to him; and that his son George had spoken highly of the valuable assistance and advice I had given him, in the preparation of his volume regarding India; spoke strongly of his desire to serve me, and assured me that I should possess his whole confidence. He asked also several questions as to the constitution of the Board and its naval members, who were to continue as members of his Council: said that he knew Sir George Cockburn well, and that Hope and he were old friends and ship-mates. I assured him he would find the whole of his Council intelligent officers and agreeable gentlemen; and, as profound peace prevailed, his Royal Highness would have few professional difficulties to encounter, except probably that of numerous pressing applications from old officers; many of whom had long and good service to plead, during the late protracted war, and now fewer opportunities occurred of meeting their wishes.

He was punctual to the time he had appointed to take his seat on the following day, a seat that had been properly prepared for the present occasion of receiving a royal personage; he delivered an extempore address to his Council, and a separate one to each of the Secretaries; stating, in general terms and in very courteous

language, how little professional knowledge could be expected from *him*, and how much he had to look to from *them*. When he had left the Board-room, he sent for me, and desired me to look over the dwelling-house with him; and on entering the dining-room, he asked how many could sit down at table. I said about thirty I thought, but had never seen more than eighteen or twenty. "Did all or any of the First Lords you have known," he asked, "give many dinners, and entertain frequently naval officers resident in and about town, or who occasionally might call upon him from the country?" "Not very often, I believed: Lord Mulgrave, I thought, had company most frequently." "Did not Lord Spencer entertain largely?" "I was not here under Lord Spencer's administration; but I have heard Lady Spencer say, that a week scarcely passed in which they had not two or three large dinner-parties; that, if an officer came up from one of the ports, or some distance from town, Lord Spencer always asked him to dine, and then there was some bustle to find proper persons to meet him, or to make up a party from the Board." "That's quite right," quoth he; "I delight in hospitality, and mean to practise it here." And so in fact he did; for his man of business informed me, that he came to the Admiralty entirely free from debt: and that in the fifteen months he held the office, he had incurred a debt of twenty-three thousand pounds.

His Royal Highness, indeed, carried with him to the throne the virtue of hospitality to an extravagant degree. His Master of the Household, Sir Frederick Watson, told me that he found himself compelled to remonstrate with his Majesty on this subject, and to announce to him frankly, that the finances for the supply of the

table were actually exhausted, and that he could not go on without considerable retrenchment. "Well, then," said his Majesty, "let us sell some of the stud; for you know, Watson, that my delight is in hospitality." I understood, however, that he saved enough, in a short time, to liquidate the debt created while at the Admiralty; a part of which had been incurred by the necessity of purchasing furniture and plate. He complained that while an immense quantity of the latter was uselessly piled up at Windsor, he was obliged to borrow on the two visitations he made to the Dock-Yards; which was the case.

The first of these visitations commenced on the 7th July, 1827, when the Lord High Admiral embarked in the 'Royal Sovereign' yacht, commanded by Sir William Hoste, attended by the 'Procris' brig for the purpose of answering signals that might be made to or from the 'Royal Sovereign;' the 'Comet' steamer also accompanied, to tow the 'Procris,' which was not able to keep up with the yacht. His Royal Highness had ordered me to see that everything that was necessary should be put on board the yacht; plate, wines of different kinds, and various other articles. He had asked the King to lend him plate; which he refused. On this occasion none of his Council accompanied him; but he ordered me to attend him, and to take with us my son, who had but recently been entered on the establishment of the Admiralty.*

On the 9th of July the 'Royal Sovereign' arrived

* He had been placed on the establishment by Mr. Croker, the secretary having always had the patronage of the office appointments, which his Royal Highness now took to himself; and which has since continued with the First Lord of the Admiralty. The youth in question is now, after more than twenty years' service, on the

in Plymouth Sound. The hills were covered with crowds of people, and all the ships in the Sound and Hamoaze saluted the flag of the Lord High Admiral. On landing at Mount Wise, such an immense crowd had assembled that with difficulty the residence of Admiral Lord Northesk could be approached. On the following morning the royal visitor commenced his inspections; the first of which was the Breakwater; and he expressed himself highly pleased with the progress of this important work, which, he thought, was planned with great skill and executed with judgment and ability. He desired me to make minutes of this and of all the objects, which it was his intention to examine. I told him I had never omitted to do so on previous visitations, every one of which I had attended; and that his Royal Highness would find in the Admiralty records a book in which they were all noticed. Mr. Rennie, who was present, produced a plan of a lighthouse for the western extremity of the Breakwater, which could be erected at the expense of 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.*; but the Lord High Admiral thought a floating light would answer quite as well, an opinion in which most of the naval officers present agreed, and which was at the time adopted; but Mr. Whitby was directed to carry up, simultaneously, a foundation shaft, as the work proceeded, to be made use of or not as might thereafter be decided on.

The next morning the Duke was early in the Dock-Yard, mustered the whole establishment, inspected the several offices, and examined the books; nor was this

first class, and keeper of the Records, which have *by him* been arranged and classified, for the first time, *from the period of the Revolution in 1688.*

all : he actually went over the whole of the storehouses, and over every part of them, from the cellars to the garrets ; and though labouring under a complaint, which unfitted him for great exertion, he completely tired many that had to accompany him, and astonished all by his activity.

The following day was appropriated to the minute examination of the Marine barracks, the general management, the rules, and the organization of the corps ; after which he ordered them out upon the Hoe, to the number of about four hundred, witnessed their manœuvres, and expressed his approval. The Lord High Admiral was considered to be no bad soldier, having studied military tactics in Germany.

His next visit was to the ships in commission, where he mustered the officers and men, and made a thorough inspection, which occupied the greater part of the day. Mr. Keith Douglas, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, arrived : and as neither he nor I could be of much use in going over the fleet, I proposed that we should inspect the mode of keeping the books and accounts in the several offices, taking with us the Commissioner. A new system had just been adopted by the Admiralty to relieve the Timber-Master from keeping accounts ; but the Commissioner expressed himself in favour of the old mode, *because it worked well* ; he was not prepared to offer any reasons why the new one should not *work better*—a small instance was here exhibited of the opposition, which Sir James Graham's sweeping plan of reform abolished, instead of one that might, and, two or three years afterwards, did work better.

On the evening of the 14th, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Clarence arrived ; having proceeded over-

land, accompanied by Sir Byam Martin. A vast concourse of people assembled on the road between Plymouth and Devonport, and several attempts were made to take off the horses and draw the carriage to the Admiral's house; but the Duchess implored Sir Byam to prevent it. She mentioned how deeply affected she had been with the kind attention shown to her by the poor people of Ilfracombe. Having to walk down the long street to the pier, in order to cross over into Wales, each person, the very poorest, had brought out before the house, a piece of carpeting, or mat, or rug, for her Royal Highness to tread upon. In the evening, the Duke and Duchess took up their quarters at Mount Edgumbe: but the Duke continued his inspections every day till the 20th, when the 'Royal Sovereign' and the 'Lightning' steamer proceeded to Milford Haven.

Before we left Devonport, however, and after the arrival of the Duchess, Lady Northesk asked me if I thought the Duke would kindly condescend to give a ball on board the 'Royal Sovereign'; several of the ladies of Plymouth and Devonport having a great wish, of such an opportunity, to pay their respects to the Duchess. I put the question to him. "Go to the Duchess," he said, "and if she has no objection, I have none; but it must be clearly understood, that Lady Northesk and Lady Emma Mount-Edgumbe must give a list of, and stand sponsors for, those who are to be invited; and," he asked, "has it been usual with former Boards to give balls?" "No, Sir; nor has it been usual on these occasions to be honoured with the visit of a Prince and Princess of the Royal Family." "Well," he says, "take your ball, but I hold you responsible."

All parties being agreed, I desired the master of the yacht (the present Commander Franklin), a clever, intelligent officer, to fit her up in his best style, and bring the 'Lightning' alongside, to make a gangway of communication, and lay a flush-deck fore-and-aft on the 'Royal Sovereign.' All this was done in the course of the day, and both yacht and steamer were decorated in the most splendid manner, with the flags of all nations, intermixed with flowers and flowering shrubs; and the whole arrangement presented one of the prettiest sights I ever remember to have seen.

The company, to the number of six hundred, included, of course, the *élite* of the two towns and of the neighbourhood. The Duchess, with Lord Valletort or Lord Errol (probably the latter), led off the ball, and dancing was kept up till four in the morning. I was desired to take care that every kind of refreshment, and plenty of champagne, should be provided; in which I received cordial assistance from Mr. Sidney and Rev. A. Fitzclarence, who had come with us from town in the yacht. The 'Britannia,' flag-ship, exhibited in her port-holes splendid blue-lights for the entertainment of the party. The Duke and Duchess, and the Mount-Edgcombe party, left soon after midnight.

Desirous of settling the account of the expense attending this fête—which, as far as my recollection serves, was something between 500*l.* and 600*l.*—I asked the Duke under what head I should place it, and he said, "To my private account, most certainly; and I desire that everything extra, and also whatever may have usually been charged to the First Lord's and Board's private account, on the several visitations which you have attended, may in like manner be charged to me.

I would not have it supposed I gave balls and dinners, on occasions like this, at the public expense ; except only the dinner given to the naval and public officers on board the yacht."

On the morning after the ball, the Lord High Admiral reviewed the whole of the troops in the garrison which, with the marines, amounted to about 1500 men ; and he astonished the officers with the extent of the knowledge he displayed of military tactics.

His Royal Highness being requested by the gentlemen of the Yacht Club, and others who kept pleasure-boats, to honour them with his presence at the regatta, within the Breakwater, on the 20th of July, he embarked in the yacht ; and having witnessed the lively scene, retired to his cabin to write his despatches, slept on board, and the following morning put to sea and proceeded to Milford Haven, with the intention of visiting Pembroke Dockyard. On the previous day, the Duchess and her party had proceeded thither by land, and arrived at the same time as the yacht. Scarcely had we entered the dockyard when Lord Cawdor paid his respects to the Lord High Admiral, and invited him and his suite to Stackpole, to remain there during his visitation ; and on the same day Lady Owen made her appearance in the dockyard, mounted on a fine prancing nag, to invite his Royal Highness, in the name of Sir John, to take up his residence at Orielton, which he politely declined. During his stay for a few days at Stackpole, the Lord High Admiral regularly went down to the dockyard, passed through the usual examinations, and viewed the improvements carrying on in this new establishment.

Nothing could exceed the kindness and attention of Lord and Lady Cawdor. Her ladyship's flower-garden,

under her own direction, was pronounced to be very tastily laid out; and the shrubs and flowering plants, in healthy and vigorous condition, were well arranged. Another most useful work, within doors, which I greatly admired, was a catalogue of the library, arranged on a plan of her ladyship's, which, for neatness and facility of reference, surpassed any I had before seen. The approach to the house is by an ascending road through a wood, with a river gurgling below in the valley, at the end of which is seen the house, placed on the summit of the hill; and from the house is a view of the river meandering over the plain down to the sea. Lieutenant (now Captain) de Roos made a very pretty drawing of the house and its accompaniments.

The 'Royal William,' a first-rate, was on the stocks; and the *Goliah*, of 80 guns, being prepared for launching, underwent that operation on the 25th of July, and, after being christened by her Royal Highness, floated into the haven under the name of the 'Clarence,' in honour of the Duchess, in presence of a vast assemblage of people from every part of the country. After this, on the 26th, the Duchess left Stackpole to proceed by land direct for Portsmouth, where she was to be joined by the Duke, who also embarked the following day in the 'Royal Sovereign,' towed by the 'Lightning' steamer. In proceeding down the coast it began to blow so strong that the steamer was cast off. The Wolf rock roared tremendously, between which and the coast of Cornwall the yacht went beautifully, and rounded the Land's End without our seeing anything more of the steamer. On the 30th of July, at six in the evening, we reached Portsmouth.

The whole of the 31st was occupied in visiting the ships of war lying at Spithead, and also those in harbour. The Duke next mustered the 'Warspite,' just returned from the East Indies. Next day he commenced his examination of all the departments, the offices, the storehouses, workshops, the docks, basins, and slips of the dockyard, which, with the large ordinary in the harbour, occupied five or six days; on one of which he gave a dinner, on the flush-deck of the yacht, to about eighty persons, consisting of naval officers and the gentry of the neighbourhood. The only holiday, if it may be so called, was on the 9th of August, when the whole of the garrison and the marines, including the fine corps of the Marine Artillery—(shortly afterwards, unwisely, as was generally thought, reduced, and curtailed in their allowances)—were drawn out on Southsea Common.

Every preparation was made for a grand display on this occasion. All the ships at Spithead were dressed—the yachts cruising about—and the Duchess, in the Admiral's barge, followed by a multitude of boats, some with bands of music, and many of them filled with ladies, ever ready to contribute to the splendour and the gaiety of a scene like the present. On shore, the extensive surface of the Southsea Common was crowded to excess, so that it required great exertion to preserve a sufficient space for the troops to go through their manœuvres. The day was beautifully fine, and nothing but universal joy prevailed in the purlieus of Portsmouth, both by sea and land;—but a sudden and sorrowful blight came over this gay scene, and destroyed at one blow every vestige of pleasure and joy, bringing in their place lamentation and woe.

A telegraph message from London was handed to Admiral Stopford, which, in the absence of his key, he was not prepared to make out; the Duke impatiently called out, "Where is Barrow?" I was at his elbow, and the Admiral handed me the message. "What is it?—quick, quick!" "Sir, it is brief, but painfully distressing—Mr. Canning is dead."

He held up his hands, expressed an ejaculation, and said, "Stopford, send off this moment to recall the Duchess, to stop the firing, to strike the flags, and to put every ship in mourning; and send to the General to desire that he will forthwith dismiss the troops to their quarters." Having given these hasty orders, he turned to me and said, "Poor Canning! he was very ill when we left town: he caught a severe cold at my brother's funeral, the effect of which, together with the hurry and harassing occasioned by the desertion of his friends, threw him into a fever. I always said his false friends would be the end of him; I knew that in the present state of his mind and body he could not bear the worrying of the House of Commons, and that if he did not seek a temporary retreat, he must sink under it."

The Duke's real character of being gifted with a kind and feeling heart, evinced as it was in numberless instances, which came to my knowledge during the short period he held the situation of Lord High Admiral, showed itself strongly on this melancholy occasion. I could have adored him for it.

Nothing more was done or thought of at Portsmouth, from whence the Duke immediately departed with all haste for London, very low spirited. He was not absent more than three days, and on the fourth the

yacht was under way on her return from Portsmouth direct for the Thames.

The gloom which the death of Mr. Canning occasioned was general through the land; and the opinion which the Duke of Clarence expressed on the moment of hearing it—"They have killed him; I knew they would kill him"—was also general, and more especially among those who mixed with public men and public affairs. As Prime Minister, succeeding to the popular government of Lord Liverpool, he had announced an intention to consider, but nothing more for the present, what relief could with safety be vouchsafed to the Catholics; this alarmed his friends, who, in great haste and in an evil hour, resigned their official situations, which he was left to fill up with those of his personal friends among the Whigs, to enable him to carry on the government. By the Tories he found he was deserted—denounced as having betrayed them: the newspapers in their cause abused and slandered him with that virulence and malignity usually bestowed upon an apostate. They carried their malevolence so far as to insult him on his mean birth and family connexions; and even those, who were once his most intimate friends, taunted him or turned their backs upon him.

The secession of Mr. Canning's Tory or Protestant friends, and his union with those who had always been his political enemies, cannot but bring to one's mind what is just now occurring with regard to Sir Robert Peel. *His* friends have deserted him, because of his earnest endeavours to procure food and clothing for the people, and at reasonable prices. Mr. Canning's friends left him because he wished to confer toleration to the

immense body of Catholic subjects. The kind and amiable feelings of Mr. Canning were of too sensitive a nature, to enable him to bear up against the desertions of old friends, the ambiguous support of new ones, and the taunts of enemies. His mind was ill at ease, his spirits drooped, and he fled for repose to a house at Chiswick, where he had *one* friend that did not desert him; and here he terminated his mortal career, in recovering peace of mind and tranquillity as the end approached—that mind and those spirits, the elegance and playfulness of which were once the admiration of all who had the happiness of his acquaintance, were now at rest.

The following lines, by Mr. Croker, are so characteristically true, and so beautifully descriptive, that I cannot forbear reprinting them in this place:—

ON THE DEATH OF MR. CANNING.

Farewell, bright spirit! brightest of the bright!
 Concentrate blaze of intellectual light!
 Who show'd alone, or in the first degree,
 Union so apt, such rich variety;
 Taste guiding mirth; and sport enlivening sense;
 Wit, wisdom, poetry, and eloquence,
 Profound and playful, amiable and great;
 And first in social life, as in the state.
Not wholly lost!—thy letter'd fame shall tell
 A part of what thou wast. Farewell! Farewell!

Farewell, great statesman! whose elastic mind
 Clung round thy country, yet embraced mankind;
 Who, in the most appalling storms, whose power
 Shook the wide world, wast equal to the hour.
 Champion of measured liberty, whence springs
 The mutual strength of people and of kings,
 'Twas thine, like CHATHAM'S patriot task, to wield
 The people's force, yet be the monarch's shield.
Not wholly lost!—for both the worlds shall tell
 Thy history in theirs. Farewell! Farewell!

Farewell, dear friend ! in all relations dear,
 In all we love, or honour, or revere ;
 Son, husband, father, master, patron, friend :
 What varied grief and gratitude we blend !
 We who beheld, when pain's convulsive start
 Disturb'd the frame, it could not change the heart ;
 We, whose deep pangs to soften and console
 Were the last efforts of thy flying soul.
Not wholly lost!—our faith and feelings tell
 That we shall meet again. Farewell ! Farewell !

There was something in the look and the general appearance of Mr. Canning so peculiarly his own, that a stranger, on meeting him and catching a glance of his finely-formed face and penetrating eye, would be apt to turn round and view his person, which was of the mean height and gracefully turned. In the company of friends he was always cheerful, lively, and brilliant ; with strangers generally reserved. He was admitted to be one of the most accomplished scholars of his time ; and, like a true Eton classic, a false quantity was not to be tolerated or passed ; yet it once fell to my lot, unlearned as I felt myself to be, to express, perhaps incautiously, yet with all humility, a doubt whether he had not himself been guilty of a grave error of this kind. Sitting opposite to him at table, he was giving an account of his embassy to Lisbon, in H.M.S. the 'Granicus.' Looking at him and smiling, I repeated doubtfully, in a tone of interrogation, "Granicus?" "I beg pardon, Granicus," he said ; "I was classically wrong, but nautically right—I was talking sailor's Latin, Mr. Barrow." "I know," he continued, "you are great critics at the Admiralty ; though I think I might venture a wager, that you christened that frigate Granicus, when she was launched, and that she has kept the name ever

since." I felt that, unintentionally, I had touched a tender point, but thought no more about it. However, some time after this, perhaps a twelvemonth, inquiring of me how his son was getting on with his new Captain, Dawkins (under whom I had placed him), I said, "Remarkably well; Dawkins gives an excellent account of him." "Better, I suppose," he rejoined, in a jocular but pointed manner, "than if he had gone with me in the 'Granicus?'" It really gave me concern to have been so indiscreet as to notice his error—if error it were—for, never having seen the word in Latin verse, I knew not, certainly, whether the middle syllable might be long or short: this doubt led me now to inquire, and I soon found a line that satisfied me of its being long:—

"Fertur Alexirhoë, Granico nata bicorni."

OID, *Met.*, xi. 763.

Mr. Canning's son lost his life accidentally, in September, 1828, the year after his father's death; who was therefore spared the pain of knowing it. Being a high-spirited youth, nothing would serve him but the sea. Unfortunately, the discipline of the first ship, in which he entered, was very lax; and, among other vices, the young midshipmen indulged in gambling; in this, as well as in more praiseworthy pursuits, young William Pitt Canning bore away the palm. There happened, by ill-luck, to be in the ship a lieutenant of marines, who, knowing Canning's propensity, and that he was more than a match for him, enticed him into his private cabin, and won from him in the course of a little time something about 400*l.* The boy became unhappy, when pressed by the officer to get the money

from his father, to whom neither of them had the courage to apply. But young Canning told it to a brother midshipman, who being known to me thought it right to mention the circumstance. I immediately went to Mr. Canning, to get the youth removed out of so improper a ship; he was of course much annoyed, but said the money must be paid. I said the money must not be paid; and if the officer had his due, he should be brought before a court-martial. "No," said Canning, sharply, "never on my or my son's account. I must pay the money." "And thus," I replied, "encourage your son in the vice of gambling, and also the offending officer to ruin some other foolish boy. If he should have the impudence to apply to you, pray refer him to me: and let me get your son's discharge, and place him under a friend of mine, Captain Dawkins, whom I know, and who will instruct him in the right way." I placed him accordingly under Captain Dawkins, who kept him when on board under rigid discipline, with a due attention to the study of nautical subjects, made him his aide-de-camp, and took him with him on shore, and on visits to his friends; in short, made him an accomplished young officer: and, when the ship was paid off, I obtained from my friend Captain Houston Stewart, one of the best officers in the service, a berth for young Canning, and the same rigid and indulgent treatment; and under the instruction of these two officers, he proceeded rapidly in the career for promotion; and, not long before his father's death, was sent out, in the command of the 'Alligator,' to Madeira, where, in the contest between Don Miguel and Don Pedro, a revolution was threatened, and our merchants required protection for their persons and property. He found lying off

the island two sail of the line, two frigates, and three smaller vessels, having on board a new governor of Don Miguel to supersede Valdez, the legitimate one, who had refused to allow the new governor to land ; and, on going on shore, Captain Canning found the two parties in a violent state of commotion, and many of our merchants and others requesting to be received on board. Valdez took the opportunity of escaping on board the 'Alligator,' in the Captain's absence, on which the Portuguese admiral, whose name was Prego, addressed a vulgar and impertinent letter to Canning, who, in a style not unworthy of the father, made him feel in what a contemptible light he received his swaggering and impotent language : and as the 'Alligator' was not of a capacity to receive all who were desirous of removing, Canning succeeded in hiring a large merchant-ship for their accommodation.

When the admirable account of Captain Canning's proceedings, and his correspondence, were read to the Board of Admiralty, Mr. Croker, at their conclusion, could not refrain from exclaiming, "There, my Lords, we have a true chip of the old block!" That chip, however, was ordained too soon to follow the old block to the place whence no one returns, and to leave his remains on the island where his early and last service was performed. Fatigued by a ramble over the hills, and heated, he repaired to a large tank behind Mr. Gordon's house, to cool himself by bathing, was seized with cramp, and sank. A female passing that way, seeing some clothes hanging on the railing, gave immediate alarm ; -the body was recovered, but all attempts to restore animation failed. Thus prematurely perished this highly gifted and promising young officer.

Mr. Canning never thought he could do enough for

the obligation he conceived he lay under for my attention to his son; though to reclaim so fine and promising a youth was indeed a sincere pleasure to me. Among his many unsolicited favours, the following letter bespeaks his kind intention:—

“ Bath, Jan. 11, 1825.

“ My dear Sir,

“ A writership, which I gave away when I was at the Board of Control, has been returned upon my hands, by the death of the youth to whom I gave it.

“ Among the progeny which you enumerated the last time that I had the pleasure of meeting you (at Mr. Backhouse’s) there was one son, whose destination appeared not to be entirely settled, and whose age (if I mistake not) would qualify him for such an appointment.

“ There are few persons in the world whom it would be a greater satisfaction to me to assist in the persons of their children—for I feel myself greatly in your debt for all the trouble I have given you about my son.

“ If the nomination would be acceptable to you, pray let Backhouse know, and he will explain to you the particulars of it.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir,

“ Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) “ GEO. CANNING.”

Nothing of any importance occurred in the remaining part of this year, except that strange, unlooked-for attack made on the Turkish fleet, lying quietly at anchor in the Bay of Navarino, by a British squadron, assisted by those of France and Russia—a feat of which his Royal Highness could never speak with temper,

But something more than this had ruffled his mind towards the middle of the year 1828, and it was supposed that he was not satisfied with the position in which he stood at the Admiralty. I saw him in his room daily, when in town, and could observe no change in his manner: always kindly disposed to accede to the numerous petitions he received; and when told, as I was frequently obliged to tell him, that the orders in council or regulations of the service would not admit of their being complied with, "Express my regret," he would say, "and say that I am sorry for it." He was, however, more frequently absent than in the former year, either at Windsor or at Bushy Park.

About the commencement of July, 1828, the yacht was ordered to be prepared for sea, and Sir Byam Martin apprised of the time that his Royal Highness meant to be at Portsmouth. He gave me notice that I should accompany him, but that he had no intention to make it a regular visitation; that a few points only would engage his attention. The Honourable Captain Spencer, his private Secretary, had command of the yacht, and our first port was Sheerness. As his Royal Highness made his own memoranda, he desired me to have copies of them taken, which he would sign; and, that after the Council had seen them, I should cause them to be bound and deposited among the records of the Admiralty. Those notes show so much good sense with so complete a knowledge of their several subjects, that I feel bound in duty to insert in this place an abstract of some and the whole of others; by which it will be seen that there was no want of either talent, judgment, or attention, in the performance of his duties as Lord High Admiral:—

Memorandum.

“Sheerness, July 10th, 1828.

“Sheerness Yard having so recently been visited by me, I have not thought it necessary on the present occasion to do more than consider of a proper site for a naval hospital; which is the only description of building, now required, in order to render this establishment complete for all purposes.”

He gives, first, a plan of the ground, which he ascertains from the Commanding Officer of Engineers can be built upon without inconvenience to that department, and orders a plan and estimate of the building to be prepared.

“The situation is good; and, besides the ample space of seven acres, it is removed from the near neighbourhood of private buildings, and very convenient for landing sick and wounded men, on the north side, from the ships at the Nore, with the prevailing winds; and the landing on the harbour-side of Sheerness is always good.”

His Royal Highness then adverts to the aggravation of the sufferings, and exposure of the lives to hazard, in the removal of sick and wounded men fourteen miles to Chatham Hospital, which, he observes, is convenient for the Marine corps, but of small advantage to the port of Sheerness for the equipment and refit of his Majesty's ships. He therefore recommends that Chatham Hospital should be transferred to the military department. He adds:—

“It is true that steam-vessels might be employed to remove the sick and wounded; but even this is objectionable, as the very concussion of the engine would

be distressing to wounded men ; and, in a large fleet, accident and sickness would require an almost constant communication with the Hospital.

(Signed) "WILLIAM."

Memorandum.

"Deal, July 11th, 1828.

He finds the buildings of this Yard so good in repair, as well as their general arrangement for all purposes, that he only orders a wall to be removed to be rebuilt in another direction, and to alter the line of a drain from the town through the Yard into the sea. He gave directions also for an estimate to be made of the expense of laying down pipes and the purchase of some land for a reservoir ; observing, that a convenient and copious supply of water will be beneficial for the trade of the country, as well as for his Majesty's ships ; and any expense may be repaid to the public by a small charge for watering merchant-vessels.

He next adverts to the plan of a breakwater, or pier, in front of the Yard, which Lord Liverpool had brought under his consideration, having been induced to entertain a very favourable disposition to promote the undertaking ; his Lordship's arguments resting chiefly on the facility of embarking troops, the convenience of landing the sick and wounded, and expedition in the shipment of stores. The observations made by the Lord Admiral were sensible and just.

"In the consideration of propositions of this nature, I feel the necessity of guarding against any unnecessary expenditure of the public money ; but at the same time, any economy which trespasses upon the real

wants of the public service is a misapplication of the term; and it is with this feeling that I enter upon the various proposals which come before me.

“In the present instance I admit that, in war, a pier and breakwater at Deal would afford much convenience; but the great facility and expedition given to the movement of troops and the conveyance of stores by steam, are now so extended and so much better understood, that I cannot bring myself to think it expedient, under present circumstances, to undertake such a work; but the various plans and papers, being preserved in office, will be found useful if, at any future period, the work is to be taken in hand; and with this view I have directed a plan to be prepared of another description of breakwater, proposed by Mr. Taylor; the estimated expense will be about 70,000*l*.

(Signed)

“WILLIAM.”

On arriving at the Dock-Yard, I was directed by the Lord Admiral to deliver an order to Sir Robert Stopford to the following effect:—“Let Sir Robert Stopford be directed to issue orders to all the ships and vessels under his command, whether at Spithead or in harbour, that they are only to salute the Lord High Admiral and man the yards on his first arrival, and again on his final departure from the port at which he commands.” This was settled, no doubt, in town, between his Royal Highness and the Ordnance, who will have given the same orders; which, I believe, were in consequence of some remarks made on the fêtes, and firing on shore and on the water at this port, the preceding year.

Memorandum.

“Portsmouth, July 12th, 1828.

In noticing the plan of the late Mr. John Rennie,* for the improvement of this Yard, which includes what is called the Common Hard, and for which there is an Act of Parliament to enable the Government to enclose it—

“This (says his Royal Highness) can only be done by a very serious sacrifice of the private interests, health, and convenience of the inhabitants of Portsea; and although the public good is paramount to every other consideration, yet the feelings and interests of individuals must not be disregarded, and I do not think this great range of work is so necessary as to justify such proceeding. The works contemplated by Mr. Rennie would, according to his own estimate, amount to 913,000*l.*”

And he decides, after a full consideration of the whole subject, to limit the expenditure for the erection of new mast-houses, necessary to the wants of the service, to 30,000*l.*

A memorial having been presented by the inhabitants of Gosport, praying for permission for a Company to erect a bridge over Haslar Creek—but having understood that in the year 1791 the unauthorized erection of a similar bridge had produced injury to the harbour, and that it was forthwith removed, after proceedings in a court of law, the Duke of Clarence observes:—

“Any encroachment on the banks of the harbour, or obstruction to the full flow of the tide, must be guarded

* Inserted in the Visitation Book at the Admiralty.

against by every possible precaution, and it will be proper to inform the petitioners that their prayer cannot be complied with; but I would recommend that application be made to the Board of Ordnance, that the Commanding Royal Engineer at Portsmouth be called upon to report whether any such bridge can be thrown over the creek without obstructing the flow of the tide; and if so, I see no objection to the bridge. But I cannot think it right that the public should entangle themselves with private individuals by allowing them to build a bridge in a situation entirely surrounded by lands belonging to his Majesty; and therefore, if a bridge is built at all, it ought undoubtedly to be done by the public; to be indemnified for the expense by a toll on the passengers."

He next visited the new victualling establishment at Weevil and the works in progress, which he considered to be well adapted to the wants of the service, and observes that—

"By concentrating the establishment, this branch of the service will be conducted with greater economy and dispatch than when the buildings were on each side of the harbour, and so scattered as to occasion great delay and inconvenience to the service.

(Signed)

"WILLIAM."

I think it was on the third day that his Royal Highness received a dispatch from London which appeared to annoy him greatly, and determined him to set off immediately by land for town. He ordered Captain the Hon. Robert Spencer and myself to remain, and the former to hold the 'Royal Sovereign' in readiness to proceed, on his return, to the westward. We took the opportunity of

paying a visit to the Captain's mother, the Countess Spencer, at her marine villa, near Ryde, a very agreeable residence on the sea-shore, overlooking the whole extent of that fine piece of water between the Isle of Wight and the Hampshire coast. We were at a loss to conjecture what could have called up the Duke in such haste to town; but Spencer said that something was going on between him, the King, and the Government, and that his Royal Highness was dissatisfied with his present position; and he added, "in my opinion we shall lose him ere long."

The Lord High Admiral rejoined us on the 20th, and the yacht being all prepared, we entered Torbay on the 21st. His Royal Highness had desired Mr. Whidbey to meet him at this place with a report and plan he had made, at the suggestion of Lord St. Vincent, of a breakwater. The Duke's observations on this great bay are particularly important at this time:—

"Upon an inspection on the spot," he says, "it appeared to me that, whenever it shall be thought expedient to undertake the construction of a breakwater in Torbay, it will be desirable to carry the line farther seaward, so as to afford a greater scope of anchorage within it: and as the depth of water upon this new line, as described in dotted lines on the plan, is not greater than in the line of direction proposed by Mr. Whidbey, the expense will not be increased, while much greater accommodation will be afforded within, for a large fleet to anchor and work out.

"The growing importance of Cherbourg as a port of rendezvous for a fleet, led me to consider of the importance of rendering Torbay a safe anchorage in all winds

for a British fleet employed in watching the enemy at Cherbourg; and seeing that an easterly wind is fair for the departure of such a fleet, and would, if blowing hard, prevent the British fleet from moving—unless so sheltered by a breakwater as to enable the ships to get up their anchors—I have satisfied myself of the easy practicability of making a breakwater in Torbay; if at any time it shall be deemed right to make this spacious bay a safe harbour for his Majesty's fleet, with a view to the great object alluded to, and for the general accommodation and safety of the trade of the country; there being no port between Plymouth and Portsmouth which affords shelter in easterly winds.

(Signed)

“WILLIAM.”

His Royal Highness's attention was drawn to the quarries working along the whole range of Berry Head, and to the fact that the extreme point is almost severed from the land; that the waste of stone would be severely felt if the above suggestion should be acted upon; and that the Ordnance department would do well to disallow the working of the quarries. He says Mr. Whidbey's estimate at 40,000*l.* a-year for twenty-eight years (or 1,120,000*l.*) would, he doubted not, be undertaken by Sir Edward Banks, at a less estimate by 200,000*l.*

In proceeding for Plymouth, the yacht and the accompanying brig looked into the beautiful harbour of Dartmouth, and paid a visit to the Governor, Mr. Holdsworth, who resides on the uppermost terrace of the town. Here the inhabitants assembled in large groups to be gratified with the sight of, and pay their respects to, their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Clarence, by whom they were received

with the greatest courtesy and kind attention. The Governor was highly delighted, and anxious the visit should be prolonged; but the Duke was equally anxious to get to Plymouth.

Memorandum.

“ Plymouth, 22nd July.

The main object of the visit to Plymouth was to decide on the nature of the light to be exhibited on the western end of the Breakwater, whether on the work itself or in the channel near it. The advantage of a floating light consists in ships running directly for it in dark tempestuous weather with confidence; whereas, with a light-house, it would require a calculation to be made for the heel or slope of the Breakwater, and render ships liable to be thrown too near to the shoal water off Mount Edgumbe. This consideration, backed by the opinion of the Masters Attendant, decided his Royal Highness for a light-house on the work itself; but, instead of carrying it up at once, at an expense of 33,000*l.*, he suggested that the foundation only should be carried up, with the progress of the work, at a cost of 4000*l.*, which was ordered to be done. The only other point touched upon by the Duke is professional.

“ It is impossible that anything can be better than the state of preservation of the ships in ordinary; and also the attention paid to the selection of well-grown, active boys to serve in the ordinary, and to be drafted hereafter to commissioned ships. It shows that much more attention has been paid to this duty *here* than at Portsmouth, where children of tender health and stunted

growth have been admitted; and which I have forbidden in future.

(Signed) "WILLIAM."

This little trip was conducted by the Lord High Admiral in the most calm, mild, and tranquil state of mind, as if on a voyage of pleasure—as indeed it turned out to be—a relaxation from what had become to him a vexatious employment, and one from which he had determined to escape. It appears that his last trip to town was in consequence of a summons from the King to attend him, with the Duke of Wellington and certain of the cabinet ministers. The King, it seems, strenuously opposed his intended resignation, and implored him to remain, in which he was seconded with great earnestness by all, but more especially by the Duke of Wellington, who declared that, if there was anything he disliked, or any new arrangement of the office he held, which he wished to propose, and such as could constitutionally be given, they were prepared to receive and act upon it. But his Royal Highness remained firm to his purpose. The King, it is said, implored him, with tears in his eyes, to remain; but he was inflexible, and requested only his Majesty's permission to resign. On returning to town he commenced making his arrangements to leave the Admiralty, which were speedily completed; when he desired Spencer to write to the Duke of Wellington, requesting he would call upon him, on a certain day, to receive his resignation.

The Duke waited upon him at the time appointed, and his Royal Highness informed him that he was desirous to resign the office into his Grace's hands, and to

no other. The Duke said he hoped he would let him have it in writing. "By all means:" and ringing for Spencer, he said, "Sit down and write that 'I this day resign my commission as Lord High Admiral of England into the hands of his Grace the Duke of Wellington.'" He then signed it, and delivered it to the Duke, who put it into his pocket, and took leave. But his Royal Highness followed him towards the door, and holding out his hand to him said, "Though the Lord High Admiral and the Prime Minister may differ in matters of policy, the Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Wellington must ever be friends. God bless you!"

This happy expression of kindly feeling occurred while Spencer was in the room, who told it to me; adding, moreover, that the Duke of Clarence had considered himself to have been placed in a false position; that his situation being precisely that of James, Duke of York, who was made Lord High Admiral by his brother, Charles II., he, the Duke of Clarence, on receiving the same appointment, and from similar authority, ought to have been invested with precisely the same powers. And Captain Spencer added, "I am not sure that it was not my father who first put that notion into his head." Now I find, on looking at the instructions, or patent, given by Charles to his Lord High Admiral, James had no more powers—perhaps less—than William; and that the material difference was, that instead of a fixed council, a certain number, more or less, of privy councillors, officers of state, were occasionally called in—that the King (whether Charles or James), on any important point of naval service, presided, and signed the orders; while, in presence of the sovereign, the Lord High Admiral's name was

registered merely at the head of those of the great officers of state present; and the entry of all such meetings bears date at *Whitehall*. It was a mistake then to suppose the authority of William to have been less than that of James; who, however, had or assumed the power of deputing his authority while absent at sea: thus, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle had deputations to act as Lord High Admirals *at London*, in the Duke's absence.

But it was whispered that the Duke of Clarence was dissatisfied with his council, which was turned over from the preceding Board, without any consultation with him. I cannot believe anything of the kind; it was so decided that they should remain; he was told so, and did not object. He had full power and authority, by his patent, "to give, grant, and dispose of all offices, places, and employments belonging to the Navy or the Admiralty; he knew, and he exercised, that power—for, on the first day he entered the Board-room, he nominated, from the chair, the late Commissioners, then present, to be his council, and his two secretaries, by name. By his patent he was allowed two officers well skilled in maritime affairs, or a number not exceeding four, to be paid such fees, as by writ of privy council shall be directed.

He might perhaps dislike the principle, but no reasonable objection could be entertained to the Board as then constituted, which was unexceptionable in all and every individual: these were Sir W. J. Hope, Sir George Cockburn, Sir H. Hotham, Hon. W. K. Douglas, W. J. Denison. But I am rather inclined to think, that the restrictions by law, by orders in council, and by established regulations, which daily opposed the grati-

fication of his wishes to serve the numerous unfortunate petitioners, who were apt to think his powers unlimited, disturbed his tranquillity; while the many refusals he had to make might lessen, in his own estimation, the dignity and importance of the office. For I must declare that, after a daily intercourse of fifteen or sixteen months, I never met with a more kind-hearted man, more benevolent, or more desirous of relieving distress, than William, Duke of Clarence. I should be most ungrateful if I did not, on every fitting occasion, declare my opinion in this respect.

On the evening of his quitting the Admiralty for the last time, he sent for me into his room, to take leave—thanked me for the service, he was pleased to say, I had rendered to him, and, he would add, to the public; said he had ordered a silver inkstand to be made for me, with his arms and initials upon it, as a small testimonial of his esteem and regard; and he hoped that, whenever I could make it convenient, I would come to Bushey, where the Duchess would be equally glad to see me.

Shortly after his departure, I received a letter from Mr. Holdsworth, governor of Dartmouth, in which he expressed a wish that I would take an opportunity of conveying to their Royal Highnesses the great delight of his family, and of the inhabitants of Dartmouth, with the kind courtesy and condescension they met with during their short visit. The return of this letter, which I sent to the Duke, was accompanied with the following:—

“ Bushey-House, October 16th, 1828.

“ Dear Sir,

“ In answer to yours of yesterday, and its enclosure from Mr. Holdsworth, which I return, I have to express the Duchess’s thanks to you for showing her that gentleman’s letter ; she, as well as myself, can never forget Mr. Holdsworth or the good people of Dartmouth.

“ I look upon you as a truly honest man ; and may, therefore, observe we live in a strange and wicked world. Neither you nor I had fair play. I shall always esteem you ; and if all I had, whilst at the Admiralty, to deal with, had been like yourself, we should both have been there now.

“ God bless you, and ever believe me

“ Your’s most truly,

“ WILLIAM.”

I am completely at a loss to conjecture what his Royal Highness could mean by not having had fair play. I can honestly say I never had a grievance of any kind or a complaint to make against the Board of Admiralty collectively or individually ; nor am I aware to what the Duke could have alluded with regard to those “ he had to deal with.” That there was something on his mind to make him uncomfortable I cannot doubt ; I firmly believe that all the members of the Board were desirous of pleasing him : he must refer to higher quarters, and to those *he had to deal with* at Windsor. For myself, I had abundant proofs of the sincerity of his friendship, which was manifested on all occasions, not only after he left the Admiralty, but from the time he ascended the throne, in June, 1830, to his demise, in June, 1837, when he had reigned just

seven years. In all the dinners given to public bodies—the Directors of the East India Company, Corporation of the Trinity House, the officers of Government, and on special occasions—I had a card of command. Being still in office, these may perhaps be considered as official, and of course; but it was not so. Among many tokens of the friendship and regard with which I was honoured, the following, “unsolicited, and probably unexpected” (as Sir Robert Peel most correctly calls it), carries with it a distinctive mark of the King’s feeling, which his Majesty was pleased, in person, to express to me, with the most cordial congratulations.

In my way to New Street chapel, a messenger put into my hand a letter, of which the following is a copy:—

“ Whitehall Gardens, Feb. 1, 1835.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I have had the great satisfaction of proposing to the King to confer upon you the distinction of a baronet, and of receiving from his Majesty the most cordial approbation of my proposal.

“ The value of such a distinction depends mainly upon the grounds on which it is offered, and I cannot help flattering myself that an unsolicited, and probably unexpected, honour conferred upon you by the King, on the double ground of eminence in the pursuits of science and literature, and of long, most able, and most faithful public service, will have, in the eyes of yourself, your family, and your posterity, a value which never can attach to much higher, when unmerited, distinctions.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir,

“ Most faithfully yours,

(Signed) “ ROBERT PEEL.”

The King, in his reply to Sir Robert Peel, expressing approbation, says,—

“And no one can admit more strongly than does his Majesty the claims, literary and scientific, and official, which are united in the person of his highly-esteemed friend Mr. Barrow.

(Signed) “WILLIAM R.”

On the perusal of this letter I was so taken by surprise and so overcome by the announcement of an event, that had never for a moment entered into my thoughts, that I read it again, and could only conclude that it must have been meant for some other person. I read it a third time, and endeavoured to persuade myself it was, somehow or other, a mistake; and yet the marks of authenticity and intention were too strong to be resisted. On the same morning my friend Mr. Croker called on me, I showed him the letter—he congratulated me; I asked him on what? “My impression is to go to Sir Robert Peel, to implore him to allow me to forego the honour he has so kindly intended for me, stating to him as a reason, my numerous family of children and grandchildren, and my limited means.” He stopped me short by asking, “Are you mad? Are you prepared to fly in the face of the Prime Minister, who has kindly and considerately proposed the honour, and of the King, who has not only approved of it, but has accompanied that approval with a high compliment? Go to Sir Robert Peel immediately, return thanks for the honour he has conferred on you, and to the King on the first levee-day.” I resolved, somewhat reluctantly, to take his advice, and to dismiss from my mind all thoughts of the consequences.

Not but that my reasons were strong in favour of my first impression. A title without the means of properly supporting it, is no desirable acquisition. The small estate I possessed I had sold, on the death of my agent, which if still kept might have caused me more trouble than profit. Its produce, added to that of my literary labours, and the savings out of a forty years' salary, it had been my intention to distribute at my death among my children, reserving to my widow a decent maintenance during her lifetime—of which, as an affectionate wife and mother, and a careful manager of her husband's domestic concerns, she is most justly deserving.

On the 11th of October in the same year (1835), being the anniversary of the battle of Camperdown, and falling this year on a Sunday, the King and Queen attended divine service in the chapel of Greenwich Hospital, on which occasion a few naval officers and civilians were commanded to be present, and among others I had the honour to be ordered to attend, and to dine at St. James's Palace. The Bishop of Hereford (Dr. Grey) was appointed to preach a sermon, which he did—and, though a son of his was at the time lying a corpse, he would not excuse himself. The Queen, with a few ladies, joined the dinner party, and when the Queen was about to retire, the King desired that the ladies would stay, as he had something to say on this occasion, that would bring to the recollection of the naval officers then present the battles that their predecessors and brother officers had fought and won—battles worthy of record, as proving that the naval history of this country had not been neglected or forgotten by succeeding generations.

All being attentive, his Majesty began with noticing

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the first invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar—which he said must have proved to the natives the necessity of a naval force to prevent and repel foreign invasion. From that period he passed on rapidly to the landing of the Danes and northern nations on our coasts, till he came down to more recent times, when the navy of Great Britain had become *great* and victorious—from the days of Elizabeth to William III., and thence to our own times; and it was remarked by the officers present, how correctly he gave the details of the great actions fought in the course of the last and present centuries. I believe, however, that the Queen and the ladies were not displeased to be released; and the King and his guests soon followed them.

When in the drawing-room the King beckoned to me, and said, “Barrow, I think—nay, I am sure—I omitted one general action; and you must know it.” I assured him I was not aware of it. He said, “I fear I forgot to mention the name of Anson, and the action he fought off Cape Finisterre: I am not sure I know the details correctly; pray send me an account of it to-morrow.” He added, “Anson was a good man, and knew his business well; though not brilliant, he was an excellent First Lord—improved the build of our ships, made more good officers, and brought others forward, in the seven years’ war, than any of his predecessors had done. Howe, Keppel, Saunders, and many others, were of his making.” *

* I have mentioned this drawing-room colloquy in a note to the preface of my ‘Life of George Lord Anson,’ which was published two years afterwards; which ‘Life,’ I am pretty certain, almost to conviction, was undertaken in consequence of being reminded of him then, and of having refreshed my memory in making out the details of the noble lord’s action for his Majesty, as directed.

In the spring of 1837 his Majesty was seized with his old complaint the hay-fever, which in that season he rarely escaped: but, about the middle of May in that year, a most distressing complaint of the heart caused great alarm, and from this time he gradually got worse, his breathing became difficult, and about the middle of June the disease had made such progress that Sir H. Halford and Dr. Chambers had no hopes of his recovery, and on the 20th of that month he expired in a gentle sleep, resting on the Queen's arm; this most amiable lady having, for the previous month, scarcely ever left his bedside, depriving herself of all manner of rest or repose; the meekness and calmness she strove to keep up were the admiration of all, while sorrow was preying on her heart.

There is a narrative (printed in the Annual Register for 1837), dated Bushey-House, the 14th of July—the production of the Rev. Mr. Wood—detailing in an interesting and most affecting manner the few last days of the King's illness. His patience and cheerfulness—his avowal of gratitude to the Almighty Power, for having sustained him through much suffering—is beautifully expressed. Four days before his death, he observed to the Queen, “I have had some quiet sleep; come and pray with me, and thank the Almighty for it.” She asked him if it would be agreeable she should read the prayers to him; his Majesty replied, “O yes, I should like it very much; but it will fatigue you.” Even in the midst of his suffering his benevolent disposition never forsook him. “The poor Eton boys,” he said, “will miss me at their regatta: Queen, I wish you to go.” Then he said, “What a disappointment it will be to the public that none of the Royal Family will be pre-

sent at the Ascot races!—you must appear on the course.” The Queen appeared to consent, but determined not to leave him.

A few days before his death the Archbishop of Canterbury was sent for, at his request, and his Grace declared that “to witness the calmness and patience, under the most oppressive sufferings, was most edifying; and observed how thankful he was to the Almighty, for any alleviation of his pain.” He received the sacrament; and his Grace expresses the pleasure he derived from witnessing the devotion his Majesty paid to his religious duties on three different occasions. Two days before his death he said to Dr. Chambers, “This is the last day I shall see the sun go down.” The day previous, as the attendants were assisting to dress and support him, he said in a most affectionate manner, “God bless you all!”

He signed official papers to the very last day; three or four were brought to him on that day, one of which was a free pardon to a criminal. “Thus,” says the narrative, “the closing scene of his life was beautifully and practically exemplified by an act of mercy—that spirit of benevolence and forgiveness which shone with such peculiar lustre in his Majesty’s character, and was so strongly reflected in the uniform tenor of his reign. Thus,” says the writer, “expired, in the seventy-third year of his age, in firm reliance on the merits of his Redeemer, King William IV., a just and upright king, a forgiving enemy, a sincere friend, and a most gracious and indulgent master.”

In all of which, from the frequent experience I had of his kindness and benevolence, I most cordially agree; and his good feelings were not displayed merely on

great and important occasions, but in matters of small moment, one of which I cannot forbear to mention.

Among the numerous instances of benevolent feeling that myself and family experienced at the hands of his Majesty, I may here be allowed, in a memoir that is avowedly personal, to mention a little trait that could not fail to make a due impression on myself, my wife, and children. It unfortunately happened that Lady Barrow had been confined to the house almost from the accession of his Majesty, and of course had never been at court. Her complaint was somewhat singular. Being one evening at the theatre, in Coutts's box, she was half-dozing in the corner close to the stage, and in the course of the pantomime a firing took place close to her. Though much startled at the time, she thought no more of it till the following morning, when a violent pain came on—the muscles of her neck were sprained, and so remained for some years; but, under the advice of Sir Benjamin Brodie, they gradually recovered their tone. The first visit she thought it her duty to make was to the Queen's drawing-room, and accordingly she sent her card, as usual, to the Chamberlain's office. The day before was the levee, when the King stopped Sir George Staunton and said to him, with an expression of great delight, "Sir George, your friend Lady Barrow is coming here tomorrow: I am very glad of it." And certainly the way in which he received her was more like that of a parent embracing a daughter than the King one of his humble subjects; he called her back to express the great pleasure he felt to see her once more able to enjoy the society of her friends.

Trifling as this may appear to one unconcerned, it made an impression on our minds never to be forgotten.

Indeed, from all that I have experienced of the character of his Royal Highness, from the time of his appointment as Lord High Admiral (the first knowledge I had of him) to the day of his death (in 1837), when sovereign of these realms (during which time he was pleased to honour me and my family with marked attention), I can honestly say that, after very many opportunities of witnessing his kind-hearted and generous reception of all who had claims to prefer on account of their services or misfortunes, I rarely knew of any one sent away dissatisfied with the manner in which he had been received, how much soever disappointed; and that is saying a great deal for a First Lord of the Admiralty, every one of whom I have heard to declare, that the day appointed to receive naval officers might be looked upon as one marked with a black stone—as a day of misery; being obliged to listen to so many tales of distress, without the power of relieving them. But the expression of kind feeling does much to soften the bitterness of disappointment, and is, I believe, seldom withheld.

I am aware that many stories were at one time afloat about the rude and uncourteous demeanour of the Duke of Clarence. It may have been so in the early part of his life, considering the vicious education that a youth, at that time, was likely to receive in common with his companions of the cockpit, which was not always much improved by a step to the quarter-deck. It is possible that his Royal Highness may have brought with him on shore some portion of such rude qualifications. But, be that as it may, it is well understood, that from the date of his marriage with the amiable Princess Adelaide (now the Queen Dowager), the meekness of her disposition, and the suavity of her manners, produced the

best possible effects on her husband. And I may add, that no one was more conscious than was his Royal Highness of the very defective system of education in a ship of war; and he often spoke to me concerning the method to be adopted for its improvement, which I know he would have followed up, had he remained longer in the Admiralty.

This improvement was in fact shortly after instituted, when the general taste for education began to spread through all classes of society. The introduction of suitable books into the navy, to form what is called the Seamen's Library, was the first step; this was followed by the appointment of well-qualified instructors to all ships of the line and frigates, mostly chaplains or young men from college: so that officers now, while in pursuit of their professional studies, may at the same time acquire or keep up a knowledge of the classics and mathematics; and seamen's schoolmasters were appointed to all ships, for the instruction of the crews. The result has been, not only that the improvement of the officers of the British navy is most conspicuous in point of knowledge, but the seamen also in propriety of conduct, and decency of manners, within the last twenty or thirty years, so as to keep pace with that progress among the civil classes of society, which the general system of education has had the effect of producing.

How very different was the condition of the Officers of the Navy when Prince William Henry was sent on board the 'Prince George,' at the age of thirteen!—for sent he was; the good old King declaring that his son Henry should work his way to promotion from a midshipman, in the same routine as the most friendless youngster in the fleet. He served under Lord Keith,

Lord Hood, and Lord Nelson, and was engaged in several actions. When Don Juan de Langara was brought a prisoner on board the 'Prince George,' and was told that a smart young midshipman, whom he had observed very active on his duty at the gangway, was a prince of the blood, a son of King George III.—“ Well,” he said, “ may England be mistress of the sea, when the son of her King is thus engaged in her Navy.”

The extraordinary difference—I may venture to call it improvement—that has taken place in the condition of naval cadets, midshipmen, mates, or by whatever name these young non-commissioned officers may have been designated, is very remarkable, compared with that in the days of his Royal Highness. The number of youngsters—many of them sons of the first families—who were in H. M. S. 'Lion,' on her voyage to China with Lord Macartney, had no comforts, much less luxuries, at their mess-table. Of this I had personal experience, as Lord Mark Kerr, Lord William Stuart, and two or three others of that ship were not satisfied if I did not sometimes descend to the bottom of the ship, on Saturday evenings, to drink to “ sweethearts and wives.” A bit of cold salt beef and biscuit, with a can of grog, was frequently their repast; the only light a tallow candle, stuck in the neck of a black-bottle, and a parcel of chests serving for seats: the scantiness of their meal was owing to our having no communication with any land on the homeward voyage, except St. Helena, which had nothing to spare; yet these young gentlemen made no complaint, but all were as cheerful and happy as mortals could be. Two thumbed and torn books constituted their library: 'Robinson Crusoe' and 'Roderick Random;' and they had not the benefit

of either chaplain or naval instructor; two of these youngsters mentioned, when in command, were not inferior to the best officers in the service.

From forty to fifty years after this, I visited the midshipmen's berths in several ships of war. I found them comfortably and neatly fitted up, a display of good earthenware and table utensils, and also a small service of plate; a library of books for information or amusement; generally a chaplain, and always a naval instructor, and sometimes both. These, however, were ships in harbour: but the foundation was here laid for a comfortable mess at sea.

I have mentioned the kind and friendly disposition of the Lord High Admiral—indeed, I am not aware of his ever having given offence to any one—and he was particularly attentive to naval officers. Once, however, after he came to the throne, I was not a little mortified to witness a severe reproof-giving, in a full levee-room, to a distinguished flag-officer and most amiable and sensitive nobleman—Admiral Lord de Saumarez. Sir Richard Keats was a particular and early friend and favourite of King William, who, on his death, decided on distinguishing his funeral by inviting a great number of naval officers, and six flag-officers to bear the pall, one of whom was Lord de Saumarez. From some cause or other he failed to attend. On the first levee day that his Lordship made his appearance at Court, the King upbraided him before the whole assembly; and connected the name of Keats with that of De Saumarez in such a way, as to wound his sensitive mind far more deeply than the reproof for his absence. I was waiting in the lobby when his Lordship came down and approaching me in tears, told me how he had been treated, and said he should

never recover it ; that the King would not listen to his excuse, which was a valid one. I observed to him that the Duke of Clarence, when at the Admiralty, was occasionally thrown off his guard and hasty, but was soon pacified ; and my advice to him would be, to ask, the following morning, for an audience, and to request him to accept your apology, and permit you to explain. He did so ; and was quite delighted with the manner in which he was received.

I suspect the King had incautiously let a word drop of how much he, of all others, owed to Keats ; which, to a mind so sensitive as that of De Saumarez, would wound him deeply ; though the service which he supposed to have been alluded to, was that in which Sir James Saumarez and Sir Richard Keats had been employed, and not a shadow of blame ever existed : on the contrary Keats, the junior officer, not only said, but put in print :—“ The reception I met with was certainly of the most flattering kind. Sir James Saumarez received me himself at the gangway, and said aloud, ‘ That he could not find language to express his sense of the services I had rendered my country last night.’ ”

The service alluded to is one of a most extraordinary nature. On the 12th July, Sir James Saumarez weighed from Gibraltar with five sail of the line, one frigate, a sloop, and a brig. The enemy (Spanish) consisted of ten sail of the line and five frigates. Saumarez commanded the ‘ Cæsar,’ and Keats the ‘ Superb.’ The wind being strong and variable, the squadron separated before midnight ; the “ Cæsar ” only could be seen from the ‘ Superb ’ indistinctly, about four miles astern. Keats observed to the first and second gunners that, “ having been in action with

the enemy by night, I predicted to them that which *precisely took place*—that the Spaniards would blow up: and that we should have more to apprehend from our own carelessness of powder, than from any efforts of the enemy.”

The ‘*Superb*’ had been ordered to go a-head, and had outsailed the ‘*Cæsar*.’ Coming up with the first Spanish ship, the ‘*Superb*’ stood between her and the Spanish shore, and when he got on her beam it was perceived that she was a three-decker, and had two ships nearly on a range with her on her larboard side. The ‘*Cæsar*’ was now lost sight of. To our first broadside “we were much surprised to receive no return of fire; and the more so, when the other ship, towards which she was sheering, opened her fire seemingly into the ship the ‘*Superb*’ had fired into. This unfortunate ship,” adds Keats, “now sheered back again towards us, and fired, but more on the larboard than the starboard side; and in this situation received a second broadside from us. Confusion now seemed general among all of them; for they now began firing in various situations and directions, and evidently at each other. The third broadside had not, I believe, been all discharged from us, when our opponent was evidently on fire. We ceased to molest him.”

After this it was deemed necessary to sheer farther from her; and it is coolly said, that the ‘*Superb*’s’ people availed themselves of the leisure which the opportunity afforded to splice and knot some of the rigging that had been shot away. The unfortunate ship on fire continued to run for ten minutes or so, then came suddenly—flew, as it were—to the wind, near some other of the enemy’s ships; “and this must have been

the moment when the other first-rate got on board her ; the night was dark and stormy, and it may readily be supposed what was the fate of the second unfortunate three-decker.

“Whilst it was still dark,” says Sir Richard Keats, “our attention was called to loud shrieks and cries of distress to windward, and presently a Spanish launch, filled with men, nearly all quite naked, came alongside, and scrambled into the ship. Attracted by the sentinel’s light at my cabin door they huddled aft together, threw themselves on their knees, and with uplifted hands besought our protection ; or, in an act of devotion, were returning thanks to their Creator for their deliverance. We then learned that the launch belonged to the ‘Real Carlos,’ into which all that could, as well from that ship as the ‘San Hermanegildo,’ threw themselves to escape from the conflagration (for both were on fire).” It was found that they had received on board the ‘Superb’ a second captain and eighteen men of the ‘Real Carlos,’ and an ensign and nineteen men of the ‘San Hermanegildo.’

Some spirits were given to them ; the men were supplied with slop-clothing, the officers re-clothed, and Keats had it explained to them “that as, in their distress, they had sought our protection, I could venture to assure them that our Admiral would not consider any of them as prisoners ;” and they were not treated as such during the time they remained on board the ‘Superb.’ As none of them could speak either French or English intelligibly, and as the ‘Superb’ was not very well off for Spanish interpreters, Sir R. Keats says, possibly the information they obtained from them may not, in all its parts, be thoroughly correct. It states—

“That they considered themselves as secure from any attack that night. That some suspicion, as the ‘*Superb*’ approached, arose on board the ‘*Real Carlos* :’ for, on counting their squadron, they reckoned one more than their number ; that a report was made, but was disregarded by the Captain, who, with several of the officers, were still at the table smoking after supper. That the Captain with some other officers were killed or wounded by the ‘*Superb*’s’ first broadside *in the cabin*, from which none of them moved till the ‘*Superb*’ fired. That, regarding her destruction, it was said her fore-topmast was shot away the first broadside ; and being almost immediately fired into by a ship on their larboard side also, their confusion was very great : and in firing, which they did from both sides, the fore-topsail, which was hanging down, caught fire, and occasioned the conflagration.”

The ship that fired into them was speedily in a blaze, which their ship thought to be the English Admiral ; and it was said fore and aft, “The English Admiral is on fire ; let us go under his stern, and send ’em all to hell together ;” and they believe that in that effort they ran foul of the ship on fire, and thus occasioned their own melancholy fate.*

The ‘*Cæsar*’ joined about one o’clock, and the squadron got back to Gibraltar about three in the morning.

* This narrative is briefly extracted from one drawn up by Sir R. Keats at the request of Mr. Ben. Tucker.

SECTION VIII.

ROBERT, VISCOUNT MELVILLE.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

Sept. 19, 1828 — Nov. 25, 1830.

Adm. Rt. Hon. Sir G. COCKBURN...First Naval Lord.

Right Hon. J. W. CROKERFirst Secretary.

As Lord Melville's resignation had opened the door for the introduction of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence into the high and conspicuous situation of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, so the retirement of the Duke afforded the opportunity of Lord Melville being, a second time, called upon to assume the place of First Lord of the Admiralty. His patent was dated the 19th September, 1828, and continued in force till the 25th November, 1830, when he was superseded by Sir James Graham; the Duke of Wellington's government having given way to that of the Earl Grey.

Nothing particular happened during the two years that Lord Melville's second presidency continued over the affairs of the Admiralty. Visitations of the Dock-Yards, and a few changes in the system of their management, with some partial retrenchments, took place; but no warlike preparations were undertaken in these two years—peace prevailed both at home and abroad. The Admiralty, however, in this period of inactivity, was

beset with projectors of all descriptions. Steam-vessels were fast increasing in number, some for public and others for private purposes; and all the gear appertaining to them, the engines themselves, the boilers, the mode of placing them, the paddle-wheels, the paddle-boxes, various kinds of propellers—all of them had a multitude of projectors, a class of persons who are never satisfied, if each of their individual projects be not practically put to the test, however obvious it may be to a disinterested person, capable of giving a sound opinion, that the invention, as it is called, is bad in principle and worthless in design. To avoid the enormous expense that would be incurred by submitting these projects to the test of experiment, the inventors were now generally given to understand, that facilities would be afforded in the Dock-Yards for preparing and trying their crotchets, but only at their own expense, and that a limited time would be allowed, when they must be removed at their own cost; which had the good effect of reducing the number of useless projects.

Then the dry-rot doctors, with their numerous nostrums, were the most pertinacious of all, and their various projects to expel the disease innumerable. All the mineral acids and the mineral substances, solutions of copper, iron, zinc, lead, were proposed, in which the wood already diseased, or to prevent disease, was to be steeped. Some of our wise men in the Dock-Yards took it into their heads that steeping loads of timber in the sea would cure or prevent the dry-rot—the medium in which the ships themselves would permanently be soaked; others would *steam* out the enemy, and others again *bake* it out; as many different opinions were pronounced as to the nature of the

disease or the cause of it. For a long time the dry-rot was a fungus, and their whole artillery was levelled at the mushroom, and thus the disease was to be cured at the expense of the material, in which it was supposed to be lodged. We are at length become as wise as our forefathers, and have learned, that the best and only preservative of timber, is to fell it at a proper time, when the sap is at rest and hardened in the wood; and then, to let it undergo a long and gradual dry-seasoning.

But Lord Melville was ever anxious to patronize any project decidedly advantageous to the Navy. In fact, it is to him that we owe the first introduction of the application of steam, as a locomotive power, to the ships of the Navy. So early as the year 1815 he directed the Navy Board to cause a sloop to be built of the name of 'Congo,' and to order a steam-engine suitable for her from Bolton and Watt, to be used as a trial in a ship of war. When ready, early in the following year, the engine was ordered to be sent to Plymouth, where it might be useful for pumping water. The 'Congo' was ordered to be fitted up as a sailing-vessel, to be commanded by Captain Tucker on his intended expedition to explore the African river of that name.

What objections may have occasioned this change I forget, but while this was going on, the ingenious Brunel took up the question of steam-navigation; stated all the difficulties that occurred to him—one of which was the external fitting, or propelling apparatus, and he undertook to obviate this objection by a practical experiment. There had been a steam-vessel built a couple of years before, called the

‘Regent,’ I believe by a private individual, and purchased as a packet to run from Margate to London. He says, “On the 9th July, 1816, the ‘Regent’ left Margate with a strong gale of wind blowing right a-head, and against a very strong tide. When out at sea the gale increased very much, and the sea broke over the vessel for several hours. The covering of the wheels was stove in; they, however, received no injury, though they were now and then overwhelmed. The steam-engine yielding gradually, and for a moment, to a greater power, was soon in action again.”

Lord Melville, in reply to Mr. Brunel’s encouraging letter, says, “That the Board deem it unnecessary to enter, at present, into the consideration of the question, as to how far the power of the steam-engine may be made applicable to the general purposes of navigation; but as it would be attended with material advantage to his Majesty’s service, if it could be used for the purpose of towing ships of war out of harbour, in the Thames or Medway, and at Portsmouth and Plymouth, when they would be prevented from sailing by contrary winds, desire him to submit his ideas on that part of the subject, if it appears to him to be practicable.” To this Mr. Brunel answers, by recommending that, as this is a practical experiment, the ‘Regent’ (laid up for the winter) should be employed under the direction of some competent person. The trial was made; and from this period may be dated the introduction of steam-navigation into the English Navy.

Lord Melville was now so fully convinced of the great utility, which the naval service would derive from the application of steam as a propelling power, that he ordered a small vessel to be built at Deptford, by Mr.

Oliver Lang, to be called the 'Comet,' of the burthen of 238 tons, and to have engines of eighty horse power. She was built accordingly, and ready for sea in 1822; and this little ship has been usefully and constantly employed ever since, and no complaint made either of the hull, the engines, or the paddle-wheels: and she is at this moment always ready for service at the shortest notice.

About this time Lord Stanhope, with his coadjutor Fulton, were dabbling in trials to make boats move by steam; and the latter set off for Scotland on learning that a boat on the Forth and Clyde Canal was navigated by wheels, the impelling force being that of steam, and constructed by one Symington, an assistant to Patrick Miller, of Dalswinton; who, in 1787, had published his account of working canal boats by wheels and cranks: and wherein he observes, "I have reason to believe, that the power of the steam-engine may be applied to work the wheels."

But the fact is, that neither Lord Stanhope, nor Fulton, nor the American Livingstone, nor Patrick Miller, or his assistant Symington, have the least claim of priority to the application of steam and wheels for propelling vessels through the water. Long before any of these had concerned themselves, there was printed in London a small volume, bearing date 1737, under the following title:—'Description and Draught of a new-invented Machine for carrying vessels or ships out of or into any harbour, port, or river, against wind or tide, or in a calm; for which his Majesty George II. has granted letters patent for the benefit of the Author for the space of fourteen years. By Jonathan Hulls.'

Prefixed to this little book is the "Draught" of a

stout boat with a chimney, as at present (smoking), paddle-wheels on each side not far from the stern, and from the stern is a tow-line fixed to the foremast of a large three-masted ship, which the steam-boat is towing through the water. There can be no doubt, then, that *Jonathan Hulls* is the real *inventor* of the *steam-boat*. But how happens it that nothing more appears to have been heard of this valuable invention? The ignorance of the time is not a sufficient explanation. Some of our engineers of the present day attempt to explain it by assuming that, though the happy thought which produced the invention is not to be questioned, yet it is probable enough that the boat and the ship in tow, as we see them in the print, existed only on the paper; and that *Jonathan Hulls* had not the means himself, or the support of others, or could not obtain that confidence which a new invention requires, and which alone would enable him to carry his valuable and very remarkable invention into practice.

But even the first discoverer, as we Englishmen deem him to be, of the power of steam for moving weights, lifting water, &c., as well as of its locomotive power, has, in later times, been a subject of doubt and dispute. Not only has the story of the *Marquis of Worcester*, as told by himself, been called in question, but the French, even before his time, and *M. Arago* in our own time, have claimed the discovery for another—one *Salomon de Caus*, a celebrated engineer in the time of *Louis XIII.*; to whom he dedicated a book published in 1615, entitled—‘*An Account of Moving Forces, with various Machines as well for Use as for Pleasure.*’ This work is undoubtedly prior, by nearly

half a century, to Worcester's 'Century of Inventions,' which was not published until 1663. This would prove nothing against the Marquis's discovery, unless De Caus has mentioned *steam* among his "moving forces," of which I profess my ignorance, not having seen his treatise. But the charge of the Marquis having *learnt his invention* from De Caus himself is curious, and, if true, as it appears to be, decides the question against him.

In an amusing French work, 'La France Historique,' &c., &c., *par Henri Berthoud*, I find a very curious and interesting letter, from Madame Marion de l'Orme to her husband the Marquis de Cinq-Mars, in which she says, "I have done the honours of Paris to your English Lord the Marquis of Worcester. I have led him—or rather he has led me—from one curiosity to another: always making choice of the most sad and the most serious, speaking little and listening with marked attention.

"We went to the Bicêtre, where he pretends to have discovered in a madman a man of genius. Had he not been raving, I verily believe your Marquis would have asked his liberty, to take him to London. In crossing the court where mad people are kept, more dead than alive from fear, I observed, on the other side of a strong barrier, an ugly face, screaming out—'I am not mad! I have made a discovery that would enrich the country that should carry it into effect.' 'And what is his discovery?' I asked the keeper. 'Ah!' said he, 'you would never guess—it is the vapour of boiling water. His name,' continued he, 'is Salomon de Caus; he came from Normandy, four years ago, to present a memorial to the King of the wonderful effect of steam for turning machinery,

driving carriages, and a thousand other wonderful things; but the Cardinal drove him away without listening to him. From that time he has pursued the Cardinal wherever he went, so that he ordered him to be shut up in the Bicêtre as a madman, where he has been three years and a half. He has written a book on his admirable discovery, which I have here.' Lord Worcester is quite ravished with it; and after reading a few pages, 'This person,' he said, 'is no madman; and, in my country, instead of shutting him up, they would heap up riches upon him: bring me to him, I wish to question him.' He was taken to him, and returned sorrowful and pensive. 'At present,' he said, 'he is very mad; misfortune and captivity have for ever estranged his reason; you have made him mad—but when you threw him into this prison you there buried the greatest genius of your age.'"

From this time, it is said, the Marquis of Worcester never ceased talking of Salomon de Caus, and well he might talk and think of this poor maniac if the story be true. The writer of the letter, the person it is written to, and the genius of whom it treats, were all well-known characters of the time. De Caus was a distinguished engineer and architect, is known to have been the author of several ingenious works; one of them is 'Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes, &c.,' above mentioned, which went through several editions, and was published in several languages. He also published four or five other works, one of which, entitled 'Institution Harmonique,' he dedicated to Queen Anne of England. The above letter, there can be little doubt, is genuine. Marion de l'Orme was a character well known among the *beaux esprits* of Paris and the Court.

She was supposed to have been privately married to the Marquis de Cinq Mars, but thought by some to be his mistress. She was accounted a woman of great talent for wit, and was the friend and associate of the celebrated Ninon. Arago asserts that De Caus was the first to discover the power of steam; any one, even Papin, with his *digestor*, was an inventor, according to Arago, rather than an Englishman. If De l'Orme's story be true, Worcester's story of the cover of the cooking-pot being blown up the chimney is indeed *blown up*, and must be considered as a romance. We English, however, are inclined to believe what the Marquis has declared to be the fact; and that his assurance may be relied on, that "he desired not to set down any other men's inventions;" and, moreover, that "if he had, in any case, acted on them, to nominate likewise the inventor." Here I leave it.

Not only the Board of Admiralty, but the Navy at large, is indebted to the Viscount Melville, for his appointment of that excellent officer, Captain (now Rear-Admiral) Beaufort, to the important situation of Hydrographer to the Admiralty. Captain Hurd died in the year 1823, and a sufficiently qualified officer not being found to fill the vacant situation, Lord Melville appointed Captain Parry twice, or, I believe, a third time, as Acting Hydrographer. After the resignation of the Lord High Admiral, when Lord Melville, for the second time, became First Lord, he deemed it highly expedient that this important office should be permanently filled up, and with the most qualified officer that could be found. Various applications were made and duly considered, but no choice was fixed until 1829, when the can-

didates were reduced to two, both of them considered to be unexceptionable: these were Captain Peter Heywood and Captain Francis Beaufort. Lord Melville, being a cautious and conscientious man, felt a reluctance to take the decision on himself, and requested Mr. Croker and me to name the one whom we considered, in all respects, best qualified and most suited for the office, and he would immediately appoint him. We had little or no hesitation in assigning the palm to Captain Beaufort. It could not be otherwise, as far as I was concerned, that my mind should at once be made up. In Mr. Yorke's reign I had, at his request, selected Captain Beaufort and his ship, out of the whole Mediterranean fleet, to be sent to survey an unknown portion of the coast of Syria; of which, in due time, he published an account, under the name of 'Karamania,' containing, not merely the survey, but also an historical account of the numerous remains of antiquity, on the several points examined on that coast; a book superior to any of its kind in whatever language, and one which passed triumphantly through the ordeal of criticism in every nation of Europe.*

He was immediately appointed Hydrographer of the Admiralty, and still remains—and it is to be hoped will long remain—to execute the laborious duties of an office which, I am persuaded, no other would be found to do in that clear, precise, and efficient manner in which they have long been and still are executed. In fact, I cannot hesitate in giving an opinion that Admiral Beaufort has no equal in that line, and not many in most other branches of science.

* 'A Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia Minor, and of the Remains of Antiquity,' &c.

I cannot here omit the opportunity of giving to those, who may condescend to peruse my little volume, the following clearly expressed letter of the late Lady Spencer, describing with great accuracy, from having once only heard it read, a most interesting letter of great length and circumstantial detail, on a subject most curious, mysterious, and solemn.

The letter of Lady Spencer is as follows:—

“ Spencer House, Dec. 6, 1829.

“ My dear Mr. Barrow,

“ I am not going to ask a job of you, but to request your assistance to obtain from Captain Beaufort, the very intelligent and eminent hydrographer, actually at the head of his peculiar department, the favour I am exceedingly anxious to procure from him.

“ Some years since, my dear and regretted friend Dr. W. Wollaston showed me a most interesting and extraordinary letter, addressed to him from Captain Beaufort, in which he had, at the particular request of Dr. Wollaston, described his own sensations and thoughts, of body and mind, while in the act of drowning, when a young man, in Portsmouth harbour. He was happily preserved from a fatal termination of this alarming accident; but he one day described so vividly and so strikingly his state of mind while in danger of death under water, and again while in the process of recovery on shipboard, that Dr. Wollaston was instantly solicitous and earnest to persuade him to write down the precise details, which he had so admirably related to him.

“ Captain Beaufort yielded to his entreaties, and wrote to him the letter which Wollaston read to me,

and of which he promised to give me a copy, on my eagerly petitioning him to do so. Alas! he was seized by disease and died before he performed his promise. Now my present object in troubling you, my dear Sir, is to entreat you to discover if Captain Beaufort would kindly bestow on me a copy of this highly interesting narrative. Wollaston told me that he was very anxious to prepare that, which he possessed, for the Royal Society; and this leads me to suppose that Captain Beaufort was not unwilling to impart it to his friends, since it had been in contemplation to prepare it for the public eye. God knows! he might safely exhibit such a description of fortitude and rectitude of thought as this beautiful account of his mind displays when in the fearful peril of death. Yet I feel that my request to possess it requires the intermediate assistance which I venture to claim from you.

“Sir Henry Halford has urged me so strongly to attempt to acquire this valuable document, that he gave me courage to make the attempt. He is pursuing a peculiar subject, to which this very curious statement of facts relative to the human mind, while struggling with death, would be of invaluable assistance. In conversation with him on this topic, I naturally mentioned the letter Wollaston had shown to me; and the result of our conversation was a strong desire of obtaining a copy of it. You now have all I can say to excuse my present application. Will you forgive me? I feel sure that you will. Believe me, my dear Sir,

“Entirely yours,

“LAVINIA SPENCER.”

I shall now insert a copy of the letter sought for by her Ladyship, which has been kindly given to me,

at my request, by Admiral Beaufort; and which for its composition and style, but still more for its subject, is deserving of and will receive the approbation and admiration of all who may peruse it; being no common subject nor handled in a common manner.

Copy of a Letter to Dr. W. Hyde Wollaston, written, I think, in 1825, and returned to me by his Executor in 1829.—F. B.

“ Dear Dr. Wollaston,

“ The following circumstances which attended my being drowned have been drawn up at your desire; they had not struck me as being so curious as you consider them, because, from two or three persons, who like myself had been recovered from a similar state, I have heard a detail of their feelings, which resembled mine as nearly as was consistent with our different constitutions and dispositions.

“ Many years ago, when I was a youngster on board one of his Majesty’s ships, in Portsmouth harbour, after sculling about in a very small boat, I was endeavouring to fasten her alongside the ship to one of the scuttlings; in foolish eagerness I stepped upon the gunwale, the boat of course upset, and I fell into the water, and not knowing how to swim, all my efforts to lay hold either of the boat or of the floating sculls were fruitless. The transaction had not been observed by the sentinel on the gangway, and therefore it was not till the tide had drifted me some distance astern of the ship that a man in the foretop saw me splashing in the water, and gave the alarm. The first lieutenant instantly and gallantly jumped overboard, the carpenter followed his example, and the gunner hastened into a boat and pulled after them.

“ With the violent but vain attempts to make myself heard I had swallowed much water; I was soon exhausted by my struggles, and before any relief reached me I had sunk below the surface—all hope had fled—all exertion ceased—and I *felt* that I was drowning.

“ So far, these facts were either partially remembered after my recovery or supplied by those who had latterly witnessed the scene; for during an interval of such agitation a drowning person is too much occupied in catching at every passing straw, or too much absorbed by alternate hope and despair, to mark the succession of events very accurately. Not so, however, with the facts which immediately ensued; my mind had then undergone the sudden revolution which appeared to you so remarkable—and all the circumstances of which are now as vividly fresh in my memory as if they had occurred but yesterday.

“ From the moment that all exertion had ceased—which I imagine was the immediate consequence of complete suffocation—a calm feeling of the most perfect tranquillity superseded the previous tumultuous sensations—it might be called apathy, certainly not resignation, for drowning no longer appeared to be an evil—I no longer thought of being rescued, nor was I in any bodily pain. On the contrary, my sensations were now of rather a pleasurable cast, partaking of that dull but contented sort of feeling which precedes the sleep produced by fatigue. Though the senses were thus deadened, not so the mind; its activity seemed to be invigorated, in a ratio which defies all description—for thought rose after thought with a rapidity of succession that is not only indescribable, but probably inconceivable, by any one who has not himself been in a similar

situation. The course of those thoughts I can even now in a great measure retrace—the event which had just taken place—the awkwardness that had produced it—the bustle it must have occasioned (for I had observed two persons jump from the chains)—the effect it would have on a most affectionate father—the manner in which he would disclose it to the rest of the family—and a thousand other circumstances minutely associated with home, were the first series of reflections that occurred. They took then a wider range—our last cruise—a former voyage, and shipwreck—my school—the progress I had made there, and the time I had misspent—and even all my boyish pursuits and adventures. Thus travelling backwards, every past incident of my life seemed to glance across my recollection in retrograde succession; not, however, in mere outline, as here stated, but the picture filled up with every minute and collateral feature; in short, the whole period of my existence seemed to be placed before me in a kind of panoramic review, and each act of it seemed to be accompanied by a consciousness of right or wrong, or by some reflection on its cause or its consequences; indeed, many trifling events which had been long forgotten then crowded into my imagination, and with the character of recent familiarity.

“ May not all this be some indication of the almost infinite power of memory with which we may awaken in another world, and thus be compelled to contemplate our past lives? Or might it not in some degree warrant the inference that death is only a change or modification of our existence, in which there is no real pause or interruption? But, however that may be, one circumstance was highly remarkable; that the innumerable

ideas which flashed into my mind were all retrospective—yet I had been religiously brought up—my hopes and fears of the next world had lost nothing of their early strength, and at any other period intense interest and awful anxiety would have been excited by the mere probability that I was floating on the threshold of eternity: yet at that inexplicable moment, when I had a full conviction that I had already crossed that threshold, not a single thought wandered into the future—I was wrapt entirely in the past.

“The length of time that was occupied by this deluge of ideas, or rather the shortness of time into which they were condensed, I cannot now state with precision, yet certainly two minutes could not have elapsed from the moment of suffocation to that of my being hauled up.

“The strength of the flood tide made it expedient to pull the boat at once to another ship, where I underwent the usual vulgar process of emptying the water by letting my head hang downwards, then bleeding, chafing, and even administering gin; but my submersion had been really so brief, that, according to the account of the lookers on, I was very quickly restored to animation.

“My feelings while life was returning were the reverse in every point of those which have been described above. One single but confused idea—a miserable belief that I was drowning—dwelt upon my mind, instead of the multitude of clear and definite ideas which had recently rushed through it—a helpless anxiety—a kind of continuous nightmare seemed to press heavily on every sense, and to prevent the formation of any one distinct thought—and it was with diffi-

culty that I became convinced that I was really alive. Again, instead of being absolutely free from all bodily pain, as in my drowning state, I was now tortured by pain all over me; and though I have been since wounded in several places, and have often submitted to severe surgical discipline, yet my sufferings were at that time far greater; at least, in general distress. On one occasion I was shot in the lungs, and after lying on the deck at night for some hours bleeding from other wounds, I at length fainted. Now as I felt sure that the wound in the lungs was mortal, it will appear obvious that the overwhelming sensation which accompanies fainting must have produced a perfect conviction that I was then in the act of dying. Yet nothing in the least resembling the operations of my mind when drowning then took place; and when I began to recover, I returned to a clear conception of my real state.

“ If these *involuntary experiments* on the operation of death afford any satisfaction or interest to you, they will not have been suffered quite in vain by

“ Yours very truly,

“ F. BEAUFORT.”

This letter of Admiral Beaufort must give rise to various suggestions. It proves that the spirit of man may retain its full activity—we may perhaps say an increased activity—when freed from the trammels of the flesh; at least, when all the functions of the body are deprived of animal power, and the spirit has become something like the type and shadow of that, which we are taught to believe concerning the immortality of the soul. It is a curious fact, but a very conceivable one,

that, as he says, “When I had a full conviction that I had already crossed the threshold of eternity, not a single thought wandered into the future—I was wrapt entirely in the past.” The inference to be drawn from this seems to be, that the impression of things or ideas that had actually happened was strong, and afforded no room for the admission of anticipation; that the former alone, that is the past, altogether gave effort to the memory—in fact, memory can have no concern with the future. But that does not lead us far, or help us much; it being the effort of a man all but dead, in whom we have here a separation of the spirit from the corporeal substance.

I do not believe that the practical philosopher Dr. Wollaston threw any light on the subject to Captain Beaufort, or that Lady Spencer acquired much from Sir Henry Halford; and perhaps it is best that we should content ourselves in concluding, with Shakespeare (who is rarely wrong),—

“ We are such stuff as dreams are made of.”

SECTION IX.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM, BART.

Nov. 15, 1830—June 11, 1834.

Admiral Sir THOMAS HARDY. . . . First Naval Lord.
 The Hon. GEORGE ELLIOT. . . . First Secretary.

As the Lord High Admiral had been the immediate successor of the Viscount Melville in the inferior office of First Lord of the Admiralty, which his Lordship had held for many years, so Lord Melville, by returning to it, relieved the Lord High Admiral, as soon as the latter should be prepared to send in his resignation, as he had manifested a desire to do for some time. His Lordship succeeded; but he held it only this second time for two years, when he made way for a Whig opponent in the person of Sir James Graham. When that party came into office, on a former occasion, and the Earl Grey was placed at the head of the Admiralty, it was understood that a total change of men and measures, in the civil departments of the Navy, would immediately be carried into effect; something of the nature of those that were supposed to have been contemplated by Lord St. Vincent, when he was First Lord of the Admiralty; but to accomplish which he either found the difficulty too strong, or could find none ready to second him effectually in the execu-

tion ; at any rate each of the two noble Lords left office without venturing to undertake any part of the change.

Lord Grey, however, it was said, had now come into office, as First Minister of the Crown, with an understanding—or, at least, a determined resolution—that the changes suggested by Lord St. Vincent should be accomplished ; and it was whispered in Downing-Street that, to effect the great design, he had succeeded in procuring the aid of a gentleman to be placed at the head of the Naval departments, civil and military, whose nerves were supposed to be equal to any difficulty, or to repel any obstruction he might meet with, in carrying out certain measures of such a nature as would require all the firmness and decision that he or any other might possess ; and that as many of the changes in contemplation would prove extremely obnoxious to the existing naval authorities, all or most of the officials might anticipate being brought within the sphere of their operation.

The gentleman who was bold enough to undertake the management of this Herculean task was understood to be Sir James Graham, who, it would seem, had never gone through the ordeal of a public office—the usual initiation for enabling the young aspirant to make himself acquainted with the routine of public business, so as to qualify him for some of the higher departments of the State. So numerous, indeed, have been these young senators aspiring to a seat in the several Boards of Admiralty, that this office was jocosely called “ a school for sucking statesmen.” Sir James, however, had been in Parliament for some time, and once made a speech remarkable only for the mistake on which it was grounded : it was an insinuation that Privy Councillors pocketed thousands of the public

money for doing little or nothing ; finding the mistake, he, no doubt, was sorry for it, and now quite prepared to make his entry into the same corps. In earlier life, as he told me, he had acted as private Secretary to Lord William Bentinck, in the Mediterranean.

It is very probable, therefore, that the official juniors considered it a daring step, to mount at once to one of the pinnacles of power, and to undertake the guidance of that great and complicated machine the British Navy, and all its concerns civil and military. Sir James did not, however, hesitate to assume the task, arduous as it must have appeared, and, by a change of system, likely to become somewhat hazardous. But Lord Grey had a good opportunity of observing his talents ; he was not only a staunch Reformer, but was one of the principals employed in concocting and passing the Reform Bill.

The first member of the new Board whom I saw, and from whom I had any certain information respecting the new First Lord, was Sir Thomas Hardy, who, I found, was intended to be the First Naval Lord. One day he called on me at the Admiralty, at the particular request, he said, of Lord Grey, to say that his Lordship earnestly hoped I had no intention of leaving my present situation, and to assure me how much he regretted that any regulation should stand in the way of advancing me to the First Secretaryship. I begged Sir Thomas to convey my thanks for the kind recollection and good opinion of which his Lordship had been pleased to make him the welcome messenger ; but that, being taken rather by surprise, I should wish to defer sending any answer till to-morrow, when I would either write or pay my respects to Lord

Grey. "In the mean time pray assure his Lordship that I feel very grateful for his good opinion; and have not been, nor ever shall be, forgetful of the kind consideration I experienced at his hands on a former painful and trying occasion."

Sir Thomas Hardy seemed to be somewhat disappointed, and said, "Pray, now, let me say to Lord Grey that you will accept his offer." I assured him it would be no little inducement on finding that he himself was to be one, and the principal one, of the Board-Room officers; "and I may tell you, Sir Thomas, that I have not the least desire to lead an inactive life; and that a Whig Board or a Tory Board, as you hint at, while I am in office, will be pretty much the same to me."

The following morning, about nine o'clock, as I was opening the letters, a card was brought in to me—"Sir James Graham." He introduced himself by saying, "Though I have not yet had the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, your name is familiar to me, and has frequently been mentioned most favourably, at my own house, and by Lady Graham, who has met and conversed with you often at Lord Bathurst's."—"Yes, and most agreeably, Sir James, I do assure you."—"You will readily guess the purpose of this early visit; it is the anxiety I am under to prevail on you to remain in your present official situation; and the fear I have, that your long attachment to a different party from that to which I belong, may induce you to take leave with the rest of your colleagues." I replied, "Let me assure you, Sir James, that the only political party to which I belong, and which I have openly and honestly avowed, is that which, by its measures, upholds the

credit of the Admiralty. In truth, I am neither rich nor reckless enough to become a party-man. Whig and Tory are pretty much the same to me.

‘Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur.’”

“Then,” said he, “let me hope you will remain where you are; you shall possess my entire confidence and friendship, and I will do my utmost to make your situation agreeable and comfortable.”

In short, there appeared in his manner so much *bon-homme*, candour, and sincerity, that I answered at once, “I will remain.” He took me by the hand, and said, “You have relieved me from a load of anxiety, and, by assenting to my entreaty, from the unpleasant task imposed on me of coming to you with something like a royal command. I may now tell you that I was with the King last evening, when he said, ‘Go to Barrow to-morrow morning; and tell him that it is my desire that he will not think of leaving the Admiralty.’”

He then said, “I think it is also but right to tell you—and Lord Grey desired I should—that a great change is immediately to be brought about in the civil departments of the Navy, with which I am very imperfectly acquainted, and from what I can learn from my colleagues few of them are much better in that respect; I must, therefore, rely entirely on your assistance to enable me to gain some insight into the business we are about to undertake. I may mention, that the whole of the Civil Boards at Somerset-House are to be abolished, and various changes to be made in all the departments of the naval service.” I observed that it had been mooted in former Boards of Admiralty, whether

the Victualling and Transport Boards might not, with advantage, be merged in the Navy Board. He said, "No; that is not sufficient. Lord Grey and the Cabinet have decided, that they shall all be abolished, as Boards, and that the Navy Board and all others shall merge in the Board of Admiralty." I asked what provision was to be made for superintending the multitude of details, which it would be impossible for any Board of Admiralty, with all the additional strength of Lords, Secretaries, and Clerks put upon it, to perform; "perhaps it is meant that each branch of the naval service shall have a separate superintending officer, to be charged with his own individual responsibility?" "You have exactly hit it," he said, apparently pleased; "that was precisely Lord Grey's idea, expressed to me nearly in the same words — 'individual responsibility' — instead of the combined and often contradictory acts and opinions of a Board of eight or ten persons; and *on this basis*," he added, "I must beg of you to sketch out the outline of a plan."

I should have mentioned that the new Secretary, Captain the Hon. George Elliot, had accompanied Sir Thomas Hardy, but remained outside. I went out to him; and he very candidly and with great condescension said that he was not exactly fit for the situation of Secretary, as his life had been mostly spent at sea, and he was not at all conversant with the civil affairs of the Navy; besides, he knew not, he said, who had recommended him to Lord Grey. However, I happened to know; for, on my usual Sunday afternoon visits to Lady Spencer, I met Captain Elliot coming out of Spencer-House; and her Ladyship said, "I suppose you met your new Secretary." I saw Captain Elliot;

but I knew not of his appointment, nor at that time even who was to be the First Lord. She then told me that Lord Spencer had been consulted; and that the Captain had always been so civil and accommodating when they were down at their place in the Isle of Wight, and when he was flag-captain at Portsmouth, that, entertaining a good opinion of him, his Lordship had recommended him for the situation. I was not sorry for it, as I knew him to be a very correct, excellent, and fine-tempered man; and not myself being, or ever intending to be, in the House of Commons, it was of no consequence to me, as I had finally excluded myself from ever becoming the First Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir James Graham lost no time in mastering the great business he was commissioned to perform, and which, from its nature, he was satisfied would bring upon him much odium from those, who were to lose their situations, and from their friends; but he was not a man to shrink from his purpose on account of these or any other considerations. He was pledged to a specific duty, and determined resolutely to perform it; and when his bill to be brought into Parliament was ready to be drawn (the first step to be taken), instead of having the usual recourse to the Treasury Solicitor, I had spoken to him so highly of Mr. Jones, the Admiralty Solicitor, a gentleman well versed in all legal points connected with the Admiralty departments, that he determined to employ none but him, under his own immediate inspection; and to the credit of Jones it may be said that, in the two very intricate and important bills drawn up by him, neither mistake nor alteration were then or have since been made; and so

well pleased was Sir James Graham, that he desired me to purchase for him two pieces of plate of one hundred pounds value each, with suitable inscriptions, purporting that they were presented by the Board of Admiralty, and for what service.

When the dissolving Bill came into the Commons, it was opposed and severely canvassed by some of the Tory members, and by all those who had held places under the former administration; but Mr. Croker, who was best acquainted with the details of the subject, made a very long and able speech, dwelt much on his experience of twenty-two years, and his constant attendance—rarely, if ever, being absent from his duty. This was strictly true. He and I had perfectly agreed on that part of the subject, and had made an arrangement that both should never be absent at the same time: and a remarkable instance may be mentioned of our mutual punctuality and mutual reliance. I went to the Continent for eight and twenty days: we agreed that on the morning of a certain fixed day I should be at the Admiralty to open the letters, which was my constant duty; and that on the previous evening Croker would depart from town on *his* leave. I went, with my family, in the yacht to Antwerp, crossed the channels of the Dutch islands to Rotterdam, thence to Amsterdam, round by Utrecht to the Rhine, to Frankfort, down the Rhine to Coblenz, thence through Belgium to Paris; and was at my post on the morning agreed upon, Mr. Croker having departed the previous evening. There were then no railroads.

On another occasion, while enjoying my short summer holiday at Ramsgate, a dragoon brought me a telegraph-message from the Downs, ordering me to

return forthwith to town, an accident having happened to Mr. Croker; he had fallen off his horse, or the horse had fallen with him, in Richmond Park. I mention these things only to show, how very punctually the working parties of the Admiralty attended to their duties; which, of course, is not the less required by the new arrangement, now proposed and carried with no little opposition.

Mr. Croker, as I have said, made a long and able speech, and one that was intended to be damnatory of the great change, about to be introduced, in transacting the affairs of the civil service of the navy; in the course of which, among every possible topic, he asked what is to become of the Secretary to the Admiralty? "The Right Hon. Gentleman," says Sir James Graham, "with great pathos had asked what was to become of the Secretary of the Admiralty? He begged to assure the Right Hon. Gentleman, that he had submitted his plan to Mr. Barrow, one of the present secretaries, whose experience was at least as great as that of the Right Hon. Gentleman, and from him he (Sir James Graham) had received every assistance, though he differed from him in politics, for the promotion of the welfare and interests of the service over which he had the honour to hold the guardianship; that gentleman had, with perfect consistency, maintained his political sentiments, and had given him (Sir James Graham) that assistance which he felt proud to avow, and should ever remember with the most grateful feelings. Mr. Barrow not only thought this measure practical, but salutary; and that it would have the effect of correcting many of those grievances which he well knew had existed. By the opinion of Mr. Barrow he felt fortified

in the strong sentiment he entertained in favour of this measure, and in that sentiment he was also supported by the present Board of Admiralty, which, he trusted he might say, contained as much naval knowledge as any previous Board.”

Sir James Graham did not bring forward his measure without full and anxious inquiry and consideration. It embraced not only the civil departments, resident in town, under the immediate eye of the Admiralty, but also the more complicated machinery of the dockyards. He had desired me to give him a detailed plan for the management of these establishments, which accordingly I did, chiefly from memory, during the short holiday I had in the house of my friend Sir George Staunton at Leigh Park, and sent it over to him at Ryde, where he had gone in the vacation. It consisted of sixteen full sheets of foolscap paper—described the whole existing system of management of the dockyards; the number, the rank, the description, and the duties of every officer, principal and subordinate, setting forth the uselessness and the absurdity of many of them; it detailed the different classes of workmen, the mode of employing them, the quantity of work done, and the extravagant cost of doing it; the capacity of keeping up the navy to its proper standard, &c.: in short, it was, what I intended it to be, a complete picture of a dockyard, for the information and guidance of one who was about to make a visitation of a dockyard for the first time.

The following is a copy of the covering letter which enclosed the detailed description above alluded to:—

“ Leigh Park, Aug. 27, 1832.

“ Dear Sir,

“ The great measure of consolidating the civil departments of the navy being happily accomplished under your auspices, and by your firmness and perseverance, in spite of opposition and sinister auguries, there still remains, as you are fully aware, to be introduced into the *dockyards* a more rational and economical system of conducting those establishments, which absorb so considerable a portion of the large sums of money annually voted by Parliament for the support of that fleet, which is, and always must be, considered the great bulwark of this nation. And as that object is now about to engage your attention, and while you are about to be occupied in personal communication with professional men, and in examining their reports and statements, perhaps a few observations, however hastily thrown together, and from an unprofessional man, wholly divested of all prejudice, may assist you at least to compare some portion of them with the more matured statements of others, and draw your notice to some points which may have been omitted by them.

“ In venturing upon this step, I disclaim any further knowledge than what frequent visitations of the naval establishments, conversations with professional men, a habit of observation and inquiry, aided by a moderate share of common sense, may be supposed to confer. I have no object but the good of the service, and the credit of your naval administration, in thus pointing out what I conceive to be defects in the present system, and offering suggestions which may assist in their removal.

“ I am, dear Sir, &c.,

(Signed)

“ JOHN BARROW.

“ Rt. Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart.”

The reply of Sir James was as follows :—

“ Ryde, Sept. 8, 1832.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I have received your excellent paper containing the outline of a plan for the introduction of a wise and well-regulated system of economy into the dockyards. I am well aware of the necessity of such a measure ; and I thank you very sincerely for the assistance which your able minute is so well calculated to give. No plan will be found safe or worthy of adoption which does not rest on fixed principles ; and the points which you have selected as preliminary, and requiring decision, appear to me to be wisely chosen ; I am sure they are the points of primary importance. But, when I reflect on the vital interest involved in this decision, the naval glory which may be tarnished, the naval safety which may be compromised, by an error of judgment, I shrink almost from the responsibility, and turn with sorrow to the contemplation of my own incapacity to form a sound opinion—remembering always, that to destroy is the work of a day, to create is the highest effort of human ingenuity and power.

“ I can place, however, implicit reliance on the honesty of your advice, and on the integrity of your motives ; and your long experience of naval affairs, your attachment to the service, your knowledge of its details, and your honourable connexion with the brightest period of its history, entitle your opinions to more than ordinary weight, and lead me to consider them with deference and respect.

“ The attention therefore which will be paid by me to your very important suggestions is anxious and incessant ; but mature and incessant deliberation, and

frequent discussion, will be necessary, to remove doubts and to perfect arrangements in their nature complicated; and I hope, when we meet in London after our vacation, that we shall be able so to deliberate and discuss, as to arrive at a decision conducive to the public good, the object which unfeignedly is nearest to my heart.

“ I go to London on Tuesday, for a few days, but I shall leave town again on Saturday.

“ I am always yours very truly,

“ J. R. G. GRAHAM.”

This plan, with the immense correspondence I was obliged to have with the heads of departments, both in town and the dockyards, in order to procure the necessary information and details, to make it correct and complete, had occupied my time fully for a considerable part of the previous year, 1832—in which, I believe, volumes of my minutes will be found in the records of the Admiralty. This labour was the only cause and instance of my health being in any way affected; but my old friends and colleagues rarely met me without the salutation, “ Bless me! Barrow, how ill you look!—these Whigs will be the death of you!” However, I got through it, and finished the plan of which Sir James Graham speaks. It was simple and obvious enough, and the mere outline made it at once to be understood: in fact, it pointed itself out, the materials being already provided, and required only to be newly arranged.

The Civil Boards of the Navy at Somerset House consisted of several departments, all numerous stocked with comptrollers, deputy-comptrollers, and commissioners of the navy, of victualling, and of transports—all of whom

were reduced, by a little thought and contrivance, to five separate and independent responsible superintendents, as under:—1. Surveyor of the Navy, Sir William Symonds; 2. Accountant-General, J. Thomas Briggs, Esq.; 3. Storekeeper-General, the Hon. Robert Dundas; 4. Comptroller of Victualling and Transports, James Meek, Esq.; 5. Director-General of Medical Departments, Sir William Burnett.

But it might be asked—I believe it was asked—what security have you that these five separate and individually responsible officers may not betray their trust?—what superintendents are *they* to have?—*Quis custodes custodiet?* A very proper question, and the answer is at hand. The Board of Admiralty consists of five Lords, in addition to the First Lord; and this Board collectively, and each of the five Lords individually, are constituted the *Custodes*.

One objection was made on the supposition that the Lords of the Admiralty would not be over well pleased to attend at Somerset House. Yet once, perhaps, a week to take a walk along the Strand from Charing-Cross could hardly be considered by an admiral or a captain—though a Lord of the Admiralty—as a toil, but rather a recreation; or to be landed at Somerset House in a boat from Whitehall Stairs. Some were disposed to look upon such visits as an useless ceremony; which is a great mistake. View them in no other light than as mere inspections of the different offices, they would have their advantage. “The eye of the master” was thought in olden time to spur the attention of the servant. But the fact is, that these visits are more rarely made than they used to be or ought to be, for the merit of the plan

depends much on the superintendence of the Lords of the Admiralty. The superintendent of each department should be ordered to Whitehall when wanted, as well as to make his reports in writing.

Heretofore, Commissioners of the Navy had held their appointments to each of the dockyards by patent, like the rest of the Commissioners. By the new plan their commissions were taken away, and they were selected from the most intelligent officers of the navy, had the title of Superintendent, and the tenure was considered as “during pleasure.” But recently there appears to have been an understanding that these appointments are for five years’ duration, and may be renewed according to circumstances: which was no part of Sir James Graham’s plan. With the increase of individual responsible officers must necessarily have arisen an increase of the whole correspondence which now passes through the Board of Admiralty, and which, before the change, was conducted through the Boards generally. This of course has multiplied to a great extent the number of letters and the quantity of writing within the Admiralty Office at Whitehall. At the end of six years an account was taken of what the number of letters received, and what the number of pages of entry, consisted, at the two periods of 1827 and 1833:—

In 1827.	Letters received	25,428
1833.	Ditto	31,330
	Annual increase	5,902
1827.	Dispatched	25,402
1833.	Ditto	47,866
	Increase	<u>22,464</u>

1827.	Pages of entry	20,783
1833.	Ditto	39,162*
	Increase	18,379

Yet, with all this addition to the correspondence, the establishment of the office was only increased by three or four junior clerks; but during the two or three first years *my* labours were at least doubled. It was not found necessary to add to the members of the Board, and they remain at five, with the First Lord.

The whole scheme has worked well, and without having required change or amendment, through five succeeding administrations, Whig and Tory, down to the present one of Lord Auckland, which commenced in the middle of the year 1846.

In the summer of 1833, when on my short holiday at the seat of my friend Sir George Staunton in Hampshire, Sir James Graham, naturally anxious to ascertain the practical operation of the new plan, adopted only the preceding year, resolved on a visit to the dockyards; and on his way to Portsmouth wrote me a letter, of which the following is a copy:—

“ Godalming, August 31, 1833.

“ My dear Sir,

“ The Board will assemble at Portsmouth on Wednesday morning at ten o'clock; and if, without inconvenience, you could meet us there, your presence would be of infinite service. I am unwilling to encroach on your holidays when I consider the intense labour of the last year, which you so cheerfully endured: but still it now remains to secure the fruit of that labour; and I know you take so deep an interest in our recent

* In 1845 the entries had increased to 54,576.

measures, that I should be unwilling to prove them by the test of experience, on a visit to the dockyards in your absence.

“ I go to Cowes to-day, and shall be happy to hear from you there, especially if you can tell me that you are well and recruited by repose.

“ I am, with very sincere regard,

“ My dear Sir, &c.,

“ J. R. G. GRAHAM.”

Accordingly, we went carefully over Portsmouth Dockyard; and Sir James Graham had an opportunity of inspecting the practical effect of the new system, as compared with the old, and appeared to be quite satisfied with the change; and the system was established without further opposition of the House of Commons.

We, next year, visited the other great naval establishment at Plymouth, and here we found a violent opposition, principally on the part of the shipwrights, to any reduction of their corps. The day being fixed for mustering them, we were told that they all meant to keep away; on which Sir James, by the advice of Admiral the Hon. G. Dundas, one of the Lords, caused a placard to be posted on the dock-gates, giving notice that the mustering of the yard would take place on the day subsequent to that intended, and that every one of the workmen, who did not then and there appear, and answer to his name, would forthwith be struck off the list, and never be allowed again to enter the gates. The result was that every man, even the lame and the impotent, answered to the call, and Devonport was as obedient to the orders as the other yards.

We also went over the several departments in Somerset House, and Sir James was shown the mode

in which the documents are kept; and entered fully into the new plan after the reductions had actually been made.

The following list comprehends the whole of the reductions which were effected under the administration of Sir James Graham:—

Admiralty, June 16, 1834.

An Account of the Reductions that have been made in the several Naval Departments from November, 1830, to June, 1834, including Workmen.

ADMIRALTY AND DEPARTMENTS.		United Amount of Salaries reduced.
Classes.		
First Lord	(salary reduced)	£ 500
First Secretary	(ditto)	1,000
Treasurer of the Navy (abolished.)		
1 Paymaster of the Navy		1,200
1 Paymaster of Marines		1,000
1 Comptroller of the Navy		2,000
1 Deputy Comptroller		1,400
1 Surveyor of the Navy		1,200
5 Commissioners		5,000
2 Secretaries		2,200
1 Receiver of Fees		400
Surveyor of Buildings	(salary reduced)	} 250
Draughtsman to ditto	(ditto)	
48 Clerks		22,635
1 Keeper of Allotments		140
YARDS, ETC.		
7 Commissioners		7,825
2 Secretaries to ditto		800
7 Masters Attendant		2,950
1 Assistant to ditto		220
6 Master Shipwrights		2,400
1 Clerk of the Check		450
3 Store Receivers		850
4 Storekeepers		2,400
1 Engineer and Mechanist		600
94	Carried forward	£57,420

Classes.		United Amount of Salaries reduced.
94	Brought forward	£57,420
1	Draughtsman to Engineer and Mechanist	250
1	Clerk of the Works	700
2	Inspectors of Works	280
1	Clerk of the Rope-yard	350
4	Agents Victualler	1,400
2	Stewards of Hospitals	700
2	Dispensers to ditto	{ 44
		{ 44
10	Mates to ditto	1,094
7	Agents for Transports	1,538
54	Clerks	12,545
1	Clerk in Charge	96
21	Masters of Trades	4,680
2	Foremen of Millwrights and Metal-Mills	310
62	Measurers	11,160
1	Foreman of Masons	150
1	Foreman of Stores	140
1	Foreman of Coopers	100
7	Superior Shipwrights	1,200
17	Cabinkeepers	1,440
3	Surgeons	1,178
2	Assistant-Surgeons	400
1	Medical Agent	407
2	Chaplains	550
1	Lecturer	400
2	Boatswains	460
1	Warder	80
4	Porters and Store-Porters	472
307		£ 99,588
1,028	{ 1830. . . . 7,193 } Vote of 1830. . . . £445,000	} 128,400
	{ 1834. . . . 6,165 } Workmen—Naval. } Vote of 1834-5. . . £316,600	
	Naval Yards abroad . ditto	19,648
	Victualling-Yards at home and abroad—Workmen	5,706
	Total amount of Reduction	£ 253,342

The above may have been the amount of the personal reductions, but the difference of the votes for 1830 and 1834 is not to be considered as so much saved, for the situations of many were continued, though by different people, and in a different shape. Sir James Graham, on presenting his last estimate in 1834, makes the whole reduction from 1831 amount to 1,200,000*l.* But, in point of fact, the merit of the new plan was never meant to be estimated by the amount of savings it would occasion, so much as by striking at the root of abuses, which had long been suffered to exist without detection; and which, as I pointed out to Sir James Graham, had escaped the searching eye of himself and his Whig companions, and which, being thus brought to his knowledge, he took immediate and efficient steps to correct. The amount of extraordinaries in the navy estimate, in former Boards, was made up by the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Comptroller of the Navy, who by the terms of the patent was to be consulted. The Board and the Parliamentary Secretary, who generally brought forward the estimates, knew nothing of the mode of application for such part of them; and I have heard Mr. Croker more than once complain of being thus kept in the dark. The result was, as might be expected, that sums of money were sometimes voted for one purpose and expended for another. Sir James had a case of this kind to settle on his first coming in, which gave him no little trouble. Many thousand pounds had been expended on the costly buildings of Weevil victualling-premises—all proper enough—but not a shilling of it appeared on the estimate. It was on this occasion I took the liberty of telling Sir James

that it was chiefly his and his friends' fault; for that, while they scrutinized and opposed, and strove to diminish almost every vote proposed, there their economy ceased; for not one of them ever thought of asking, the following year, how the money voted the preceding year had been expended. He admitted it; and, like an honest and faithful public servant, instantly set about the remedy.

An Act was now passed, authorising and directing the auditors of public accounts annually to audit the whole expenditure of the navy, and to supply the Board of Admiralty with a correct balance-sheet, being an account of every sum saved, and every sum expended; the balance to be handed over to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and passed to the Consolidated Fund. And thus an end was put to the improper practice of applying such surplus, or sum not specifically voted on the estimate, to any purpose whatsoever but the one for which it was intended.

On the whole, I can venture to say with great confidence, and after the experience of fifteen years since the plan was put in operation, under half a dozen Boards of Admiralty, Whig and Tory, that it has been completely successful in all its parts; and the proof of it is, that no fault has been found with it, nor has any alteration of the least importance been required. The whole plan hinged on the two words *individual responsibility*, and from them I sketched out the outline submitted to Lord Grey, and which Sir James Graham so ably and so unflinchingly carried into execution, in spite of an opposition of no ordinary kind; and one which, I believe, he alone could have overcome. Fortunately, he had completed his labours

before he took leave of the Admiralty. I drew up, for the benefit of his successor, a brief history of all the changes and improvements, both civil and military, that took place under his administration, which was entered on the records of the Admiralty, and, it is presumed, may there be found; and I hope most sincerely that no future change will be attempted on the plan, unless with the certainty of producing a better.

It was my intention, however, if Sir James Graham had not taken so hasty a departure, to have called his attention to the very unsatisfactory state of the lists, and of the modes of promotion, of naval officers—the greatest grievance in the naval service, as they now stand, and one which none of the Boards of Admiralty have been willing to grapple with. The occasional retirements of officers are of little, and but of temporary use. I should have begun by the demolition of a whole list, which was a clumsy invention of a former age, and, in my opinion, an useless incumbrance. I may be wrong: but I will briefly state the history of what is now the Commanders' List.

In the early period of the Navy, fire-ships, brigs, and vessels of the smallest class were commanded by Masters; and, probably, to prevent their being mistaken for the ordinary class of Masters, they were distinguished as Masters-Commanding; but in a short time, these Masters thought that, perhaps by a little alteration in their title, they might advance a step in rank; and accordingly, by minute of the 4th of February, 1697, it was resolved that, for the future, all commanders of fire-ships and sixth rates have their commissions as "Masters and Commanders," and have no separate Masters; and we find the title of *Master and Commander* remaining to be thus entered on the lists

of naval officers; and not only that, but with *precedence* over Lieutenants, thus robbing the latter of their legitimate step to the rank of Captain. The next process was to get rid of the name of Master altogether, but how this was done and by what authority I did not succeed in discovering: in running over the lists, I found that Masters and Commanders stood by that title on the list, down to the year 1793; and, in the list of the following year (1794), that class was simply headed "Commanders," and so in future were their commissions; the alteration, therefore, or the omission, must have taken place when Lord Chatham presided at the Admiralty.

Taking that list as it now (1846) stands, we find:—

On the General List	851 Commanders
On the two retired Lists	300
	—1151 Total.

Of these—

Employed Afloat	115
Ditto Coast-Guard, Hospitals, &c.	57
	— 172

There remain on half-pay and pensioned 979

But the evil does not stop at the large unprofitable expenditure. Here we have 1151 officers regularly educated (at least so it must be presumed) in the naval service, of whom we can find employment afloat for 115 only, and for shore appointments 57, in the whole 172; and probably, if these were to be superseded, it would not be an easy matter to find others fit to supply their places from the list of Commanders; for, except on account of some brilliant service, few young men are promoted to be commanders—the legitimate step is from the list of old lieutenants of long and

good service; an old lieutenant thus becomes an old commander, lives and dies as such, his only reward being a trifling addition to his half-pay, instead of being made a captain at once — and no one will deny that an experienced first-lieutenant of a line-of-battle ship is as fit, or more fit, for the rank of captain, and to command as such, than another of equal merit and standing, who has sauntered away the best remaining part of his life as a half-pay commander; for it is ten to one that he gets anything better, and six to one against his being employed afloat.

In a time of profound peace, when few brilliant deeds can command promotion and a great proportion of all ranks must be deemed no longer fit for command, I am inclined to think that the reasonable and right-thinking part of the service would not object to the abolition of the rank of commander. Those already afloat, to have commissions as captains; and captains, as in olden time, to be made from the list of lieutenants, and from such of the junior commanders as are fit for service afloat, the rest to retire; and those who hold shore-appointments to continue them.

In May, 1832, Sir James was pleased to order the following memorandum to be placed on the records of the Admiralty:—

“ 9th May, 1832.

“ Before retiring from the Board I am anxious to testify my respect to Mr. Barrow, and to mark my sense of his faithful services, and of the assistance which I have received from him in my public duty.

“ With the permission of His Majesty, I wish there-

fore to promote his son, Lieutenant William Barrow, to the rank^d of Commander, as a special favour, independent of the routine of promotion in vacancies.

(Signed) "J. R. G. GRAHAM."

This, my third son, passed through the two previous stages greatly to my satisfaction; and, what is more important, to the satisfaction of his commanding officers. He was, moreover, a kind-hearted and good young man. On the evening of the day that he received his commission from Sir James Graham, two years afterwards, to command the 'Rose,' he brought home under his arm a large quarto Bible; on being asked what use he meant to make of it?—"To read it, to be sure, to the ship's company on Sundays, when at sea." His ship was sent to India, and appropriated to the Strait of Malacca, to look after Malay pirates, where, by his indefatigable pursuit among the creeks and jungle, he caught a fever, which fell on his lungs, and on the passage home he was obliged to invalid at the Cape of Good Hope. He there received the utmost attention from Sir Patrick and Lady Campbell, and also from Captain and Mrs. Wauchope—for whose almost parental kindness I cannot express myself sufficiently grateful. His illness terminated fatally at Simon's Bay; where a stone, with a suitable inscription, marks the place of his burial. The following extract of a letter from Miss Elliot (now Countess of Northesk) to my daughter, displays so much good feeling, and marks so strongly the regard and recollection of this amiable lady for her absent friends, that we all feel the best tribute of gratitude we can bestow is to place her kindness on record:—

“After a long delay,” says Miss Elliot, “caused by the difficulty of procuring workmen to complete the wall which surrounds the monument, it is a real satisfaction to me, before my departure from the colony, to be able to give you a favourable report of the whole. The tablet is all that you and your family could desire; the enclosure solid, and the space of ground inside the wall, which is larger than I expected, is now thickly studded with young acacias and geraniums in flower, and the wall will protect these until they are strong enough to stand against the winds of that quarter.

“I send you a little plant, dried in haste, which I picked the other day inside the enclosure—a spot which, judging by my feelings towards the grave of our lost *Addy*, I feel must be of deep interest to you; and even this trifling recollection may not be unworthy of your acceptance. I fervently wish I could have done more to prove to you that I still retain the kindest recollection of you all. . . .

(Signed)

“GEORGINA ELLIOT.”

It is due to the memory of my son, and will be a gratification to his family, to insert the following testimonial of his conduct, and attention to his professional duties, from his Commander-in-chief:—

“Trincomalee, 9th July, 1837.

“Sir,

“I feel sincerely concerned that the state of your health requires your immediate removal from this climate, and deprives me prematurely of your always cheerful and willing assistance. I have frequently noticed with pleasure your laudable anxiety that His

Majesty's sloop 'Rose,' under your command, should be distinguished for her order and discipline, and alacrity on service; and I trust that your speedy restoration to health will enable you to follow up the service, to which you are so much attached, with distinction and honour to yourself, and benefit to your country.

" I am, Sir,

" Your most obedient humble servant,

" BLADEN CAPEL,

" Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.

" *Commander Barrow,*

H.M. sloop 'Rose.'"

On the same occasion of my son's promotion, Sir Herbert Taylor was directed by the King as follows:—

" The King ordered me to assure you that he had been very much gratified by Sir James Graham's selection of your son for promotion to the rank of Commander, not only because he knew it to be well bestowed, but as it afforded so satisfactory a proof of the just estimation in which your own valuable and exemplary services are held. His Majesty commanded me to add, that he shall not cease to take a sincere interest in your welfare, and in all that can contribute to your comfort.

" I am, &c., very faithfully,

(Signed) " H. TAYLOR."

On the retirement of Sir James Graham from the Admiralty he left the following memorandum:—

" Admiralty, 14th June, 1834.

" As my last act before leaving this Board, I consider it my duty, in the most earnest manner, to impress upon my successor the paramount importance of

keeping at all times ready, to receive men, twelve sail of the line and six large frigates, in addition to the ships which may be in commission. When I say ready to receive men, I mean their standing rigging over the mast-head, their topmasts pointed, their lower masts across, all their internal fitting complete, and their ground-tier of tanks on board. On a sudden emergency, it is impossible to calculate the advantage which this state of preparation affords; and I speak from experience when I declare, that if reliance be placed on a state of ordinary to meet the exigencies of a sudden armament with efficient dispatch, disappointment will ensue, and national danger may be the consequence. France, Russia, all the naval powers, keep constantly a large portion of their fleet in this advanced state of preparation; but when I compare the number of their ships, and the limited sphere within which they move, with our reduced peace establishment, and our ships of war in commission, scattered throughout the world for the protection of our commerce, I am convinced that prudence and policy dictate the necessity of having a force concentrated and ready in our harbours, at once to proceed to sea as soon as men can be obtained. This force should be equally divided between Portsmouth, Plymouth, and the Medway, to prevent confusion, and to ensure celerity, when an armament takes place; and the admirals and captains-superintendent at those ports should be held strictly responsible for the constant state of perfect efficiency in which these ships should be kept, without fail. Their rigging must be removed from time to time, and their masts and spars overhauled: but the cost is insignificant, compared with the national advantage of having this force constantly available, without the risk of disappointment. To ensure these

ships being constantly ready, I would recommend that, as ships of these classes are brought forward for commission, they should be taken from the number thus prepared.

“ J. GRAHAM.”

Some time before Sir James Graham left the Admiralty (in the year 1830), Commander George Smith, who had submitted a plan for instruction in gunnery, and had been appointed supernumerary of the *St. Vincent*, received an order to reside on board the ‘*Excellent*,’ to carry on the practice of sea-gunnery, and for the instruction of officers and seamen, and others belonging to the sea service, who might be desirous of availing themselves of such an opportunity at the port of Portsmouth.

To make the establishment perfect, the Board of Ordnance was requested to supply a gun of each nature and description, with every variety of gun-carriage, apparatus, sights, &c. complete.

Sir John Pechell, who, as one of the Lords of Sir James Graham’s Board, had long before turned his particular attention to naval gunnery, entered cordially into the plan of making it a branch of naval education; and, in the year 1832, the ‘*Excellent*’ was put in commission, to be appropriated solely as a school for gunnery practice, to have a regular establishment of able seamen to be instructed as seamen gunners for the fleet, and to receive on board a certain number of officers to be instructed in that important branch of the naval service. In April, 1832, Sir Thomas Hastings was appointed to the command of the ‘*Excellent*,’ and continued to carry on the gunnery instructions, conducting experiments, and making improvements, for fourteen years, when, in the year 1847, he was superseded by

Captain Chads, and was appointed principal Store-keeper of the Ordnance.

The practice of gunnery in ships of war has now become a system which every officer and man on board is expected fully to comprehend; and every ship is supplied with copies of 'Instructions for the Exercise and Service of Great Guns.' They have regular words of command for every operation, and will go through the drill exercise as steadily as troops on shore.

In the exercise of the great guns on board the 'Excellent,' it is pleasing to see the zeal and alacrity with which the officers of all ranks go through the great gun exercise; and, on the numerous occasions when I have been an inspector of this exercise, I have almost invariably observed, that the process of working the gun, till the concluding one of running it out, has been accomplished sooner by the officers than by the men—such is the effect of animal zeal and spirits over mere animal strength.

The crew are also practised as to elevations, ranges, and charges of guns, in lever target practice, and in naval cutlass exercise.

There is likewise a separate small treatise of "Instructions for the use of Shells," which are becoming of more general practice within a few years.

Commander Smith, before mentioned, has also the merit of introducing, for the use of steam-vessels, an appendage which promises convenience, utility, and perhaps the preservation of human life. This is simply converting the ship's boats into covers for the paddle-boxes by inverting them with their keels upwards: they are here well out of the way, are excellent roofs for the wheels, and are so fitted as to be ready at a moment to

lower down in case of accident. I understand they are now generally thus applied.

In the summer of 1834, Sir James Graham seceded from the Whig party, together with Lord Stanley and some others, on the Irish Church question, though he had gone the full length with them on all other questions, and was one of the most active Members, both in and out of the House, in passing the Reform Bill; so that Mr. Joseph Hume called him "The very pillar of Reform." He was succeeded in the Admiralty by Lord Auckland, who remained but a few months, when his Majesty, on the 14th of November, 1834, gave his new Ministers leave to retire.

But I have not yet done with Sir James Graham. He was a man of too much importance by his influence, intelligence, and aptitude for business, to be overlooked by any party, whether in or out of the Government: and the high situation of Governor-General of India becoming vacant about this time, the Directors of the East India Company fixed their attention on him, as a proper person to fill that important station. One of the most influential of this body called on me to know if, in the course of our intercourse, I had ever heard Sir James Graham throw out a hint on the subject, or if I thought he would accept of this high appointment, provided it was properly offered to him, and that the present Ministry would approve of him. I told him I never had; but said, if he wished it, I would write privately to let him know that the question had been put to me: which accordingly I did, and received an immediate reply, of which the following is a copy:—

“ Netherby, January 10th, 1835.

“ My dear Sir,

“ Although my election takes place on Monday, and I am much occupied by the necessary preparations, yet I cannot delay an answer to your letter, which is written in the kindest and most friendly spirit. It is impossible that I should not feel honoured and gratified by the high trust which the East India Directors are willing to confide to me. In any circumstances my decision on the offer, if it were made directly and in due form, would involve the most serious and difficult considerations both of a public and private nature; but at the present time, and in the present state of affairs, I am relieved from the necessity of any such deliberation; for having refused the acceptance of office at home, under Sir Robert Peel, with all its attendant risks and heavy responsibility at this critical juncture, I should be exposed to the just suspicion of unworthy motives, if, under the same Government and with no change of circumstances, I consented to receive a most lucrative appointment which would remove me from the scene of the impending struggle, and secure my own interests by the favour of a Government whose fortunes I was unwilling to share. Sense of honour admits of no doubt in this case; and in the most sincere sentiments of gratitude and respect towards the Directors I must, at the present moment, renounce the acceptance of the appointment even if it were offered to me with the full concurrence both of the Ministers and the Court of Directors.

“ Yours, very sincerely,

“ J. R. G. GRAHAM.”

In a subsequent note he says, "Let me thank you very sincerely for the friendly part which you have taken in this transaction; it corresponds exactly with the uniform kindness which I have experienced at your hands."

Sir James Graham became Secretary of State for the Home Department in 1841, when Sir Robert Peel was First Lord of the Treasury; but from the date of the above familiar letters the only communication I have ever had from Sir James was in consequence of some charge which, I understood privately, was intended to be preferred against him in the House of Commons, by his old friends the Whigs, for having left the Dock-Yards unprovided with stores, and also for having reduced the fine corps of Marine Artillery to an inefficient state. I gave him notice of this; and by permission of Lord Minto (for which I deemed it right to ask) I furnished him with copies of documents for his defence, if required. On this subject I make no further comment; I believe that we have not from that time exchanged a word with one another on any subject. Yet we are both in the same way of thinking as to politics — both good *Tories*; and I am anxious to say one word at parting.

Although during the four years of Sir James Graham's administration of the affairs of the Navy my labours were increased two-fold to what they had been under any presiding power before or after him, yet, finding him earnestly bent on accomplishing those reforms which he had undertaken to make, and that he spared no labour of his own in the execution of them, I can safely aver that I never felt myself more happy or more at ease than in the busy life I was doomed to

spend during the period in question ; convinced as I then was—if I had ever doubted it before—that the more fully and actively employed, under vigorous health, are the mental and corporeal faculties, the more composed and tranquil will the possessor of them find himself to be. Indeed, I am fully persuaded, that the continual employment for forty years at the Admiralty, with the preceding activity of mind and body, were the great preservatives of my health ; and precluded the necessity of calling in the doctor, who, during all that time, never showed his face in my house—at least for myself, and rarely for any one else.

There might be another cause for contentment. I felt that I had the full confidence of Sir James Graham, as he had promised at our first meeting that I should have ; and that I was held under a higher degree of consideration than otherwise my position in the department would have procured for me. Sir James always treated me with the greatest kindness and attention, and I can only regret that for some years now all intercourse should have ceased.

I thought it right, however, two years after it had ceased, personally or by writing, to send him a copy of my ‘Life of Lord Howe,’ the acknowledgment of which produced a most gratifying letter, of which the following is a copy :—

“ Netherby, December 20th, 1837.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I have received and read with great pleasure your ‘Life of Lord Howe ;’ and so far from exclaiming ‘How can my friend the Secretary of the Admiralty find time to write a book ?’ I can speak, from the experience of some years, that he

never neglected a public duty, that he never was wanting in a kind office to a friend, and yet, from a wise economy of leisure, he always had a spare moment for some useful research or some literary occupation. I think your last effort will be instructive; I am sure it is pregnant with wisdom and reproof; and it will be a happy event if the officers of the present day will stick to the beaten track, and be content with the road to fame which the great men—now no more—so nobly trod before them, when deeds and respect for authority were everything, and when words and love of change stood for nothing. All the great principles of our naval glory are clearly and fully developed in the ‘Life of Lord Howe;’ and when these principles are violated, when the established usage is destroyed, when the right of Impressment shall be frittered away, and the use of corporal punishment given up, then this glory will depart from us and our sun will set to rise no more. You, in your place and generation, have done your best to avert that evil day; and your honest services at the Board of Admiralty will, I trust, be long remembered.

“I am, always, &c.,

(Signed)

“J. R. G. GRAHAM.”

I also presented a copy of the book to the Queen, who directed the following reply:—

“St. Leonard’s, December 20th, 1837.

“Sir,

“I am honoured by Queen Adelaide’s commands to convey to you her Majesty’s thanks for the ‘Life of Admiral Earl Howe,’ which you have had the goodness to present to her.

“Her Majesty further charges me to express her great satisfaction that this work is written by you, as her Majesty clearly recollects the anxious wish of the late King that it should be undertaken by yourself, as a person whose abilities, services, and character his Majesty always held in the highest estimation.

“I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

“EDWARD CURZON.

“To Sir J. Barrow, Bart ,
&c., &c., &c.”

That which I ought, perhaps, to value the highest, consists of three lines from the late Mr. Southey to Mr. Murray:—

“I have read through half the ‘Life of Lord Howe,’ and never read any book of the kind that seemed to me, in all respects, so ably and so judiciously composed.”

SECTION X.

The EARL of AUCKLAND.

June 11, 1834—December 22, 1834.

SIR WILLIAM PARKERFirst Naval Lord.

The Hon. GEO. ELLIOTFirst Secretary.

THE retirement of Sir James Graham was speedily followed by that of Lord Stanley, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Ripon: and, ere long, by the resignation of Lord Althorpe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, at the same time, made an excuse for Lord Grey also to retire from office. Yet with all these desertions, the Whigs were not disposed to quit the helm. Viscount Melbourne succeeded Earl Grey as First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Auckland took the situation of First Lord of the Admiralty in the place of Sir James Graham.

Lord Auckland had, for some years, been Auditor of Greenwich Hospital, and had occasion at certain periods to show himself at the Admiralty; but he never held any other situation, by which he could become conversant with public business, or any that had to do with more than a small portion of Admiralty concerns. The limited degree of patronage that during the short period of his service fell to his share, consisting of a promotion or two, and a few naval appoint-

ments, he distributed, I believe, without favour or affection, to the best of his judgment and according to his conscience.

He was, moreover, a nobleman of good sound sense and solid understanding, of an amiable disposition, mild in his manner, and good-tempered. He showed a willingness to make himself acquainted with the details of business, relating to the concerns of the Naval department, which were now placed on a more firm and settled foundation than heretofore. His tenure of office, however, did not exceed six months, during which the crippled Melbourne Administration, consisting now of little more than members of the original Reform Ministry, shorn of its beams, being deprived of its ablest and best statesmen, was tottering to its fall. The King, having for some time observed this, became more and more dissatisfied, and determined at length to dismiss his Ministers, and to send for the Duke of Wellington, whom he charged to submit to him a new Government.

The Duke could not well refuse, and proposed at once Sir Robert Peel—though then absent with his lady in Italy—as the only and the most proper person to be appointed First Minister of the crown; and in the mean time he advised the King to place him (the Duke) *provisionally* at the head of affairs, as First Lord of the Treasury and Secretary of State for the Home Department; receiving, in fact, the seals of the three departments of Home, Foreign, and Colonial Secretaries of State, as he might have occasion to act in each of them until Sir Robert Peel's return; and so scrupulous was the Duke, that not a single office was disposed of, or exercise of patronage made use of,

during the interregnum ; and no inconvenience resulted from what was jocularly called the Duke's Cabinet, consisting of one single member, in his own individual person—a confidence reposed, in this singular instance, without creating envy, jealousy, or suspicion, either in the mind of the King or of the public.

On the arrival of Sir Robert Peel in England, he was forthwith appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and the Earl de Grey First Lord of the Admiralty, which might be said to have been in abeyance for some little time ; but as every thing had remained peaceable and undisturbed, the wheels of Government went on smoothly—though, on a few occasions, perhaps, a little more slowly than usual. Sir Robert Peel very properly named Sir George Cockburn as First Naval Lord of the Board, who was at this time Commander-in-chief on the North American station. Conceiving it would be an act of great injustice to recal this excellent officer from so important and lucrative a command, I waited on Sir Robert Peel, to take his opinion whether he considered it absolutely necessary that he should at once be recalled to assume his seat at the Board, or would suffer him to remain a little longer. “By all means,” he said, “write to him to say, in my name, that there is no occasion for his turning over the command, and that I will let him know when he is wanted here.” It was fortunate that I stopped him : for, had he come home on seeing his appointment, he would have found his seat occupied by some of the Whig party. Sir Robert Peel's Government having ceased in April, 1835, Lord Melbourne became a second time the Premier ; and Lord Auckland a second time First Lord of the Admiralty for another four or five months, when he re-

signed in September, 1835, and Lord Minto took his place, which he held for six years—not, however, immediately, as about this time the Whig Government found itself so unpopular, with the Radicals as well as with the Conservatives, that Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell deemed it expedient to resign; and the former recommended Queen Victoria to send for the Duke of Wellington, who advised her Majesty again to appoint Sir Robert Peel as First Lord of the Treasury, and authorize him to form his Government. It need not here be stated that Sir Robert, not thinking it proper or constitutional that the wives, daughters, and sisters of the late Cabinet Ministers should continue as Ladies of the Court, all of whom the Queen had been advised to insist on retaining, Sir Robert and the Duke of Wellington declined accepting office; and Lord Melbourne, with the whole party, immediately resumed their former situations: and it was on Lord Melbourne's remaining in office that Lord Minto finally succeeded as First Lord of the Admiralty.

SECTION XI.

The EARL DE GREY.

December 23, 1834—April 25, 1835.

Sir CHARLES ROWLEY First Naval Lord.
Right Hon. GEORGE R. DAWSON . . First Secretary.

DURING the interregnum, as it may almost be called, between Lord Auckland leaving the Admiralty the first time, the 22nd of December, 1834, and returning to it the 24th of April, 1835, the office of First Lord was held by the Earl de Grey; but in the fluctuating state of the Government two years before, and about the commencement of the reign of a young and a female sovereign, and moreover in the struggle for power between the Whigs and the Conservatives, the wheels of Government were considerably clogged; and the world being apparently disposed to cultivate the arts and pursuits of peace, the Navy in particular may be said to have been resting on its oars, during the two short administrations of Lord Auckland and the intermediate still shorter one of the Earl de Grey. In fact, little beyond the common routine of business engaged the attention of the *First* or of the other Lords of the Admiralty

The subject that, from its importance, required the notice of the Board, was the enormous expense incurred,

and the inconvenience occasioned, by the frequent repairs required for the steam-vessels, the number and size of which had at this time increased to a large fleet. A circular notice was therefore sent forth to every officer in command of a steam-vessel, to use his endeavour to make himself thoroughly acquainted with all the parts of the machinery; to examine their condition, and, with the assistance of the chief engineer, to repair defects whenever they occurred; and to transmit, on the first day of every month, a distinct and detailed account of each preceding month of what is therein required, under the following heads:—

1. State of the engines, boilers, and paddle-wheels on the last day of that month.

2. Any injury or defect, and nature of repair received.

3. Quantity of coals, or number of days' consumption, the ship can stow.

4. Number of hours the steam has been up in the month.

5. Average consumption of coals per hour.

6. Greatest number of knots the vessel has gone.

7. Number of days in the month she has been under sail only.

8. The maximum speed when under sail only.

9. Conduct of the engineers during the month.

10. Any suggestions that may occur to you respecting the machinery, and such other remarks and observations as you may deem it expedient their Lordships should be made acquainted with.

This circular order was productive of the best effects.

As steam-navigation was rapidly increasing not only

in the number, but also in the capacity and force of the men-of-war steamers, candidates for commands increased in proportion; and as it was of the utmost importance that appointments should be conferred on those alone who had acquired a knowledge of the construction and management of the steam-engine, encouragement was given by the steam-engine manufacturers to such naval officers as might be desirous of acquiring information, for admission to their workshops; and the knowledge thus obtained was the best recommendation to the command of a steam-vessel.

In the Earl de Grey's short administration, Sir George Cockburn was still commander-in-chief on the American station, and I had written to him not to be in haste to leave his command. The following is his reply to that communication, addressed private to myself, to which he has been kind enough to tack a very flattering testimony, and congratulation on the recent distinction conferred on me:—

(Private.) “Admiral's House, Bermuda, 21st May, 1835.

“My dear Sir John,

“This being the first time I have so addressed you, I must begin my letter by offering you my very sincere congratulations on your having received this so well-merited mark of distinction, and requesting you to believe how cordially I hope that you may long, very long, enjoy this honour, which has seldom or never been more fully earned by so long-continued and valuable services to the state, and which consequently must have given universal satisfaction not only to your friends, but to the public at large. Lady Cockburn

also begs to join me in offering our congratulations to Lady Barrow on the occasion.

“I have now to thank you for your notes of the 2nd and 3rd of April, and a sad account they give of the state in which matters were in London at that date, leaving no doubt of the soundness of your advice to me ‘to wait’ further communications previous to coming to any decision relative to my return to England, and most truly do I feel obliged to Lord de Grey and the rest of you for the kind and flattering consideration towards me so fully manifested by everything you have decided and done respecting me; and if Sir Robert Peel’s Government shall have survived the storm which so overbearingly pressed upon it when you wrote, I shall have much pleasure in joining you at the old office whenever you have sent to me an officer to whom I can with propriety deliver the charge of this extensive and (under existing circumstances) important command; but from the tenor of your letter and of others I received at the same time, I hardly venture to indulge a hope that *my friends* can have managed to stand their ground against the united Whig and Radical swarm opposed to them, and therefore I consider that long ere this reaches you all question regarding my return will have been set at rest.

“How any other Government will be able to get on remains to be proved, but it appears none will be likely to stand with the present House of Commons except a thoroughly *destructive* one, and with such a Government I own I do not think Croker’s anticipations which you mention likely to prove very far wrong. We must, however, do our best to the last, and stand the hazard of the die.

“ With every kind wish to you and yours, believe me always,

“ My dear Sir John,

“ Faithfully and truly yours,

“ G. COCKBURN.

“ Sir John Barrow, Bart.,
 &c. &c. &c.”

Just at the same time I received the following kind letter from one of my earliest friends in the naval service, and one who has distinguished himself in the promotion of nautical science and of good conduct, morality, and discipline in the junior officer, beyond any other that I could mention. In society he was pleasant and lively, and fond of literary pursuits, of which he has given proof to the world by several small volumes on various subjects, chiefly naval; but such is the uncertainty of human life and the instability of the mental constitution, that in the midst of apparent health and vigour, the faculties of his mind suddenly gave way, forsook him altogether, and after a short time of almost unconscious existence, he was fortunately released from a state of misery distressing to himself and to all his friends:—

“ Paris, 13th November, 1835.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I am glad of an opportunity of congratulating you upon your recent honours—so well earned and bestowed with so much popularity; for I never remember any promotion, so to speak, which gave more universal satisfaction. But to no one of all your friends could it have afforded more genuine pleasure than it did to me, for I have very long looked up to you as

one of my truest, and certainly my most useful, protector—most useful because you gave me help and encouragement when I was unknown, even to myself, and when every word of such practical encouragement, as you afforded me, was a step not merely in the ladder of professional advancement, but gave me a rise in the world of letters, of science, and, last though not least, of good company. I must, therefore, ever feel grateful to you; and now that I want nothing, professional or otherwise, I am proud to acknowledge my deep obligations, and right happy to see the object of my humble esteem duly honoured by the highest authorities, by and with the cordial sympathy of the country at large.

“Pray offer my best remembrance and that of Mrs. Hall to Lady Barrow, and believe me,

“Ever truly yours,

“BASIL HALL.

“Sir John Barrow, Bart.”

SECTION XII.

The EARL of MINTO.

Sept. 19, 1835—May 22, 1841.

Admiral Sir CHARLES ADAM First Naval Lord.
CHAS. WOOD (now Rt. Hon. Sir C. WOOD) . First Secretary.

IN the same year (1835) in which Lord Auckland's second administration of the affairs of the Admiralty commenced, and terminated, the Earl of Minto became First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir P. Malcolm and Sir William Parker being appointed the two chief Naval Lords; but Sir P. Malcolm never took his seat, and the other eventually was replaced by Sir Charles Adam, and Mr. Charles Wood was Secretary—an able and active man, and no mean debater in the House of Commons. Notwithstanding the frequent changes and the short reigns of the last three or four First Lords of the Admiralty, the affairs of the Navy, under the new arrangement made and completed by Sir James Graham, went on so smoothly and with such regularity that the short-lived Boards had no occasion to trouble themselves with studying the details of the civil departments, or of making any new ones. No alteration whatever had been made or proposed; but, before Lord Minto had been long in office, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into

the working of the consolidation of the civil departments of the Navy, according to the new plan, with the view, as I understood, of seeing how far such a plan could be applied to the consolidation of the civil affairs of the Army.

The Committee consisted of Lord Howick, Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Palmerston, and three or four others. I believe that I was the only person examined, and the examination was rather long and particular. Not a point in the plan of arrangement was omitted to be called in question; but, having drawn it up myself and witnessed its execution, and two years only having expired, I was prepared to give full information on every point, and I believe they were perfectly satisfied. As Lord Grey had suggested the measure, and during its progress a considerable opposition in the House of Commons was exhibited by certain Conservative members; and, moreover, as Lord Howick took an active share in the examination, it struck me, at the time, that Lord Grey was desirous the success of the measure should be made more public than it had hitherto been; it was, in fact, his Lordship's own measure—at least, it originated with him.

Another Committee, about the same time, was appointed to examine into the several sinecure places, with the view of abolishing them; and I was also examined on this subject, as far as the naval service was concerned. I told them I was not aware of the existence of any sinecures in the Navy, except they might be disposed to consider the two appointments, of ancient date, the Vice-Admiral and the Rear-Admiral of England, to come under that denomination; strictly speaking, they might, perhaps, fall within that description; but

I would beg leave to observe, that they had efficient duties to perform, when first created, and might be again called upon to carry them into execution. Even in our time, it might have happened that their services were required. These two officers were originally intended to be the Lieutenants of the Lord High Admiral; and if anything had happened to deprive the nation of the late Lord High Admiral, while holding that office, or that had disqualified him from performing certain duties of it, one or both of these officers would immediately have been summoned to perform such duties, to prevent the office of Admiralty from becoming useless; for the Council would then have been reduced to such an emergency, that they could neither order a ship to be built, to be commissioned, or to proceed to sea; they could not attach their names to any public document.

It may also be looked on as a circumstance in favour of their continuance, that these appointments are considered as honorary distinctions, that have always been given to Admirals of high rank and good service; and the saving to be effected, by depriving them of the pittance of day-pay they receive is too paltry to be regarded. The Committee would appear to have been satisfied with this statement, as the Vice and Rear-Admirals of England still remain to be voted on the Estimate of the Navy.

During Lord Minto's administration a great clamour was raised, mostly by naval partisans, about the inefficient state of the Navy, particularly on the want of naval stores in the Dock-Yards: and, as usual, the flourishing state of the continental navies was contrasted with the declining condition of ours; and,

among other matters, the mode of manning the Navy was, perhaps not undeservedly, reprov'd; and it was stated also that the men were dissatisfied by being put to unnecessary and degrading work. An instance was related, that the Duke of Wellington, "on his being shown over a man-of-war, in which the *polishing* system was established in full force, his Grace observed, that it was pretty to look at, but that it was probably the cause of discontent, as he had not seen a smile on the countenance of any one man in the ship."

Satisfied of the falsehood of the story, but being stated in a publication generally read, I took the liberty of asking the question of his Grace, who immediately returned the following reply:—

"Walmer Castle, September 29th.

"My dear Sir,

"I have received your letter of the 27th. I have no recollection of having used the expression to which you refer. I have sailed in many ships of war, of all sizes and descriptions—probably more than some officers of the Navy of my time of life, certainly more than any officer of the Army. The Captains of all these ships were the most distinguished men of their rank at the time. I do not recollect to have had occasion to make such a remark upon any of them, or on the discipline maintained by any of them.

"That which I always felt was, admiration for the professional science and seamanship displayed by all the officers, without exception, in every ship in which I ever sailed. I firmly believe, and I have frequently stated my conviction, that I had not seen one who could not, at any time, lay his ship in any situation which he might be ordered to take, in relation

to any other ships, be the strength of the wind or the violence of the sea what it might; and I have founded upon this superior knowledge and seamanship of our officers, the confidence that the naval superiority of this country would be permanent.

“Entertaining this opinion, I might have made remarks upon other matters; but I certainly do not recollect that I ever had occasion to make such a remark on the discipline of any ship in which I have sailed.

“Believe me, &c., &c.,

(Signed)

“WELLINGTON.”

This high compliment, from such authority, settles that part which relates to the science and seamanship of the officers, and negatives the other charge; and Lord Minto in the Lords, and Mr. Wood in the Commons, proved the charge of a scarcity of stores to be utterly unfounded. The charge originated, as regarded the want of timber, on a most ridiculous basis; a certain gentleman-yachtsman could not procure, in our first dock-yard, a spar of Riga timber for a mast to his yacht!

Lord Minto was a nobleman of first-rate abilities; and, among other qualifications, he had a competent knowledge of the mechanical powers and of the various modes of their application, which, in these days of inventions, is no mean acquirement in a First Lord of the Admiralty, beset, as he is sure to be, by a host of speculative inventors, whom it is not easy to satisfy or to get rid of, especially when they happen to be naval officers of high rank, who may fancy themselves capable of making improvements in naval constructions, principally in steamers, of which they can have but a very imperfect knowledge. Two or three of this kind

of craft have just now been placed under trial, but, as I understand, with small chance of success. The only successful amateur builder appears to be Captain, now Admiral, George Elliot, who planned the 'Eurydice,' avowedly one of the best—if not the very best—ship of her class in our fleet; he having previously built the 'Modeste,' of a smaller class, which is also much praised for her good qualities.

A dangerous set of projectors appear to have recently found their way into the good graces of the Admiralty, and supplied their Lordships with a whole fleet of *iron* steam-vessels, altogether useless, it would seem, as ships of war. I very much doubt whether, had the proposal of building such vessels been submitted to Lord Minto, while he presided at the Board, the serious objection would not have occurred to him, that a shot, passing through a plate of iron, must leave on the opposite or inner side of the plate such a jagged margin round the hole, as would have suggested at once the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of plugging it up in sufficient time to prevent a rush of water pouring in. He would, at least, have satisfied himself, by direct experiment, whether the objection was removable and without inconvenience. As far as I have seen in the public papers, the inventions hitherto tried to obviate the evil have been unsatisfactory; but the vessels have been built and the expense has been incurred.

I do not recollect that anything material took place during the remaining period of Lord Minto's administration, beyond the general and usual occurrences that daily occupy the attention of the Board of Admiralty. The Navy is indebted to him for the extension and improvement of the seamen's libraries: and I may add,

also, to that excellent and charitable lady, the late Elizabeth Fry, of whose unceasing solicitude for an improvement in the morals and comforts of all in the naval service, I had frequent and abundant proofs. We are indebted to her admirably well-chosen selection of books, for the completion of the seamen's libraries. She told me, one day, she had just completed a tour round the sea-coast of Great Britain, to visit all the coast-guard stations, with a view to succeed, if practicable, in obtaining books for the perusal of the poor fellows that had attracted her notice and commiseration, as she regarded their solitary walks along the sea-shore, looking out for smugglers. I could only refer her to the Commissioners of Customs, under whom the coast-guard is placed.

I was much gratified by the frequent visits of the good Mrs. Fry, and with her correspondence, which always had relation to some humane and charitable purpose; as a specimen I annex the copy of a letter I find at hand:—

“Upton Lane, 1st month 12th, 1836.

“Esteemed Friend,

“According to thy request I ordered a list to be sent to thee of our libraries; first, the one that is gone to 498 stations: and secondly, one of our large District libraries; there will be 74 of these, and all the larger ones will have considerable variety in them. My daughter and myself also hope soon to send thee our list of books, that we have sent for the use of the Government packets, but we have it not by us just now.

“I long to have the great hospital libraries increased and renewed. I believe it would do much good and prevent much harm; for the human mind, if not

properly occupied, is sure to suffer; and there are many hours, particularly in recovery from illness, that may be spent pleasantly and profitably in reading.

“The officers at Plymouth complained of the smallness of their library there; and, as a very few pounds would greatly increase it, I should be very much gratified in hearing that this request was granted. I feel more free in pressing this subject because I know that Sir William Burnett approves the officers and sailors having the books. I have had much experience in visiting the sick, and I am sure that persons are much mistaken who are disposed to preclude religious books from them; because I am sure, if able to read the Bible and works of simple Christian truth, they tend to calm, support, and comfort them in their affliction, and consequently frequently promote recovery. I should be careful, certainly, what books I introduced.

“I thought it better, as it respects the articles in the Irish ships, to write to thee, and, if thou think proper, pray represent it to the Board. I fear thou wilt think me rather a troublesome correspondent, but my motive for writing must plead my excuse. I hope that thou wast so kind as to present my respects to Lord Minto, and to inform him, how very much obliged I feel for his great kindness in nominating Captain Prynne's son to the upper school at Greenwich.

“My hands are so very cold that I fear part of my letter is hardly legible.

“I remain, with esteem and regard,

“Thy obliged friend,

“ELIZABETH FRY.

“To Sir John Barrow, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.”

Mr. Secretary Wood left the Admiralty on the 4th October, 1839, greatly respected by his colleagues, and by all who had served under him, for his uniform kindness and good feeling towards them, having accepted the Secretaryship of the Treasury ; and Mr. M. O'Ferrall succeeded to his place in the Admiralty, which he retained till the 9th June, 1841 : when he removed to the Treasury, and was replaced by Mr. John Parker, in the Admiralty, on the 9th June ; and went out on the 10th September following, with the Earl of Minto, after a short service of three months. The Whig administration was in fact dissolved, in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament, and the result of the new one being decidedly against that party ; Sir Robert Peel was appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and the Earl of Haddington First Lord of the Admiralty.

SECTION XIII.

The EARL of HADDINGTON.

May 22, 1841—January, 1846.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE COCKBURN First Naval Lord.

Hon. SIDNEY HERBERT First Secretary.

WHEN the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel had declined, on a former occasion, to accept office on the terms proposed, Lord Melbourne consented to remain at the head of the Treasury, and Lord Minto accepted the Admiralty, and conducted it with great credit till the commencement of the year 1841, under that tottering administration. Parliament was dissolved, and the returns went so much against the Whigs, as already stated, that Sir Robert Peel was sent for, who accepted the seals, and his early friend the Earl of Haddington was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty.

A letter from Sir Robert introduced me to his Lordship, to whom I had the honour of being well known in his early life. This change, and the return of Sir George Cockburn to the Admiralty, together with the appointment of Mr. Sidney Herbert as Secretary, whom I also had known as a boy, when I was not unknown to Lord and Lady Pembroke, induced me to give up all thought for the present of resigning my situation,

which I had been revolving in my mind to do on the breaking up of the last Board.

Lord Haddington came into the Admiralty at a time of profound peace, and when the new system of management in the Admiralty departments had undergone a full trial and was completely established. One thing, however, was still wanting in the naval service, and that was a new and improved code of regulations and instructions for the government of the naval service, the date of the last edition of the old ones being 1833, and many alterations, additions, and improvements having been introduced since that period. A trial was made under Lord Minto's administration to get up a new edition, which was printed, and reprinted, a gentleman, who was not in the Admiralty, having been employed to dress them up, for which he received a sum of money; but the volume was strangled in its birth, and never left the Admiralty Board-room. It was shown to Sir George Cockburn, he having previously intimated an intention of undertaking the task of altering, amending, and extending the existing code, which had long been denounced as extremely defective and out of date. Sir George Cockburn went carefully over what the late Board had done, pronounced the production incomplete and incorrect, and forthwith set about his intended new edition.

As this undertaking was likely to be attended with great labour and expenditure of time, which, in his arduous situation, he could not well spare, he applied to my son for his assistance in preparing, arranging, and putting through the press, the work in question, which when completed was found to extend to upwards of six hundred pages, and which, with that "constant

and untiring attention," as expressed by Sir George, he accomplished in due time, to take upon himself the far more extensive and arduous task of extending and improving the record department of the Admiralty. When Sir George Cockburn retired from the office of Admiralty, he wrote my son the following letter:—

“ Admiralty, July 9, 1846.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I deem it to be right and fully due to you, previous to my quitting this office, to express how greatly I felt indebted to you for the able, willing, and indefatigable assistance I received from you, in compiling the existing book of regulations and instructions for the government of the naval service. I attribute to your constant and untiring attention the truly satisfactory result that, in a work of such extensive professional detail, not one error or doubtful point has been discovered, though issued to the fleet more than two years back.

“ I therefore request you to receive from me this record of your valuable services on the occasion in question.

“ I remain, dear Sir,

“ Your very faithful servant,
(Signed) “ G. COCKBURN.

“ John Barrow, Esq.”

Sir George Cockburn did not retire at the termination of Lord Haddington's administration, but consented to continue during the short one of the Earl of

Ellenborough, for reasons which his friends can well appreciate.

When, in the usual course of service, my son arrived at the situation of one of the seniors of the office, and received his promotion, having originally entered the Admiralty under the patronage of Mr. Croker, he deemed it right and a proper point of duty, as well as of respect, to acquaint him thereof, and in return received a kind reply, of which the following is an extract, dated West Molesey, 10th May, 1844:—

* * * *

“It has been my good fortune that all my *protégés* (with one or two very inconsiderable exceptions) have done credit to my selection, and no one, my dear John, more than yourself. I appointed you to mark my respect for my old and valued friend, your father, whose public service and private kindness to me made this small favour a mere instalment of a debt which neither the public nor I could altogether repay. But since my first nomination it has been your own merit which has justified every step of your advancement.”

The kind and most flattering manner in which Mr. Croker has taken the occasion to introduce my name, is most gratifying, knowing it as I do to have been penned in sincerity and truth. A daily intercourse, with a few occasional exceptions, for more than twenty years, acting together in concert under the same roof for the public service during that period, added to the intimacy that subsisted between our two families, which led to a connection of a closer nature—these are contingencies that require no further test or evidence of the fidelity of my Right Honourable friend John Wilson

Croker, whose loss, by his retirement from the Admiralty at the time he deemed it fit to do so, and I may add, that also of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, occasioned me a more deep concern than the loss of any other two, in similar situations, that ever occurred among the many changes which took place subsequent to their departure; not altogether, perhaps, though mainly, on personal considerations, but also from a firm conviction, that their places would not and could not be adequately supplied; and I think I may be permitted to add, without the imputation of vanity, the fear of contradiction, or the disparagement of any one of our successors, that however great their talents for business may have been found, no two secretaries of the Admiralty, either before or since our time, have performed the duties of that office more honestly, more zealously, and more efficiently than Mr. Croker and myself.

The Admiralty at a future period, as already stated, had the good fortune once more to reap the advantage of the splendid and inexhaustible talents of the Right Hon. Sir George Cockburn, whose zeal for the service and whose indefatigable labours in the multifarious duties of the office of Admiralty, it is much to be feared, have proved injurious to his health.

A little time previous to my retirement from office, on the death of Mr. Bedford, late keeper of the records, my son was appointed to that office, none of the senior chief clerks being desirous of succeeding to it on account of the constant and personally laborious duties attached to it, independent of the exercise of judgment in the arrangement of the records, and the correctness of the digest or précis of them, on which part a reliance

must be placed on others; so that when any transaction is called for, that happened at a recent or distant period of time, the details of it may at once be produced. For this purpose there is kept in the record-office a digest of the whole correspondence, from and to the Admiralty, consisting of about forty thousand letters annually received; which digest occupies four immense volumes, unequalled, I believe, in point of weight and magnitude, so as to require, when moved, the use of rollers. In two of these volumes are digested alphabetically every *subject* mentioned in the correspondence, and in two other similar ones, indexes in which every *name* is entered that occurs. The synoptical table, originally constructed by Mr. Finlayson, has recently been extended and improved, to afford every facility in reference either to subject or name, so that any information required by the Board or the secretaries can at once be given.

For the due management of the record-office four clerks of the third class are required, two for entering the digest and two for the index. For the sorting, marking, and classing, three others are required, one chief, one second, and one of the seniors of the third class; and these operations and the searchings constantly called for, give full occupation to the whole. The office itself, or the working part, consists of two rooms.

Thus it stood when I retired from the Admiralty. A discovery had shortly before this been made of a most important nature. It was nothing less than that of a series of Admiralty records, commencing with James II. Duke of York, when Lord High Admiral, that had been crowded into the very highest and extensive

garrets of the Admiralty building, some in half-bound volumes, others in bundles, rolls, and loose papers, piled up in whole streets or lanes of shelves or pigeon-holes, stuffed in without arrangement or any kind of order; the ground-floors of these lanes also strewed with documents of various descriptions. These extensive alleys, thus crammed and blocked up, required no little experience even to become master of their geography.

When taken up to view them, by my son, I blushed with shame to have been nearly forty years in the building and never to have known, or even suspected, the existence of these regions, or of the valuable treasures they contained. My son was quite ready and desirous to overhaul them, and to arrange them, or the most important of them, in tangible order, provided a suitable place could be found to contain them. Lord Haddington and the Board visited the den; being, I believe, the first Board in modern times that had done so; and it so happened that, just at this time, the Secretary (Mr. Sidney Herbert) had given up his large dwelling-house to be thrown into the office, and in the new arrangement that was made in the distribution of the apartments, four office-rooms *en suite* were added to the record-office, for the reception of these valuable papers, well fitted with suitable shelves, which are already well filled, yet the garret-alleys not one-third exhausted.

I am not sure whether Lord Auckland and his Board visited the garrets with the old lumber still remaining in the closets and corners of the narrow alleys; but I believe Mr. Ward inspected them; and his

Lordship and the Board visited the new rooms, set apart by the late arrangements, in which the valuable records have now been deposited, after being cleaned and neatly bound; and their Lordships expressed their satisfaction at the change; and the two secretaries, Mr. Ward and Captain Hamilton, drew up a report, to be read at the Board, which thus concludes:—

“ We cannot close this report without expressing our sense of the merits and exertions of Mr. Barrow, now at the head of the Record-Office, by whose efforts the whole of the valuable documents connected with the department since the year 1688 have been brought into the most perfect order, and so arranged as to be accessible whenever required. The Board minutes—the orders in council—the proceedings of courts martial—the opinions of the law-officers of the crown upon naval matters since the year 1733*—the dispatches of officers whose names and exploits must ever be associated with the most brilliant periods of English history—have been saved from impending destruction in the garrets to which they were formerly consigned, and now present a model of symmetrical arrangement, most creditable to the Admiralty, and to the officer by whose labours and under whose personal superintendence this most desirable change has been effected in the short space of two years.

“ We trust that their Lordships will feel it due to Mr. Barrow to place upon record their sense of his

* A whole century of the law-officers' opinions, prior to this, were carried off, with a mass of other documents of all sorts, by a messenger of the name of Somerville, who was transported some thirty years ago.

exertions, which have not hitherto been rewarded by that expression of their Lordships' satisfaction to which we think him most fully entitled."*

But to resume. Lord Haddington was determined not to let me take my departure from the Admiralty unaccompanied by a "venerable relic," that might keep in my recollection the many years it had been my daily, I might almost say hourly, companion. His Lordship's jocular note will explain the "relic," and is at the same time characteristic of his playful good-humour.

" Monday, Feb. 3, 1845.

" My dear Sir John,

" There is 'a venerable relic' here that I thought you might like to possess, as you are an antiquary. It has not the recommendation of *rust*, but it is very *inky* indeed; and I have directed ~~that~~ no sacrilegious hand should be applied to it for the purpose of removing the venerable stains.

" Your old friends here beg your acceptance of the huge and time-honoured desk you wot of.

" Believe me, with much truth and regard,

" Ever yours,

" HADDINGTON."

And now, my Lord, I take my last official leave of you and your good colleagues, with thanks for all your and their kindnesses, including the possession of the old desk, which you have now placed in a fair way of

* This paper was read and placed in my son's hands by Mr. Ward, at a full meeting of the Board.

descending in my family till it becomes a relic of a more venerable antiquity than when I received it.

I cannot, however, conclude this Memoir without an expression of the gratitude I entertain, and the affectionate regard I feel, for one of my own family—my daughter Mary Jane—for the attention and ability she cheerfully bestowed on the revision and correction of the press, not only for the present volume, but also for two or three former ones—a species of literary labour, which I am as little qualified to perform myself as I believe most rapid writers are, especially of their own works: and for the relief thus cordially afforded me, I am desirous to record this tribute of praise, to which I consider her so justly entitled.

CHAPTER V.—SUPPLEMENTARY.

SECTION I.

RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC LIFE.

Various Complimentary Letters on the Occasion—Employment of Leisure Time after a Busy Life—How my own has been occupied.

FORTY years having transpired since my original entry into the Admiralty as Second Secretary, and having attained the 81st year of my age, I thought it right and proper—though in robust health, strength, and my usual activity of mind—to retire from the situation I had so long held, and to give place to a successor. Though I felt some regret in taking leave of those with many of whom I had been in daily intercourse, yet the numerous changes towards the latter part of the period, and the new faces brought with them, had, in some degree, made my parting with the old ones more a matter of course. I therefore wrote an official letter to the Board, having first communicated my intention to Lord Haddington, requesting their Lordships' permission to resign my office, to which I received the following official reply:—

“Admiralty, January 28th, 1845.

“Sir,

“I have received and laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of this date, requesting permission to resign your situation of

Second Secretary to their Lordships; and I am commanded by my Lords to acquaint you that, in accepting your resignation, the Board beg to assure you of their best wishes for your health and happiness in a retirement honourably earned and naturally sought for, at your advanced age, after half a century of laborious public life.

“During the many years of your connection with this department you have served the public usefully, no less by the zeal with which you have endeavoured to render science subservient to our naval and commercial interests, than by your assiduous attention to the arduous duties of your important office.

“My Lords also desire me to acquaint you that your request that your resignation should be made known to the Treasury shall be forthwith complied with.

“I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

“SIDNEY HERBERT.”

I had previously, as I felt it a duty, acquainted Sir Robert Peel with my intention; and not merely as a duty, but as a mark of respect and gratitude in the opportunity it afforded me of acknowledging the many favours and acts of kindness he had bestowed on me during a very long acquaintance. On this occasion I received from him the following gratifying reply:—

“Whitehall, January 10th, 1845.

“My dear Sir,

“I cannot allow you to retire from the public service without conveying to you my high

sense of the services which you have rendered to the public during a long and honourable career, and expressing my cordial wishes that you may long enjoy, in a private station, health and happiness.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir, with sincere regard,

“ Most faithfully yours,

“ ROBERT PEEL.

“ Sir John Barrow, Bart.”

I also thought it right and becoming to let my excellent old master, Lord Melville, know of my intention, and received from him the following:—

“ Melville Castle, January 1st, 1845.

“ My dear Barrow,

“ I am not surprised on receiving your letter to-day, though very much obliged by your recollection of my former communication. I must say that you have had to undergo your full share of official labour; and most assuredly the public have no further claim upon you if it be agreeable to you to retire.

“ With the strongest wishes for your still seeing the return of many new years' days, with the same good health and sound constitution, I remain

“ Yours most truly and sincerely,

“ MELVILLE.”

The following, from my esteemed colleague the Right Honourable Sidney Herbert, alludes to a promise I had made to him, while in the Admiralty, that I would sit for my portrait, which he wished to present to the Admiralty, to be hung up in the Secretary's room.

“War-Office, April 23rd, 1846.

“My dear Sir John,

“When we left the Admiralty, you kindly promised to sit to Mr. Lucas for your portrait, with which I wished to enrich the collection in the Secretary’s dining-room.

“Mr. Lucas informs me that he is now at your disposal, and ready to fix any hour for a sitting that may be convenient to you.

“May I, therefore, claim the execution of your promise, and ask you to arrange a time with Mr. Lucas, whose direction is 3, St. John’s Wood Road?

“I would ask your pardon for this attempt to inflict on you the most wearisome of all occupations; but it is one of the taxes on eminence, which you have no right to escape. Pray believe me

“Most faithfully yours,

“SIDNEY HERBERT.

“Sir John Barrow, Bart.”

Among the many kind leave-takings I received, none gave me more sincere pleasure than the following, from a very old colleague and one of the ablest men that this country affords; not only in a professional point of view, but in general science and sound judgment: and who, whenever he thinks fit to retire from the very arduous situation of Hydrographer to the Admiralty, I trust will receive, in acknowledgment of his long and eminent services, that reward which is so justly his due, with such proper distinguishing marks of honour as he may desire, and the Board of Admiralty has the power—as it must have the inclination—to recommend:—

“ Admiralty, January 29th, 1845.

“ My dear Sir John,

“ I might have been contented with my share of the sentiments which were so well expressed by Mr. Amedroz, in his letter to you of last Monday ; and I might have rested equally contented and flattered by appropriating to myself a small share of those kind and cheering sentiments which filled your reply to him.

“ Yet, after having been for so many years in daily communication with you, so long worked under your directions, and so continually profited by your experience and judgment, I cannot forego the opportunity of saying, in a more direct form, how deeply I regret the separation that has this day taken place, and the consequent loss to the office in every point of view, whether public or personal ; individually, to me greater than to any one, from your extensive knowledge on all those subjects which it is my duty to cultivate. Indeed, when I look back at the many remarkable men with whom I have served afloat or ashore, I can safely say that there are very few of them that will come to my remembrance more frequently, more strongly, or more pleasingly than you ; and none that will be so usefully and *stimulatingly* associated with all the best of my pursuits.

“ Among the painful impressions, however, which your withdrawal has produced, I feel it to be a source of great pleasure and consolation that, before it took place, you had succeeded in providing for a finishing (and, I trust, crowning) voyage of discovery to those regions from which you have derived so much fame,

and with which your name will be bound up for ever.

“I am, my dear Sir John,

“Faithfully and gratefully yours,

“F. BEAUFORT.”

The letter of Mr. Amedroz, to which that too flattering epistle of Captain (now Admiral) Beaufort alludes, is from the Chief Clerk of the Admiralty, who is much my senior in that office, though not in age, and who writes at the request of the gentlemen of the Admiralty. This is to me the more gratifying, as, with every endeavour on all fit occasions, I have been able to accomplish but very little to their advantage individually or collectively, though I have considered and represented them to be most deserving of it; for a more attentive, efficient, and well-conducted class of gentlemen (mostly of a middle age) it has not been my good fortune to meet with; and they may be assured I take leave of them with regret.

“Admiralty, 27th January, 1845.

“My dear Sir John,

“I have been requested by many of the gentlemen of the office to convey to you the expression of the deep regret which we feel in seeing the termination of a long intercourse with a chief from whom we have ever met with uniform kindness.

“In those who have been the longest in the Admiralty, as in those who have more recently entered it, there is but one sentiment as to the manner in which you have exercised your office. Throughout a period of forty-one years our interests have always found in you a generous supporter; you have always shown us

the good-will and indulgence of a kind friend, and we intreat you to be assured that, in leaving us, you carry with you the sincerest respect and gratitude, and the warmest good wishes of all who have had the pleasure and the advantage of serving under you.

“ I have the honour to be, my dear Sir John,

“ Your much obliged, &c.,

“ H. F. AMEDROZ.

“ Sir John Barrow, Bart.”

“ Admiralty, 27th January, 1845.

“ My dear Mr. Amedroz,

“ After a public service of forty years, passed under the same roof with yourself, and a period not far short of it with several others, and a great length of time with more of the gentlemen employed in the same service of the Admiralty, I cannot permit myself to take a final leave of you and them, without wishing to express the strong sense I entertain and the obligation I feel for the ready and constant attention I experienced from yourself and all the others, to the manifold requisitions which our respective situations compelled me frequently to make, and which, it is due to all of you to say, were on all occasions responded to with cheerfulness and alacrity.

“ I feel it also due to all to state what my long experience enables me to do—that there cannot be, and I am satisfied there is not any one department of the Government in which so great a quantity of labour is required and executed with such limited means to perform it, as exists in the office of Admiralty, a labour embracing, moreover, every variety of subject, or that is performed with more correctness, dispatch, and

good-will than is done by the gentlemen of the respective departments of the Admiralty-office.

“I am the more solicitous to leave at my departure this testimony to the merits of those it is intended to concern, for occasions may arise to render it of some little service, as I sincerely wish it to do : and in this view, should you think proper, you may place it on the records of the office as the last act of your secretary ; and I will further request that you will communicate this note of my sentiments to all your colleagues, and with every good wish for the continuance of health and happiness to you and all,

“ I remain, with sincerity, &c.,

“ Yours,

“ JOHN BARROW.”

All these testimonies of kind feeling, accompanied by many others from various quarters, expressed at a time when the little influence I might have been supposed to possess, while in office, had finally ceased, could not be otherwise than highly flattering and most satisfactory to the receiver of them ; but none could be more gratifying and heartfelt than the following from a different class of gentlemen, all of them officers of high distinction in the British Navy, and whose conduct throughout a most arduous employment of a series of years may safely be said to have no parallel. I allude to our recent Arctic voyagers, who have so nobly sustained the high and unflinching character of British naval officers by their persevering and adventurous spirit in exploring unknown frozen seas, making new discoveries in geography, in objects of scientific research, in experiments in meteorology and

natural history, and, in short, by extending the limits of human knowledge ; and, moreover, what is above all praise and most worthy of admiration, by the uncomplaining and quiet resignation to the Divine will on the part of those whose sufferings from intense cold and the extremity of famine were far beyond any known example. It was in honour of these brave and talented men that, in my leisure hours, I sat down to record, in a more accessible form than the official narratives are conveyed, an account of their exploits and sufferings in the Arctic regions. Indeed, I am not sure that the following most gratifying letter, accompanied with an elegant testimonial in the shape of a candelabrum, did not contribute, as it ought, to expedite on my part the completion of that small volume, which had but then been faintly conceived :—

“ London, 20th March, 1845.

“ Dear Sir John Barrow,

“ We are deputed by several officers, who have had the honour of being employed on the various Arctic expeditions, by sea and land, to request your acceptance of the accompanying piece of plate, as a testimony of their personal esteem, and of the high sense they entertain of the talent, zeal, and energy which you have unceasingly displayed in the promotion of Arctic discovery.

“ We are sincerely gratified in being made the medium of this communication, and gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity thus afforded to us, of expressing to you our own cordial regard and obligation, together with our earnest hope that, in retiring from a long and honourable course of public service, you may

be permitted to enjoy, in private life and in the bosom of your family, many years of health, happiness, and prosperity.

“ We have the honour to be,

“ Dear Sir John Barrow,

“ Your obliged friends and faithful servants,

(Signed)

“ E. W. PARRY,

“ JOHN FRANKLIN,

“ JAMES ROSS,

“ GEO. BACK,

“ Captains of the Royal Navy.

“ Sir John Barrow, Bart.,
LL.D., F.R.S.”

List of Officers referred to in the foregoing Letter.

Names and Rank.	Names and Rank.
Captain Sir W. E. Parry,	Commander Arch. M'Murdo,
Sir John Franklin,	Lieutenant Andrew Reid,
Fred. W. Beechey,	Wm. J. Dealy,
Sir Jas. C. Ross,	Chas. Palmer,
Sir Geo. Back,	Berkeley West-
Horatio J. Austin,	ropp,
F. R. M. Crozier,	Edw. N. Kendal,
Jos. Sherer,	Graham Gore,
Edward J. Bird,	Chaplain, Rev. Geo. Fisher,
Wm. Smith,	Surgeon, John Edwards,
Owen Stanley,	C. J. Beverley,
Col. Sabine,	G. M'Diarmid,
Dr. J. Richardson, M.D.	M.D.
Commander Matthew Liddon,	Allan M'Laren,
Peter Fisher,	Purser, James Halse.

The inscription on the pedestal of the candelabrum corresponds with the terms of the letter.

One of the oldest and the ablest of my surviving friends, and my senior by five years, but who departed this life in October, 1846, was sure not to fail in his

congratulations on any subject interesting or gratifying to me. Few men possessed such a fund of knowledge, so clear an intellect, and so perfect a memory to communicate it to others, as Mr. Murdoch, and he had the happiness to retain his faculties to the last day of his life. Up to that period, scarcely a week passed in which I did not spend a couple of hours in his company, and I never left it without a new acquisition of knowledge, more particularly in any curious circumstance drawn out of the old Spanish and Portuguese voyages, in which his recollection of details was quite wonderful.

“ 8, Portland Place, 26th March, 1845.

“ My dear Sir John Barrow,

“ My daughter has just informed me that the Arctic committee have presented you with a beautiful testimonial for your great services in promoting voyages of discovery. The gift is rendered doubly valuable from the character of the donors, so capable of appreciating the merit of the man, to whom they have given this mark of their esteem; long may he live to enjoy it.

“ During forty years that you were a secretary of the Admiralty you were the constant and the successful advocate of those voyages of discovery, which have enlarged the bounds of science and done so much honour to the British navy and nation. The enduring fortitude and untiring enterprise with which Parry and Ross and Franklin and Back braved the rigours of a Polar winter and the perils of a frozen sea, will render their names for ever famous in the annals of navigation, and the name of Barrow will be associated with them by posterity.

“This is perhaps the last letter that I shall attempt to write, for even with the sun shining on my paper it is but imperfectly visible.

“Yours, ever faithfully,

“THOS. MURDOCH.

“Sir John Barrow, Bart.,

“New Street, Spring Gardens.”

There was one of the Arctic officers most highly esteemed for his extensive acquirements in natural history, and still more so for his humanity and amiable disposition, who, by some unaccountable oversight, was not rewarded as he ought to have been; it might have arisen from a great portion of his time and attention having been for five or six years employed in bringing out the *Fauna Borealis*, or ‘Natural History of the Arctic Regions,’ in the four departments of mammalia, birds, fishes, and insects, with plates and descriptions, in as many folio volumes. The gentleman to whom I allude, it is almost unnecessary to say, is Dr. (now Sir John) Richardson, whose case I determined in the last year of my service to bring forward in such a manner as to be irresistible, and I succeeded in prevailing on Lord Haddington to make application to Sir James Graham to obtain for him the honour of knighthood. I may mention an incident which marks an amiable stamp on the character of the individual in question. While the title was in progress intimation was conveyed to me that Dr. Richardson had been attacked with severe paralysis. I wrote instantly to Haslar Hospital to inquire after him; the answer was that it was only a fainting fit, occasioned by stooping too long, and that he was then quite well. It turned out, that he was employing himself in stooping to plant

flowers and evergreens round the grave of his late wife, whom he had recently lost. Another trait may be mentioned. Having himself made no application nor expressed any desire to be knighted, Lord Haddington asked me if I was sure it would be acceptable. "That," I said, "shall be ascertained." On seeing him, I asked him if knighthood would be agreeable, provided it could be obtained. His answer to me was, "As a mark of approbation from the Government for my services, it could not be otherwise, but it would have been much more so, had it been granted in the life-time of my beloved wife." These are pleasing traits of strong domestic affection, and correspond, as I have been informed, with the whole tenor of his life.

There is another brave officer in whose behalf I was so greatly interested that, after my retirement, I strongly urged the Board to grant his promotion. The officer in question is Commander Fitzjames, who accompanies Franklin on his present voyage, and on whom the Board has been pleased to confer the rank of Captain. These are the only favours I asked on my retiring from office, and they will not be considered as unworthily bestowed when conferred on meritorious officers like these. I asked nothing and obtained nothing for myself or for any part of my family. It has been my good fortune through life never to have solicited a single favour, yet to have received many.

It may not perhaps be considered unreasonable should friends apprehend that, when an individual on the verge of life has given up an office of labour unabated during a period of forty years, he will be apt to pine away and become desponding, for want of something to

employ the mind, which indeed was surmised in 1806, when I was forty years younger than in the latter case, and had only been in office at home about two years, at the termination of which Mr. Grey dispensed with my further services. I then laughed at such nonsense, went down with my family to Hastings, where I wrote the 'Life of Lord Macartney,' in two vols., 4to., made the acquaintance of old Mr. Planta, of Mr. Milward, his son and two daughters, the principal inhabitants of the place, and of Sir James Bland Burgess, of Beauport, who, on seeing my immense MSS., took for granted I must be a literary character, and said he belonged to the Literary Society, of which Dr. Vincent the Dean of Westminster was President; that Sir William Scott, Archdeacon Nares, Anstie, Sotheby, John Kemble, &c., were members, and John Reeves their treasurer; and that he should write up to town and propose me as a candidate, observing that though one black ball excluded, I was already sufficiently known to prevent anything of the kind happening to me. I told him that he should be held responsible should such a mishap occur. I was fortunate enough to be elected; and until last year was still a member, and I believe had continued till I became father of the club, of which Sir Robert Inglis is now President; and I may venture to say that, without any exception, it is the best and most varied intellectual dining club in London, containing the most eminent men in the highest station of divinity, law, and physic, together with artists equally eminent, poets, historians, and philosophers.

Being deeply, however, impressed with the truth of the maxim of one of the wisest of men, that "there is a time for all things," and that mine was drawing towards

its conclusion, I requested our excellent president to present my resignation to the members of the club, and I need not say with what gratification I received the answer which follows:—

“7, Bedford Square, July 6, 1846.

“My dear Sir John Barrow,

“I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd, addressed to myself individually, and of that also therein enclosed which you addressed to me more immediately, as in the chair of the Literary Society. Even that, however, contained so much too flattering a reference to me, that I was unable to read the whole to the friends assembled; but I read too much when I read the mere fact of your resignation. I added, indeed, all that you said about the pleasure of your past intercourse with the society; and I am instructed to inform you that while they feel bound, though with great regret, to accept the tender of your resignation, they have indulged themselves in retaining your name on their list by transferring it to the section of the ten honorary members, in which there was a vacancy. Without feeling the burthen of attendance, you will thus, we hope, if God shall spare you in the enjoyment of your average health, sometimes in the season again present yourself among us; but lest this, even thus shadowed forth, should seem to impose any obligation upon you, as to personal suit and service, I must add that while we shall always value your appearance we are content to keep your name alone—a name so long and valuably associated with us.

“Believe me, my dear Sir John Barrow,

“Most truly yours;

“ROBERT H. INGLIS.”

I am now also father of the Royal Society, and within one of the Royal Society Club, having punctually attended the latter from the days of Sir Joseph Banks, Doctor Blagdon, Doctor Wollaston, Mr. Davies Gilbert, Sir Everard Home, the hydrographer Dalrymple, Cavendish, Sir Humphry Davy, and many other cultivators of science and philosophy, all of whom have long since departed this life. It is the last society I shall relinquish.

It was proposed to me to assist in establishing, while still in the Admiralty, a Royal Geographical Society. This proposition was made at the table of my late esteemed friend, Mr. Sotheby, with whom I believe it originated, when the subject was discussed, and a general wish expressed that some one could be found who had energy and zeal sufficient to propose and carry through the formation of such a society; and the unanimous opinion was that if I would undertake it, there was no doubt of its success. After much pressing I consented to make the proposal at the Raleigh Club, in the establishment of which I had been one of three, and which had become very flourishing. Notice was given that such a proposition would be made on the 24th of May, 1830. The meeting was large, and I addressed it from the chair, stating the objects of the proposed society, and that its progress would very much depend on the encouragement received from a society of travellers like that of the Raleigh. Paper was called for, and two-thirds at least put down their names, willing to abide by the regulations to be made. In the first place, I had the approbation of Sir Robert Peel, through him King William IV. became our patron, the Duke of Sussex vice-patron, and Lord Goderich was appointed presi-

dent. The King gave an annual medal of fifty guineas for the promotion of discovery; and, in short, the publication of the first volume of the Journal comprehended a list of 535 names, most of them eminent in arts, sciences, and literature. The following is Sir Robert Peel's letter on the subject:—

“ Whitehall, October 25, 1830.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I have the satisfaction of informing you that the King has notified to me his ready acquiescence in the wish which you expressed on behalf of the Geographical Society that His Majesty would consent to be Patron of the Society.

“ His Majesty has also desired me to inform you that he proposes to place fifty guineas annually at the disposal of the Society, as a Royal premium for the encouragement of geographical science and discovery.

“ I am, my dear Sir,

“ Faithfully yours,

“ ROBERT PEEL.

“ John Barrow, Esq., Admiralty.”

I cannot imagine the nature of the constitutions of those who feel miserable in retirement for want of employment. To such I would recommend a page of the amiable Cowper, who says,—

“ Friends, books, a garden, and perhaps his pen,
Delightful industry enjoy'd at home,
Can *he* want occupation who has these?”

For my own part, I have them all except the garden, and that is supplied, as far as London admits, by my daughter. I have also the unrestrained use of the beautiful public gardens; and when I add that the *pen* is, this 16th day

of April, 1847, employed in writing the present page, it may be concluded that I am not passing the day in idleness. I had already prepared and published, within twelve months of my resignation of the Admiralty, a volume from the Voyages of Discovery in the Arctic Regions, which I do not regret, as it afforded me not only employment, but a six months' pleasing recreation; and, what is of more importance and a higher gratification to myself, it has received the approbation of those brave fellows who are the main objects of my labours in that production—to set forth more generally their excellent characters and conduct—their unflinching perseverance in difficulties of no ordinary kind—their patient endurance of extreme suffering, borne without complaint or murmur, and with an equanimity and fortitude of mind, under the most appalling distress, such, perhaps, as was never equalled—affording rare and splendid examples of moral courage and mental triumph over fatigue, famine, and starvation, which nothing but a firm reliance on a merciful Protector and resignation to His Divine will could have supported. But they had within themselves powers of body and mind not inferior to those ascribed by Dr. Johnson to the Swedish Charles:—

“ A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright them, and no labours tire.”

I have felt, and have so expressed myself in the preface of the work alluded to, a most gratifying reflection that few lives (in some of the ships none) have been lost; that those who survived have been advanced in their professional career, or have received some honourable distinction in reward of their services; and that few

of those in the inferior ranks remain without having improved their condition in life, in consequence of their good conduct on very trying occasions. In fact, these voyages have held out such fine examples of strict discipline without corporal punishment, of kind treatment and wholesome indulgence on the part of the officers, and, in consequence thereof, of cheerful obedience, exertion, and alacrity on that of the men, that I am inclined to believe that a consideration of the great benefit likely to be derived from the knowledge of such examples being extended to the Navy at large, may have induced the Board of Admiralty, as I understand it has done, to order the publisher to prepare 300 copies of the work in question, to be added to the officers' and seamen's library in ships of war—an order which is the more gratifying to me, as it has been done entirely without my knowledge, and without my having the least pecuniary interest in the sale of the book, or any other interest except that of thus proving to the world, that the Arctic voyages have not been made in vain.

I am not insensible of praise, but always grateful "*laudari a laudato.*" The following is from Admiral the Baron Wrangel, no mean judge of the subject:—

“Sir John Barrow's interesting work has found its way hither (St. Petersburg), and has been highly approved of by all who have read it. It was precisely such a collected account of the Arctic voyages as we were in want of, particularly just now, when all who are interested in the progress of Arctic discovery are looking forward with great interest to the result of the late expedition of the 'Erebus' and 'Terror.'

“5th September, 1846.”

What the fate of this present volume may be, I probably must leave to my survivors to experience. To trace my progress through the vicissitudes of a life extended beyond the general period of human existence, and, by the mercy of God, without any painful suffering from accident or disease, has been my object; more with a view of benefiting my children and theirs, by the example it holds forth of industrious habits, than with any other. But as mine may be considered a peculiar—or, at least, an unusual—case as regards the state of bodily health, I may here venture to take a special notice of it. The medical gentleman—an honest Quaker—who brought me into the world, inoculated me when very young for the small-pox, and gave me, no doubt, a dose or two for the measles; but I am not conscious of ever having had my pulse felt from that period, except by the Chinese physician at Chusan, already mentioned. On noticing this to Sir Henry Halford, at the Club, who had asked me how I contrived to preserve such uniform good health without medical advice, my reply was, “Probably for that very reason, as I am not aware of any other.” He laughed, and said, he knew not what would become of *his* profession if all men followed my example. Since writing this, in December, 1846, being somewhat indisposed, I was entreated to consult my old and kind friend Sir Benjamin Brodie, who set me right in twenty-four hours.

In early life, and up to my fortieth year, my days were mostly spent in out-door exercise on land, and in all climates from 80° north to 40° south latitude by sea. As a pedestrian I travelled several thousand miles, chiefly in South Africa, and a full

thousand in China. During the last forty years of my life I scarcely took any exercise, except in the summer evenings when not occupied at my desk; and for a month or six weeks each summer in some part of the country—chiefly at my friend Sir George Staunton's beautiful place, Leigh Park; except twice or thrice I had a run on the Continent. I have always been a moderate eater of plain food, and a moderate drinker, mostly of port-wine. From invariable habit I seldom if ever require to have recourse to any kind of medicine. I have either read or heard that the child inherits mostly the constitution of body and mind from the female parent. I can say that my mother never ailed anything while I was with her, nor to her last illness, which was that of old age, for she died in her ninetieth year; and *her* mother had completed ninety at her death. I am now writing this trifle in my eighty-third year, which will be completed, should my life be extended to the 19th of June, 1847.

It is a common observation that air and exercise are the best promoters or preservers of health: but perhaps its stability may mostly be ascribed to constitutional habit. For the first forty years of my life, as I have before said, no one could be more exposed to good air and plenty of exercise than myself; for the last forty years I was doomed almost entirely to a sedentary life; yet in neither case, as already observed, had I occasion to call in the doctor; nor could I perceive any change in the habit of body, except that of being somewhat less active—yet not much so—during the last two or three years; my weight has never varied more than from ten to eleven stone. After all, much may be ascribed to

a regular and systematic course of life, to moderation in eating and drinking, and avoiding excess in both.

In this portion of my Memoir I feel I am too *autobiographical*; which is, perhaps, excusable, as it is intended chiefly for the edification of my own family, and I shall conclude, therefore, with an anecdote for the physiologist, though not very creditable to myself, as it must exhibit me in a state of unconsciousness for once and only once in the course of my life.

One of the principal gentlemen of the Cape of Good Hope gave a sumptuous entertainment on the west slope of the Table Mountain, as high up the sloping part as where it is terminated by the wall of stone that forms the cap of the mountain. Here, at the height of about 3500 feet or more, was our repast; and the champagne passed briskly round among a party of between forty and fifty gentlemen. When the night was setting in I was anxious to get away; and with some difficulty succeeded in finding my Spanish pony, and contrived to steal away and cautiously and slowly to get down the steep, rocky, and shrubby slope into the Cape Town road, perfectly steady and sober; but all at once a giddiness came over me, and increased so far as to deprive me of all self-control. What happened to me during the three or four miles I had to ride I know nothing; but when the little pony arrived at its home, in a full gallop, down I fell upon the ground, and from the shock I suppose I felt myself sober enough. On the next day I was complimented by many of those whom I had met or passed on the road in a full gallop, "That John Gilpin himself could not have done better." The pony, it seems, being well

acquainted with the road, had galloped the whole way at its full pace. I had taken only a moderate quantity of champagne, and nothing else; I felt no effect from it on leaving the mountain, or on arriving at its foot: the after effect could have been caused only by the sudden transition from an atmospherical density, at the probable height of nearly 4000 feet, to the general level of the country.

CHAPTER V.—SUPPLEMENTARY.

SECTION II.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

The Origin of the Quarterly Review—The Supporters of it—The Editor, Mr. W. Gifford—My Introduction to him—My Share in the Progress of the Review—Its Success.

THE origin and the history of that most useful, able, and generally well-conducted work *The Quarterly Review*, is worthy of the man who first conceived it, of the patronage under which it was brought forward, and of the principles it advocated. Those principles, which were adopted from its commencement, are founded on religion and morality, on loyalty to the throne, and patriotism to the country. To all of these and to their strict observance, under the able superintendence of William Gifford, must be ascribed its extraordinary success through a long series of years. Its author and its origin will at once be seen from the following letter, which undoubtedly gave rise to the work, and the sound good sense and ability which it displays are highly creditable to the writer:—

“September 25, 1807.

“To the Right Hon. George Canning.

“Sir, — I venture to address you upon a subject that is not perhaps undeserving of one moment of your attention.

“There is a work, entitled ‘The Edinburgh Review,’ written with such unquestionable talent that it has already attained an extent of circulation not equalled by any similar publication. The principles of this work are, however, so radically bad that I have been led to consider the effect which such sentiments, so generally diffused, are likely to produce, and to think that some means equally popular ought to be adopted to counteract their dangerous tendency. But the publication in question is conducted with so much ability and is sanctioned and circulated with such high and decisive authority by the party of whose opinions it is the organ, that there is little hope of producing against it any effectual opposition, unless it arise from you, Sir, and your friends. Should you, Sir, think the idea worthy of encouragement, I should with equal pride and willingness engage my arduous exertions to promote its success; but as my object is nothing short of producing a work of the greatest talent and importance, I shall entertain it no longer if it be not so fortunate as to obtain the high patronage which I have thus, Sir, taken the liberty to solicit.

“Permit me, Sir, to add, that the person who thus addresses you is no adventurer, but a man of some property, inheriting a business that has been established for nearly a century. I therefore trust that my application will be attributed to its proper motives, and that your goodness will at least pardon its intrusion.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your most humble and most obedient servant,

(Signed)

“JOHN MURRAY.”

It does not appear that Mr. Canning gave any direct

reply to this letter. Holding, as he then did, the high and responsible office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, it could not be expected that he would commit himself in a matter of this kind, more especially one meant to embrace political subjects. At the same time it is not likely that one of the principal directors and the most spirited writer of that clever and effective paper the 'Anti-Jacobin Journal,' instituted for a similar purpose to that proposed by Mr. Murray, would disregard so plausible an offer for the establishment of a permanent Review, with the design of counteracting the more than Jacobinical poison scattered most industriously through the pages of the 'Edinburgh Review;' for we shall see that Mr. Canning at once communicated with his friend William Gifford, with the view of securing him as the editor, provided the work should go forward. Gifford was well known to all the talented men of the day, by his translation of 'Juvenal,' his 'Baviad and Mæviad,' his editions of the plays of Massinger, Ben Jonson, and Ford; but more especially to Mr. Canning, by his having been the editor of the celebrated 'Anti-Jacobin Journal,' to which he contributed largely and effectually by exposing to ridicule the mischievous doctrines of the disaffected Jacobins, in some of the most satirical and biting articles, and by creating indignation in those whose trade was to inculcate principles of profanity, immorality, and disloyalty to the crown and the country. The *lies* and *mistakes* and *misrepresentations* (so headed) were in Gifford's department to expose and correct, and he did so effectually.

Murray's letter was written at a most fortunate

moment. The 'Edinburgh Review,' by mistake it was supposed, contained a very severe fault-finding and unjust article by Mr. Jeffrey on 'Marmion,' the most popular poem of his friend Sir Walter Scott—so popular, indeed, we were told, that 50,000 copies of it were sold. From this moment Scott determined, and no wonder he should, to break off all connexion with Constable's Review, and an article shortly after appeared (in the 26th number of that Review) under the title of 'Don Cevallos on the Usurpation of Spain,' known to have been written by Mr. (now Lord) Brougham, the tone of which was so highly resented by Scott that he decided at once to go a step further, and to discontinue his name on the list of subscribers; in the execution of which he is said to have written to Constable in these terms—that "The Edinburgh Review *had* become such as to render it impossible for me to continue a contributor to it; *now* it is such as I can no longer continue to receive or read it;" and it is also said that the list of subscribers exhibits in an indignant dash of Constable's pen, opposite Scott's name, the word "STOP!!!"*

Mr. Murray, when he wrote to Mr. Canning, could not have obtained any information of what had occurred; but being desirous of establishing an interest in Edinburgh, in conjunction with the Ballantynes, he made up his mind to take a trip to Scotland. He had also a concern of some moment with Mr. Constable, who having agreed with Scott to give him one thousand guineas for his 'Marmion' before it was written, the bookseller thought it prudent to divide the concern by

* Lockhart's 'Life of Sir Walter Scott.'

allowing Miller of Albemarle Street, and Murray of Fleet Street, each one quarter, which, from its enormous sale, proved a little fortune. These concerns, therefore, carried him to Scotland, where he took the opportunity of paying a visit to Sir Walter Scott, at his residence of Ashestiel, from whence, in a letter to George Ellis, Esq., of Claremont, Sir Walter says, "John Murray, the bookseller of Fleet Street, who has more real knowledge of what concerns his business than any of his brethren, came to canvass a most important plan," &c.; and he tells him that the plan of instituting a Review in London, conducted totally independent of bookselling influence, its literature well supported, and its principles English and constitutional, would be the best cure to counteract the mischievous doctrines and forebodings which he thinks that for these two years past have done their utmost to hasten the accomplishment of their own prophecy, "of a speedy revolution in this country."

Sir Walter Scott seemed to be much pleased with Mr. Murray, and the offence given to the former by the 'Edinburgh Review,' no doubt, made the latter with his scheme a most acceptable visitor. "He found," he says, "John Murray a young bookseller of capital and enterprise with more good sense and propriety of sentiment than fall to the share of most of the trade." And Mr. Lockhart (who in Scott's 'Life' gives the best history of the origin of the 'Quarterly Review') notices a striking proof of John Murray's sagacity. "He has told me that when he read the article on 'Marmion' and another on general politics in the same number of the 'Edinburgh Review,' he said to himself, 'Walter Scott has feelings both as a gentleman and a

Tory, which these people must now have wounded ; the alliance between him and the whole clique of the ‘Edinburgh Review,’ its proprietor included, is shaken.’ This sagacious inference and his share in the adventure of ‘Marmion’ were ample motives for a journey to Scotland.”

Walter Scott tells Mr. Ellis, moreover, that he has been given to understand that Mr. William Gifford is willing to become the conductor of such a work, and that he had himself written to Gifford a very voluminous letter on the subject at the Lord Advocate’s desire. That letter contains a few observations on the details of the scheme, in which he says, “I only obey the commands of our distinguished friends without having the vanity to hope that I can point out anything which was not likely to have at once occurred to a person of Mr. Gifford’s literary experience and eminence.” He tells him the reputation of the ‘Edinburgh Review’ is chiefly owing, first, to its being entirely uninfluenced by the booksellers ; and, secondly, to the very handsome recompense which the editor not only holds forth to his regular assistants, but actually forces upon those whose circumstances and rank make it a matter of total indifference. “I know,” he says, “that the editor makes a point that every contributor shall receive this *bonus*, saying that Czar Peter, when working in the trenches, received pay as a common soldier.” The control, of course, must be vested in the editor for selecting, curtailing, and correcting the contributions. “If the books criticised be understood, though often written with stupid mediocrity, a lively paragraph or entertaining illustration may render them palatable—access to the best sources of political information,

but the Review should not assume (at first) a political character—articles on science and miscellaneous literature are desirable—a most delicate part, and the most essential, will be the management of the disgusting and deleterious doctrines with which the most popular of our Reviews disgraces its pages—the choice of subject an important one—going into a state of hostility with the ‘Edinburgh Review,’ but without any formal declaration of war”—these and some others are the mere heads of what he recommends, and he concludes by naming a number of gentlemen who are likely to be contributors. He sends a copy of this letter to Mr. Ellis, and tells him “it has been received in a most favourable manner by Mr. Gifford, who approves of its contents in all respects, and that Mr. Canning has looked it over and promised such aid as is therein required.” And he observes on the latter point, “As our start is of such immense consequence, don’t you think Mr. Canning, though unquestionably our Atlas, might for a day find a Hercules on whom to devolve the burthen of the globe, while he writes us a Review?” He did write for it, more than one article, as I had occasion to know.

It would appear from what has been stated that Mr. Canning had already taken measures respecting this new Review, for in the letter of advice which Scott writes to Gifford he tells him it is in consequence of a communication between the Lord Advocate and Mr. Canning. There can be no doubt that Scott communicated all he knew of these matters to Murray, who hastened home; and, towards the end of 1808, such progress had been made that the first number of the ‘Quarterly Review’ appeared in February, 1809,

in which Mr. Scott had several articles, Mr. Canning contributed one, Messrs. Ellis, Frere, Rose, Southey, and some others; and it took so well that a second edition was speedily called for.

At that time, little did I think that *I* should ever be considered as deserving a place in that Review, much less that I should become one of its most frequent contributors, perhaps the most, with the exception of a brother secretary. One morning, in the summer of the year 1809, Mr. Canning looked in upon me at the Admiralty, said he had often troubled me on business, but he was now about to ask a favour. "I believe you are acquainted with my friend William Gifford?" "By reputation," I said, "but not personally." "Then," says he, "I must make you personally acquainted; will you come and dine with me at Gloucester Lodge any day, the sooner the more agreeable—say to-morrow, if you are disengaged?" On accepting, he said, "I will send to Gifford to meet you; I know he will be too glad to come."

"Now," he continued, "it is right I should tell you that, in the new Review of which two numbers have appeared under the name of the *Quarterly*, I am deeply, both publicly and personally, interested, and have taken a leading part with Mr. George Ellis, Hookham Frere, Walter Scott, Rose, Southey, and some others; our object in that work being to counteract the *virus* scattered among His Majesty's subjects through the pages of the 'Edinburgh Review.' Now, I wish to enlist you into our corps, not as a mere advising idler, but as an efficient labourer in our friend Gifford's vineyard." My reply was, "I am afraid you

will be disappointed, for I have not the least notion how to set about writing a Review, and one from me would only serve as a foil to the brilliant productions of those gentlemen you have mentioned; besides, I should tremble in submitting my crude observations to the scrutinizing eye of such a critic as Mr. Gifford." "He will be overjoyed to have you, and will tell you that he who could write 'Travels in Southern Africa,' and the 'British Embassy to the Emperor of China,' can never find himself at a loss to review the work of any writer, provided he understands the subject." "There is one thing," he added, "I must mention to you. It is intended, and, indeed, the editor has been instructed, that every writer in the Review, without any distinction, is to be paid for whatever he produces; that is a point about which no difficulty is to be made. I can assure you I myself have received pay for a short article I have already contributed, merely to set the example. Gifford will tell you the rest to-morrow."

We met, and Gifford told me all that Mr. Canning had said, and a great deal more, and would not listen to any objection I offered on the score of novelty and my inexperience of reviewing; he repeated Canning's observation that the writer of books can have no difficulty in reviewing books, which I, on the contrary, urged to be a *non sequitur*. He begged me to name any book to make choice of, which he would take care to send to me. Finding there was no getting rid of Gifford, I mentioned one I had just been reading, De Guignes' 'History of the Dutch Embassy to China,' which immediately followed ours. "Bravo! by all

means, let me have De Guignes and the Dutch Ambassador to the Court of the Emperor of China : it is a subject of all others I should wish for ; it is one at your fingers' ends, and one that few know anything about ; pray, let me have it for the forthcoming number—three only have yet appeared, and I am gasping for something new ; pray, my good fellow, do indulge me.”

At this moment when we were just about (as a German lady would say) “to swear eternal friendship,” dinner was announced ; and this afforded at least the opportunity of thinking about sealing the intended vow, which, after a glass of wine, was supposed to be concluded. I believe our friendship, thus begun, was most sincere on both sides, and closed only with the death of Gifford, on the last day of December, 1826.

I had a visit from him the next morning after the aforesaid meeting at Gloucester Lodge, and told him that ‘*Voyage à Peking*’ was already laid down on the stocks, and should be ready for launching when required. He was very thankful, and professed his obligations in warm terms. “But,” he added, “the *Quarterly* has a most voracious maw, and requires to have her food very regularly served up at fixed times ; would you, now, think me unreasonable if I were to suggest a second article for No. 5 ?” I laughed, and said, “It would be as well, perhaps, for both of us to wait the reception of the one just commenced.” However, he subsequently carried his point, and I not only gave him ‘*Voyages d’Entrecasteaux*’ for No. 5, but *Ta-tsing-leu-lee*, or ‘The Laws of China ;’* and I may

* Translated by Sir George Staunton.

add, once for all, that what with Gifford's eager and urgent demands, and the exercise becoming habitual and not disagreeable, I did not cease writing for the 'Quarterly Review' till I had supplied no less, rather more, than 190 articles, as appears from the numbers ticked by me, as they came out, in the blank pages of vol. I.

Nor was I spared applications from Mr. Murray. The following is a sample:—

“ Albemarle Street, January 10, 1840.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I enclose a note just delivered to me by Mr. Lockhart in reply to yours of yesterday, which I thought best to send to him.

“ I assure you that the prospect of the continuation of your valuable contributions to the 'Quarterly Review' affords me the greatest satisfaction. I have always considered you as one of the pillars of the Review, and it is not the same thing in my mind when your hand is not in it.

“ Your last paper on *Life Assurance* was one of the most popular interest and practical value that has ever appeared, and I am now reading again with renewed gratification your paper on 'Free Trade with China,' in which, from Lord Napier's obstinacy down to the present crisis, everything was completely seen and foretold.

“ Be so good as to point out any pamphlets on the opium trade or modern works on China that you would like to have sent to you.

“ I remain, &c.,

“ JOHN MURRAY.”

Mr. Lockhart writes—

“Dear Murray,

“I am sincerely gratified with the prospect of having Sir J. B. back into our corps, to which few, if any, have done better service; and I agree with you that his last paper (on ‘Life Assurance’) was one of his very best.

“I wish you would, however, ascertain what in general is the view he would wish to take of the Opium question, for I have not in my recollection that this particular subject was ever handled by him in the ‘Quarterly Review.’ ”

The following letter came to me just at this time, in corroboration of Lockhart’s and Murray’s opinion:—

“National Endowment and Assurance Society,
Arthur Street West, London Bridge.

“Sir,

“In common with every respectable person interested, either through pecuniary or moral considerations, in the prosperous popularity of life assurance, I feel obliged by your effective manner of exhibiting some features of that important subject in the new number of the ‘Quarterly Review.’

“Allow me to request your acceptance of a Pocket Diary first issued about three months ago for 1839, and now forthcoming for 1840.

“The last sentence of your note at page 300 describes, with curious exactness, one of the provisions in the deed of this society.

“I am glad to hear that a general law is in contemplation to regulate all Life-offices. Although probably the youngest actuary in England, I am old enough even in official existence to see that the ‘master’s eye’ of Parliament is required in some of the dark and dirty holes.

“ It would afford me a particular satisfaction to be acquainted with you, unless you are resolved to stand ‘nominis umbra.’

“ Yours very respectfully,

“ A. A. FRY.

“ 28th October, 1839.”

One evening, on returning home, I found a parcel from Mr. Murray, enclosing eleven thick octavo volumes, neatly bound in red Russia, and containing the whole of the articles I had supplied up to that time. The number as above stated must appear enormously large, and yet they were written off hand as an amusement, many of them in the busiest periods of official duties; but my evenings were generally spent at home with my family, and writing was to me a relaxation, after dinner, and a relief from the dry labours of the day. I may add that every article written for the *Quarterly* was sure to be followed by a long letter from Gifford, pointing out what would be a desirable subject for the next number, or asking me to name one. Mr. Murray also frequently suggested a new work for my consideration, and certainly showed himself quite satisfied with my performances. In all my critical labours I avoided touching upon politics as much as possible, almost, I might say, altogether. Mine were, for the most part, confined to the examination of voyages and travels; discoveries and descriptions of countries and their inhabitants little or not at all known; discoveries in natural history and the arts; in naval improvements and other professional subjects; many as regards China, an inexhaustible subject; Africa and America the same; the British fisheries; ship-building and naval timber, dry-rot doctors, and quackery in general; inventions,

history of; steam-engine, canals, and railroads. But the great mass of articles embrace the geography and history of the various nations of the globe, and the present condition of their inhabitants; and I believe there are very few that have not been treated of, scarcely a corner of the world unscrutinised.

I had a letter from Murray to say that, in consequence of a certain article, the sale of the Review had very much increased. This article was published in the year 1817-18, the subject of which was an inquiry into the nature and extent of the Polar Sea, and the proofs of a communication through it between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Except the mere passage through Behring's Strait by the ships of Captain Cook, and a view of the Polar Sea from the shore of America by Hearne and Mackenzie, no entrance whatever had been made or known from the waters of the Atlantic into the Polar Sea; and when it was described and delineated as a large and nearly circular basin, it was treated in another Review as a joke. That article, however,* and the extraordinary facts therein stated, not only produced Murray's avowal of its successful results, but gave rise also to the recent Arctic voyages, by sea and land, that have added so largely to the geography and scientific discoveries, made in those regions by a class of officers whose names will ever be remembered in the annals of the British Navy. I had the curiosity to ask Mr. Murray what was really the increase of the number of copies sold in consequence, as he said, of the above-mentioned article; and it appears, by the register which is kept, that the sale of each of the

* Quarterly Review, Vol. XVIII., No. XXXV.

numbers 33, 34, and 35 was 12,000; No. 36 (next after that containing the *article* in question) was 13,000, and this number was continued to No. 41, when it fell back to something less than it had been: in consequence, it was pretty well ascertained, of two or three new reviews having started up. An old note of Gifford to me has led to some additional information:—

“Ryde, 19th ———, 1812.

“I am glad to see you so warm on the good that we *might* do, because I hope that you will one day impress your sentiments on those, who ought to be ashamed of looking to you and me for them. You ask whether it is indolence or indifference? I answer that it is both, with the addition of the most scandalous ignorance. I was once in the confidence of the Government, and the impression will never be worn out of my mind, of the alarm which took possession of Pitt when he discovered that he had nearly lost the world, by his contempt of the press. A few weeks more, and no human means could have saved us. Then, to be sure, all was expense and activity, and something was effected. His example and his terrors are lost upon us. Yet we have advantages which Mr. Pitt had not. He had the *vehicles* of information to create; they are now at hand. He would have thought twenty thousand pounds a slight sacrifice to secure such a medium of conveying the most interesting political views, as the ‘Quarterly’ offers to Government without any expense whatever. We are read by at least 50,000 people, of that class whose opinions it is most important to render favourable, and whose judgments it is most expedient to set right. Our sale is at least 6000, and I know of no

pamphlet that would sell 100 ; besides, pamphlets are thrown aside, Reviews are permanent, and the variety of their contents attracts those, who never dream of opening a pamphlet. I could say much more on this head, but *cui bono*? You know it all, and whom besides could I convince? Not one of the present Government.

“In what you say of the secrecy which is affected to the friends of Government, while everything that can do mischief steals into the world through the channels of hostile papers, it is a folly that wants a name. If I looked only to respect and advantage from the Government, I would write against them. But *basta* !

“ Ever, my kind friend,

“ Affectionately yours,

“ W. GIFFORD.”

But the grumbling against the Government, a malady so natural to Gifford, may pass—6000 copies in the *third* year might satisfy any reasonable man ; and the more so as, in five years after this, the number had swollen to 12,000 copies, or doubled itself. The Government, too, was composed of his own friends—Lords Liverpool, Sidmouth, Londonderry, Bathurst, and Melville—but, as Gifford said, the ‘Quarterly’ has a *voracious maw*.

Mr. Gifford as an author is well known, and as an accomplished scholar, a poet, and a wit, wielding sometimes a severe and sarcastic pen, especially against writings of which he disapproved, and more particularly against those whose tendency was to irreligion, immorality, and disloyalty. His general knowledge of men

and books was extensive, his talents varied, his judgment correct, his principles steady and sound; his strong national feeling and policy are apparent throughout his management of the popular Review for fifteen or sixteen years. He was a pleasant companion, feeble as he was in health, and dreadfully afflicted with asthma, which kept him mostly at home, where I was one of his constant visitors; yet, exhausted as he frequently appeared to be, he never passed an occasion of telling one of his droll stories, of which he had an inexhaustible supply, and told them in his own peculiar manner.

Lord Byron was anxious for and obtained his friendship. Gifford had a high opinion of his talent and his power of versification, and to him the poet was but too happy to submit his productions; many of which I had occasion to see after they had been chastened and had received that gentle castigation, without which some of them would have gone forth into the world in a much more exceptionable shape than that in which we see them.

My eldest son George, having translated some of the 'Odes' of Anacreon, sent his production to Gifford for his opinion or correction, doubting how far he should pursue the task; regarding which Gifford, in a letter to me on a different subject, says—

“Tell George not to be discouraged at the pencil-marks. Let him try and try again, and he will catch something of Anacreon's manner, which is that of picturesque alacrity; unless when the thoughts of dying come over him, and then he is simply pathetic. There must be no languid epithets; but every word should be made, as it were, to tell. I never read Moore's translation; but he, I should think, offends on the side of

simplicity. Anacreon has no prettinesses; Cowley has done some of his Odes well; and old Ben has imitated him with taste and spirit."

Mr. Pitt, Lord Liverpool, Lord Wellesley, and Mr. Canning in particular, commenced a friendship with Gifford, from the days of the Anti-Jacobin, which he conducted, and the last-mentioned gentleman continued a steady friend until his death. Sir Robert Peel, I know, had also a high opinion of Gifford's talents, but I believe he never wrote a complete article in the 'Quarterly.' At a former period, however, in the year 1815, there appeared some clever papers in the 'Courier,' which were reprinted in a small volume under the name of the 'Whig Guide;' exceedingly droll, and full of point and humour, fit to be placed by the side of the 'Rolliad.' The three known contributors were Palmerston, Peel, and Croker—then all young men. One of the articles, said to be written by Mr. Peel, called 'The Trial of Brougham for calling Mr. Ponsonby an Old Woman,' is exceedingly humorous. Croker has five or six; one 'On the Choice of a Leader,' full of biting sarcasm; and a series of English melodies equally good. The following, called the *Black Broom*, is marked P. in ink; but whether the production of Palmerston or Peel I know not:—

" *On a Motion made by Brougham relative to Excise Penalties.*

" The Broom came capering doon to the Hoose,
 Wi' a *mossion* about an Exciseman;
 It sims the Exchequer can loosen a noose
 Witch the law too cruelly ties, mon;
 So Looshington cried, 'Ye've found a mare's nest,
 We weesh ye much joy of the prize, mon;
 Tes a vera new grievance, but ane o' the best,
 Whan the Trashury snubs an Exciseman.'"

When Sir Robert Peel had advanced to the highest offices of state, his mind was necessarily too much employed to indulge a taste for light and trifling literature; but no man lent himself more readily to encourage and reward the labours of art and of science, or to afford speedy consolation and relief to the afflicted. Witness the prompt and unsolicited manner in which he fled to the relief of the poor widow and family of the unhappy and distracted Haydon. In several instances I had occasion to experience the ready manner in which his humanity responded to cases of distress. I will mention one. It was represented to me that a couple of octogenarians, the Chevalier and Madame de la Garde—the former late Chamberlain to the King Stanislaus, and the latter the daughter of the Governor of Kamschatka, who afforded such relief to the squadron of Captain Cook that, without it, he could not have prosecuted his voyage—a fact authenticated by Cook's own narrative—that this aged couple were living in a state of deep distress, in a miserable lodging in the neighbourhood of Clare Market.

To ascertain their situation I sent an intelligent gentleman from the Admiralty: he saw the lady, who was plainly but neatly dressed; the apartment humble but clean; and with evident reluctance she told her tale of distress. I laid the case before Lord Had-dington, and, moreover, Captain Cook's own story, and said, I felt sure if he would bring the tale of these poor old people's distress before Sir Robert Peel, he would afford them instant relief. His Lordship did so: and, in return, received a note, of which the following is a copy:—

“ Whitehall, March 18th.

“ My dear Haddington,

“ I will with pleasure make a grant from the Royal Bounty for the relief of Monsieur and Madame de la Garde. I have no power to grant a *pension*, but I will place one hundred pounds in the hands of Sir John Barrow, to be advanced by him, from time to time, during the life of the parties, in such mode as he may deem most conducive to their welfare.

“ Ever faithfully yours,

“ ROBERT PEEL.”

“ My Secretary will call on Barrow, and settle the details.”

I obtained an application to Baron Brunow, the Russian Ambassador, and received from him one hundred pounds on the account of his Imperial Majesty. I placed the money in the hands of Messrs. Coutts and Co.; requesting it to be given out in such small sums as M. de la Garde might require. Madame died within the twelvemonth, and the husband the following year, just about the time that the money was drawn out.

Nor was Sir Robert Peel less mindful in granting the few pensions, of which a Minister has the disposal, to proper objects. From personal knowledge I am acquainted with three or four, granted purely on account of scientific pursuits conducted with humble means.

I had frequently heard Gifford speak of the kindness he had received from Dr. Ireland, the Dean of Westminster; and a bishopric becoming vacant when Mr. Canning was Prime Minister, he, the Minister, sent one day to say he wished to see me, which was to tell me

what had fallen to his gift; and that he was desirous of offering it to Dr. Ireland, as the friend of Gifford; but believing the Doctor to be rather an odd man, and not wishing to receive a refusal, he asked me if I would sound Gifford as to what he thought the result would be, if such an offer were made. On putting the question to Gifford, he said at once he was quite sure his friend was so well contented with Westminster, and the addition of the good living of Islip, in Oxfordshire, to which he was much attached, that he would at once say—and say honestly—*Nolo episcopari*. This opinion he ascertained to be correct.

In the latter part of Gifford's life, and two or three years before his death, the University of Oxford made an offer to confer a degree on him; but he declined it, observing that, "Twenty years ago it might have been gratifying, but *now* it would only be written on my coffin." He died on the 31st December, 1826, and was buried in Westminster Abbey: a posthumous honour obtained by his friend the Dean. The bulk of his property, acquired mostly by his literary labours and by the savings of a small office held from Government, he left to the family of the Cookesleys,* who had been kind to him in his youth, when he most required acts of kindness. He kept up his intimacy with them to the last. I have frequently met with the young ladies of the family at his house.

I was requested by some friends of the deceased to wait on Dr. Ireland, for the purpose of asking if he had any objection to give up the letters and papers which were understood to be in his possession, they

* See his Autobiographical Memoir prefixed to his translation of Juvenal.

considering it very desirable that a memoir of his life and writings should be drawn up for publication; but the Dean refused positively at once; alleging that, as his executor, he was desired, by his will, to destroy all confidential letters and papers, especially those relating to the 'Quarterly Review:' and here, of course, the matter ended.

From the very able and judicious manner in which Mr. Gifford had brought out the works of the old dramatists, Ben Jonson, Massinger, and Ford, all of which are prefaced with a variety of information and erudite remarks, it would have been a valuable acquisition to dramatic literature, if he could have been prevailed upon to bring out a new edition of Shakspeare's dramas, accompanied with one of those able disquisitions, which we find in those he has published. For instance: in his advertisement to the second edition of Massinger, he exposes the follies and the absurdities of the critics (the Edinburgh Reviewers among the rest) for venturing each their emendations of Massinger, and finding fault with Gifford's corrections, more especially of the metrical construction of many of the lines. Indeed, he told me when I was urgently pressing him to give to the world an edition of Shakspeare, that the sense of many of the obscure poetical passages in our great poet, which have been productive of such masses of critical acumen (together with critical nonsense), could only be rightly decided by a rigid observance of the regularity of the metre; for if that was defective, we might be quite sure that some wrong word or arrangement of words had crept in, or been left out by the copyers; for that Shakspeare was par-

ticularly correct in the euphony of the verse as well as in the metre.

But Gifford gave me to understand, and I was convinced, that it was too late for him to commence such an undertaking—that there was still room enough to sweep away those heaps of rubbish by which conceit or ignorance, or both, had disfigured some of the brightest effusions of this muse of genius and child of nature; but that his state of health, with old age and disease, were ill adapted for his attempting to engage in such a task; confessing, however, that he should have entered upon it in early life *con amore*. It is to be feared, that his place is not likely to be ever filled in the field of critical literature, or that we shall ever receive an edition of Shakspeare, worthy of the incomparable author.

If, in conclusion, I shall here enumerate the several works I have brought before the public, and which may probably be classed as literary productions, I beg to say that I give them only as a statement of facts, and that I disclaim all pretensions to the literary character. Such as they are, they were undertaken chiefly as amusement, to fill up vacant time; and, in a majority of cases, the subjects have been suggested or desired. At the same time I may admit that they have been more productive of profit than I could have expected, or than they deserved. They may thus be summed up:—

	No. Art.
Articles in the 'Quarterly Review,' on almost every subject (excepting political), mostly asked for by Mr. Gifford	195
In the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' requested by Professor Napier, 10 or 12, say	12

	No. Art.
By the same, particularly desired by my friend Professor Napier, a 'Review of the Life of Admiral Lord St. Vincent,' in the 'Edinburgh Review'	1
	Vols.
The 'Life of Lord Macartney,' in 2 vols. quarto	2
'Travels in South Africa,' 2 vols. quarto	2
'Travels in China,' 1 vol. quarto	1
'Voyage to Cochin-China,' 1 vol. quarto	1
The 'Life of Lord Anson,' 1 vol. octavo	1
The 'Life of Lord Howe,' 1 vol. octavo	1
In the 'Family Library,' the 'Life of Peter the Great,' and the 'Mutiny of the Bounty'	2
'Chronological History of Arctic Voyages,' 1 vol. octavo	1
'Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions,' 1 vol. octavo	1

Of these I may, perhaps, venture to repeat from Martial:—

“Sunt bona, sunt quedam mediocria, sunt mala plura.”

THE END.

