## All the Lighter Parts : Lady Anne Barnard's Letters from Cape Town

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N SEPTEMBER 1795, the Cape of Good Hope, at that time governed by the Dutch East India Company, fell to the British, and after an eighteen-month period of military government, the British Minister for War and the Colonies, Henry Dundas, secured Earl Macartney for the post of civil governor. Appointed simultaneously with Macartney and as Secretary of the colony was Andrew Barnard, who on marrying Lady Anne Lindsay in 1793 had resigned from the army. Their marriage, though extremely successful, was somewhat surprising in its day. Lady Anne, the daughter of the Scottish Earl of Balcarres, was forty-three when it occurred, twelve years older than Barnard. She and her widowed sister, Lady Margaret Fordyce, had lived together as popular London hostesses for twenty years. They were friends of the Prince of Wales, of Pitt, and of many politicians of the day. Lady Anne was especially intimate with Henry Dundas, whom she had known since childhood when she had lived with her widowed mother in Edinburgh. It was because of their long friendship that Dundas agreed to give the office of Secretary to Barnard when, in 1796, he formed a civil administration for the Cape.

In accompanying her husband on what promised to be a stay of several years abroad, Lady Anne knew she was acting somewhat unusually for a woman of her class and age. Macartney's wife did not accompany him, and Lady Anne, as wife of the senior government official to be accompanied by a spouse, would be the official hostess of the administration, a task for which her talents and experience well fitted her. Her special position was recognized by Macartney when he allocated the Governor's Lodgings in the

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Castle of Good Hope to the Barnards; after his departure, the military men schemed to have them removed from the house. "Living in the very center of it, in the best house, with the best Salary — with a sort of little éclat from the accident of having a wife to whose train a Ladyship is pinn'd" (215) is Lady Anne's summary of the conditions of Barnard's life that provoked the military men's jealousy. She did not explain further that her personality and abilities had given her and her husband a prominence which may have been resented, but almost every letter makes this clear.

During the period 1797-1802, which she spent in the Cape, Lady Anne had several correspondents in Britain, including her sisters and Lord Macartney himself after his return to England in November 1798. The journals of her voyage out, her residence at the Cape, and her tour of the interior of the Colony, which she revised and had recopied in her old age for private circulation among family and friends, deserve a separate study.<sup>1</sup> The letters which she wrote to Henry Dundas from the Cape are interesting in a different way, because they reveal her engaged in a difficult balancing act, between her wish to inform the Minister as fully as possible and her fear of a trespass that will be resented. It is clear that Dundas valued her communications: the letters survive because he preserved them, tied up together, at his home, Melville Castle. Nevertheless, they also show Lady Anne's consciousness that she is a woman, barred from power of any kind, though not from influence. The boundaries between these two - the legitimate exercise of influence and the presumptuous reaching for power - are sometimes blurred in Lady Anne's letters, but she is always anxious not to be found trespassing on male preserves.

References within the letters make clear that Lady Anne was well read in her own language and could speak and read French; she is familiar with Le Vaillant's *Travels in the Cape*, first published in English in 1790. Her vocabulary is enormous and it is by no means confined to the domestic or familial. Her spelling is on the whole standardized, but she does not avoid or wait to check on a word the written form of which she does not know. Her facility in discussion of public affairs, acquired in her London life, must be transformed suddenly into written discourse, in which she is not so experienced. She occasionally regrets in a letter that she has not heard from her friend the Minister for a considerable period, but on the whole she is willing to excuse him from much writing to her on the grounds of his involvement in public affairs, and to take pleasure in reports from her sister Margaret that he has spoken appreciatively of her letters. In short, she is prepared to move from the role of friendly correspondent to semi-official informant.

At this stage it was doubtful whether the Cape of Good Hope would remain under British rule. Lady Anne refers to this issue as Dundas's favourite child and there is no doubt that his interest in it was great. Nevertheless, the Cape had originally been invaded by the British to prevent its falling into the hands of the French, and part of their justification was the presence in England of the Prince of Orange as a political refugee. In fact, by the Peace of Amiens in October 1801, Britain agreed to surrender the Cape. But during the period of her residence in the Cape, Lady Anne's reports to Dundas, who must have a voice in decisions about retaining or surrendering it, were important.

Andrew Barnard's acceptance of his wife's correspondence with Dundas as an important part of their joint function appears in the reply which she records when she asked whether he wrote to Dundas:

— my dear Anne what between Lord Macartney and you, upon my soul I pity Mr Dundas too much for all he has to read to plague him with more — Lord M very properly takes the business part and the accounts of everything upon himself & you write all the lighter parts, so what is left for me? (96)

The decision that financial matters and those which relate purely to administration are "heavier" than those with which Lady Anne deals may be seen as a way of tapping female talents without allocating defined recognition to them. But the sense that her perceptions and judgements were "lighter" operated to free Lady Anne, to the advantage of Dundas, to comment on every area of life at the Cape. She understood that the allocation of the Governor's house in the Castle implied a social obligation on her part, and was prepared to fulfill that obligation in an active and creative manner: "being there, Nothing shall be wanting on our part that ought to be done," she writes as soon as she arrives in Cape Town (32).

In her next letter, she embarks on a careful account of Cape Town as it appears to one arriving by sea to take up residence: the appearance of Table Mountain from the bay, the gun salute to the new governor, and the appearance of the town from the sea; this is followed by the names of those who offered hospitality:

- the first thing that struck me strongly and disagreeably, was a very offensive smell in the air [which] I afterwards found in some of the houses, & which I was told proceeded from the oil with which the slaves grease their Hair.— waggons of wood next appeard, drove by one man, eight, and ten horses moving with perfect docility to the crack of his whip. - next appeard more melancholy evidences of the far distant classes amongst Human creatures, slaves returning from a 7 or 8 miles distance, loaded each with two bundles of sticks slung across his bare shoulders, it made one sigh at first, the only comfort in looking at the weight of the bundles, was, that one of them only was for the master the other was for the private benefit of the slave --- we walkd up the town which I found much superior in appearance, in size & in the size of accommodation of the Houses to what I had expected & were kindly wellcomed by the Stromboms who made their home our Home during ten days & much unlike the Dutch system would accept of no repayment. (38)

The degree of personal response which Lady Anne permits herself here is typical, as is the controlling sense of fairness: she deplores slavery as an enlightened British subject of the period must, but she is prepared to observe the particular conditions of slaves at the Cape, and her report has a moderation about it (she sighs rather than burns) which recognizes the limits of what the metropolitan government can do in the short term.

She moves to the situation confronting the new governor: the previous, caretaker, military governor "had not acted *contrary to Human Nature* by delaying all unpleasant rules until the commencement of the new governors administration" (38). The effect has been "that every article of life has been permitted to rise to an immoderate price" and a huge shipment of wheat has been sent to London "to prove the abundance of this place" (38). High prices and market shortages, though they greatly inconvenience the British, do not affect the Dutch, who are "too

provident not to have a private *stock* of everything which is kept until an opportunity is found of selling it to advantage . . ." (38). She goes on to comment that all Dutch households sell goods, though generally clandestinely, because of false pride, just as almost all houses function as lodging houses when there is a demand. There follows a summary of the very unfavourable verdict on the Colony and its potential, expressed by the departing military governor, General Craig. His strictures are preceded by Lady Anne's comment, "I plainly saw by Genl Craig that he had been disappointed at not remaining there himself" (41).

She next comes to a detailed review of food prices, relating them to the discontent of members of the military garrison, who, far from "the fount of promotion" (42), have not even been able to live on their pay. The lower-ranked officers have been socially ignored, "(which has come to a point Mr B and I think very cruel and wish to mend as far as we can)" (42), and to this absence of entertainment and proper social opportunities she relates the prevalence of excessive drinking and gambling among them. She explains how she has furnished her house in the Castle "in the stile of a comfortable plain English house" (43), and how she proposes to begin entertaining. The opinions which she is later to express about the relations between the population groups are already present in embryo in this letter: the shrewd commercial acumen of the Dutch, the desirability of social intercourse between them and the British, the obligation of official or semiofficial entertainers to recognize the social needs of the lower ranks.

To appreciate the special flavour and content of Lady Anne's letters, one may usefully compare them to another account of the Cape in the same period. On the arrival of the British administration in the Cape, Lord Macartney, disconcerted by the ignorance of the Dutch, not only about the interior of the continent into which expansion had been forbidden by the Dutch East India Company, but also about the resources of the already occupied areas, gave a high priority to the collection of information about the whole region. John Barrow, an official of his administration, was commissioned to map accurately the almost unknown regions of the Colony to the north. In order to collect the necessary data, he travelled extensively, and in 1802 and 1806 published Volumes 1 and 2 of the account of his experiences, *Travels into the Interior* of Southern Africa, in which he described, not only the geography, flora, and fauna of the area, but the Dutch, Hottentots, Bushmen, and Kaffers (I use Barrow's own terms for the Khoikhoi, San, and Xhosa) who inhabited the area.

Lady Anne's accounts differ from the narratives of Barrow and other male travellers in several ways, perhaps most obviously in the fact that theirs were prepared for publication, whereas her letters are unrevised, and besides containing much information on social and political matters, also contain the personal news appropriate to correspondence. It was impossible for her as a woman to make expeditions into the unknown territory to the north, but although her range of subjects in a physical sense is narrower than theirs, in another sense it is wider. Because of her husband's office and her own rank (both as official hostess of the British administration and as a member of an aristocratic family with extensive connections in the British governing class) she has access to the highest levels of government at the Cape and receives information from a network of friends and relatives elsewhere. She can make social and political judgements of a kind which Barrow, who can pronounce with confidence only on the exotic, and who ranges outside his own social world and that of his readers, cannot venture upon. Very often in Lady Anne's letters the tension between her understanding that women's interventions in public life may be resented and her certainty that she herself is well informed on these matters produces a comic effect. When there has been a naval mutiny at Simon's Bay, she disapproves of the manner in which it is being handled:

— women may say anything without presumption, how well I remember saying to the admiral that if I were *him* I should be greatly tempted to tell the Navy that the I had received no official intelligence from England, yet I was apt to believe that there were certain benefits to be bestowed on the seamen & that whatever they were I believed I might confidently assure them that they would share in all such — a few such exhilarating words such as these, I foolishly thought might have been said without taking too much responsibility on himself.... (68)

Lady Anne's introductory phrase, "women may say anything without presumption" points to the difference between her position and that of a man like Barrow, who holds office in the British administration and whose comments on matters which relate to it must always take account of his rank, relative to that of his hearer or reader, and of his own area of expertise, outside of which his comments would not be acceptable. The phrase also relates to the fact that women's comments may always be ignored, but this, it is clear, is by no means the fate which she intends for hers. And the adverb "foolishly" is a further avoidance of the appearance of assertiveness.

Expert knowledge, which is always claimed by the male traveller, must be avoided by a woman: at the beginning of his book, Barrow claims that his account is completely authentic but also discredits that of his famous predecessor, Le Vaillant. A slightly later traveller, Lichtenstein, who wrote of expeditions made in the years 1803-06, was to challenge the truth of Barrow's accounts and claim complete authenticity for his own. Lady Anne on the other hand knows that she must not appear to claim the status of an expert; her interest in all that she sees is great but she writes:

I often wish when I hear anything new, curious or usefull, that I could divest myself of that portion of false shame which prevents me from taking out a memorandum book and marking it down while I remember the particulars which afterwards escape my memory and the thing sinks into oblivion — but for a woman, being ill informed on most subjects, I might have said All subjects, to give herself the air of wisdom, while she knows how superficial she is, by marking down any thing that passes in company, I cannot endure it! it is wilfully drawing on a pair of blew stockings she has no right to wear. (88)

Lady Anne is certainly not expressing disapproval of the idea of women acquiring a wider knowledge of the world, which she elsewhere regrets was not available to her in her youth. In the course of the long *Memoir* of her life, which she compiled in her old age, she describes her own scanty education under the supervision of an eccentric dependent of the family, and her regrets that she lacked the wider learning available to later generations of the family, whom she hoped would read the *Memoir*.<sup>2</sup> Unjustified pretension, no doubt, she did see as absurd, but there is more than this in her comment. The "blew stockings" seem to stand here for women who might try to achieve professional competence in the

discussion of natural science - she is visiting Mynheer Alling, a collector of minerals, fossils, and other rarities - and her real point is that she knows that a woman who does so can expect to be resented. She quotes an old friend who used to tell children at table, "My dears, eat as much as you can, but pocket nothing ---" and goes on to say, with a touch of wistfulness, "- was I a man I woud pocket without shame, it becomes at sometime or another usefull to him, and teaches the mind the good habit of reflecting on what it hears" (88). This awareness that there are activities (in this case that of collecting knowledge in an overt and systematic fashion) which are not allowed women is always in Lady Anne's mind when she writes to Dundas; she does not, as I have already noted, let it restrict her interests or her interventions, but seems to feel that disclaimers of the kind she makes about her refusal to take notes in Mynheer Alling's private museum are a courtesy which she owes to men.

Both Barrow and Lady Anne disapprove of the ways in which the Dutch exploit the Hottentots and both dislike the group solidarity which makes justice to members of other groups a foreign idea to them. Lady Anne writes to Dundas that "no dutch man would venture to condemn another Dutch man" (193), but Barrow goes much further, telling a terrible story of a Dutch farmer who kept a little Hottentot boy in irons until his legs were in a ghastly state. When the British punished the farmer by putting him in irons, he was astonished and furious, and spent the night yelling "My God! is this a way to treat Christians?"

Like Barrow, Lady Anne is frequently offended by the laziness which inevitably occurs among slave owners: the Conradies' stoep, for example, is "covered with a set of large idle boors in their blue jackets, sons of the family — men who do hardly anything besides eating & smoking, scarcely superintending the work of the farm, which is carried on by the slaves, but certainly never digging threshing or holding the plough" (143). In the next sentence, however, she passes on to the general good will that the farmers have for the British, and then to the Dutch custom of rising very early, in the dark, and sleeping in the afternoon. Though she understands that slave ownership has made the upcountry farmers idle, she observes that the conditions of slavery are not everywhere the same: the Weigts, who have no children of their own, intend to free their slaves and make them their heirs. Dunira, "a pretty black slave" of the van Rhenins, "was a sort of child of the family" (135). But individual charity does not alter the fact that the law is oppressive, and Lady Anne is more struck by the near-serfdom in which the Hottentots labour on farms than by actual slavery:

Every Hottentot child born in the family when the mother is receiving wages is the property of the master of it for twenty-five years, which is supposed a proper length of time to compensate for the charge of maintaining the child in its infancy. It is in reality about twelve years too much. (140)

Lady Anne, typically moderate in her views, hopes that the governor will shorten the term.

The major difference between Lady Anne and Barrow lies not in their moral attitudes, but in their social judgements: it is always clear that Barrow detests the rural Dutch, and has a contempt for them which he shares with many of the British, and of which Lady Anne frequently expresses disapproval. Early in his book, he generalises that they are unwilling to work and unable to think (1:29) and later in the same passage he expresses disgust at the custom of Dutch women's having their feet washed by slaves in public (1:31). This is very unlike the amused tolerance shown by Lady Anne on such occasions. The women, claims Barrow, "have no mental resources whatsoever" (1:31) and he severely condemns their laziness. Lady Anne, though she at first finds Dutch women unresponsive, is sensitive to the idea that signals among them may be different; it is not their custom, she finds, to be effusive in thanks, and she is moved by Mevrow van Rhenin's love for her husband despite her dowdy appearance.

Lady Anne considers it an important part of her duties at the Cape to forge links between the Dutch and the British: she reports that about a third of the women at her first reception were Dutch, but not so many of the men "— next time I expect to have a more numerous Dutch collection, as they will better understand that they may come without an invitation" (57). When the Dutch ladies do not call on her because they imagine her not to be of sufficiently high rank, she waives etiquette and calls on them. She is amused and charmed by the rusticities of their behaviour: when

two mothers give suck to their babies at a ball, her husband is embarrassed, but she calls their behaviour "the simplicity of the golden age," and adds, "I am in no hurry to send off the *Kinders* from the balls — the more the mothers attend to them, and the less they flirt with the English officers, so much the better for Mynheer" (94). The Dutch women of Cape Town have the reputation of being sexually lax, and though Lady Anne is a firm minder of her own business in such matters, she enjoys relaying to Dundas the remark of a Dutch husband: "Grace a dieu, ma femme est bien laide" (94).

It is impossible to read her letters without receiving a sense of a woman possessed of strong self-love, happily accepting the ways in which she is exceptional. Commenting on the pride of the Dutch in "the size and number of their children," she writes: "Mr Barnard has given me leave, as I before mentioned, to take the credit of three or four whenever I find the tide of pity and self complacency running too strong in the other party... they must all be in England, and all boys — I will not enact the careless mother and leave my girls behind" (109). The self-confidence which allows her to make such jokes at her own expense is certainly an important component of her ability to offer counsel to Dundas on political matters.

In terms of her belief that the Cape ought to become a prosperous British possession, she is alert to exploitation and malpractice by the British; Donald Traill, harbour master at Simonstown, "buys up everything and puts his own price on the goods" (56). She makes sure that Dundas hears of the appalling conditions in the naval hospitals. In False Bay,

... there is sadly little room for the poor sick fellows, multitudes of whom have been lost for want of air and wholesome accomodation they having been so close packed in their Hospital with scurvy — ulcers &c, that it was certain death going into it... what fools! or what nasty, dirty calculators some of the contractors for the public must be, where is the Hospital for the navy here in Cape Town placed? *above the public ovens* where all the bread used in the place is baked.... (59)

Lady Anne's letters frequently contain the recognition that the Cape, if it becomes permanently a British colony, will change its nature. The Dutch East India Company, as has already been mentioned, had opposed expansion, and had gone further, forbidding development in the existing settlements in the hinterland of Cape Town. Stellenbosch, which she visits with Andrew Barnard, strikes her as "an Asylum for Old Age," because "during the Dutch government no manufacture was permitted there and any person endeavouring to gain a living by such means would have been severely punished" (79). She comments on the absence of cultivation in Hottentots Holland, though the soil appears to her fertile: "but why raise grain unless there is a market for it?" (82). In the same letter, she remarks that the Dutch settlers' appetite for large domains has caused them to place their farmhouses far apart:

... instead of placing their houses within the vicinity of rational society, the farmer has only thought of keeping himself as little circumscribed as possible and as far away as he could from the Landrosts eye — the consequences of this has been, that whenever families have settled wide from each other, there has been but a poor increase of them, whereas, in places where they have been more confined there is ten times the increase, as in Graffe Renett. - 25 years ago there was 100 families in that district, they were not permitted to emigrate beyond a certain distance and are now 800 —. I think that in Hotentot Holland there seemed to be a house and farm every mile, or mile and a half - but no Hamlet - no village - as the land is cultivated by slaves and as they are the property of the master, his house has generally a slave house belonging to it, which is in place of that Happier cottage where each European man, has his wife, his child, his pig, and his cat or dog, as great within its four walls as any Emperor within his pallace; and till we see Hamlets raising up their Humble heads. and the artificer receiving his shilling or two a day for his work, and spending it as he pleases, unlashed by any ratan or any chastisement but his wifes tongue if he has spent too much of it on porter, we will not see this a flourishing country, at present, unwilling Drudgery, toils unthanked, for Indolent apathy! (84)

Behind this commentary lies a body of informed beliefs about social and economic development: Lady Anne is firmly Eurocentric in her views of how a society should evolve, but she is very untypical of women of her day in her confident theorizing. Her willingness to display theoretical knowledge on this occasion seems at odds with the sense which she expresses when she visits Mynheer Alling's museum, that women must not aspire to learning; it may be that the developing sciences of zoology, botany, and geology were particularly taboo for women, but it seems more likely that it was the organized collection and ordering of scientific information which she felt presumptuous. She certainly records with interest the information of all kinds which Barrow and Somerville, another British official who travelled beyond the boundaries of the Colony, brought back.

Lady Anne could not, of course, have imagined that the letters to Dundas would be published, but it is no doubt significant of her attitudes towards the display of knowledge by women that she expressly forbade the publication of her revised Cape Journals and her *Memoir*, though she wrote that she hoped that both would circulate among family and friends — in the case of the Lindsay family and its connections, a very large group of people. Publication was reserved for men. It is nevertheless typical of her that she believed that her observations and judgements were of value, and deserved a wider audience.

When Lord Macartney's increasing ill health forces him to return to England, Francis Dundas, formerly commander-in-chief of the military garrison at the Cape, becomes acting governor, and the Barnards' special position, which depended to a great extent on the friendship and trust of Macartney, begins to alter. Lady Anne is forced to recognize that her husband does not enjoy the acting governor's confidence; she herself has little respect for the acting governor's judgement. In September 1799, when he attempts to settle frontier disputes by marching against the Kaffers (Xhosa), she writes:

... I fear I may be led to place myself in a presumptuous position & improper point of view to my dear friend, by throwing out opinions on the wisdom of some things going forward there which I have no business to touch on, yet I love you too well to be *cautious*, and I know this place to be so favourite a child of yours, that if I as a bye stander imagine that *whipping* is a worse measure than *coaxing* it, I should fail in my *duty to You* if I did not privately say so. (193)

Despite her reminder to Dundas that her letter is private, her tone clearly indicates that she knows herself to be on dangerous ground when she advises Dundas on military matters. Her metaphor of the naughty child, on whose proper management she can advise, helps to legitimize her intervention; later in the same letter, she instances the advice of the "old president of the court of justice," "to keep in well with them [the Xhosa] is our only safety and if a quarrel takes place to make it up quickly" (194). Lady Anne knows she needs support here; however longstanding their friendship, she is being daring when she asks Dundas to allow himself to be influenced by the views of a woman, necessarily without any official post, and convinced that his nephew, the acting governor, is mistaken.

The arrival of the new governor, Sir George Yonge, did not help matters. Besides their unpleasant squabble about the house in the Castle which Lord Macartney had allowed them and the military men now wished Francis Dundas to claim, they were also dismayed by Yonge's financial irresponsibility, which Barnard, as Secretary, felt he ought to try to curb. Unlike Lord Macartney, who had realized that since the future of the Cape as a British possession was uncertain, it was inappropriate to spend heavily on public buildings that in the declining years of the Dutch East India Company had become dilapidated, Sir George spent recklessly and ostentatiously. Soon Lady Anne is listing numerous and expensive promotions among the garrison. It may be indicative of Dundas's attention to her letters that the promotions were not confirmed.

In a letter dated 14 May 1800, Lady Anne tells Dundas of a serious scandal concerning Yonge: he has condoned, indeed given permission for a Cape Town merchant's importing slaves purchased in Mozambique. The Cape Dutch merchants are all well aware of this shady transaction, but Andrew Barnard's arguments against it have been ignored, except that the governor, rather than attempt further to convince him, "gave the order for the landing and selling of the Slaves himself . . ." (240). At this stage, Lady Anne knows that it is not only British national interests which she is serving in telling the Minister of this irregularity; her husband's position in the matter must be made clear. No parallel series of letters in the period allows us to estimate how much influence she had over Dundas, but it may be significant that Yonge's governorship was rapidly brought to a close. The official notice of his recall was dispatched from England in January 1801, a little more than a year after his arrival in Cape Town.

The expected new governor (who in fact never took office, as the Peace of Amiens stipulated that the Cape was to be given back to the Dutch) Lord Glenbervie, and his wife were old friends of Lady Anne's, but by this time, having been away from home for five years, she longs to return to her family and friends. "I am certainly not ill, but I am not the Stout creature that I was," she writes to a London friend (273).

As far as the extent of her travels is concerned, Lady Anne is not one of the great figures of her period. It is rather as an indicator of the range and limits of women's understanding and influence and of the originality of opinion permitted to them under certain circumstances that she is of importance. None of the observations and judgements made by Lady Anne, of which a small selection have been offered here, are made in deference to received male views, and her apologies, contradicted by the confidence of her manner as they are, are more often because as a woman she is presuming to offer any opinions, rather than because they are unconventional.<sup>3</sup> Her long friendship with Dundas demonstrates his appreciation of a woman who was able to report and judge in this way, and Macartney, another exceptionally able man, rapidly became a close friend. There is evidence, however, to suggest that the smaller fry among the Englishmen at the Cape were inclined to resent her<sup>4</sup> and the knowledge that without having any relationship with either Dundas or Macartney which could possibly discredit her (the great man's mistress was a familiar figure) she was influential over both. The truth of her position seems to be that she has been the companion - one might call her the discussant -of able, well-informed men for most of her life and has necessarily, though perhaps informally, acquired the information and experience that fits her to observe and assess matters that in a segregated society might belong to men only. The question posed by her letters is whether or not social integration is the crucial step towards equality.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> These journals, which are in the possession of Lord Crawford, the descendant of Lady Anne's eldest brother, are being edited by A. M. Lewin Robinson, and will be published by the Van Riebeeck Society in 1992. The revised journals are from the years 1797 and 1798; there exist also unrevised diaries for the years 1799-1801.
- <sup>2</sup> Lady Anne's other major work, still unpublished, was a six-volume *Memoir* of her life, which appears to be a revision of diaries, edited by herself and transcribed by a secretary in her old age. The *Memoir* is also in the possession of Lord Crawford.
- <sup>3</sup> Lady Anne, for example, can see beauty as well as strangeness in the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa in a way which is very unusual in her period: of a Bushwoman, she writes "Her countenance was sweet to a degree, extremely like Lady —'s; her size about four feet, and her shape singular enough behind, as far as one could judge by the rotundity which her sheepskin seemed to conceal, though a slender woman" (140). We may contrast this with the account offered by Augusta de Mist, a younger contemporary, of a meeting with a Bushwoman: "Her frightening ugliness, her wild appearance and her nauseating filthiness left us with a bad impression of this tribe" (27).
- <sup>4</sup> Letters in the African Library in Kimberley from Acheson Maxwell and John Barrow, written after the departure of Macartney from the Cape are occasionally malicious in their references to Lady Anne.

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