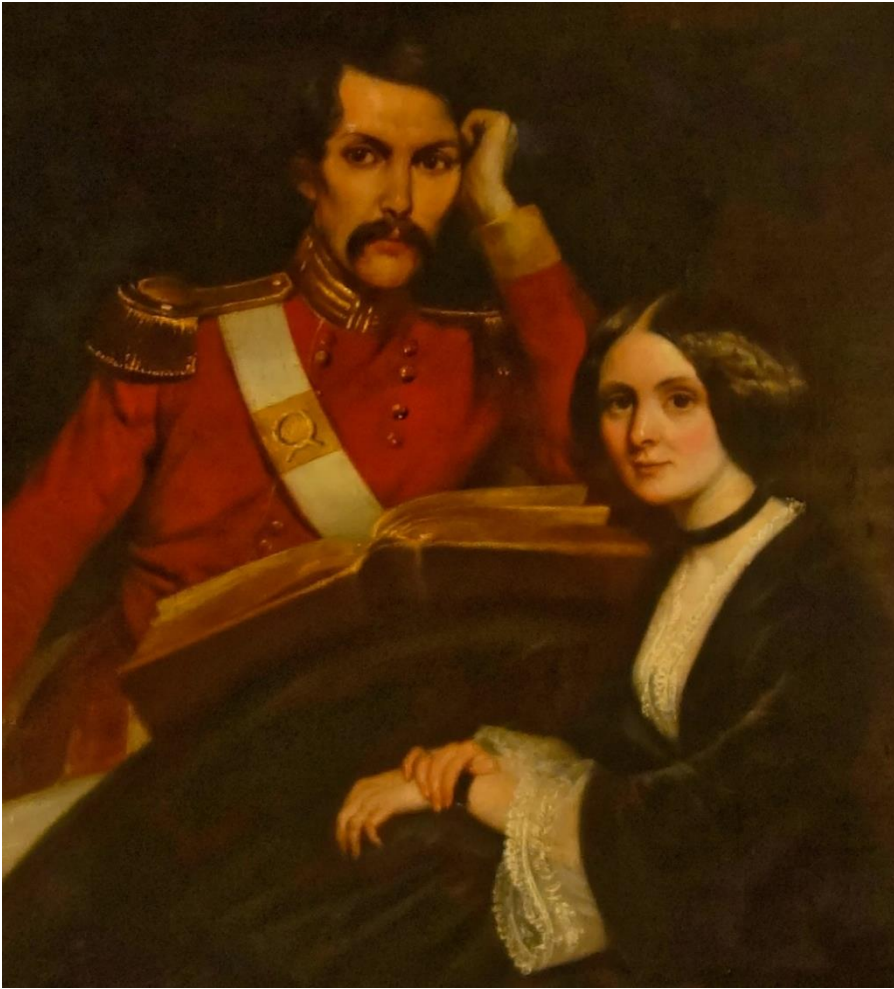


# The Book of Burtoniana



Letters & Memoirs of Sir Richard Francis Burton

Volume 1: 1841-1861

Edited by Gavan Treder

[DRAFT] 8/22/2016 3:16 PM



© 2016, Gavan Tredoux.  
<http://burtoniana.org>

The Book of Burtoniana:  
Volume 1: 1841-1864  
Volume 2: 1865-1879  
Volume 3: 1880-1924  
Volume 4: Register and Bibliography

Cover Image: Richard Francis Burton and his sister Boulogne, 1852, by Claude Jacquand, courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society, London<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.therai.org.uk>

## Preface

This is a collection of Burton letters, reminiscences, diary entries, mentions and fugitive pieces by or about Sir Richard Francis Burton (1831-1890). For an overview of the life and work of Burton, complete facsimiles of all of his books and articles see <http://burtoniana.org>

Although there are many biographies of Burton, completely satisfactory, and primary sources are badly needed. To date there have only been two brief collections of correspondence: an unpublished M.A. by Desmond Young, written in 1979, and a selection of documents about the Nile controversy from the collection of Quentin Keynes edited by Donald Young and Quentin Keynes published in a limited edition in 1989. This is not because of a lack of material.

While Isabel Burton read in stages, partly in Trieste, partly in London a number of his manuscripts, she could not burn the letters he had sent to other people. Therefore the letters we now have contain only what he himself, apart from scattered instances where he pasted letters he received into copies of books in his library or collated them for use in ongoing projects, like the *Book of the Sword*, or references in the letters which do survive. It is obvious that Isabel burnt a vast correspondence of which the extant portion is just a sample. Even so, there are still enough letters from Burton to fill multiple volumes.

The mania for collecting Burtoniana has meant that a lot of the known correspondence is now secreted away in private collections. The auction catalogues are full of examples at high prices. Occasionally this material finds its way into archives where it can be accessed, the Huntington Library, where the Edwards Metcalfe collection was deposited; the British Library, where the Quentin Keynes Collection of manuscripts is now available for use; the National Library of Scotland, where the Grant papers, which contain several letters to and from John Hanning Speke and George Reidy; Durham University, where the Wylde family papers, which contain a trove of letters from Burton to William Henry Wylde, have been deposited; and the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office where the Arundell papers, which contain the residue of the items that Isabel had custody of and did not burn or have burnt, reside. Private collectors who have corresponded any manuscripts this means

you are encouraged, or rather exhorted, to contribute copies to this project, which is ongoing

The scope here is considerably broader than traditional collections of letters, as it includes other documents, and relevant mentions of Burton and his concerns in correspondence between third parties. In this spirit, there is an extensive selection of correspondence between Hanning Speke, P. Ruy, J.A. Grant and others, as well as a large tranche of correspondence by Isabel

Most of the material has never been published or has appeared in fragmented form and often garbled by transcription errors. Commentary is supplied where necessary to explain obscurities and identify references. A Register is also provided in Volume 4 with more details on the principal figures referred to.

The letters and documents are arranged chronologically in the first three volumes. Reminiscences which refer to an identifiable time appear there. General reminiscences and assessments of Burton after his death appear by their publication date.

The selection of letters is comprehensive and includes those of the correspondence involving Burton that is known to survive and still be located, but it does not aim to be complete. More letters are known to exist, and this collection may include them in future editions. Similarly, though the reminiscences collected here include nearly all the substantial first hand accounts of Burton that have emerged to date, there are surely more to be discovered.

A fourth volume contains a Register of people referred to, with biographical overview and detail of their connections to Burton. There is also a detailed chronology of events to allow contexts to be anchored correctly, and a bibliography.

All volumes contain a selection of images, including colour plates, many of which have never, or seldom, been published before. These include the paintings made at Trieste by Albert Letchford, unpublished sketches by Burton himself, and many other rarities. Together with the long familiar *taficonados*, they appear with much higher fidelity than they have before.

All letters reproduced here have been transcribed, wherever possible, from the original manuscripts or images of them. There are only a few cases in which the originals could not be traced. The text is given as closely as possible to the original, without unnecessary pedantry about their physical appearance.

Where the text convention is used. Doubtful transcriptions appear inside brackets, e.g. k ‡ eigh phrases have been supplied modern readers do not have the kind of education that Burton could assume his audience had.

Finally, *caveat emptor* or reader beware. It is all too easy to make mistakes in

with age-shrinking and cramping. It is even worse. During the compilation of this series it became obvious early on that confidence in transcriptions required careful resolution of references compared with other sources. While this raises confidence considerably, it cannot eliminate transcription errors, let alone all the other errors that creep into precise work of this kind. Readers must either accept this stoically, or supply their lists of errata as part payment.

Gavan Tredoux  
July 2016

# Contents

PREFACE.....	1
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	XII
1841-1854.....	1
1. 1841.E. A. FREEMAN.....	1
2. 1842/O3/PSWYNTER.....	1
3. 1842DOUGLASLADEN.....	2
4. 18421851.MILITARYRECORD.....	3
5. 1845/O87 WILLIAMNAPIER TOCAPTAINWALTERSCOTT.....	5
6. 1845/12SCINDEASSOCIATION.....	6
7. 1846/O2/TC.BLAGRAVE TORICHARDBURTON.....	8
8. 1846/O7/ JOSEPHNETTERVILLBURTON TOCAPTAINWALTERSCOTT.....	11
9. 18467ENSIGNALLEN.....	13
10. 1847WALTERABRAHAM.....	13
11. 1847/12PRINGLEREPORT.....	15
12. 1848/O2/12RICHARDBURTON TOTHEBOMBAYTIMES.....	16
13. 1848/O2/22RICHARDBURTON TOTHEBOMBAYTIMES.....	21
14. 1848/O3/01RICHARDBURTON TOTHEBOMBAYTIMES.....	26
15. 1848/O3/04RICHARDBURTON TOTHEBOMBAYTIMES.....	31
16. 1848/11/14RICHARDBURTON TOSARAHBURTON.....	35
17. 18497ANONYMOUS.....	37
18. 18501853GEORGIANASTISTED.....	39
19. 1852/O4/08.FREDERICKMESURIER.....	41
20. 1852/O7/18FREDERICKHOCKLEY.....	42
21. 1852/10/18R. P. BENNETTLUCAS TOJAMESMELVILLE.....	42
22. 1852/10/18R. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN TOJAMESMELVILLE.....	43
23. 1852/10/22RICHARDBURTON TOJAMESMELVILLE.....	43
24. 1852/11/ RICHARDBURTON TONORTONSHAW.....	44
25. 1852RICHARDBURTON TODR. JOHNELLIOTSON.....	45
26. 1853// . RICHARDBURTON TOGEORGEHELLASGREENOUGH.....	50
27. 1853/O1/ RICHARDBURTON TONORTONSHAW.....	51
28. 1853/O2/ RICHARDBURTON TOTHECHURCHMISSIONARSSOCIETY.....	51
29. 1853/O3/02RICHARDBURTON TOSIRCHARLESNAPIER.....	52
30. 1853/O3/RICHARDBURTON TFRANCISGALTON.....	53
31. 1853/O4/08.FREDERICKHOCKLEY.....	53
32. 1853BERNARDQUARITCH.....	54
33. 1853/10/18RICHARDBURTON TGRS.....	57

34.	1853/10/	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW .....	58
35.	1853/11/18	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW .....	59
36.	1853/12/17	FREDERICK HOCKLEY.....	63
37.	1853/12/18	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW .....	65
38.	1853	ALI THE PILOT VIA JOSEPH PARKINSON.....	66
39.	1854	CHARLES DIDIER.....	66
40.	1854	JAMES HAMILTON.....	73
41.	1854	EDWIN DEON .....	74
42.	1854/05/20	DELLESMERE.....	75
43.	1854/10/10	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM E. HAY.....	76
44.	1854/10/10	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO JAMES AUGUSTUS GRANT.....	77
45.	1854/03/	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO JAMES AUGUSTUS GRANT.....	79
46.	1854	GEORGIAN ASTISTED.....	81
1855/1859.....			83
47.	1855// ?	COLONEL JOHN STUDHOLME HODGSON TO MONCKTON MILNES.....	83
48.	1855/02/	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM M. COGHLAN.....	86
49.	1855/02/	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM M. COGHLAN.....	87
50.	1855/02/	RICHARD BURTON TO RICHARD BENTLEY.....	88
51.	1855/02/	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW .....	89
52.	1855/04/	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM M. COGHLAN.....	92
53.	1855/04/	E. HERNE TO RICHARD BURTON.....	99
54.	1855/04/	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO RICHARD BURTON.....	101
55.	1855/06/	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW .....	103
56.	1855/08/	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW .....	104
57.	1855/09/21	H. SKENE TO STRATFORD REDCLIFFE.....	107
58.	1855	EDWARD MONEY .....	110
59.	1855/12/06	RICHARD BURTON TO THE TIMES.....	112
60.	1856	FRANCIS GALTON.....	117
61.	1856/03/05	GENERAL VIVIAN TO LORD PANMURE.....	118
62.	1856/03/28	BUT. COLONEL EUGENE \ EKLY TO MAJOR GENERAL SMITH.....	119
63.	1856/03/28	MAJOR EDWARD SHELLEY TO GENERAL SMITH.....	121
64.	1856/04/	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	121
65.	1856/04/06	GENERAL SMITH TO LORD PANMURE.....	122
66.	1856/04/17	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	124
67.	1856/05/7	RICHARD BURTON TO SIR GEORGE BACK .....	128
68.	1856/05/18	RICHARD BURTON TO GENERAL WILLIAM BEATSON.....	129
69.	1856/06/7	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW.....	134
70.	1856/08/7	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW.....	135
71.	1856//	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW.....	135

72.	1856/09/07	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW.....	136
73.	1856/09/31	HENRICH BARTH TO RICHARD BURTON.....	136
74.	1856/11/05	SAMUELS SHEPHEARD.....	137
75.	1856/11/14	RICHARD BURTON TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.....	137
76.	1856/11/14	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	139
77.	1856/12/28	RICHARD BURTON TO COMMANDER WILLIAM BALFOUR.....	140
78.	1857/01/02	STOR RICHARD BURTON.....	141
79.	1857/01/05	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	142
80.	1857/04/02	FREDERICK HANKEY TO MONCKTON MILNES.....	143
81.	1857/04/02	RICHARD BURTON TO SIR GEORGE BACK.....	146
82.	1857/04/22	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	148
83.	1857/04/27	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES.....	155
84.	1857/04/	RICHARD BURTON TO UNKNOWN.....	158
85.	1857/05/	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO GEORGIAN SPEKE.....	158
86.	1857/05/20	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO RGS.....	159
87.	1857/08/27	FRANCIS GALTON TO RICHARD BURTON.....	165
88.	1857/09/06	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW.....	165
89.	1857/09/06	RICHARD BURTON TO ATKINS HAMERTON.....	167
90.	1857/10/	RICHARD BURTON TO THE BRITISH CONSUL ZANZIBAR.....	168
91.	1858/01/13	BURTON AND SPEKE DISMISS THE CONS OF RAMJI.....	170
92.	1858/06/24	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	170
93.	1858/07/02	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO RGS.....	173
94.	1858/07/02	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO NORTON SHAW.....	175
95.	1858/12/07	RICHARD BURTON TO BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.....	177
96.	1859/01/01	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	178
97.	1859/01/06	FREDERICK HANKEY TO MONCKTON MILNES.....	179
98.	1859/02/05	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	181
99.	1859/03/02	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	182
100.	1859/03/20	JOHANNES REBMANN TO RICHARD BURTON.....	183
101.	1859/03/26	P. RIGBY TO CAPTAIN JOHN MILES.....	185
102.	1859/04/06	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO C.P. RIGBY.....	185
103.	1859/04/18	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO RGS.....	186
104.	1859/04/18	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	187
105.	1859/04/20	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO C.P. RIGBY.....	188
106.	1859//	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW.....	189
107.	1859/05/08	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO NORTON SHAW.....	189
108.	1859//	? RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES.....	190
109.	1859/05/19	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO RGS.....	190
110.	1859/06/09	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO NORTON SHAW.....	191
111.	1859/06/17	JOHN HANNINGSPEKE TO RICHARD BURTON.....	193



112.	1859/06/20	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO RICHARD BURTON .....	195
113.	1859/07/20	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO BLACKWOOD.....	196
114.	1859/08/06	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANCIS GALTON.....	197
115.	1859//	? JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO RICHARD BURTON .....	198
116.	1859/08/18	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	198
117.	1859/08/18	WILLIAM BLACKWOOD ANSONS .....	199
118.	1859/09/02	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO BLACKWOOD.....	200
119.	1859/09/06	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY.....	201
120.	1859/09/06	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW.....	202
121.	1859/09/07	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANCIS GALTON.....	203
122.	1859/09/08	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW.....	204
123.	1859/09/10	P. RIGBY TO RICHARD BURTON.....	204
124.	1859/10/07	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW.....	205
125.	1859/10/	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	206
126.	1859/10/18	RICHARD BURTON TO RGS.....	207
127.	1859/10/18	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY.....	208
128.	1859/10/28	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO NORTON SHAW.....	211
129.	1859/11/03	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO RICHARD BURTON .....	212
130.	1859/11/?	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO NORTON SHAW.....	213
131.	1859/11/	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO RICHARD BURTON .....	214
132.	1859/11/25	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY.....	215
133.	1859/12/02	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY.....	217
134.	1859/12/07	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.....	219
135.	1859/12/?	RICHARD BURTON TO JOHN HANNING SPEKE.....	226
136.	1859	GEORGIAN ASTISED.....	227
1860	1864.....	.....	228
137.	1860	JOHN HANNING SPEKE.....	228
138.	1860	FRANCIS GALTON.....	228
139.	1860/01/?	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO NORTON SHAW.....	230
140.	1860/01/18	RICHARD BURTON TO C. P. RIGBY.....	230
141.	1860/01/16	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO NORTON SHAW.....	232
142.	1860/01/17	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO NORTON SHAW.....	232
143.	1860/01/19	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY.....	234
144.	1860/01/28	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	236
145.	1860/02/07	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO RICHARD BURTON .....	237
146.	1860/02/03	RICHARD BURTON TO JOHN HANNING SPEKE.....	238
147.	1860/02/06	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO NORTON SHAW.....	239
148.	1860/02/07	NORTON SHAW TO RICHARD BURTON.....	240
149.	1860/02/07	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW.....	241

150.	1860/02/00	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO RICHARD BURTON .....	242
151.	1860/02/10	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	243
152.	1860/02/10	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO NORTON SHAW .....	244
153.	1860/02/10	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW .....	245
154.	1860/ / ?	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	246
155.	1860/04/10	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO RICHARD BURTON .....	246
156.	1860/04/10	RICHARD BURTON TO JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE .....	247
157.	1860/04/10	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO RICHARD BURTON .....	247
158.	1860/04/10	RICHARD BURTON TO JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE .....	248
159.	1860/04/20	RICHARD BURTON TO NORTON SHAW .....	249
160.	1860/ /03	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY .....	250
161.	1860/10/	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY .....	253
162.	1860/10/00	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY .....	254
163.	1860/10/00	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY .....	256
164.	1860/10/20	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY .....	258
165.	1860/08	RICHARD WALDEN HALE .....	262
166.	1860	AMELIA RANSOME NEVILLE .....	265
167.	1861	1865 ERNEST PERCIVAL RHYS .....	266
168.	1861	ERNEST PERCIVAL RHYS .....	271
169.	1861/01/00	GUSTAV MANN .....	273
170.	1861/01/00	WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS .....	273
171.	1861	ARTHUR SYMONS .....	275
172.	1861/ / ?	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	275
173.	1861/02/00	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO BLACKWOOD .....	275
174.	1861/03/20	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	277
175.	1861	GEORGIANA STISTED .....	278
176.	1861/03/20	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY .....	279
177.	1861/05/10	JOHN HANNINGS SPEKE TO C. P. RIGBY .....	280
178.	1861/06/00	RICHARD BURTON TO LUKE BURKE .....	283
179.	1861	Laura Friswell .....	284
180.	1861/06/10	Isabel Burton to James Hain Friswell .....	284
181.	1861/07/00	FREDERICK HOCKLEY .....	285
182.	1861/07/00	RICHARD BURTON TO THE TIMES .....	286
183.	1861/08/00	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	287
184.	1861/08/20	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	288
185.	1861/10/00	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	290
186.	1861/10/20	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	295
187.	1861/11/?	Isabel Burton to James Hain Friswell .....	304
188.	1861	Laura Friswell .....	305
189.	1861/12/00	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	307

190.	1861/12/13	GUSTAVMANN.....	309
191.	1861/12/16	RICHARDBURTON TO WILLIAMHENRYWYLDE .....	309
192.	1862/01/04	ISABELBURTON TO JAMESHAIN FRISWELL.....	312
193.	1862/01/11	ISABELBURTON TO NORTONSHAW [1].....	315
194.	1862/01/11	ISABELBURTON TO NORTONSHAW [2].....	320
195.	1862/01/20	MONCKTONMILNES TO C. J. MACCARTHY .....	321
196.	1862/02/19	RICHARDBURTON TO JAMESHAIN FRISWELL.....	322
197.	1862/03/?	ISABELBURTON TO NORTONSHAW.....	323
198.	1862/03/01	RICHARDBURTON TO WILLIAMHENRYWYLDE .....	323
199.	1862/03/15	ISABELBURTON TO MONCKTONMILNES .....	325
200.	1862/03/17	ISABELBURTON TO NORTONSHAW .....	326
201.	1862/04/?	ISABELBURTON TO JAMESHAIN FRISWELL.....	326
202.	1862/04/02	RICHARDBURTON TO SIR JAMES RANALD MARTIN .....	327
203.	1862/04/17	ISABELBURTON TO JAMESHAIN FRISWELL.....	328
204.	1862/04/18	ISABELBURTON TO JAMESHAIN FRISWELL.....	329
205.	1862/04/26	RICHARDBURTON TO MONCKTONMILNES .....	329
206.	1862/04/27	RICHARDBURTON TO WILLIAMHENRYWYLDE .....	332
207.	1862/04/28	RICHARDBURTON TO WILLIAMHENRYWYLDE .....	335
208.	1862/05/10	RICHARDBURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	336
209.	1862/05/22	RICHARDBURTON TO WILLIAMHENRYWYLDE .....	336
210.	1862/ / ?	RICHARDBURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	339
211.	1862/05/25	RICHARDBURTON TO JAMES HUNT.....	339
212.	1862/06/23	RICHARDBURTON TO HENRY A. MURRAY.....	341
213.	1862/07/12	JOSEPH DALTON HOOKER TO SIR RODERICK MURCHISON.....	345
214.	1862/09/26	RICHARDBURTON TO NORTONSHAW.....	353
215.	1862/09/26	ISABELBURTON TO NORTONSHAW.....	354
216.	1862/11/.	ISABELBURTON TO NORTONSHAW.....	355
217.	1862/11/08	GUSTAVMANN.....	355
218.	1862/11/12	JOSEPH DALTON HOOKER TO CHARLES DARWIN .....	356
219.	1862/11/18	CHARLES DARWIN TO JOSEPH DALTON HOOKER.....	356
220.	1862/12/01	ISABELBURTON TO NORTONSHAW.....	356
221.	1862/12/.	JOSEPH DALTON HOOKER TO C. H. HUXLEY .....	ERROR BOOKMARK NOT DEFINED
222.	1862/12/?	RICHARDBURTON TO MONCKTONMILNES.....	358
223.	1862/12/20	GUSTAVMANN TO SIR WILLIAM JACKSON HOOKER.....	359
224.	1862/12/22	RICHARDBURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	361
225.	1862/12/22	RICHARDBURTON TO THE TIMES.....	363
226.	1862/12/23	RICHARDBURTON TO MONCKTONMILNES.....	364
227.	1862/ / ?	ISABELBURTON TO JAMESHAIN FRISWELL.....	364
228.	1862/ / 12?	ISABELBURTON TO JAMESHAIN FRISWELL.....	365

229.	1862/12/20	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	365
230.	186/ / ?	ISABEL BURTON TO JAMES HAIN FRISWELL.....	366
231.	1862	HENRY ASTBURY LEVESON.....	322
232.	1862	JOHN PASSMORE EDWARDS.....	366
233.	1862	LAURA HAIN FRISWELL.....	367
234.	1862	HENRY SUTHERLAND EDWARDS.....	368
235.	1863/01/02	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	424
236.	1863/01/09	WILLIAM BABINGTON TO SIR WILLIAM HOOKER.....	370
237.	1863/01/?	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON.....	371
238.	1863/01/?	RICHARD BURTON TO HENRY A. MURRAY.....	371
239.	1863/01/?	RICHARD BURTON TO HENRY A. MURRAY.....	372
240.	1863/01/14	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	425
241.	1863/01/20	RICHARD BURTON TO HENRY A. MURRAY.....	373
242.	1863/01/31	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	374
243.	1863/02/11	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	375
244.	1863/02/17	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	376
245.	1863/03/29	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	378
246.	1863/04/22	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON . ERROR BOOKMARK NOT DEFINED	
247.	1863/05/07	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	381
248.	1863/05/31	WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS.....	383
249.	1863/05/31	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	384
250.	1863/06/05	WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS.....	386
251.	1863/06/18	WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS.....	387
252.	1863/06/26	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	387
253.	1863/06/27	RICHARD BURTON TO C. GEORGE .....	387
254.	1863/07/02	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	389
255.	1863/07/24	WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS.....	391
256.	1863/10/23	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	392
257.	1863/10/23	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	395
258.	1863/12/07	WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS.....	397
259.	1863/12/24	JOHN HANNING SPEKE.....	398
260.	1863/12/30	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	402
261.	1863/12/30	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	403
262.	1863/ /	. RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	388
263.	1864/01/14	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO THE ATHENAEUM.....	406
264.	1864/01/20	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	407
265.	1864/ /15?	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON.....	408
266.	1864/ / ?	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	409
267.	1864/03/04	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	410
268.	1864/03/24	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	412

269.	1864/03/25	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO BLACKWOOD.....	413
270.	1864/03/28	RICHARD BURTON TO WILLIAM HENRY WYLDE .....	415
271.	1864/04/18	RICHARD BURTON TO THE ATHENAEUM.....	416
272.	1864/04/19	GEORGE PAULL .....	418
273.	1864/05/?	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON.....	421
274.	1864/05/30	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD .....	423
275.	1864/05/26	WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS.....	423
276.	1864/06/14	ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE MINUTES.....	425
277.	1864/06/30	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	427
278.	1864/07/06	RODERICK MURCHISON TO AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD .....	429
279.	1864/07/06	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO BLACKWOOD.....	430
280.	1864/07/25	JOHN HANNING SPEKE TO BLACKWOOD.....	430
281.	1864	ARTHUR SYMONS.....	431
282.	1864/08/12	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES.....	432
283.	1864/08/23	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	432
284.	1864	ÁRMIN VÁMBÉRY .....	433
285.	1864/09/17	MELANCHOLY DEATH OF CAPT. SPEKE.....	434
286.	1864/09/19	JOSEPH DALTON HOOKER TO CHARLES DARWIN .....	436
287.	1864/09/21	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	436
288.	1864/09/28	WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS.....	437
289.	1864	FRANCIS GALTON.....	438
290.	1864	MARY CLARKE MOHL .....	440
291.	1864/10/12	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	440
292.	1864/ / ?	RICHARD BURTON TO MONCKTON MILNES .....	441
293.	1864/11/10	RICHARD BURTON TO J. B. FERGUSON.....	442
294.	1864/11/20	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	444
295.	1864/12/10	FRANCIS GALTON OFON IN THE READER.....	445
296.	1864	A. H. SAYCE .....	439
297.	1864/12/16	RICHARD BURTON TO THE READER .....	448
298.	1864/11/06	P. RIGBY TO JAMES AUGUSTUS GRANT.....	449
299.	1864/12/21	RICHARD BURTON TO FRANK WILSON .....	452
INDEX TO AUTHORS AND CORRESPONDENTS.....			459
PLATES.....			461
CREDITS.....			473

## List of Illustrations.

FIGURE 1. <i>BOMBAY TIMES</i> 1848/02/19.....	19
FIGURE 2. <i>BOMBAY TIMES</i> 1848/02/23.....	24
FIGURE 3. <i>BOMBAY TIMES</i> 1848/03/01.....	29
FIGURE 4. <i>BOMBAY TIMES</i> 1848/03/03.....	34
FIGURE 5. CARICATURE BY BURTON OF INDIAN ARMY ASSOCIATES.....	38
FIGURE 6. BURTON IN THE EARLY 1850s.....	45
FIGURE 7. A PILGRIM POSSIBLY BURTON.....	55
FIGURE 8. SELF-PORTRAIT AS PILGRIM WITH MOCK CROWN.....	56
FIGURE 9. THE ORIGINAL SLUG MAP BY ERHARDT AND REBMANN.....	82
FIGURE 10. SURGEONS REPORT AFTER THE FATAL INCIDENT AT BERBERAH.....	91
FIGURE 11. MONCKTON MILNES.....	157
FIGURE 12. PAGES FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	161
FIGURE 13. WESTERN SKETCHES BY BURTON.....	252
FIGURE 14. MORMON ENDOWMENT HOUSE AND TABERNACLE FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	253
FIGURE 15. DR. GEORGE BIRD.....	271
FIGURE 16. FREETOWN SIERRA LEONE, 1861 FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	289
FIGURE 17. CAPE PALMAS 1861 FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	294
FIGURE 18. CAPE COAST CASTLE, 1861 FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	295
FIGURE 19. THE CHURCH IN AKE, ABEOKUTA FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	297
FIGURE 20. MISSION COMPOUND AKE, ABEOKUTA FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	298
FIGURE 21. THE ROCK ULUMQ 3RD NOVEMBER 1861 FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	298
FIGURE 22. OGBONI LODGE IN ABEOKUTA FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	299
FIGURE 23. AN OPEN HUT AT OGBONI ABEOKUTA FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	300
FIGURE 24. THE CULIAR FRUIT FLOURISHING AT ABEOKUTA FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	301
FIGURE 25. THE ROCK IN AKE, NOVEMBER 3 <sup>RD</sup> 1861 FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	302
FIGURE 26. ITS OF CORAL IN NOSES FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	303
FIGURE 27. WEST AFRICAN PORT LAGOS? FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	304
FIGURE 28. MAPANYE 2 <sup>1<sup>ST</sup></sup> DECEMBER 1861 FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	312
FIGURE 29. ISABEL BURTON IN THE 1860s.....	315
FIGURE 30. VIEW FROM MT. HELEN FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	316
FIGURE 31. IN THE CAMEROON MOUNTAINS FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	317
FIGURE 32. VOLCANIC CRATER IN THE CAMEROON MOUNTAINS FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	317
FIGURE 33. ANOTHER VIEW OF THE CRATER FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	318
FIGURE 34. VICTORIA MOUNTAIN FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	318
FIGURE 35. MOUNT ISABEL AND MOUNT HOOKER FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	319
FIGURE 36. THE DYKE FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	319
FIGURE 37. ALBERT CRATER FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	320

FIGURE 38. FORT VERONA, PRAMPRAM GOLD COAST, 28 <sup>TH</sup> JUNE 1862, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	344
FIGURE 39. THE ARM CHAIR, JULY 3 <sup>RD</sup> 1862, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	344
FIGURE 40. OLD MAMMY, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	347
FIGURE 41. CACATRIZED YOUNG WOMEN OF WARI, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	347
FIGURE 42. THE CROSS IN DIFFICULTIES WARI, 11 AUGUST 1862, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	348
FIGURE 43. BELZONI'S GRAVE, AUGUST 1862, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	348
FIGURE 44. BELZONI'S TREE, AUGUST 1862, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	349
FIGURE 45. LODGE IN BENIN, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	349
FIGURE 46. KING JAMBRAS COMPOUND IN BENIN, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	350
FIGURE 47. FEMALES OF BENIN, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	350
FIGURE 48. WOMAN AT WARI, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	351
FIGURE 49. FALAYE AND STOKES' MAMMY, BENIN, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	352
FIGURE 50. MALE CITIZEN OF BENIN, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	352
FIGURE 51. HUMAN SACRIFICE ON THE ROAD TO BENIN, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	353
FIGURE 52. BURTON'S LETTER TO FRANK WILSON 21 DECEMBER 1864.....	454
FIGURE 53. DRAWING BY BURTON FOR <i>TWO TRIPS TO GORILLA LAND</i> .....	458
FIGURE 54. A PAGE FROM BURTON'S MILITARY RECORD.....	462
FIGURE 55. A KIN BULL AND PERSIA SKETCHED BY BURTON ONBOARD THE "BENGAL" APRIL 1853.....	463
FIGURE 56. BURTON IN CAIRO, DEC. 23 1853 BY EDWARD LEAR.....	464
FIGURE 57. AN OFFICER OF THE BASHI-BAZOUKS.....	465
FIGURE 58. WEDDING PORTRAIT BY LOUIS DESANGES RFB.....	466
FIGURE 59. WEDDING PORTRAIT BY LOUIS DESANGES ISABEL.....	467
FIGURE 60. THE GREAT SALT LAKE, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	468
FIGURE 61. SALT LAKE CITY, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	468
FIGURE 62. THE BRITISH CONSULATE ON THE HILL ABOVE THE BEACH AT FERNANDO PO, IN BURTON'S DAY.....	469
FIGURE 63. ABEOKUTA, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	470
FIGURE 64. SCENES FROM ABEOKUTA, IN BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	471
FIGURE 65. 'LITTLE CAMAROO MOUNTAIN' FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	471
FIGURE 66. PECULIAR DESCENT OF MT. HELEN, FROM BURTON'S SKETCHBOOK.....	472

## 1841-1854

### 1. 1841. E. A. Freeman.

---

Freeman was educated at a small private school at Ewell, in Surrey, where Mr. Clements Markham was one of his contemporaries. But his intellectual life dates from his election to a scholarship at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1841, when he was not yet eight years old. At that time the academical society of an undergraduate was limited to college walls much more narrowly than it is now; and Freeman always attributed the influences that moulded his after career to the fellows and scholars of Trinity. The president was then Ingram, an Oxford antiquary; the tutors and lecturers were Wilson (Ingram's successor in the headship, and himself an antiquary), Thomas Short (the tutor of Newman, who survived to our own days), Isaac Williams, Copeland, and Hadden (a co-editor with Dr. Stubbs of *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*). Among the scholars whom Freeman found in residence were the present Lord Lingen, Basil Jones (Bishop of St. David's), Mountague Bernard, and Sir George Bowen; among his juniors were Father Coleridge, Gregory Smith, Sir George Cox, and Gifford.<sup>3</sup> A commoner of the time was Sir Richard F. Burton, concerning whom Freeman used to say that, there was something in common between the two men.

### 2. 1842/03/05.P. Wynter.<sup>4</sup>

---

At a Meeting of the Vice Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, in the Delegates' Room, March 1842 Whereas it has been announced by public

<sup>1</sup> Obituary E. A. Freeman *Academy* Vol. 41 No. 1038 (March 26, 1892) p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> "

Archivist Mrs. Clare Hopkins to Mary Lovell (1996/1)

<sup>3</sup> See Register for W. G. Palgrave.

<sup>4</sup> *Oxford University Statutes* S. R. M. Ward and James Heywood (London: William Pickering, 1851). Burton left Oxford around March 12 1842, after, as he later recalled, attending a steep chase. The statute here shows that this alone would have led to a one-term rustication. *The Advertiser and Exchange Gazette* Friday 11 March 1842

Wales Handicap run on Tuesday of that week, which had apparently caused great



1842. Douglas Sladen.

advertisement that a steeple chase is about to take place in the  
of Oxford; all persons are hereby admonished that the Penalties enacted by the  
Statute hereunto subjoined will be enforced against those who after this public  
notice, shall be found to have taken any part in the same.

P. Wynter,  
Vice Chancellor.

Extract from the Statute, Tit. xv15Sect.

"It is also enacted, That no Scholar of the University shall be either principal or  
party in a horserace, either by the act of riding himself or by engaging in any  
subscription for the purpose, or in any other manner; nor shall he attend any  
horserace, or in any way meddle therein, under the penalty of rustication from  
the University during one term for the first offence; during a whole year, for the  
second; and in the case of a third offence, for ever."

### 3. 1842. Douglas Sladen<sup>5</sup>

---

I had the good fortune to know some of the greatest of the authors who lived  
Oxford when I was an undergraduate. I met Mr. Bishop Stubbs the historian,  
Edward Augustus Freeman, Lewis Carroll, Dean Kitchin, Canon Bright and W. L.  
#

Bishop Stubbs and Freeman were also Trinity men, and generally at the College  
Gaudies, where the Scholars used to dine at the same table as the Dons and the  
guests. Sir Richard Burton came once to a Gaudy when I was there, and told me  
that he was very surprised that they had asked him, because he had been sent  
down.

@  
o o u

---

Oliver. See also *Oxford University and City Handbook* 12 March 1842.

<sup>5</sup>Douglas Sladen *Twenty Years of My Life* (New York: Dutton, 1913) pp. 9. See also  
Douglas Sladen *My Long Life* (London: Hutchinson, 1939) p. 45.

#### 4. 1842-1851. Military Record<sup>6</sup>

---

Richard Francis Burton

Dates of commissions as

Ensign<sup>7</sup> 18 June 42

16 July 42

G.O.<sup>8</sup> 15 Oct 42

Lieut 2<sup>nd</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Jany 46

G.O. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> . . . . .

Nominated by J Lock Esq. on the recommendation of Joseph Hand Esq. L J Horne. Son of Captain Burton H.M.S. ~~Base~~ ~~Station~~ 221.

Posted to 18 N.I. G.O. 15 Octr 42. Admitted to the service at Bombay 28 Oct 42

G.O. 14 Nov 42. Leave from 1 April to 15 May to proceed to Bombay to undergo an examination in the Hindustani Language

G.O. 22 March 43 reported qualified to hold the situation of Interpreter in Hindustani

G.O. 5 May 43 Appointed to act as Interpreter to his corps

G.O. 10 Aug 43 Leave from 10 Sept to Oct to proceed to Bombay for purpose of undergoing an examination in the Guzerattee Language

G.O. 22 Aug 43 Reported qualified to hold the situation of Interpreter in Guzerattee

G.O. 23 March 44 Leave extended to 10 Nov to enable him to rejoin his station

G.O. 28 Oct 43 Reported qualified as an Intr. In Mahratta

---

<sup>6</sup>British Library, India Office Records. L/MIL/12/73.

<sup>7</sup>Second Lieutenant in modern terminology.

<sup>8</sup>General Order.

G.O. 22 Oct 44 Appd 2d Asst Surveyor Scinde from 15 Nov East Bengal

G.O. 2 May 45. Order dated Mahomed Khalanda, Hyderabad 1<sup>st</sup> Aug. 46 appointing him to act as Interpreter. N. to do confirmed

G. O. 3<sup>rd</sup> Sept 46. Leave extended to 31<sup>st</sup> to remain at the Residency on S.C.<sup>9</sup>

G.O. 1<sup>st</sup> Decr 46. Evinces a zeal for the service and zeal to his duties (as Lt.) highly creditable and is easily acquainted with Insp Rept of B.N.I.

6<sup>th</sup> Jan 47. Leave extended to 31<sup>st</sup> to remain at the Residency on S.C. [?] 2 Jan 47.

Leave further extended to 28<sup>th</sup> Feb 47.

Leave for two years to proceed to Netherby Hills on S.G.O. 12 Feb 47.

The unexpired portion cancelled from 30 ulto. the date of his return to the Res. G.O. 12 Oct 47

Appointed Assistant in the Scind Survey Dept. G.O. 23 Oct 47.

Reported qualified as a tr in the Persian language G.O. 12 Nov 47.

Evinces a zeal for the Service regularity and attention to duties highly creditable and is well acquainted as far as his experience enabled him to progress. Insp. Rep "Is reported to have passed in 4 native languages & has applied for a Committ. to examine him in the fifth. Govt. recommend that a donation of Rs 1000 similar to that post Lt. Rigby be granted to him.

[Public] from Bombay 19 July 48. No. 14. Sanctioned.

[Public] to Bbay 18 July 48. No. 165).

---

<sup>9</sup>Sick Certificate.

1845/08/? William Napier to Captain Walter Scott.

Reported to have passed more Native language (Scindee and Punjabee) addition to the four languages previously acquired.

[Public] from Bombay 28 Sept 48. No. 77.

Declared qualified to transact public business in the Scindee & Punjabee Languages. G.O. 7 Sept. G.O. 13 Dec. 48.

Evinces a zeal & attention to his duties, highly creditable. Insp. Rep. of 1848. I. 21 Feb 49 & 8 March 49. 25 March 1851, 1 & 2 of December 1851.

Leave from 12 March to 12 April 49. 29 March 49.

Allowed a Furlo to Europe on S.C. G.O. 27 March. 49 Commenced 30 March 49. Gaz 5 April 49 & 1st to

Submit for Co of a work which he is desirous of publishing on the Ethnography of Scinde M.C. 13 Nov 50.

Requests permission to dedicate it to Court M.C. 25 Feb 51.

Author of a Goa and the blue mountains north of sick U # U

Author of work entitled 'Ethnography of & Ethnography of 150 copies & are willing to accept the dedication of the work.

M.C. 23 July & 27 Aug 51.

Granted by Court a donation of £ 1000 for proficiency attained in 6 native languages G.O. 30 Sept 51.

5. 1845/08/? William Napier to Captain Walter Scott.

---

Private

19th August

---

<sup>10</sup>National Library of Scotland, MS 7178 f.96. ALS. Scott was in command of the Sindh/Scinde Survey.

1845/12. Scinde Association.

My dear Scott

The General says he is sorry that he cannot appoint Burton at present to the survey because he is under a cloud, which has not yet been cleared up.

He has been behaving rather abruptly to his Commanding Officer, and the matter is not yet settled. Until it is impossible for the General to give him an appointment it is a great pity, for he evidently would be very useful to you. Perhaps it may come right in time.

Yrs sincerely  
Wm Napier<sup>1</sup>

## 6. 1845/12. Scinde Association<sup>11</sup>.

---

At a meeting held in the house of Captain Preedy on the 9th October, the following gentlemen were present: His Excellency Sir Charles Napier, &c. &c. in the chair; Col. Douglas, Capt. J. Napier, Capt. Browne, Dr. Gibbon, Lieut. Blagrove, John Macleod, Esq., Capt. Preedy, Capt. W. Napier, Capt. Byng, Lieut. Masters, Lieut. Major, and Burston; and a series of resolutions forming the bodies of the future rules of the Association were passed.

1st. That an association be formed at Kurrachee for the purpose of collecting information concerning the natural history, antiquities, statistics, &c. &c. of Scinde and the adjacent countries; and that it be denominated the Scinde Association.

2nd. That the Scinde Association shall consist of members, and that any individual, of whatever rank or service, desirous of joining the Association, intimate the same to the secretary.

---

<sup>11</sup> Captain William Craig Emilius Napier of the 25<sup>th</sup> was the aide-camp of General Sir Charles Napier. Confusingly, Captain J. M. Napier was the Chief of Staff, while Sir William Francis Patrick Napier would later write several books in defence of his brother Sir Charles.

<sup>12</sup> \* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 52. See also *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 14 (Dec. 1845) pp. cxxx.

3rd. That his Excellency Sir Charles Napier be requested to become the patron of the Association.

4th. That Colonel Douglas be requested to become the president of the Association.

5th. That the five following gentlemen be requested to form the committee at Kurrachee: Captain Preedy, Captain Browne, Captain J. Napier, Lieut. Blagrave, and John Macleod, Esq. Ensign Burton, acting secretary and treasurer.

6th. That for the general purposes of the Scinde Association, purchasing books and coins, sending out proper persons to collect specimens of Natural History, &c. &c. a monthly subscription of five rupees be paid by each member in addition to a donation of twenty rupees on entrance.

7th. Captain Preedy having offered to place at the disposal of the Association one of the rooms in the new schoolroom built by him in the neighbourhood of the town, it is proposed that his offer be accepted as a temporary measure, but that means be taken for raising funds to be devoted solely to the purposes of the Association.

8th. That with respect to the library, the books to be purchased shall consist of works relating to Sindh and the adjacent countries, especially to history and antiquities, also that useful works, and books of reference, be provided for the use of the members.

9th. That every member be requested to favour the secretary with any information upon the proposed objects of the society. Any donations of books, specimens, &c. &c. will be most thankfully received.

10th. That the expense of transmitting all communications, if desired, by the society.

11th. That the secretary register all the papers and donations, together with the names of the donors, and enter in a book to be kept all miscellaneous and detached memoranda with which he may be favoured.

1846/02/13. T. C. Blagrove to Richard Burton.

12th. That quarterly general meetings be held, and that intermediate meetings also may be called for by the committee, or at the requisition of any five members.

13th. That the committee now elected be requested to frame and submit a series of regulations to the next meeting of the Association.

A general meeting of the Scinde Association will take place on the 8th November, 1845.

R. Burton, Acting Secretary and Treasurer, *Kurree Advertiser*.

7. 1846/02/13. T. Blagrove to Richard Burton<sup>13</sup>

To Lt. R. Burton 18th R

Rodewallah<sup>14</sup>  
13th February 1846

My dear Burton

Many thanks for yours of the 9th which I received just this day before the action so have had no time to answer it. <sup>15</sup>Wish you could only have seen it, it was a beautiful sight, and at first just like a glorious Grand Review. We got the order at on the 9th to be ready at 3 am o'clock to move against them and by sunrise we were all lined up behind the artillery who were scattered here and there along our whole front.

For the <sup>16</sup>fit few hours we had only <sup>17</sup>covered a little to get a nice berth under the banks of one of the [millaks] then we laid down and the Ball was at once begun by us absolutely in the right opening upon the <sup>18</sup>batteries.

---

<sup>13</sup>National Library of Scotland MS 867 f. 11A. S. Thomas Colvin Blagrove (1818-1897) was a colleague from the Sindh Survey, and along with Burton a founder of the *Sindh Review* (London: Richard Bentley, 1876) Vol 2 p. 94. He eventually rose to Lieut. Colonel. The letter refers to events in the Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-7.

<sup>14</sup>Roode Wallah.

<sup>15</sup>\_

this being the first intimation they had of our approach. They did not lose much time though in ~~ring~~ out and for two hours or more kept up a heavy cannon but fortunately did little execution among our guns as they could not get the proper range all their guns having been apparently laid against our entrenchment in the rear for their shot passed ~~over us~~. After a little time however they fell pretty near us. I was standing with several officers in the open when one passed within a couple of yards on left; it made me bob down fast as did the next two which pitched almost on the spot where ~~we stood~~

[ ] having put the ~~seiks~~ into confusion well out of the [Mollah] we jumped forward formed into line and got up to our guns and passed them there the whole company being [drawn] up into line we gave three cheers and rushed up to their ~~stre~~trenchments which were cleared and passed. The inner entrenchments were carried in the same way and then the day was all our own. We had only to rush forward and drive the Seikhs into the river.

Corps took two guns and four standards and ~~at the~~ ~~end~~ of the river when for a minute or two there was slight confusion for we had come on so fast that we had got between a large body of flying enemy and the ford, but we faced both ways and cleared the field. The carnage in the river was ~~aw~~ful, hundreds falling every minute or else rushing the ford. Their letters state their loss at 20,000 but ~~every~~ say 10,000 which I don't think beyond the mark considering the numbers that fell in their determination to escape and the number killed and drowned in ~~cross~~ing the river. Our loss is said to be about 4,000 but I hardly think it can be so much as I saw but few of our men on <sup>16</sup>the bank. We took altogether 68 guns, I am just going down to ~~see~~ the ~~river~~ has crossed the river at [Villaree] about ~~15~~ miles below this and I believe we are to cross the day after tomorrow where the <sup>17</sup>Sikhs said to have still 36 guns and 30,000 men but Taj Sing was wounded and most of their other chiefs killed so there is no one to lead them and they will therefore ~~make~~ not very great opposition. I wish you could have been on the engagement it was the finest and most exciting sight I have ever seen, though at the same time there were one or two cases that made my blood curdle ~~the~~ low beings shot who had thrown down their

---

<sup>16</sup>The British suffered at least 2,500 casualties.

<sup>17</sup>Sikhs.



1846/02/13. T. C. Blagrave to Richard Burton.

arms. I saved one but was wrong in doing so for he afterwards escaped and no doubt picked up a musket and commenced fighting again.

Your friend Rivers White is now in my Corps. He exchanged <sup>18</sup>for our 11<sup>th</sup> disgusted with it as they are always <sup>19</sup>since he had joined us just time to be present at this last engagement <sup>20</sup>at the battle of Sabra he bids me send his salaams and tells me to say that he has at last earned and won a medal. I too had only joined a few days before so having <sup>21</sup>by losing my kit for it enabled me to make long marches and when I got up <sup>22</sup>to the Corps ]' all hands and got supplied with all necessities.

I hope we may meet at Lahore that you may see what a good <sup>23</sup>to the [ Rgmt isl was always <sup>24</sup> proud of mine but now that I have seen them tried myself I like it still better and as for the young officers with the exception of one who could not wish to have a finer set. But I must now wish you goodbye and with best salaams to <sup>25</sup>Scott when next you write and to all your <sup>26</sup>comrades, haste yours sincerely

T. C. Blagrave

PS: Write soon please and give me any news you may have. Excuse my sending this <sup>27</sup>Bearing as the fellows at the Post Office here are most careless with pre paid <sup>28</sup>letters; they pocket the dubs and let the letters remain in their office some days before they send them away if they do. I have lost several letters that have since heard have been sent to me.

We did not get back to camp until nearly 8 o'clock <sup>29</sup>and were very tired but fortunately only had two officers wounded, Mackenzie badly and Rivers Whiteslightly <sup>30</sup>my Subaltern badly wounded and three or four of my men were badly knocked over. The little <sup>31</sup>Gurkhas behaved splendidly as did our 1st Europea # @

---

<sup>18</sup>Losing.

<sup>19</sup>Captain Walter Scott, head of the Sindh Survey.

<sup>20</sup>Postage to be paid by receiver.

<sup>21</sup>Ghurkas.

1846/07/. Joseph Netterville Burton to Captain Walter Scott.

8. 1846/07/ . Joseph Netterville Burton to Captain  
Walter Scott<sup>23</sup>

---

7 Cumberland St Place<sup>24</sup> Sq. London

July 1846

My dear Sir (I shall feel obliged by your sending this letter to Richard's  
perusa)

I have received your very kind letter of the 19th April last for which I beg  
to return you my sincere thanks. It is much to be regretted that my beloved son  
has met with the disapprobation of the best General of the day and I also regret  
that he should have been removed from under your command, for I always  
valued your sound advice and disinterested friendship so highly that I took upon  
his not joining your department as a real misfortune. However, Richard only  
acted up to the instructions repeatedly gave him namely never to tolerate  
situations which might possibly prevent his seeing service especially until he  
might have made a good name for himself in the field of battle". For my part  
am perfectly convinced that he never intended to disobey Sir Charles' s orders  
so far the reverse that he imagined nothing could raise him so high in the  
estimation of the General as to pursue et saache<sup>26</sup> as distinguishing himself in  
actions which I am sure he intended to do if an opportunity offered.

From what I can learn my son tendered his resignation in due form to General  
Simpson<sup>27</sup> the then Commander of the Forces in Scinde which the General  
accepted, in consequence of which my son did not think that he was acting in  
disobedience of orders as Sir Charles had refused the Command of the Army to  
the G'l officer that permitted Richard to join the 1<sup>st</sup> Regt the army of Scinde  
seen service in the battles of the Sutley and the officers returned with

---

<sup>22</sup>Father of RFB. See Register.

<sup>23</sup>National Library Of Scotland, MS 3867 f.121.

<sup>24</sup>Pullman.

<sup>25</sup>Postmarked Bombay 1846/08/25.

<sup>26</sup> †

<sup>27</sup>Sir James Simpson (1792-1868) # V o described him as

Napier *History of General Sir Charles Napier's Administration of Scinde*:  
Chapman and Hall, 1851) p. 202.

medals some with promotions might they not say to my son "you have remained behind surveying & pocketing rupees while we were risking our lives, & gaining laurels in the field of battle".

How could he avoid these reputations but by <sup>p</sup> as the did? Tho' his life is dearer to me than that of any other being in existence I hope he will always risk it whenever his reputation as a soldier, or his <sup>p</sup> as an Englishman may be in question. I am very anxious that Richard may pass his examination in the Persian language in the course of this year as it may possibly bring him notice in Bombay) & think it would be advisable for him to visit persons of rank to whom he has letters of introduction. Sir Thos McMahon offered me a situation for Rich<sup>d</sup> in the irregular Cavalry for which the latter ought to feel very grateful. I did not accept the offer lest <sup>d</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> should be removed from his studies. I have at length succeeded in buying your coat Richardsons for half the price I was asked for your books in the first instance. Mr. R's demand is £5.5s. Another person asked £10 for them. The Malabar has left the Docks with your books on board enclosed you will find your <sup>d</sup> the balance in your favour paid to Mr Richardson. If the edition <sup>28</sup> do not meet with your approbation I will thank you to send it to Richard as a present from me, & I shall pay the bookseller 5s. with orders to <sup>d</sup> credit with the same, but previous to taking that step I hope you will make what use you like of the book in question. If you will be kind enough to name your friend in <sup>29</sup> Leghorn make it a point to pay him any attention which I may easily do as I expect to pass the ensuing winter in Pisa or Florence. Sincerely do I hope you will, one day or other, give me an opportunity of shewing my gratitude for the essential service you have rendered to <sup>d</sup> my son. I remain, my dear Sir

Yours very sincerely  
Jos. Burton

	£	s	d
Price of the Raccota, 36 francsconi at 4/7	8	5	0
Expense incurred in sending them to Leghorn		10	0
Thomsons acc't for rec'g & shipping them	2	11	7

<sup>28</sup>does

<sup>29</sup>Italy.

1846? Ensign Allen.

Belidor's work, entshippinginsurance & policy	5	16	0
		<u>17</u>	<u>2</u>
I paidMr.Richardson as balance	2	17	5
Total		<u>20</u>	<u>0</u>

Nota Bene

I received a twenty pound note which closes the above account. Addio. Jos:  
Burton

(I expect to arrive in Tuscany about the 15<sup>th</sup> of October next)

### 9. 1846? Ensign Allen<sup>31</sup>

---

On the way from Dharwar to Coimbatore, to which district I had been posted as  
Collector and District Magistrate, my wife and I halted at Bangalore to stay with  
Colonel Allen. That officer had been a brother-in-law of Sir Richard  
Burton, the traveller, and he supplied several stories about him which were new  
to me. Burton was not apparently popular with his messmates, towards whom  
he adopted, according to my host, an insolent and overbearing attitude.  
ha

### 10. 1847. Walter Abraham<sup>32</sup>

---

Sir,

Unlike your correspondent, Mr. Levick (of Suez), questioning Sir Richard's visit  
to Medinah in 1853, I merely want to say that in Sir Richard the scientific world  
has lost a bright star. In linguistics there was not his equal in the  
world. He could not only speak the languages, but act so well that his most  
intimate friends were often deceived. I was often witness to this feat of his while  
at Kurrachee in 1847, as I happened to be employed by Dr. Stocks, botanist,  
in Sind, as his botanical draughtsman. Sir Richard (then a lieutenant) and the  
doctor occupied the same bungalow. I had necessarily to work in the hall, and

---

<sup>30</sup>Barely legible note inscribed to the first leaf of the letter's cross

<sup>31</sup>Alan Butterworth *The southlands of Siva: some reminiscences of life in Southern India*  
(London: John Lane, 1923; reprinted 1990 by Asian Educational Services).

<sup>32</sup>Ensign.

<sup>33</sup>Letter to *the Times of India* 31 October 1891. Also reproduced in Isabel Life  
Vol. 1, pp. 182.

consequently had the opportunity of seeing and admiring his ways. He was on special duty, which in his case meant to perfect himself for some political duty by mastering the languages of the country. When I knew him he was master of half a dozen languages, which he wrote and spoke so fluently that a stranger who did not see him and heard him speaking would fancy he heard a native. His domestic servants were Portuguese, with whom he spoke Portuguese and Goanese, an African, a Persian, and a Sindi or Belochee. These spoke their mother tongue to Sir Richard as he was engaged in his studies with moonshees, who relieved each other every two hours, from ten to four daily. The moonshees would read an hour and converse the next, and it was a treat to hear Sir Richard talk; one would scarcely be able to distinguish the English from Persian, Arabian, or a Scindian.

His habits at home were perfectly Persian or Arabic. His hair was dressed a la Persian long and shaved from the forehead to the top of the head; his eyes, by some means or other he employed, resembled Persian hair. He used the Turkish bath and wore a cowl; and when he went out for a ride he used a wig and goggles. His complexion was also thorough Persian, so that Nature evidently intended him for the work he afterwards so successfully performed, namely, visiting the shrine of the Prophet Mohammed. I know very few would have undertaken unless he was a complete master of himself.

I was a witness to his first essay in disguising himself as a poor Persian, and took in his friend Moonshee Ali Akbar (the father of Moonshee, solicitor of this City). The moonshee was seated one evening in an open space in front of his bungalow in the town of Kurrachee, with a lot of his friends enjoying the evening breeze, and chatting away as Persians are wont to do. Sir Richard, as a Persian traveller, approached them, and after the usual compliments, inquired for the residence, and, as a matter of course, gave a long rigmarole account of his travels and of people the moonshee knew, and thus excited his curiosity and got him into conversation; and when he thought he acted his part to perfection he bid him the time and left him, but did not go far when he called out to the moonshee in English if he did not know him. The moonshee was completely taken aback; he did not know where the voice (his friend Burton's) came from, till he was addressed again, and a recognition took place, to the great astonishment of the moonshee and his friends. Such a jovial companion Sir Richard was, that his bungalow was the resort of the best of the place,

1847/12. Pringle Report.

amongst whom I noticed Major (afterwards General) Walter Scott, Lieutenant (and now General) Alfred De Lisle, Lieutenant Edward Dansey of Mooltan notoriety, Dr. Stocks<sup>34</sup> and many others, but who, with the exception of General De Lisle are all gone to their home above, where Sir Richard has now followed. May their souls rest in peace!

Some time or other Lady Burton may write a memoir of Sir Richard's life, and a slight incident as the one I have related may be of use to her, and if you I do, and consider it worth inserting in a corner of your paper, I shall be very much obliged to you if you will do so.

Yours, etc.,  
Walter Abraham.

October 31, 1891.

11. 1847/12. Pringle Report<sup>35</sup>

---

Is any notice taken of offences against morality such as adultery drunkenness &c &c and what and by whom?<sup>36</sup>

Captain Rathborne<sup>37</sup> Magistrate of Hyderabad.

No notice is taken of ordinary offences against morality unless the husband or relative whose honour is wounded or complainor of drunkenness unless the party is additionally disorderly. Public women formerly paid a tax to Government and were encouraged, they are now not molested as long as they abstain from disturbing their more respectable fellow people. But the

---

<sup>34</sup>John Ellerton Stocks. See Register.

<sup>35</sup>Republished in *Accounts and Papers* East India, Scinde Session January 12 August 1854.

<sup>36</sup>In response to queries posed on 9 October 1847 by R. K. Pringle.

<sup>37</sup>"The Karrachee Advertiser presently appeared in the modest shape of lithographed sheet on Government foolscap, and, through Sir William Napier, its most spicy articles had the honour of a reprint in London. Of these, the best were "the letters of Omega," by my late friend Rathborne, then Collector at Hyderabad, and they described the vices of the Sind Amirs in language the reverse of ambiguous. I did not keep copies, nor, unfortunately, did the clever and genial author. There is a letter from Rathborne to Burton in Vol 2, p. 245.

1848/02/19. Richard Burton to The Bombay Times.

purchase of gifts for purposes of prostitution has been put a ban on the  
bands of Sodomites who formerly infested the country, some pay  
from the state and others gain at the bar, some four years ago under  
a futwah to the cazee publicly whipped, expelled the district, that is such as  
fell into the hands of the authorities for the greater part of their  
profession and resumed male clothing

12. 1848/02/19 Richard Burton to The Bombay Times.<sup>38</sup>

---

EXAMINATION OF OFFICERS IN THE NATIVE LANGUAGES

Sir, We had determined to address you on a subject of some importance  
the Examination of Officers in the native languages, I thought it better to  
allow a few days to pass before we commenced our task; not that we had the  
vanity to suppose that your humble suggestions would have had any effect upon  
the minds of the Committee, still we were unwilling to undertake at such a time  
the promulgation of a theory so unpopular as that we entertain

It will now be our object to prove that the present system is not only useless and  
obsolete, but positively mischievous in its operation. In demonstrating this  
great truth we shall proceed to consider the corollary, that the sooner it  
is altered the better. Finally, we intend offering a few words on the subject  
of remedying, most effectually, existing evils.

We will begin with the first ordeal through which the young linguist passes, viz  
the Outstation Committee. This is understood to be an improvement upon the  
G.O.C. of the 22d October 1831, which orders regimental commanding officers  
to direct their interpreters to examine applicants for leave to the presidency in  
the language supposed to have been learned. Unlike outstation committees in  
Bengal and Madras, the circumstance of having passed examination before  
one of those minor courts does not enable the individual to draw Moonshee  
allowance. It is therefore merely a precautionary measure, to prevent a  
want of preparation being evinced by a number of candidates. The abuse of  
this part of the system is that it should always be duly understood that

---

<sup>38</sup>Bombay Times Saturday Feb. 19, 1848 pp. 147 column 4 and 148 column 1. Written

passing before an outstation committee an officer should have a right to leave for examination at the presidency unless an emergency of service intervene. Whereas at present the contrary is occasionally the case, and such permission is looked upon as a favour, not a claim. Any commanding officer if determined to refuse a junior for any real or fancied offence can always prevent his obtaining leave, and keep up the obstacle for a year. Such things have happened, and will occur, especially when it is generally understood that a reference to superior authority almost invariably ends in a stern reprimand. The unfortunate applicant setting forth his unmilitary and insubordinate spirit in the strongest light. In one case only do we recollect that a junior succeeded in his reference; but although he obtained leave, it was a casual not omitted. If Government intends the sum of rupees 180 (thirty rupees for a period of six months) really to cover the expenses of learning a language, Government ought either to assist officers in passing their examinations in that period, or remunerate them if prevented from so doing. The gist of our observations is, that no applicant should ever be refused leave to the presidency after passing an outstation committee, unless some sound reason for such refusal exist, and the said reason should always be communicated, if practicable, together with a hint as to the probable time when leave might be expected.

To illustrate what we have said, we will quote a case which fell under our personal inspection. An officer who had given his commanding officer some reason to be personally displeas'd with him, applied for an outstation committee preparatory to appearing for examination at the presidency. The application was forwarded, and, after as much delay as possible, the individual was ascertain'd that a leave of absence on duty was next to be obtained. The only answer offered to his application was, that he could not be allowed to proceed to Bombay. Thinking his case a hard one, he ventured to refer the point to the commanding officer of the station, for which he received from the latter authority a mild answer. Still feeling that justice was on his side, he had the audacity to proceed with the business, and applied once more to a higher authority. Being young in such matters, a phrase had been inserted in his reference which, though perfectly unintentional, gave such offence to the authority to which it was addressed, that the latter individual not only refused the leave of absence, but added to his refusal a most unmistakable expression of extreme



1848/02/19. Richard Burton to The Bombay Times.

displeasure. This linguist was compelled to digest as he best could; and, finding that everyone was against him, thought the wisest course was to keep silence. Sixteen months afterwards he availed himself of the first opportunity offered, and passed before the Bombay Committee. His loss was

Moonshee allowance for sixteen months Rs 960

at sixty rupees per mensem

Loss of boat allowance going and coming Rs 200

at 100 rupees each way

u . . . . . 1160

He succeeded at last, it is true, but, to use a classical expression, another such triumph would fairly have ruined him. To show how imperfectly such matters are generally understood, may quote the fact that one of the officers to whom the reference was made, when informed privately by a friend of the referring party, that the case was one of great hardship, declared he could not understand it to be such, why cannot Mr. A. turn off his Moonshah and get a

Sensible remark admirable acuteness! Like unto the wise men who went forth to rake up the moonshine, our sapient senior forgot that there is such a thing as forgetfulness, and expected others to follow his example

Kurrachee, Feb. 6th, 1848. VIATOR.

Figure1. *Bombay Times* 1848/02/19.

**Correspondence.**

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY TIMES.

**EXAMINATION OF OFFICERS IN THE  
NATIVE LANGUAGES.**

SIR,—We had determined to address you upon a subject of some importance—the Examination of Officers in the Native Languages,—but thought it better to allow a few days to pass before we commenced our task; not that we had the vanity to suppose that our humble suggestions would have had any effect upon the minds of the Committee, still we were unwilling to undertake at such a time the promulgation of a theory so unpopular as that we entertain.

It will now be our object to prove that the present system is not only useless and obsolete, but positively mischievous in its operations. After demonstrating this “*great truth*,” we shall proceed to consider the corollary—viz., that the sooner it is altered the better. Finally, we intend offering a few words upon the subject of remedying, most effectually, existing evils.

We will begin with the first ordeal through which the young linguist passes, viz. the Outstation Committee. This is understood to be an improvement upon the G. O. C. of the 22d October 1831, which orders regimental commanding officers to direct their interpreters to examine applicants for leave to the presidency in the language supposed to have been learned. Unlike outstation committees in Bengal and Madras, the circumstance of having passed an examination before one of these “minor courts” does not enable the individual to draw Moonshee allowance. It is therefore merely a precautionary measure, to prevent a “total want of preparation being evinced by a number of candidates.” The abuse of this part of the system is that it should always be duly understood that “*after passing before an outstation committee an officer should have a right to leave for examination at the presidency unless an emergency of service intervene.*” Whereas at present the contrary is occasionally the case, and such permission is looked upon as a favour, not a claim. Any commanding officer if determined to “pay off” a junior for any real or fancied offence, can always prevent his obtaining leave, and

1848/02/19. Richard B. The Bombay Times.

























































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































