

1843,  
with my best wishes,  
Simon

# Ethiopian Encounters

Sir William Cornwallis Harris and the British mission to the  
Kingdom of Shewa (1841–3)

The  
Fitzwilliam  
Museum

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# Sir William Cornwallis Harris

Simon James

Sir William Cornwallis Harris (1807–48) was by profession a military engineer in India. He earned his renown, however, from tales of his exploits on a hunting expedition which he conducted with a single companion into the interior of southern Africa, in 1836–7, and is credited in retrospect with the invention of the safari. He aspired to be a naturalist, and could claim to be an accomplished artist and a successful writer. It was on the strength of his first book, published in 1838, that he was entrusted in 1841 with the leadership of a diplomatic mission to the Christian kingdom of Shewa, in the highlands of Ethiopia; and in 1843 he returned to England in order to make his report in person to Queen Victoria. Although his attitudes were patently those of the period, Harris took a close interest in all that he encountered. His travel writing, and the published reproductions of his drawings, introduced the reading public of early Victorian England to the exhilaration of 'sport', and to the abundance and variety of

the big game of southern Africa, whilst at the same time bringing into the comfort of their drawing-rooms a knowledge of worlds quite different from their own.<sup>1</sup>

## A military engineer in India

Harris was born in March 1807, younger son of James Harris of Wittersham Hall, in Kent. In 1822, when he was fourteen years old, he entered the Honourable East India Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe House, in Croydon, and would have received instruction there in mathematics, surveying, fortification, military and civil drawing, French, Latin, and Hindustani.<sup>2</sup> In December 1823 he was commissioned 2nd Lieut., Bombay Engineers;<sup>3</sup> a portrait of him made at about this time, presumably for his family, shows a young man at the outset of his career.<sup>4</sup> During his early years in India, from 1825 to 1835, his tasks included the construction of drains in Candeish, the building of barracks for horse artillery at

Sholapur, and reporting on the state of the town halls at Broach. He was appointed Executive Engineer at Deesa in 1830, and also served as an interpreter; in August 1834 he was commissioned Captain.

#### Expedition to southern Africa (1836–7)

By his own account, Harris had been afflicted from childhood with 'shooting-madness', and his duties in western India gave him some scope for developing his passion. Yet his thoughts would wander to the wilds of Africa; and he was well pleased, therefore, when on the recommendation of a Bombay Medical Board he was granted leave of absence to the Cape of Good Hope for two years. On 16 March 1836 Harris sailed from Bombay aboard the Indiaman

*Buckinghamshire*. Among his fellow passengers was William Richardson, a lawyer in the Bombay Civil Service, also renowned as a dedicated sportsman; and by the time the *Buckinghamshire* arrived at Simon's Bay, near Cape Town, on 31 May, they had agreed to hunt as a pair. It so happened that H.M.S. *Beagle*, nearing the end of her second (and most famous) surveying voyage, under the command of Captain Robert FitzRoy, sailed into Simon's Bay on the evening of the same day. The acknowledged expert at the Cape on the zoology of southern Africa was Dr Andrew Smith (1797–1872), recently returned from leading an important scientific expedition into the interior.<sup>5</sup> It was to be expected, therefore, that Captain FitzRoy, and with him Charles Darwin, should soon have made Dr Smith's acquaintance; and while FitzRoy went about his business, Darwin 'took some long geological rambles' with Smith, learning much to his purpose about conditions necessary to sustain the large animals of the interior.<sup>6</sup> Harris and Richardson also sought advice from Smith about their proposed expedition, and were told where in Cape Town to order a large duffle coat, with fixtures, as a present for the African chief through whose territory they wished to pass.

In early July 1836 Harris and Richardson set out from the Cape, and in late September were welcomed by Dr Robert Moffat at the missionary station at Kuruman. They witnessed the early stages of the 'Great Trek', and the interest of the expedition is further enhanced by the description of their encounter with Mzilikazi, 'King of the Amazooloo', on 24–6 October.<sup>7</sup> On 19 November Harris achieved his particular ambition in the shooting of a giraffe, and a few weeks later, on 13 December, he first identified, and then shot, a new species of antelope;<sup>8</sup> yet on both occasions, as no doubt on many others, the pleasure he took from the kill was complemented by his determination to make careful drawings in the service of natural history. The intrepid pair returned to Cape Town in January 1837. Harris remained at the Cape for some time

thereafter, and in September published a pamphlet on the early stages of the Great Trek, accompanied by an important map.<sup>9</sup>

H.M.S. *Beagle* had returned to England in October 1836. FitzRoy and Darwin went their separate ways, but the ship herself was re-commissioned for a third surveying voyage, under the command of Captain John Lort Stokes. The *Beagle* sailed from Plymouth Sound on 5 July 1837, bound for Australia, and reached the Cape towards the end of September. It would appear that Harris was still entertaining audiences with his tales of derring-do:<sup>10</sup>

*We found at the Cape the renowned Captain Harris, H.E.I. Company's Bombay Engineers, who had just returned from his sporting expedition into the interior of Southern Africa, having made his way through every obstacle, from the frontier of the Cape Colony, through the territories of the chief Moselekatse, to the Tropic of Capricorn. With his spirit-stirring accounts of hunting adventure and savage manners we were all most highly gratified. What he had seen, where he had been, and what he had performed 'by flood and field', have since been told to the world by himself, and therefore need not be repeated here; but it would be unpardonable not to do justice to his energy, his perseverance, and his success. He had collected quite a museum of the Natural History of the wild beasts against whom his crusade had been directed; while his collection of*



<sup>5</sup> See *Journal of the Proceedings of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1836, pp. 100–101.  
<sup>6</sup> *The Journal of the Proceedings of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1836, pp. 100–101.  
<sup>7</sup> *The Journal of the Proceedings of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1836, pp. 100–101.  
<sup>8</sup> *The Journal of the Proceedings of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1836, pp. 100–101.  
<sup>9</sup> *The Journal of the Proceedings of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1836, pp. 100–101.



*drawings, both as regarded the animals delineated, and the appearance of the country in which they were found, was really most beautiful: and many a pleasant hour was spent in viewing the various specimens and illustrations, each one of*

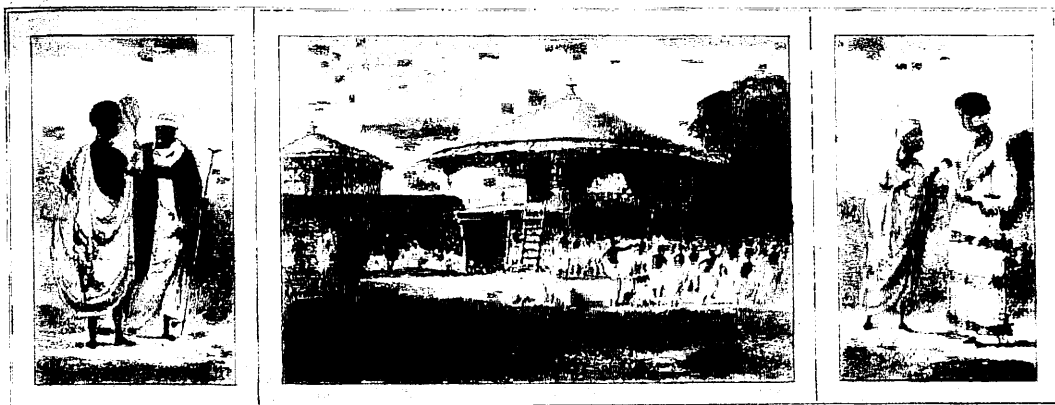
*which testified the intrepidity and skill of himself or his no less adventurous companion, William Richardson, Esq., B.C.S. It will readily be believed that these two gentlemen were then, themselves, the great Lions of that part of Africa.*

Harris returned to Bombay in December 1837, and at once exhibited his trophies from southern Africa, and his drawings, in the Town-hall.<sup>11</sup> In January 1838 he was appointed Executive Engineer at Belgaum, about 250 miles south of Bombay; and it was there that he completed his *Narrative of an Expedition into Southern Africa*, published in August.<sup>12</sup> For a few months in the first half of 1839 Harris served as Field Engineer with the Scinde Reserve Force, giving rise to further publications;<sup>3</sup> but he returned thereafter to Belgaum, as Superintending Engineer Southern Provinces. Harris's *Narrative* was well received,<sup>14</sup> and well enough to encourage John Murray, in London, to publish a second edition in 1839. Interestingly, it was renamed *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa*, and re-packaged in a handsome binding which advertised its credentials as a book about the excitement of hunting big game. At about this time Harris seems to have formed an association with the publisher William Pickering (1796–1854), and with the artist/lithographer Frank Howard (1805–66).<sup>5</sup> In 1840, Pickering issued the first of the five magnificent parts of Harris's *Portraits of the Game and Wild Animals of Southern Africa*, each containing six hand-coloured lithographs, by Howard, based on the watercolours made by Harris in 1836–7.<sup>16</sup> Pickering also published a new (third) edition of Harris's *Wild Sports* in 1841, further upgraded from Murray's edition to a stately octavo, furnished with a coloured frontispiece (of Mzilikazi), a coloured title-page, and 26 coloured lithographs, again by Howard, all based on watercolours by Harris.<sup>17</sup>

#### Embassy to the Kingdom of Shewa (1841–2)

In the highlands of Abyssinia, King Sahla Sellasie (1813–47) had managed to consolidate his power within the Christian kingdom of Shewa, and was eager to develop links with the outside world.<sup>18</sup> For its part, the Honourable East India Company (H.E.I.C.), which had acquired control of the port of Aden in 1839, was keen to develop and also to protect its trade routes.<sup>9</sup> Several European travellers were already active in Abyssinia, in

Ankober, 20 to August 1842.



*My own dearst Anna - In furtherance of that rule of conduct which I at first adopted, never to allow a messenger or a caravan to start without a few lines for my darling sister, here with for another*

pursuit of their respective causes. Charles E. Xavier Rochet d'Héricourt (1801-54), in Shewa, and Charlemagne Théophile Lefebvre (1811-60), throughout the country, had been promoting French interests; while the missionary Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-81) had been advancing the cause of the Church Missionary Society in Shewa, with help from Charles Tiltstone Beke (1800-74), an explorer who had arrived there in February 1841.<sup>20</sup> On 28 June 1840, apparently at Krapf's instigation, Sahla Sellasie wrote to the H.E.I.C.: 'God has given me a good and large kingdom, but arts and sciences are not yet come into my country'; so he asked for assistance in this respect, and also for guns.<sup>21</sup> Eager to seize its own opportunity, the H.E.I.C. resolved to send a diplomatic mission, entrusting its leadership to the renowned Captain Harris. The official instructions given to Harris reveal that the British were determined at the same time to curb the trafficking in slaves, and, unsurprisingly, that they were also driven by a wish to counteract French influence in the region: 'It is considered that the establishment of a French influence in Abyssinia will prove prejudicial to British interests, more especially in the Red Sea. It will therefore be your duty, by all the legitimate means in your power, to endeavour to counteract the schemes

of aggrandizement imputed [by Krapf] to M. Rochet, and you will not fail to point out to the King of Shewa in the strongest terms, that if this adventurer's overtures are attended to, his own independence in the end will be undoubtedly compromised.<sup>22</sup>

The primary surviving records of the British mission to the kingdom of Shewa are the lengthy and detailed reports written by Harris in 1841-3, which were carried by land to the British agent at Aden and then taken by sea to the Government of Bombay, where they were duly registered, discussed, and answered in the appropriate manner.<sup>23</sup> Of course there were acute difficulties of communication: dispatches would normally take between one and four months to reach India, but some were lost and others were badly delayed. Harris also made numerous drawings during the journey from Tadjoura to Ankober, and in the kingdom of Shewa; and for popular consumption he produced a colourful narrative of the expedition, based on the official reports and written at Ankober during the closing months of 1842.<sup>24</sup> These sources are most instructively supplemented by a wealth of written and pictorial records generated by other members of the Embassy. Captain Douglas

second-in-command, friend, and hunting partner, provides valuable information about their activities in the kingdom of Shewa, in letters written home to his sister,<sup>25</sup> and was also responsible for detailed reports on particular aspects of the region.<sup>26</sup> Lieutenant William C. Barker, Indian Navy, kept a detailed record of the initial journey from the coast to Ankober; at which point he was summoned back to Aden, prompting his (unsuccessful but highly commendable) attempt to return to the coast via Harar.<sup>27</sup> The Embassy's official artist, Johann Martin Bernatz (1802-78), made a pictorial record of his own (separate) journey from the coast to the highlands, and of the scenery in the

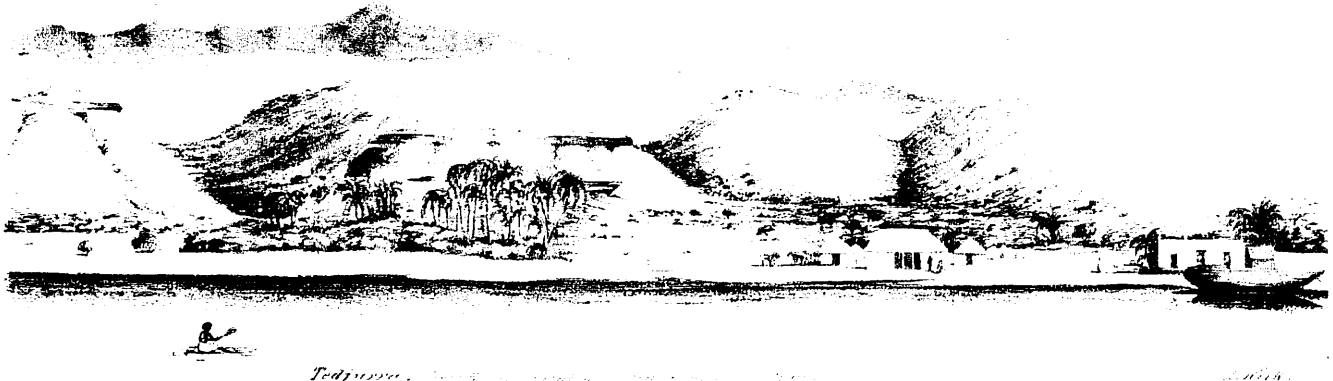
20. For the French expedition to the interior of Abyssinia, see the report of the French Consul at Aden, 1840, in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, and the report of the French Consul at Aden, 1841, in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris. For the British expedition, see the report of the British Consul at Aden, 1841, in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris. For the British expedition, see the report of the British Consul at Aden, 1841, in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris.

highlands: Harris deposited a portfolio containing nineteen of Bernatz's paintings in the museum at India House, in London, and seems to have retained some other sketches by Bernatz in his own possession.<sup>29</sup> A volume of hand-coloured lithographs, after drawings by Harris and Bernatz, was published in 1845;<sup>29</sup> and in 1852 Bernatz published a volume of tinted lithographs based on a selection of his own drawings, accompanied by a short journal of his journey from the coast to the kingdom of Shewa.<sup>30</sup> Rupert Kirk, of the Bombay Medical Service, who acted as Assistant Surgeon, was made responsible for the production of a record of the journey from Tadjoura to Ankober,<sup>31</sup> and for the construction of an associated map;<sup>32</sup> he also published a medical report,<sup>33</sup> and left his own pictorial record of the expedition.<sup>34</sup> Dr J. R. Röth, who served as Natural Historian, wrote accounts of the flora and fauna, published as appendixes in two of Harris's volumes.<sup>35</sup>

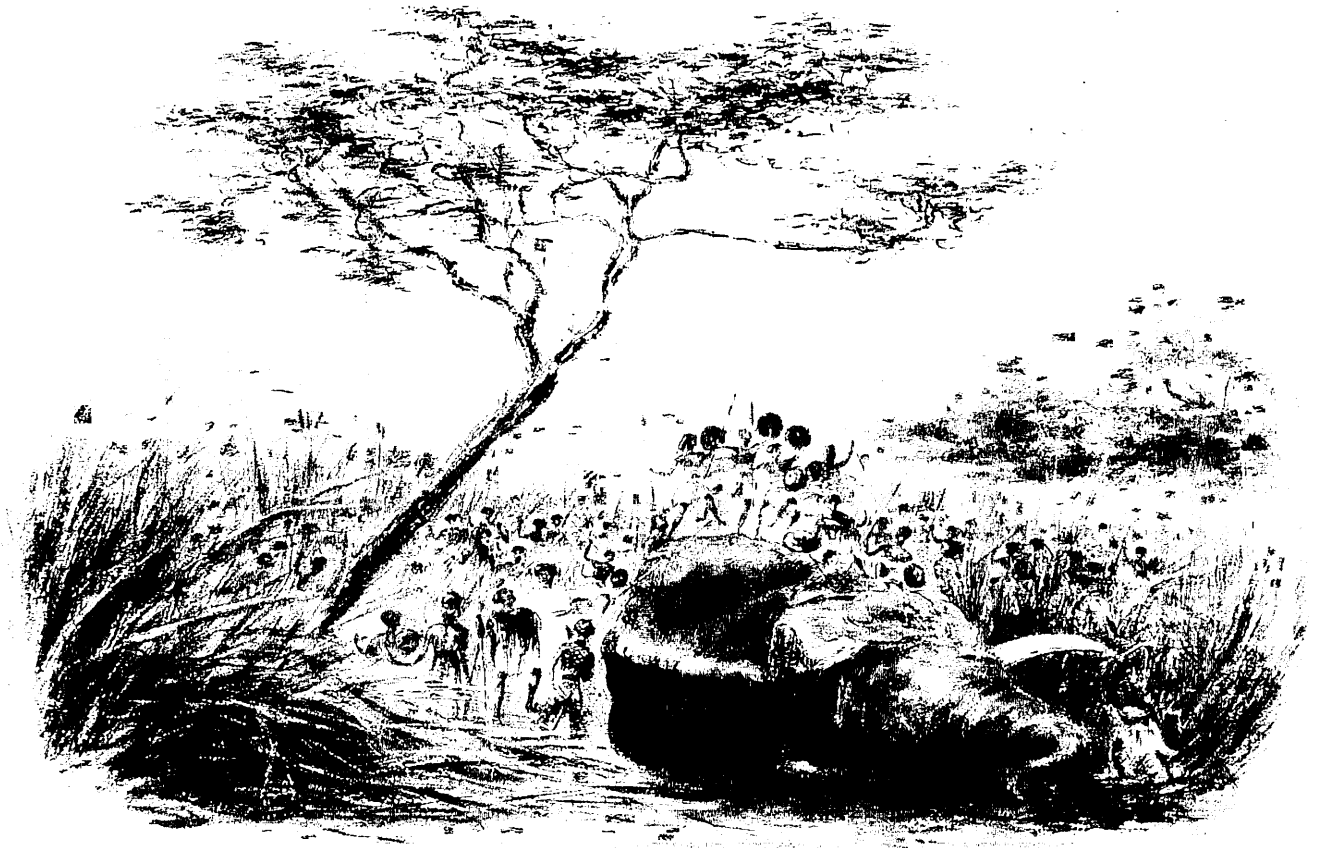
A proper assessment of the accomplishments of the British mission to the kingdom of Shewa would have to be

based on close examination of all this and other material; and it must suffice here simply to reconstruct the basic sequence of events. On 1 May 1841 the Embassy sailed from Bombay aboard H.E.I.C. steam frigate *Lord Auckland* to the port of Aden, and was transported thence across the Arabian Gulf, in the 10-gun brig *Euphrates* (Lt Barker), to Tadjoura (in Djibouti), then an important centre for the slave trade and other forms of commerce. Harris's dealings with the Sultan of Tadjoura were strained,<sup>36</sup> and it soon became apparent that part of the Embassy (including Bernatz) would have to be left behind, awaiting further camels and drivers. The main group, comprising over 30 men, 180 camels, 35 mules and 17 horses, with guides and escort, set out on the difficult and dangerous journey of 370 miles inland from the coast to the 'capital' of the kingdom of Shewa, at Ankober in the Abyssinian highlands.<sup>37</sup> The passage across the lowlands occupied the whole of June and July. Disaster struck early, when three members of the British party were murdered at Goongoonteh (7-9 June).<sup>38</sup>

The Embassy crossed the Awash (Hawash) river on 11 July;<sup>39</sup> and soon afterwards, on 15 July, the missionary Ludwig Krapf, accompanied by the explorer Charles Beke, came down from the highlands to meet them at Dinomali.<sup>40</sup> On 17 July, the Embassy commenced its ascent of the Abyssinian Alps. In Harris's deathless prose: 'The rough and stony road wound on by a steep ascent over hill and dale—now skirting the extreme verge of a precipitous cliff—now dipping into the basin of some verdant hollow, whence, after traversing the pebbly course of a murmuring brook, it suddenly emerged into a succession of shady lanes, bounded by flowering hedge-rows.'<sup>41</sup> At 3,000 feet, they reached the market-town of Aliyu Amba, where they were delayed for two weeks while the king of Shewa considered his options; so Harris took the opportunity to gather information on the surrounding area, including Imemihiret (Mamrat, 'Mother of Grace'), a mountain where the king was said to keep his treasure, and the stronghold, or state dungeon, of Goncho.<sup>42</sup>



Tadjoura.



Woodcut illustration of the king's review of his forces at Debre Birhan, 20 miles west-north-west of Ankober (no. 22; fig. 2).<sup>47</sup>

The most significant events in the progress of the mission took place between the beginning of August and the middle of December in 1841, and (in Bernatz's absence) were covered by Harris in drawings as well as dispatches. On 1 August, at 'Machal-wans' (Mehal Wenz), about six miles short of Ankober, Sahla Sellasie, king of Shewa, granted a formal audience to Captain Harris and other members of the British Embassy, as representatives of the Government of Bombay and of Queen Victoria. Harris sent a detailed account of the proceedings to the authorities in Bombay,<sup>43</sup> and captured his own sense of the spectacle in a fine drawing, entitled 'Presentation at Court' (no. 21; fig. 7).<sup>44</sup> The British officers are resplendent in their full dress uniforms, with their Indian staff ranged behind them; and while Captain Graham and Lieutenant Horton look

admiringly at their leader, Harris's gaze is fixed upon the king. A few days later, the members of the Embassy moved on to Ankober, where they established their main residence.<sup>45</sup> There followed a period of discomfort, frustration and uncertainty. The king took close interest, however, in Harris's skill at drawing, expressing his wish that on some future occasion Harris would come to the palace 'in order to make drawings before him in watercolour'; he was also concerned to ascertain their skill with a rifle, and declared himself greatly impressed by Harris's demonstration of an 'air-cane' (a form of air-gun widely used for hunting), remarking, through Krapf, that it was 'truly the work of a wise people'.<sup>46</sup> The British were then able to participate in a series of events which would have impressed upon them the splendour and military power of their hosts. At the Feast

of the Cross, towards the end of September, they witnessed the king's review of his forces at Debre Birhan, 20 miles west-north-west of Ankober (no. 22; fig. 2).<sup>47</sup> From there they accompanied the king in formal procession

43. Harris, *Journal of the Expedition*, vol. 1, p. 281.  
44. Harris, *Journal of the Expedition*, vol. 1, p. 281.

45. Harris, *Journal of the Expedition*, vol. 1, p. 281.  
46. Harris, *Journal of the Expedition*, vol. 1, p. 281.  
47. Harris, *Journal of the Expedition*, vol. 1, p. 281.



five miles south-west to the king's palace at Angolela, where they were treated to a display of duck-shooting, and sparred with their French rivals,<sup>48</sup> before returning on 1 October to Ankober. From 18 to 27 October they accompanied the military expedition of the Christian Amhara against the pagan Oromo (no. 23), which on this occasion wrought death and destruction on the unfortunate people living west-south-west of Ankober and Angolela, in the valley of Finfinni (where lies modern Addis Ababa, at the foot of Mt Entoto).<sup>49</sup> The king and his troops then returned in triumph first to Angolela (nos. 24-25),<sup>50</sup> and then, three weeks later, to Ankober (no. 26: front endpaper).<sup>51</sup> The reputation of the British had been tarnished, however, by their refusal to participate in the slaughter; so they hit, rather ingeniously, on a different way of demonstrating their prowess and thereby securing their reputation. At their first opportunity, at the end of November, Harris

and Graham set out on an expedition northwards into the wilderness of Giddem, determined to prove to their hosts that a mighty elephant could be brought down with a single two-ounce ball (no. 28; fig. 13). Needless to say, the Nimrods achieved their purpose, to the general delight of all, and were rewarded accordingly.<sup>52</sup> Two years later, in extension of the same principle, Harris presented one of the elephant's tusks to Queen Victoria.

It was against the background and within the context of these events that Harris pursued the mission's primary or public objective, which was to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce between the king of Shewa and his own sovereign. The process was set in motion when all were at Ankober in early October; and it is apparent that Harris received much help at this time from Krapf, acting as intermediary and interpreter, and from Beke, who, like Krapf, furnished

Harris with useful information.<sup>53</sup> At Angolela, in early November, soon after the return from the military expedition, the treaty was inscribed on a large sheet of paper (1270 x 700 mm). On 16 November it was presented to the king for ratification; and although he wished at first to defer the ceremony until they reached Ankober, Harris pointed out that the document had already been drawn up, and would be defaced by erasure, whereupon it was signed by both parties in the presence of numerous witnesses.<sup>54</sup> As one might expect, the original document is preserved to this day in the National Archives (fig. 1).<sup>55</sup> The royal arms of Shewa (the Holy Trinity), on the left, stand beside the Royal Achievement on the right; the Amharic text is faced by an English translation; and the two different forms of computing the Christian era, at the bottom, are symbolic in a different way of this first establishment of friendship between the two rulers. A few days later, at





Ankober, the king asked to see the document again, and it was much admired.<sup>56</sup>

Although the immediate objective of the Embassy had been achieved by the end of 1841, Harris and his companions remained in the kingdom of Shewa for the duration of 1842, based at Angolela and Ankober. In January they witnessed the festival of Baptism (Temkat), when all the inhabitants of Ankober immersed themselves naked in the river;<sup>57</sup> and a few days later they observed the consternation occasioned among the people by a lunar eclipse.<sup>58</sup> The 'second division' of the Embassy, including the official artist Martin Bernatz, arrived at Ankober in early March, bearing the remainder of the presents intended for the king.<sup>59</sup> So when the Embassy returned from an expedition to the lowlands, in mid-April, Bernatz was on hand to make the official pictorial record of the public banquet which marked the Easter festival, held at the king's palace at Ankober on 7 May.<sup>60</sup> The several

members of the reconstituted Embassy seem otherwise to have busied themselves gathering information for their reports on different aspects of the country; and, while Harris gave advice to the king about bridges, and the domestication of elephants, Graham was invited to design a building of a kind not previously seen in those parts, represented in a letter to his sister as 'a very neat Gothic cottage'.<sup>61</sup> There was interaction with other European visitors to the kingdom, notably Rochet d'Héricourt, with whom Harris maintained diplomatically cordial relations (inviting him to a grand dinner in honour of Queen Victoria's birthday),<sup>62</sup> and a travelling ex-surgeon called Charles Johnston, whom Harris would appear to have regarded as little short of a demented menace.<sup>63</sup> In accordance with his official instructions, Harris also took a close interest in slavery and the slave trade: in July he sent a lengthy report on the subject to Bombay, and in early August he persuaded the king to rescind a proclamation deeming the progeny of all his slaves to be his own property.<sup>64</sup> It was apparently during the rainy season (July–September) that Harris began work on what would become the only published account of the Embassy, based on his dispatches to the government in Bombay, with omission, rearrangement, and embellishment.<sup>65</sup> On one occasion, when the king noticed that Harris was writing a book, he remarked 'You will speak favourably of myself',<sup>66</sup> adding that he should not insert a portrait, 'as you have done that of the King of Zingeroo' [Mzilikazi] – an instruction which Harris chose to ignore (no.20; fig. 5).<sup>67</sup> Once the worst of the rains had passed, the sequence of events resumed with the military review at Debre Birhan, towards the end of September;<sup>68</sup> followed by another military expedition in October.<sup>69</sup>

Harris was expected by his masters in Bombay to gather useful geographical information about the kingdom of Shewa;<sup>70</sup> and here, of course, he was in his element, and was able at the same time to indulge his passion for hunting. One such expedition has left a particularly strong trace in the written and pictorial record. At the end of

March 1842 Harris set out, with a large escort provided by the king, on an expedition to investigate the lowlands south of Ankober, 'hitherto untrodden in any part by European foot', and at the same time to demonstrate his prowess in the field. A base was established at 'Dummakoo' (a royal granary), whence they could venture into the lowlands of Fatigar, between the rivers Kesem and Awash, for purposes of exploration and hunting: on the first excursion, they camped beside the Kesem, where Harris shot a buffalo; and on the second, they visited Lake Metahara, admired the great volcanoes of Fantale and Saboo, descended into the 'gaping crater of Winzegoor', and spent a night at the 'far famed volcanic well of Boorchutta', before returning to Dummakoo.<sup>71</sup> Harris remarks in this connection that they came back 'laden with numerous valuable accessions to natural history', though he does not say whether these included evidence of what he described in his report as 'an entirely new species' of rhinoceros.<sup>72</sup> It was evidently on this expedition that Bernatz made drawings of buffalo by the Kesem (no. 29; fig. 30), and composed his striking image of the Oromo guides dancing in exultation around the head of the vanquished buffalo, while the Amhara Governor leading the escort, and his European guests, looked on (fig. 16).<sup>73</sup> It was presumably on the same expedition that sketches were made, by Harris, Bernatz and Kirk, of spectacular volcanic landscapes (nos. 30–1; see also figs. 14–15).<sup>74</sup> Harris and Graham would appear to have returned to the lowlands in July–August 1842, but the account of this later expedition seems in fact relate to the earlier expedition in April.<sup>75</sup>

One of the last events witnessed, or rather experienced, by the Embassy was the earthquake which struck during the early hours of 8 December 1842, said to have been the worst in living memory.<sup>76</sup> Harris was reticent, in public, about the circumstances which led to the departure of the Embassy from Shewa, in early February 1843, but there had clearly been some complications.<sup>77</sup> However, he was entrusted by Sahla Sellasie



with a number of gifts for Queen Victoria, and he carried with him a formal letter from the king to the queen, inscribed on a large sheet of parchment, dated 16 January, in which the king expressed his desire 'for friendship and love for you and your country'.<sup>78</sup> The decorative motifs on the original letter were carefully traced by Harris,<sup>79</sup> and thus reappear on the page which marks the dedication of his *Highlands of Æthiopia* to Queen Victoria.

The letter itself was given by the queen to the library at Gotha, in Germany.

The return journey from the highlands to the coast was enlivened by the presence in the skies above of what came to be known as the 'Great Comet of 1843', which Harris and his party were able to observe throughout March.<sup>80</sup> They reached Aden on 23 March, and, leaving Bernatz there to recover from illness, were back three weeks later at Bombay.<sup>81</sup> On 16 April Captain Harris, Captain Graham, Assistant-Surgeon Kirk and Dr Roth were reunited with their erstwhile companion, Lieutenant (now Captain) Barker, who had been ordered back to Aden in October 1841. Barker was evidently much admired by his colleagues for his enterprising if unsuccessful attempt to reach the coast via Harar; and they duly presented him with a fine silver cup, engraved with an image of a three-masted paddle-steamer, as 'a poor token of friendship from his brother wanderers among the wilds of Æthiopia'.<sup>82</sup>

## England and India

Soon afterwards, Harris applied for leave to return to England, on grounds of ill-health, asking at the same time if he could be entrusted with the presents from the King of Shewa to Queen Victoria. He reached Falmouth, via Alexandria, in mid-August 1843, laden with '25 cases of curiosities and objects of natural history'.<sup>83</sup> He deposited a set of nineteen paintings by Bernatz, chosen to represent the scenery in the highlands of Shewa, in the museum at India House in Leadenhall Street, together with some of the zoological specimens.<sup>84</sup> Henceforth, until his departure for India early in 1846, Harris appears to have been accorded something approximating to celebrity status. Within days of his arrival, he was granted an audience with the queen herself, reported in the *Illustrated London News* for 26 August: 'Captain Harris, late Ambassador to the Court of Shoa, in Southern Abyssinia,

<sup>78</sup> Harris, *Highlands of Æthiopia*, p. 10.  
<sup>79</sup> Harris, *Highlands of Æthiopia*, p. 10.  
<sup>80</sup> Harris, *Highlands of Æthiopia*, p. 10.  
<sup>81</sup> Harris, *Highlands of Æthiopia*, p. 10.  
<sup>82</sup> Harris, *Highlands of Æthiopia*, p. 10.  
<sup>83</sup> Harris, *Highlands of Æthiopia*, p. 10.  
<sup>84</sup> Harris, *Highlands of Æthiopia*, p. 10.

had an audience of her Majesty. The captain has brought to this country a mule from the royal stud, and various other presents, for her Britannic Majesty. The mule was brought to the Palace, and was conveyed to the royal mews.<sup>85</sup> In early September a fuller account of the gifts from the court of Shewa was published, again in the *Illustrated London News*, with a drawing of the mule in all its finery; and we now learn that the Queen also received 'a monstrous tusk, hewn out of the jaws of an elephant killed by Captain Harris, in order to convince the despot to whom he had been sent, of a fact previously ridiculed alike by king and subject, namely, that one rifle-bullet would suffice to lay low the monarch of the forest'.<sup>86</sup> It must have been at about this time that Harris had to abandon an original plan to publish the book with embellishment and illustration, at least of the kind intended.<sup>87</sup> None the less, in December the *Illustrated London News* published extracts from the forthcoming book, lamenting the fact that there would be only three volumes to read.<sup>88</sup> The extracts comprised the account of Sahla Sellasie's triumphal entry into Ankober, complemented by Harris's own moment of triumph in 'The Death of the Elephant', each illustrated by a woodcut based on one of Harris's drawings (nos. 26 and 28).<sup>89</sup>

Yet Harris soon became embroiled in irksome controversy. Between October 1842 and January 1843, while both were still in Ethiopia, Charles Beke had written to him from elsewhere in the country, concerning due payment for services rendered to the Embassy over a year before (in August–October 1841). It appears from this correspondence that Harris was doing what he could for Beke, in the circumstances which prevailed at that time;<sup>90</sup> but soon after Beke arrived back in London, in October 1843, the exchanges resumed. In November, Harris asked his friend Major Franklin Lushington, C.B., to intervene;<sup>91</sup> and although Lushington had some success, it was clearly a matter that Beke was determined to take all the way. Harris's *Highlands of Æthiopia* was published in January 1844 (with a Postscript in which

Harris expressed his gratitude for assistance derived 'from the talents and literary taste' of Major Lushington), and was well received by most reviewers. However, a fiercely critical review by B(eke) appeared in March, prompting Harris to produce a second edition, with the addition of a 45-page introduction (dated 31 March) and some significant changes to the text, duly published in May.<sup>92</sup> The surgeon Charles Johnston, who had been in Shewa in 1842–3, and who had in fact travelled with the Embassy back to the coast, was also minded to pursue his own grievances. In early November 1843 he wrote to the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Peel), eager to apprise him of some information 'which it is necessary that you should know'; and upon further enquiry it transpired that he had in mind the existence of a goldmine near Debre Birhan, which the Embassy had (in his view) overlooked.<sup>93</sup> An official directed an enquiry to Harris, who replied to the effect that 'Mr Johnston has been afflicted with brain fever which rendered him visionary during his stay in Shoa'.<sup>94</sup> After the appearance of Harris's *Highlands*, Johnston published his own two-volume journal, with supplement, in which he took various opportunities to vent his feelings about Harris.<sup>95</sup> One can but say that the evidence bearing on Harris's dealings with Beke and Johnston, which must affect our assessment of the Embassy, might repay further investigation.

In June 1844 Harris was knighted in recognition of the success of his expedition to Ethiopia. A fourth edition of *Wild Sports* was published at about the same time, including five pages of praise culled from twenty reviews of *The Highlands of Æthiopia*.<sup>96</sup> On 11 February 1845, Harris married Margaret Sligo, niece of General Sir James Outram (1803–63), the 'Bayard of India'; and, at about the same time, he sat for a portrait by Octavius Oakley (1800–67), who chose to portray him, quite appropriately, as a dashing Nimrod with his rifle (fig. 8).<sup>97</sup> In July 1845, Harris's *Illustrations of the Highlands of Æthiopia*, with 27 plates, was announced as 'ready for delivery', priced at two guineas for 'plain' or six guineas for 'coloured and mounted'.<sup>98</sup>

The inclusion of a reproduction of Oakley's portrait as the frontispiece suggests that the author was enjoying his fame, and perhaps that the book was not so much a part of any official record as a vehicle for the projection of Harris's view of himself as a great adventurer. Indeed, it seems that he had no wish to return to India, 'to doctors, diet and treatment', and that he wished instead to explore another part of Africa, 'with a good climate'.<sup>99</sup> Yet matters did not turn out in this way, and he was obliged to resume his career in the Bombay Engineers. On his return to duty at the beginning of May in 1846, Harris was appointed Executive Engineer, Dharwar Division, and in February 1847 Executive Engineer at Poona, near Bombay. He died 'of lingering fever' at Surwar, near Poona, on 9 October 1848, aged 41, and was buried at Poona on the following day.<sup>100</sup>

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There is no surviving cache of Harris's papers (incoming letters, letter-books, or journals), and few letters written by him to others have yet been traced. His activities are known almost entirely, therefore, from his published writings, his official dispatches (from Abyssinia), and his drawings. In his own lifetime, the tales of his exploits as an adventurer, complemented by tales of his prowess as a hunter, gained him the admiration of many. He is rather less well known to posterity, perhaps for good reason. To a modern taste, his sense of literary style does more to obscure than to enhance the substance of his narrative and descriptive prose. What little information about his service in the Bombay Engineers can be gleaned from official records suggests that he was not always dedicated to his proper duties. He is of interest to the historian of southern Africa as a witness to the early stages of the Great Trek and for the written and pictorial record of the three days spent in October 1836 at the kraal of Mzilikazi; but, while he might have

discovered the 'Harris buck' (sable antelope), his observations on the large quadrupeds of southern Africa proved to be of more lasting interest to sportsmen than to zoologists. The mission to the Kingdom of Shewa has also been judged harshly by historians. It is said that Harris was arrogant, uncomprehending, and heavily dependent on the work of others; and the mission he led takes its place in the record as an ill-judged and mishandled attempt by the British to advance their own interests. One obvious lesson of this exercise is that Harris's leadership of the mission should be

assessed on the basis of his dispatches to the government of Bombay, and not on the basis of the popular account published in *Highlands of Ethiopia*. Another is that the mission itself should be judged in relation to the detailed instructions given to Harris by his masters, and their own intentions and expectations. Harris's most purple prose does indeed verge on the unreadable; yet his drawings provide an immediate and most striking record of all that he encountered in the late 1830s and early 1840s. For although his skills as an artist were essentially those of a well-trained

military draughtsmen of the day, his other talents took him into the contexts which have given his work its special importance. From southern Africa, in 1836–7, the formal 'portraits' of game and wild animals have an obvious and enduring appeal; and his images of Mzilikazi, 'King of the Amazooloo', and of 'Lingap, Matabili warrior, have become iconic. The images from the expedition to Abyssinia in 1841–3 are less familiar; yet here again, in Harris's hand, the brush proved more sensitive than the pen, just as his hunting rifle had proved more effective than his ceremonial sword.

- 1: There is no modern study of Harris's life. He was accorded a short entry in the old *Dictionary of National Biography* (1891), an abbreviated form of which appears in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).
- 2: Vibert, *Addiscombe*, pp. 653 and 667; see also Archer, *British Drawings*, i, 5–9.
- 3: The Bengal, Madras and Bombay Engineers were established in the mid-eighteenth century and were amalgamated with the Royal Engineers in 1862; see Sandes, *Military Engineer in India*.
- 4: The portrait, attributed to Ramsay Richard Reinagle (1775–1862), can be seen on the website of the National Portrait Gallery.
- 5: For the written and pictorial records of Smith's expedition (1834–6), see Quentin Keynes, ed. Keynes, pp. 173–9. Smith had published his *African Zoology* in 1833; his major work, *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, incorporating the results of the expedition, was published in 28 parts between 1838 and 1849.
- 6: Darwin's 'Beagle' Diary, ed. Keynes, p. 427; *Correspondence of Darwin I*, pp. 171 and 500–1; Darwin, *Journal of Researches*, pp. 85–9 (ch. 5).
- 7: Quentin Keynes, ed. Keynes, pp. 179–95; and for Harris's drawings of Mzilikazi, see Appendix nos. 3–5.
- 8: *Wild Sports*, pp. 196–8 and 216–19. For Harris's drawings of the sable antelope, see Appendix no. 8.
- 9: Harris, *Sketch of the Emigration*. For this and Harris's other publications relating to southern Africa, see Tabler, *Bibliography of Harris*. The original map (dated May 1837) is reproduced in the 1976 and 1985 facsimile editions of *Harris's Portraits*; see also Quentin Keynes, p. 168, n. 173.
- 0: Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, i, 45–6.
- 1: *Bengal Sporting Magazine* 11 (1838), 215–16; Cannon, *Monthly Miscellany*, p. 355, including 'the garbs of the band of Moselekatse'.
- 2: Harris, *Narrative*; see also Tabler, 'Bibliography of Harris', pp. 44–57. Among the six copies of this edition in the QGK collection is one inscribed by Harris to Lord Eiphinstone, Governor of Madras, and one inscribed by him to James Edward Alexander, with annotations expressing disapproval of Harris's hunting.
- 3: Harris, 'Route between Sonmeanee and Candahar', and 'Visit to Sonmeanee'.
- 4: In a review of Harris's book, in *Annals of Natural History* 4 (1840), 334–6, the naturalist William Ogilby (1808–73) criticised Harris for his failure to provide more scientific data, and for using Smith's *African Zoology* (1833) 'without acknowledgement'; but see Bradlow, 'Introduction', pp. xxvi–xxvii.
- 5: Warrington, 'Pickering', and Oakley, 'Howard'; see also Bradlow, 'Introduction', pp. xxviii–xxix.
- 6: Harris, *Portraits*; see also Tabler, 'Bibliography of Harris', pp. 50–8. The text and illustrations were reprinted in 1969 by Balkema (Cape Town), with an introductory essay by E. Tabler (pp. ix–xix) and a zoological note by R. Liversidge (pp. xxi–xxii). A full facsimile edition was published in 1976 by the Frank Read Press (Mazoe, Rhodesia), with an excellent introduction by Frank Bradlow (pp. xiii–xxxi). A more accessible edition was published in 1986 by Gaigo (Alberton, RSA).
- 7: Most of the original watercolours for these plates are in the Harris collection in the Natural History Museum; for three others, see Appendix nos. 11–13.
- 8: For the larger historical context, see Barnes, above, pp. 2–15. See also Crummey, *Priests and Politicians*, pp. 48 and 51–5; Crummey, 'Initiatives and Objectives', p. 440; and Rubenson, *Survival*, pp. 148–59.
- 9: For the larger context, see Abir, *Ethiopia, and Ego, Class, State, and Power*.
- 20: Pankhurst and Pankhurst, 'Travel Books on Ethiopia', pp. 120–3. See also Lefebvre, *Voyage*; Rochet d'Héricourt, *Voyage*; Krapf, *Journals*, pp. xiv–xvi and 262–4; Krapf, *Travels*, pp. 29–33; and Beke, *Abyssinia*, pp. 6–7. For recent accounts of those on the British side, see Frankl, 'Krapf', and Crummey, 'Beke'.
- 21: *Acta Aethiopica*, ed. Rubenson, p. 44 (no. 34); see also Rubenson, *Survival*, pp. 150–1.
- 22: BSP 159/1479, dated 24 April 1841, given to Harris shortly before his departure from Bombay.
- 23: For lists of all reports in BSP concerning the mission to Shewa, see the index volumes Z/P/3534 (1841), pp. 107–94; Z/P/3536 (1842), pp. 81–156; and Z/P/3537 (1843), pp. 293–360.
- 24: *Highlands*. For the two editions, published in 1844, see above, p. 28.
- 25: The letters are in the National Archives of Scotland (Edinburgh), GD22/1/354/1–7; excerpts were published in Graham, *Glimpses of Abyssinia*. Other letters from Graham to his sister are in the National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh), Acc. 11335/2. Graham also refers to 'about forty sketches', which he intended to send home to his sister (*Glimpses*, p. 52).
- 26: Eg. BSP 204/1216, on agriculture, with coloured drawings of various implements, and BSP 206/1600, on 'manners, customs, and superstitions' and on 'the history of the Abyssinian church – English Mission'.
- 27: The original manuscript of Barker's journal, from the collection of Quentin Keynes (ex Sotheby's, 10 July 1986, lot 365), was sold at

- Christie's, 7 April 2004, lot 315, and is now at Yale; see also Barker, 'Probable Geographical Position of Harrar', and Barker, *Narrative*, with map showing the route to Ankober.
- 28: The oils on paper given to the museum at India House are now in the British Library (CIOC), WD2209/1–9, listed by Archer, *British Drawings*, ii.393–5. Other drawings by Bernatz, in oil and watercolour, passed to Harris's half-brother. Some were among the drawings given in 1970 to the Natural History Museum, London, and a few others have been identified among the drawings acquired by Quentin Keynes; see further below, p. 62.
- 29: *Illustrations*; see further above, p. 28, and below, pp. 67–8.
- 30: Bernatz, *Scenes in Ethiopia*, comprising his journal (pp. 1–9), followed by 'The Lowlands of the Danakil' (24 plates) and 'The Highlands of Shoa' (24 plates, with map). Several are reproduced in Pankhurst and Ingrams, *Ethiopia Engraved*.
- 31: Kirk, 'Route from Tajurra to Ankobar'.
- 32: The map of the route to Ankober, drawn up by Kirk and Barker, and copied at Bombay, 31 December 1841, is in the collection of the Royal Geographical Society, London (MR Ethiopia S/S.34), with another version of the map (MR Ethiopia S/S.21).
- 33: Kirk, 'Kingdom of Shoa'.
- 34: Five portfolios containing original watercolours by Kirk are in the collection of the Royal Geographical Society, of which the first two relate to the expedition of 1841–3 (XO228/021616–66). Copies of Kirk's watercolours, made in the late 1840s by R. H. Byne, are preserved in association with watercolours of Abyssinia by C. F. Beke in BL Add. 30255.
- 35: *Highlands*, i.418–26 and ii.398–430.
- 36: *Highlands*, i.46–70, and *Illustrations*.
- 37: BSP 166/2482–3 and 3080, dated 25 June, 20 June and 19 July; *Highlands* i.71–414 and ii.1–12; Barker, *Narrative*, pp. 1–24, with map 'Kirk, Route from Tajurra to Ankobar', with his map (above, n. 31).
- 38: BSP 205/1515, dated 29 March 1843, and Appendix no. 53; see also *Highlands* i.123–31; Graham, *Glimpses*, p. 5, and Rochet d'Héricourt, *Second voyage*, pp. 74–7.
- 39: *Highlands* i.100–12; Barker, *Narrative*, pp. 14–15. A watercolour by Kirk depicts 'Passage of the Hawasa July 11 1841' (RGS 021642).
- 40: BSP 170/3080, dated 19 July 1841; *Highlands*, i.230–3; Barker, *Narrative*, p. 18; Krapf, *Travels*, pp. 29–30; Beke, *Abyssinia*, p. 3.
- 41: *Highlands* i.263–4. The corresponding passage in BSP 170/3080, ch. 26, is rather more specific, and conveys a far better impression of the sudden change in landscape.
- 42: BSP 172/3467, dated 24 August; *Highlands*, i.365–404. A watercolour by Kirk depicts 'Alioamba, first village in Abyssinia' (RGS 021644).
- 43: BSP 172/3467, chs. 20–3; *Highlands* i.405–14 and ii.1–2; Barker, *Narrative*, pp. 21–4; Graham, *Glimpses*, p. 4.
- 44: Appendix no. 71.
- 45: BSP 172/3467, ch. 34; *Highlands*, ii.6–12; Graham, *Glimpses*, pp. 4–10; Appendix no. 41. The scene was imagined by Bernatz, 'The British Mission, accompanied by Abyssinians, entering Ankobar, 1841' (BL/WD2209/7).
- 46: BSP 172/3467, chs. 39, 47 and 55.
- 47: BSP 189/2060 A, dated 14 October; *Highlands* ii.43–37; Barker, *Narrative*, pp. 29–34. See also Ege, *Class, State and Power*, pp. 99, 127–8 and 204. Bernatz, *Scenes*, pt II, pl. XIX, depicts the equivalent event in 1842.
- 48: *Highlands* ii.88–97; Barker, *Narrative*, pp. 34–6. For the French perspective, see Rochet d'Héricourt, *Second voyage*, pp. 139–41.
- 49: BSP 189/2060 B, dated 29 October; *Highlands* ii.163–223; Barker, *Narrative*, pp. 39–40; Graham, *Glimpses*, pp. 15–24. The purpose of these campaigns is discussed by Ege, *Class, State, and Power*, pp. 203–20.
- 50: BSP 189/2060 B; *Highlands* ii.218–23.
- 51: BSP 189/2060 D, dated 27 November 1841; *Highlands* ii.252–60. Harris's striking image of the king (no. 27) was made at Ankober on the same occasion.
- 52: BSP 189/2034, dated 12 December, and 189/2060F, dated 31 December; *Highlands* ii.303–79, esp. 342–6 (the shooting, with Harris's leading role made explicit only in the second edition, p. 335); Graham, *Glimpses*, pp. 24–5.
- 53: Krapf, *Travels*, pp. 29–31, and Beke, *Abyssinia*, pp. 8–9. For the king's letters to Queen Victoria, and to the governor of Bombay, dated 6 October 1841, see *Acta Ethioptica*, ed. Rubenson, pp. 56 (no. 41) and 57 (no. 42), both signed by Harris. Beke left on 10 October, and was subsequently in dispute with Harris about various matters of propriety and finance (above, p. 28).
- 54: BSP 189/2060 D dated 27 November, chs. 12–3 (with additional details); *Highlands* ii.391–3.
- 55: London, TNA, FO 93/941, signed by Harris and sealed with his own signet ring. For a translation of the Amharic text, see *Acta Ethioptica*, ed. Rubenson, pp. 59–60 (no. 44). See also Ullendorff and Beckingham, 'The First Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty' (Drummek, Priests, b. 52), and Rubenson, *Jurwal*, pp. 154–6.
- 56: BSP 189/2060 D, chs. 13 and 31; cf. *Highlands* ii.392.
- 57: BSP 189/2060 I, dated 31 January 1842, chs. 11–12; cf. *Highlands* iii.200–4.
- 58: BSP 189/2060 I, ch. 16; cf. *Highlands* ii.266–7 (confusingly dislocated). The eclipse was that of 26 January 1842.
- 59: BSP 189/2044, dated 7 March 1842.
- 60: BSP 193/2918 A, dated 8 May 1842; *Highlands* iii.276–84 and 285–90; Graham, *Glimpses*, pp. 29–30 and 44–9; Bernatz, 'The celebration of Easter in the palace at Ankobar, 1842' (BL/WD2209/17) and *Scenes*, pt 2, pl. IX (*Ethiopia Engraved*, p. 120).
- 61: BSP 193/2918 A, dated 8 May 1842; Graham, *Glimpses*, pp. 31–2, 50, 53 (paving the way for a new palace, to be modelled on Gartmore House); *Highlands* iii.351–6.
- 62: Rochet d'Héricourt, *Second voyage*, pp. 139–40 and 160–1; but for Harris's private views on Rochet, see, e.g., BSP 204/1144, dated 30 January 1843.
- 63: For Harris's views on Johnston, see, e.g., BSP 193/2919, dated 10 June 1842; 194/3131, dated 21 June; 194/3133, dated 22 June; 196/3489, dated 4 July; and 204/1144, dated 30 January 1843. For Johnston's views of Harris, see his *Travels* ii.10–66, supplemented by 'Six Months', in December 1843: the quarrel between Harris and Johnston reached the Prime Minister (above, p. 28).
- 64: BSP 196/3491, dated 20 July, and 196/3493, dated 12 August. For the use in Harris's report of information supplied to him by Beke in 1841, see Beke, *Abyssinia*, pp. 8 and 27–30.
- 65: *Highlands* iii.245. The preface, with acknowledgements to Graham, Kirk, Roth, and others unnamed, and also to Krapf, although not to Beke, is dated Ankober, 1 January 1843. A letter from Graham to his sister, dated 26 April 1844 (NAS, GD22/1354/15), suggests that the book was conceived from the outset as a joint production.
- 66: *Highlands* iii.352; see also Johnston, *Travels* ii.424.
- 67: *Highlands* iii, Frontispiece.
- 68: BSP 204/1144, dated 30 January 1843; *Highlands* iii.372; Bernatz, *Scenes*, pt 2, pl. XIX (*Ethiopia Engraved*, p. 38); Johnston, *Travels*, ii.375, and 'Six Months', p. 341 (noting that the officers of the Embassy were 'dismissed in a few moments').
- 69: BSP 204/1144; *Highlands* iii.372–6. Bernatz, *Scenes*, pt 2, pls. XX–XXII (comparable with Harris's drawings from the previous year).
- 70: In January 1842 Harris had sent word to Bombay of the existence of a vast river in eastern Africa, of which he had learnt while on the way to Shewa (BSP 184/1098). This was then communicated to the Bombay Geographical Society (Harris, 'Particulars concerning the great river Gochofa', C. F. Beke, *Abyssinia*, pp. 7–8).
- 71: BSP 193/2917, dated 17 April 1842; *Highlands* iii.208–77, esp. 228–37 (first excursion) and 247–53 (second excursion); see also Graham, *Glimpses*, pp. 27–8, in a

- letter to his sister dated 5 May.
- 72: *Highlands* iii.264–5. The rhino differed altogether from those found in southern portions of Africa, and although armed with two horns, was encased in massive folds, if not in plate armour, after the manner of a perfectly unique specimen in the Munich museum, that has long puzzled the scientific world, and regarding whose habitat no record is preserved' (BSP 193/2917, ch. 44). Harris was evidently aware of *Rhinoceros cucuiatus*, now regarded with good reason as a taxidermist's flight of fancy (Rookmaaker, *Rhinoceros*, p. 194); yet if anyone knew the difference between an Indian rhino and an African rhino, it was Harris, who would have been familiar with the former and who had shot quantities of the latter.
- 73: Bernatz, *Scenes*, pt. 1, p. 9, with pls. XXII ('Leopard hunting among the Gallas'), XXIII ('Wild buffaloes at the river Kasem') and XXIV ('Galla Dance of Triumph after slaying a wild buffalo').
- 74: In addition to nos. 30-1, and fig. 14, see Bernatz, *Scenes*, pt. 2, pls. I ('Mount Fantali') and II ('Crater of the extinct volcanoes of Winsigur').
- 75: The later expedition is described at some length by Graham, in a letter dated 20 August (*Glimpses*, pp. 54–63), but the details correspond closely with Harris's account of the earlier expedition, and it may be that Graham was here elaborating for his sister's entertainment.
- 76: BSP 204/1144, chs. 15–19; *Highlands* iii.377–81.
- 77: *Acta Aethiopica*, ed. Rubenson, p. 79 (no. 63); BSP 204/1144, ch. 20; *Highlands* iii.390; Rochet, *Second Voyage*, pp. 161–3; Crummey, *Priests and Politicians*, pp. 54–5; Rubenson, *Survival*, pp. 58–9.
- 78: *Acta Aethiopica*, ed. Rubenson, pp. 80–1 (no. 64), with colour plate.
- 79: Appendix no. 59.
- 80: BSP 204/1147, dated 8 April.
- 81: BSP 205/1341, dated 25 March, and 204/1120, dated 14 April.
- 82: Sotheby's, 28–9 May 2003 (Winterton sale), lot 56.
- 83: *The Times*, 18 August 1843, p. 4.
- 84: See above, n. 28. Several of the specimens given by Harris to the Museum are duly listed in Horsfield, *Catalogue of the Mammalia*; see also Desmond, *India Museum*, pp. 57 and 63.
- 85: *Illustrated London News*, 26 August 1843, p. 135; *The Times*, 4 September 1843, p. 4.
- 86: *Illustrated London News*, 2 September 1843, p. 160.
- 87: Letter from Graham to his sister, dated 18 December 1843 (NAS, GD22/1/354/10). It emerges that Harris had reservations about Bernatz's work; but Graham urged his sister to get hold of some of the pictures, as he thought they would 'answer admirably for an album'. Graham was also fearful that there would be 'several malignants who will use their utmost endeavours to pick the book to pieces on private grounds of ill will'.
- 88: *Illustrated London News*, 30 December 1843, pp. 421–2.
- 89: Appendix nos. 46–7.
- 90: Beke's drafts and Harris's responses are preserved among Beke's papers in BL Add. 30254; see also Beke, *Abyssinia*, pp. 9–15.
- 91: Beke, *Abyssinia*, pp. 17–22.
- 92: Beke's review appeared in *The Westminster Review* 41 (March–June 1844), pp. 183–218; for its authorship, see Beke, *Abyssinia*, pp. 22–3. Another critical review, of the second edition, appeared in *The Edinburgh Review* 80 (July–October 1844), pp. 43–67. One objection was to the inflated style (not without good reason), compromising the book's status as a record of the expedition. Another was to the (deliberately) impersonal nature of the narrative: so in the second edition there is more naming of names.
- 93: Johnston to Peel, 4 November and 18 December 1843 (BL Add. 40355, fols. 117 and 119–20).
- 94: Harris to an unnamed official, 27 December (private collection), duly reported by the India Board to the Prime Minister, 28 December (BL Add. 40335, fols. 122–3); other dimensions of this story, involving Rochet, emerge from BSP 204/1144, dated 30 January 1843, ch. 7.
- 95: Johnston, *Travels, and 'Six Months'*.
- 96: A facsimile reprint of the fourth edition was published by Books of Zimbabwe (Bulawayo) in 1991, with an introduction by James A. Casada. Facsimile reprints of a fifth edition (1852) were published by C. Struick (Cape Town) in 1963, and by Briar Patch Press (Camden, SC), with an introduction by Tom Ofcansky, in 1987. The fifth edition does not include any reviews of earlier publications.
- 97: The original portrait, signed and dated 1845, belonged c. 1960 to Trevor Harris, of Johannesburg, and is now in Museum Africa, Johannesburg; it is reproduced in modern facsimile editions of *Portraits*.
- 98: *The Times*, 7 July and 14 July 1845. The date of publication is not given in the book itself, which is generally presumed to have been published in 1844.
- 99: Letter from Douglas Graham to his sister, 26 April 1844 (NAS, GD22/1/354/15).
- 100: *The Times*, 24 November 1848; Cannon, *Monthly Miscellany* p. 335. Harris was buried probably in the grounds of the English School at Poona, which had been added in 1842 to the Hindoo College (established there in 1821); in 1851 the school merged with the college to form Poona College, moved to its present location and renamed Deccan College in 1864.

*M. Harris*  
*M. Rubenson*



RIGHT

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# Abbreviations and Bibliography

## Abbreviations

- BSP 'Bombay Secret Proceedings', in London, British Library (Oriental and India Office Collections), India Office Records, P/SEC/BOM, vols. 159–206 (interspersed among other records)
- Highlands Harris. *Highlands* (cited from the 1st edition)
- Illustrations Harris. *Illustrations*
- Portraits Harris. *Portraits*
- Wild Sports Harris. *Wild Sports* (cited from the pagination common to the 3rd, 4th and 5th editions)

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