

## CAPTAIN HARRIS AND HIS BOOK

[Mr. Edward C. Tabler, of Charleston, West Virginia, has given permission for the whole or part of his pamphlet, *Captain Harris and His Book*, to be reprinted in *Africana Notes and News*. *Captain Harris and His Book: a biographical and bibliographical essay*, by Edward C. Tabler, Charleston, W. Va., February, 1944, is a pamphlet of twenty-six pages, and only one hundred copies were printed for private circulation. It is too long for reproduction in full; the bibliographical rather than the biographical material has therefore been selected, because it is thought that the description of copies of Harris's work found in American libraries would be of especial interest to South African readers. The part of Mr. Tabler's work which follows continues the biographical account and introduces the bibliographical as it proceeds].

Captain Harris returned to India by January, 1838, when he was made executive engineer at Belgaum. At this post he wrote the story of his African travels for the edification of some of his brother officers only. But later in this year, 1838, he expanded and corrected his tale and had it published by the American Mission Press of Bombay. The actual printing was done while the author was at Belgaum, a hundred miles away, where he wrote his introduction on July 15th, 1838. This date was probably near the time of printing. Entitled, *Narrative of an Expedition into Southern Africa, during the years 1836, and 1837, from the Cape of Good Hope, through the Territories of the Chief Moselekatse, to the Tropic of Capricorn, etc., etc.*, and including two chapters on the Great Trek, the book was illustrated with a few crude lithographic plates by Indian engravers after the author. Printed with it, and bound in, was a prospectus for a forthcoming book of African game animals by Harris. This promised work, referred to as the *African Views* in the prospectus was later published, and is the book in which the soldier-artist was to carry out his plan of making attractive exact likenesses of animals. This volume, truly Captain Harris's book, will be dealt with in full further on.

The narrative achieved popularity in India, and next year, 1839, a second edition was brought out by John Murray, the London publisher. The title was changed to *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa*, and the title of the first edition was used, in slightly altered form, as a subtitle. The second edition contained a larger number of plates after Harris, better engraved by English lithographers, and in it the text was changed somewhat. One of the most interesting features of this edition, however, is a "Proposal," thus formally made by Harris to the Geographical Society of Bombay, a branch of the Royal Geographical Society to which he belonged. It will be remembered that Harris had sent his map to the parent society from Cape Town in 1837; he had followed up the map with a copy of his *Narrative* when that book was first published in India. Now, through the branch organisation, he offered his services to the Royal Geographical Society to lead an expedition into South Africa in search of the "great unknown lake" existing there. The "modest proposer" suggested that the Bombay society urge and recommend that the parent society in London support the expedition, and use its influence with the East India Company to get him

a grant of leave with pay. He asked that a second-in-command be appointed in the event of the project becoming a reality—he even gave the name of a friend, Lieutenant George Fulljames of the Bombay establishment, who, it seems, had already agreed to go. Alas! this project, which might have resulted in the discovery of Lake Ngami eight or nine years before it was actually reached, was not acted upon by those petitioned, and came to nothing.

This book, the first entire work devoted to big game hunting in Africa, and one which influenced many a man with "shooting madness" to go to South Africa in later years, went through three more editions, the fifth and last appearing in 1852. The title of the second edition was used for the third, fourth, and fifth editions, but these last three appearances are more sumptuous—the formats show a great improvement over those of the first two editions, and there are also twenty-six colored lithographic plates after Harris. The last three editions had various publishers, and were and are the most expensive, of course.

December 1838 found the captain with the appointment of field engineer to the Scinde Force, and in December 1840 he was made superintending engineer to the Southern Provinces. However, four months more saw him again on his way to Africa, but not to discover his unknown lake. He did not need the influence of a learned body to get him leave for his next African venture.

On April 24th, 1841, J. P. Willoughby, secretary to the Government of Bombay, issued a written direction (probably the formal announcement) to Harris from Bombay Castle. The captain was informed that "the Hon. the Governor in Council," who had formed "a very high estimate of your talents and acquirements, and of the spirit of enterprise and decision, united with prudence and discretion, exhibited in your recently published *Travels* . . .", had chosen him to conduct a mission to the King of Shoa, Ethiopia. The communication also stated the nature of the arrangements that had been made to get the mission to Tajura\*, a port town on the Gulf of Aden, from whence it would make its way four hundred miles inland to Ankober†, the capital of Shoa.

The mission to be led by Harris was comprised of Captain Douglas Graham of the Bombay Army as second-in-command, two assistant surgeons of the Bombay Medical Service, a natural historian, an officer-volunteer from a British regiment, an artist, Lieutenant Barker of the Indian Navy, a surveyor, J. Hatchatoo, British Agent at Tajura. The white rank and file consisted of two sergeants and fifteen soldiers (all volunteers from H. M.'s 6th Foot and the Bombay Artillery), an apothecary, two artisans, and two tent servants. This group was to establish a "more intimate connection" with the ancient Christian Kingdom of Shoa, to extend geographical and scientific knowledge, and to advance British commerce.

\* The Bay of Tajura is in French Somaliland, the chief port town of which is now Jibuti.

† Located about sixty miles north-east of Adis Ababa.

Equipped in a little more than two weeks, the mission left Bombay on April 27th, 1841 in the East India Company's steam frigate *Auckland*. Aden was reached in nine days, and here Harris and his followers made more preparations until May 15th, when they sailed for Tajura. They started inland from that port at the beginning of June; the way across the wild Danakil country was hindered by drought, difficult mountains, and Somali raiders. On one occasion the last named murdered two of Harris's soldiers and a Portuguese follower in a night attack on the British camp. Crossing the Hawash River, the nominal boundary of the Kingdom of Shoa, the mission arrived at the frontier town of Farri on July 16th. Next day the ascent of the Abyssinian Highlands was begun under Shoaan escort, and soon after, Sahela Selassie, King of Shoa, met his visitors.

The British remained in Shoa until January 1843, a year and a half. They won the King's confidence for several reasons—their bravery in the hunting field and their presents, among others. Gifts to the King from the East India Company included three hundred muskets and two cannon, the latter made in Calcutta\*.

Although the parasitic priests of the Ethiopian church, with which the country was overrun, thought that Harris's object was to take the country, the mission was excellently treated. Attempts to turn Sahela Selassie against the visitors failed, and the bad treatment accorded previous European travellers was omitted.

In December 1841, a commercial treaty was concluded between the King of Shoa and the British Government, Harris, of course, acting for the latter party. The King promised to give up several laws and customs which had hitherto completely obstructed trade with Europeans. Harris hoped that this treaty would be the beginning of a commerce that would destroy the traffic in slaves, which he hated with an honest nineteenth-century British hate. British trade would do this, he believed (as did many other of his countrymen who were interested in Africa then and later), by displacing the Moslem slave dealers as suppliers of goods to the natives. He thought that his government, or a British firm, should buy or lease land on the Juba River in East Africa and begin trade with Ethiopia—the Shoans had told him that the Juba was navigable for three months' travel from its mouth, thus giving easy access to Ethiopia. We know now that this scheme was not practicable, the country drained by the Juba being very difficult and poor; besides, the stream does not give easy access to Ethiopia. At the time Harris wrote of these things, East Africa was a howling wilderness, and parts of it remained blank on the map until the first decade of this century.

The British mission travelled a great deal in Shoa. They made exploratory journeys to both the northern and southeastern frontiers, and once accompanied the King on the annual foray against the pagan Gallas. This raid was largely a matter of surprise and

\* These guns, taken from Ankober by the Ethiopian emperor Theodore, when he defeated Sahela Selassie's eldest son and conquered Shoa in 1855, were destroyed when the British punitive expedition took Magdala in 1868.

massacre of the black men, women, and children by the better armed and equipped Shoans. The slaughter and the accompanying slave-catching so sickened Harris and the others that they did not go again when the next annual Galla hunt was held.

Back in England with his treaty, Harris was knighted for his services in 1844, perhaps on May 24th, the Queen's birthday. He was by this time a major in the East India Company's engineers, having been promoted in August 1843.

The story of this, the second official communication between England and Ethiopia\*, was written by Harris while he resided in Shoa. *The Highlands of Ethiopia* was published in London in three volumes, 1844, and is dedicated to the Queen by permission. Only one of the three lithographic plates in the work is after Harris, and that one is a portrait of Sahela Selassie. But Harris had to put to work his talent as an illustrator, so there appeared in 1844 (although the imprint gives no date) a large quarto volume entitled *Illustrations of the Highlands of Ethiopia*. It contained a portrait, a colored dedication, and twenty-six plain lithographic plates, each with a leaf of descriptive letterpress. It was published in London by Dickinson and Son, and is the least-known of all of Harris's works.

As Major Sir William Cornwallis Harris, he continued his work in India. Executive engineer at Dharwar Dion in 1846, and holding the same post at Poona in February 1847, he was made superintending engineer to the northern provinces on February 5th, 1848. This was his last promotion. On October 9th, 1848, he died at Surwur, near Poona, of "lingering fever."

Had the major lived a year longer, he would have heard that at last a party of white men, headed by William Cotton Oswell (an Indian civil servant, once sent from India to South Africa for his health), had reached his "great unknown lake" in the interior of Southern Africa.

We have seen that with Harris's *Narrative* (1838) there was printed the prospectus of a forthcoming series of reproductions of paintings by the author. While in South Africa, he had been working at pictures of the larger quadrupeds—measuring the dead animals, observing their coloring, and sketching both living and dead beasts and their surroundings. According to this prospectus of 1838, reproductions of "twenty-eight original paintings" were to have made up the series; the object was "to combine in them, as far as possible, information which might be useful to the Naturalist, the Sportsman, and the Lover of Wild Scenery." The paintings were stated to have been made on a scale of one and one-half inches to a foot, from "repeated measurements" of the animals themselves. At least one of each species was to be in the foreground of a proper landscape (twelve by seventeen inches in size), with other groups in the background. The arrangement was intended to show the kind of country in which each species lived, and whether it lived singly, in families, or in large herds.

\* The first was in 1809 under Henry Salt, who was sent out from London.

This plan was carried out, except that the number of plates was increased to thirty-one, an engraved title page and two other plates having been added to the proposed twenty-eight. Harris finished his paintings\* between the time of his return to the Cape Colony in January 1837 and the date of publication of their reproductions in 1840 and 1841.

The work was published in five parts. The first part, which appeared late in 1840, contains three leaves of front matter, six plates, and the text to accompany these plates. The first leaf of letterpress is the title leaf, with printer's note on verso. The title page may be set forth as follows:

Portraits/ of the/ game and wild animals/ of/ Southern Africa,/ delineated from life in their native haunts,/ during a hunting expedition/ from the Cape Colony as far as the Tropic of Capricorn,/ in 1836 and 1837,/ with sketches of the field sports./ By Captain W. Cornwallis Harris,/ of the Honourable E. I. Company's Engineers, Bombay establishment./ Drawn on stone by Frank Howard./ [rule]/ Quod specimen naturae capi debeat ex optima quaque natura./ Cicero./ [rule]/ London:/ Published for the proprietor, by W. Pickering, Chancery Lane,/ and to be had of/ P. & D. Colnaghi, Pall Mall East; W. Wood, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden;/ and T. Cadell, Strand./ [rule]/ 1840.

The second leaf carries a rather flowery dedication to the author's "loved companions in the merry greenwood"—that is, to his hunting companions. The verso of this dedication leaf bears a quotation, twenty-six lines of verse by that early and mediocre South African poet Thomas Pringle. This poem, which begins: "Afar in the Desert I love to ride," is quoted in varying lengths in the front matter of a fair number of the old books on South African hunting, perhaps because a greater or less number of the rhymed couplets could be used, depending on the space available. On both sides of the third leaf is printed the introduction, unsigned and undated. Part I has these plates:

- I The Gnoo.
- II The Quagga.
- III The Spring Bok.
- VI The Brindled Gnoo.
- V Burchell's Zebra.
- VI The Eland.

Each of the numbered plates showing the animals is accompanied by a page of letter-press bearing the number and title of the plate, followed by a short description of the physical characteristics and distribution of the animal or animals depicted. Also, with each plate is a chapter, from two and one-half to seven and one-half pages in length, that describes in more detail the appearance and habits of the animals on the plate, and gives Harris's experiences when hunting them. Chapter title and number correspond with plate caption and number. This plan for the text is followed throughout the book. The text of Part I occupies fourteen leaves, and the pagination is (vi) plus 28, with a blank leaf at the beginning. Each chapter has a lithographed vignette tailpiece

\* These original oils are probably lost. I have never heard that they are preserved anywhere.

after Harris at the end. These illustrations in the text, which are not in colors, represent the author's African trophies of heads, horns, and skins. All chapters in Parts II, III, IV, and V also have such tailpieces.

The covers are of heavy gray paper, with the title page of the book printed on the recto of the front cover. The verso of the back cover carries an advertisement of the *Portraits*, as well as one for the then forthcoming edition (1841) of Harris's *Wild Sports*. The spine reads: *Harris's Portraits—Part I*. The top, bottom, and fore edges are uncut, but the spine edge was cut, after which the part was sewed by stabbing and the covers (printed in one piece) were folded on and glued to the spine. The use of so flimsy a fastening for the individual parts shows that they were intended for binding together after purchase.

Part II, published early in 1841, also contains six plates, with the text for these. The plates are:

- VII The Hartebeest.
- VIII The Sassybe.
- IX The Gemsbok.
- X The Ostrich.
- XI The Giraffe.
- XII The Hippopotamus.

The pagination is 29-64 inclusive. Like all the other parts, Part II is covered with heavy gray paper. The front cover of this part again bears a printed reproduction of the title page, but the word "London" is lacking in the imprint, and the publication date has been properly changed to 1841. The spine should be lettered as in Part I. The back cover has an advertisement for the *Portraits*, and below it one for the now-published third edition of the *Wild Sports*. The back covers of some of the parts contain useful information about the publication, price and make-up of the parts.

Part III was issued in March 1841. Its text is pagged 65-96, and the plates contained it are these:

- XIII The African Buffalo.
- XIV The Water Buck.
- XV The Pallah. The Duiker.
- XVI The African Rhinoceros.
- XVII The Bontebok.
- XVIII The Roan Antelope.

The front cover is the same as in Part II, but what was printed on the verso of the back cover I do not know, because the back cover of the copy examined is missing\*. The spine should be lettered as in the preceding parts, and this lettering was probably used on all the parts.

\* The copy in parts which was examined, was loaned by the Princeton University Library. Parts I and III lack the back covers and all parts except Part IV lack the spine covering. Mr. George L. Harrison's copy, not in parts, has the covers of Part I bound in, and this copy furnished the specimen of the back cover of Part I.

The fourth part carries the title on the front cover, exactly in the two parts immediately preceding it; the verso of the back cover has an elaborate advertisement for the *Portraits*, giving the contents of each part and much other information. The pagination is 97-136, and the plates are:

- XIX The Square Nosed or White Rhinoceros.
- XX The Koodoo.
- XXI The Blesbok or White Faced Antelope.
- XXII The African Elephant.
- XXIII The Sable Antelope.
- XXIV The modern Zebra. The Klipspringer.

Part V also appeared in 1841\*. It consisted of three unpagged preliminary leaves, twenty leaves of text, and seven plates. The pagination is (vi) plus 137-176 inclusive. The plates are:

- Vignette Title.
- XXV The Rheebock. The Steenbok.
- XXVI The Bushbuck. The Grysbock. The Cerulean Antelope.
- XXVII The African Wild Boar. The Reitbok.
- XXVIII The Leopard. The Hunting Pard.
- XXIX The Lion.
- XXX The Spotted Hyena. The Fuscous Hyena. The Wild Dog.

The first and second preliminary leaves carry a list of subscribers to the *Portraits*. (The verso of the second leaf is blank.) Four hundred and forty-nine copies are accounted for in this list. Perhaps more copies were printed, since the imprint states "to be had of," which may be interpreted as an invitation to the public to come and buy. Heading the subscription list are: The Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India; the Governor of Madras and the Governor of Bombay; H. H. the Maharaja of Tanjore, who bought four copies; and other Indian and Anglo-Indian notables. Two hundred and seven copies were bought by British officers, several generals among them. The list clearly indicates that publication was supported principally by Harris's Anglo-Indian colleagues and contemporaries. Four copies were taken by Hindus, Messrs. Jamsetjee and Manockjee Cursetjee being among these. Other interesting names in the list are:

- Lieutenant Frank Vardon, Nizam's Infantry, who made a hunting trip to South Africa in 1846.
- The Madras Literary Society.
- Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch.
- Geographical Society of Bombay.
- The mess of H. M.'s 6th (Royal Warwickshire) Regiment.
- The Lord Bishop of Bombay.
- Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Governor of the Cape.
- Captain George Fulljames.
- The 3rd, 5th, 20th, 23rd and 25th regiments, Bombay Native Infantry.

\*The copy in parts which was examined lacks Part V. The advertisement on the back cover of Part IV states that Part V was to have been published before the end of 1841; I have relied on bound copies of the book, and on statements made in the advertisements on the back covers of Parts II and IV, for the description of the fifth part.

Calcutta Public Library.

Bombay Circulating Library.

M. Jules Verreaux, the French naturalist of Cape Town who mounted Harris's sable antelope skin.

William Richardson, Harris's companion in South Africa, took two copies.

The recto of the third preliminary leaf bears the table of contents; the verso of this leaf is blank. The engraved vignette title page is of course unnumbered, and on it the book's title is engraved in shorter form, with the author's and the engraver's names; then comes a beautiful colored view of the outspanning of a hunter's wagons, underneath which is a quotation of five lines from Virgil; last comes the lines: *London: Published for the Proprietor. / 1840 / Printed by Hullmondel & Walton.* The fifth part was probably issued in the gray paper covers, with the lettering on the spine and the title on the front cover as in Parts II, III, and IV. What advertisements (if any) were printed on the back cover I do not know.

All the thirty-one lithographic plates have heavy, opaque paper shields. The thirty numbered plates that follow the engraved title page are captioned with both the Latin and the common names of each species represented. Well-engraved, the plates were printed in colors, and the highlights were touched up by hand; they show many animals now rare, as well as a few that are extinct, such as the quagga. Harris's delineations are all very good, except in the plate picturing the elephant. The artist succeeded in his aim of making better pictures of African animals than had before existed—his work is accurate and charming. Mendelssohn calls it "one of the most important and valuable of the large folio works on South African fauna."

The *Portraits* was printed in columbia folio (this sheet measures  $34\frac{1}{2} \times 23\frac{1}{2}$  inches), with no signatures. The average measurements of the paper of the parts is  $23\frac{3}{8} \times 17\frac{3}{8}$  inches. Bound copies are often found to have been cut very much, one I have examined measuring only  $21 \times 14\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

When the individual subscriber or purchaser had received all the parts, he had them bound to suit his own taste. In different copies, the position of the plates relative to the text may vary, which is accounted for by the separate treatment of most copies by various bookbinders. This individuality of treatment and the tastes of the owner also account for the lack of the list of subscribers in some copies; for the varying positions of the engraved title plate, which sometimes faces the printed title page, and sometimes is placed ahead of the latter; and for the varying order of arrangement of the preliminary matter. Almost always the three leaves of extra material from Part V are combined with the three of front matter from Part I, and placed at the beginning of the volume. The title leaf and dedication leaf come first, of course, but after these any order may be expected. The list of subscribers should be properly placed at the end of the volume, but it is usually found mixed up with the front matter. It was easy to confuse, either mistakenly or intentionally, the order of arrangement, since only page vi of the front matter has its page number printed on it.

The Princeton University Library copy in parts is probably unique, as I have never heard of another in this condition.

In addition to the more desirable regular issue printed in columbia folio, a few copies were printed in the smaller imperial folio without the tailpieces at the ends of the chapters. By thus forgoing the tailpieces, the purchaser could get a slightly smaller volume, with the same colored plates, at half the price. So we have what may be considered two simultaneous issues of the first and only edition of the *Portraits*. Both issues seem to have been printed from the same type and the parts covered in the same way. Portions of the two issues have become mixed in bound volumes of the work. The copy in the Library of Congress has two chapters (III and XXVI) without the tailpieces; this may have come about through the breaking up of two or more imperfect copies to form one good copy. My copy was made up of Parts I, II, and III of the issue without the tailpieces, and Parts IV and V of the issue with them; the bound volume was cut down to the size of the smaller parts.

The printed title page that accompanies the issue without the tailpieces has a different arrangement of the imprint, which reads thus:

London: / Published for the proprietor, by W. Pickering, Chancery Lane, and to be had of / P. & D. Colnaghi, Pall Mall East; T. Cadell, Strand: W. Pickering, Chancery Lane; / and W. Wood, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden. / [rule] / 1840.

Why the imprints of the two issues differ is an interesting problem that I have not solved. Possibly the publishers found that they could sell more cheaply by not printing the lithographs in the text, and thus could dispose of more copies for a greater profit.

Some impressions of the vignette title plate lack the line reading *Printed by Hullmandell & Walton* below the date 1840. It may be that Hullmandell and Walton succeeded to the lithographic work after some other firm withdrew, and they then added their line to the vignette title. The presence or absence of the lithograph printers' line seems to have no relation to the presence or absence of tailpieces in the text.

Printed in columbia folio, the *Parraits* sold for two pounds two shillings per part, a total of ten pounds ten shillings for the complete book. In imperial folio, without the tailpieces, the parts cost one pound one shilling each. In the prospectus that appeared in Harris's *Narrative* it was estimated that the expense of publishing the *Portraits* would be £5,000. If the 499 copies of the subscription list were of the more expensive issue, the subscribers' money almost covered the cost of publication. To meet expenses completely and also to make a profit, more than 449 copies would need to have been made and sold. Probably more were sold, as the advertisements and the "to be had of" in the imprint indicate that the book was offered to the public at large. The subscribers' money nearly covers the estimated cost of publication, indication that subscriptions were taken until the cost of making the book was almost guaranteed, and work was then started. Although more than 449 copies were made, the *Portraits* is much rarer now—many copies must have perished during the Bengal Mutiny, for example. Today the usual price of a copy is £20 or \$80 at the present rate of exchange.

William Pickering is named as publisher in the imprint. The connection of this famous London bookseller and publisher with the *Portraits* was perhaps only nominal—as is suggested by "published for the proprietor." We know that he sold or distributed it, and perhaps he also supervised the work for Harris. The printers, Green and Martin of London, were not one of the printing firms usually employed by Pickering. Such a book as Harris's is not the sort of work for which the publisher, noted for good typography and a devotion to the classics and *belles lettres*, is most remembered, although he published a number of volumes of colored engravings.

Of the sellers of the book named in the imprint, P. and D. Colnaghi, a print-dealing firm composed of father and son, are the most interesting. Paul Colnaghi, or Colnago, was born in Milan in 1751. The son of a prominent lawyer who died penniless, he sought his fortune first in Paris and finally in London, where he became a naturalized English subject, and married an Englishwoman. Paul died in 1833; his eldest son, Dominic Paul Colnaghi, managed the flourishing business at 14 Pall Mall East from 1833 until he retired about 1865. Dominic, born in 1790, also married an Englishwoman, and was a distinguished connoisseur of prints and a collector of ancient armour, with a European reputation for his taste in the arts.

Frank Howard, the lithographer, was the son of Henry Howard, R.A., a portrait and historical painter. He was born in London about 1805, and also became a painter, but one with an unfortunate career, either because he was not a good artist or for some other reason. About 1847 Frank Howard went from London to Liverpool, where he eked out a living for the rest of his life by teaching drawing, by painting, by lecturing on art, and by writing articles on the drama for a newspaper. He even did some designs for memorial and church windows for "The St. Helen's Crown Glass Company's Trade Book of Patterns for Ornamental Window Glass" in 1850. Howard died of paralysis at Liverpool, June 29th, 1866, "in much distress." At least it can be said of him that he did well at transferring Captain Harris's animals from canvas to stone.

There remains one other matter. In 1840 an octavo volume of vi plus 364 pages appeared, containing the complete text of the *Portraits* and having exactly the same title, but having no illustrations. No publisher's name appears in the imprint, which gives London as the place of publication. This copy, the only one I have heard of, is in the Mendelssohn collection of South Africana in the Library of Parliament at Cape Town. It is a presentation copy: "Thomas Tapp, from his attached friend the Author. Aden, 12th May, 1841."

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Portraits kindly given by them. I am also indebted to the following libraries and their employees for information on the copies of the *Portraits* owned by them:

Library of Congress and Florence S. Hellman.  
Yale University Library and Anne S. Pratt.  
Princeton University Library and Julie Hudson.  
New York Public Library and Mr. Paul North Rice.  
Boston Public Library and Mr. Zoltan Haraszti.

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Letter from Messrs. Francis Edwards, Ltd., 83 Marylebone High Street, London, July 19, 1943.

#### NOTE ON LOBENGULA'S SEALS

In native custom the word of the chief is all that is usually required for the granting of any privilege within the area of his jurisdiction, but the important matter of the granting of concessions from King Lobengula could not, it was obvious, be dealt with in this manner. Since proof would be needed to establish such rights, it was considered necessary that documents should be drawn up, agreed to by the King and duly witnessed, and for this purpose it was felt that an official seal was needed. Lobengula did not, of course, possess a seal, and one had therefore to be provided.

So far as is known three seals were made for him, and impressions of these are shown in the accompanying plate.

No. 1 shows a shield with two crossed assegais at the back, with the superscription "Lo Bengula," all within a circle measuring 26 mm. in diameter. The matrix was cut by Thomas Baines out of a piece of boxwood<sup>1</sup>, and was used probably for the first time to seal the Baines Concession, the first mining concession



*The Seals of Lobengula  
Photographs by the C.I.D.*