

## **“Your lordship’s most obliged servant”: letters from Louis Fraser to the thirteenth Earl of Derby, 1840 to 1851**

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**ABSTRACT:** Louis Fraser, sometime curator of the museum of the Zoological Society of London, was described by his contemporaries as a protégé of the 13th Earl of Derby, an “excellent naturalist”, a “zoological traveller” and the author and publisher of *Zoologica typica*. Published sources provide some information about Fraser but it is not entirely supported by papers in the Public Record Office, Kew, by the minutes of the council meetings of the Zoological Society of London and by Lord Derby’s correspondence held at Liverpool and Philadelphia. Fraser corresponded with Lord Derby for eleven years between 1840 and 1851 and his letters to Lord Derby, together with other archives, provide a more accurate and detailed account of this eventful decade of his life, which included his experiences as zoologist on the 1841 naval expedition to the River Niger and his visit to Tunisia in 1846 collecting for Lord Derby about which, hitherto, little has been written.

**KEY WORDS:** River Niger – West Africa – South America – Zoological Society of London – Knowsley.

### INTRODUCTION

Louis Fraser is known for his important bird collections both in West Africa between 1841 and 1853 and in South America between 1857 and 1860. He is also recognised as a collector of mammals, discovering a new genus of scaly-tailed squirrel, *Anomalurus*, on the island of Fernando Po (now Bioko). He was described by his contemporaries as an excellent naturalist, but little is known about his life. The series of unpublished letters which he wrote between 1840 and 1851 to Edward Smith Stanley, thirteenth Earl of Derby, held at Liverpool and Philadelphia, provides enough information to trace records of him in government archives at the Public Records Office, Kew, and to find references to him in the minutes of the meetings of the council of the Zoological Society of London.

Fraser is honoured in the name *Fraseria* (Bonaparte, 1854) given to a genus of forest flycatchers from West Africa and he is also commemorated by other authors in the eponymous *Neocossyphus fraseri* (Strickland, 1844), *Deleornis fraseri* (Jardine and Selby, 1843), *Oreomanes fraseri* (P. Sclater, 1860) and *Basileuterus fraseri* (P. Sclater, 1883). Fraser is the authority for the names of 26 species and subspecies of West African birds.

### RECORDS OF FRASER’S LIFE FROM PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Goodwin (1888: 655) described Louis Fraser as sometime curator of the Zoological Society of London, giving up the post to become naturalist to the 1841 Royal Naval Expedition to the Niger, afterwards becoming temporary conservator of Derby’s zoological collections at Knowsley. In 1850 through the patronage of Derby, he became British Consul to Whydah (now Ouidah) in the West African kingdom of Dahomey (now Benin) but, according to Goodwin

(1888) he was recalled by Lord Palmerston. He was elected a corresponding member of the Zoological Society in 1857 on his departure to South America where he "collected many rare birds and other animals". On his return to Britain he made unsuccessful attempts to establish himself as a dealer in live animals in London. He was believed by Goodwin (1888) to have left Britain to work at Woodward's Gardens in San Francisco, later going to Vancouver Island where it was thought he died sometime before 1888. Goodwin (1888) stated that Fraser published "numerous papers" in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*.

Fraser was the author and publisher of *Zoologica typica* (1845–1849) and *Catalogue of the Knowsley collections* (Fraser, 1850a).

The ornithologist, Bowdler Sharpe, who could remember Fraser in his later years, added a little more detail about Fraser's life. Sharpe (1906: 354–355) described Fraser as a self-taught but excellent naturalist with "really beautiful" calligraphy who was a protégé of the Earl of Derby and was employed by Philip Lutley Sclater in later life to write the labels for the animals at London Zoo. Sharpe (1906) listed 395 bird specimens acquired by the British Museum from Fraser: skins, skeletons and eggs from Africa and South America, but Sharpe omitted to include the important collection (now in The Natural History Museum's collections, Tring) of 64 bird skins from West Africa that Fraser sold to the Museum in 1847 which includes 25 type specimens (Moore, 2001).

The zoologist Oldfield Thomas (1906: 33) described Fraser as a "zoological traveller ... [who] discovered a very large number of new mammals of all orders, the most notable being the genus *Anomalurus*." Thomas (1906) noted the acquisition by the British Museum of 134 mammals from Fernando Po, Tunisia and Ecuador, collected by Fraser.

Louis Fraser probably lived from 1819 to 1884, born either in 1819 or early 1820. A record of the date and place of his birth has not been found, but there is enough information in his letters at Liverpool to trace the record of his marriage on 17 February 1844.<sup>1</sup> His age at that time was 24. Fraser, son of Hugh Fraser (deceased), a mariner, was described as a bachelor of the Parish of St Marylebone, and by profession or rank as "Gent". In some publications the spelling of Fraser's first name is Anglicised (as Lewis) but he invariably signed himself Louis.

Fraser's formal education ended when he was about 13 years old, when he became an assistant in the general office of the Zoological Society of London in 1832 at ten shillings and sixpence a week<sup>2</sup> (at this time John Gould was Superintendent of the Ornithological Department of the Society). Fraser had become curator's clerk<sup>3</sup> when he was appointed to the Niger Expedition in 1840, returning to that post in November 1842 after the expedition<sup>4</sup> and was promoted to assistant curator in December 1842<sup>5</sup> and appointed Curator (at £100 per annum) in March 1844.<sup>6</sup> He began work in December 1844 on *Zoologica typica*. Fraser resigned his post as Curator in January 1846<sup>7</sup> to take up a six-month contract to collect for Derby in Tunisia and he had returned to London from North Africa by September 1846. He made a second, self-financed, visit to Tunisia between May and October 1847. At Fraser's own suggestion Derby employed him as temporary curator of the collection at Knowsley from early 1848 until 1850, during which time he compiled the *Catalogue of the Knowsley collections* (Fraser, 1850a). In November 1850 he was appointed vice-consul at Whydah and sailed from Plymouth for Africa in January 1851 but his arrival at Whydah was delayed until September because of the unsettled state of the country.<sup>8</sup> Derby died before Fraser reached his post.

Between September 1851 and March 1852 Fraser was based in Whydah and visited the settlements around the Grand Popo Lagoon, at the coast, and made three visits inland to

Abomey, to the court of the King of Dahomey. During his second visit the king would not receive him and, on the advice from the Royal Navy that it was too dangerous for him to remain in Whydah, he had left for Bioko by 8 May 1852.<sup>9</sup> With the sanction of the Foreign Office he became temporary vice-consul at Lagos (now the major port of Nigeria) at the end of 1852. However, he was recalled to Britain, not by Palmerston (*pace* Goodwin, 1888), but by Lord Clarendon, in February 1853. It had been decided that the vice-consulate at Whydah was to be closed and replaced by a permanent vice-consulate at Lagos. Fraser was not substantiated in the post and was replaced by Benjamin Campbell.<sup>10</sup>

During Fraser's time as vice-consul in the Gulf of Guinea, Jardine (1852) wrote that Fraser "has already devoted part of the time he can spare from his official duties, to examine the zoology of that fatal coast and its islands; a small collection has reached his friend and agent, Hugh Cuming, Esq. of Gower Street." The collection contained more than 80 bird skins of 18 species, and included three new species of sunbird from Fernando Po (Jardine, 1852). Further collections from Africa included another new species of sunbird and a new species of warbler from Abomey (Jardine, 1853) and a new eagle-owl, *Bubo poensis*, from Fernando Po (Fraser, 1853). Specimens sent by Fraser from West Africa to his agent were sold to the British Museum in November 1851 and January 1853.<sup>11</sup>

Fraser returned to Britain sometime after June 1853, but during the following four years there is only one reference to him at a meeting of the Zoological Society, on 25 November 1856, when he presented birds from Eyton's collection (Fraser, 1856). He was elected a corresponding member of the Zoological Society shortly before leaving for South America to spend three years collecting for Philip Lutley Sclater. Little is known of Fraser's time in South America, although Sclater included references to Fraser's field notes and journeys in Ecuador (Sclater, 1858a, 1858b, 1859, 1860a, 1860b, 1860c, 1860d, 1860e). It is not known whether Fraser's letters to Sclater from Ecuador and his notes are extant.<sup>12</sup> Fraser began collecting in October and November 1857 in Cuenca (2523 metres altitude), on the eastern watershed of the Andes. In 1858 he spent some time at the coast, at Gualaquiza, before going south to the Peruvian border, and on to Pallatanga on the Pacific slopes of the Cordillera. From January 1859 he worked the slopes of Mount Chimborazo, where he collected *Oreomanes fraseri* (Sclater, 1860b) at Panza, (4300 metres altitude), before going to Babahoyo in July 1859. In September 1859 he was in Esmeraldas, in northwest Ecuador. He left Gualaquiza for Panama by sea (Sclater, 1860e).

Much of Fraser's collection for Sclater, which included type material of 82 new species from Ecuador, is in the Sclater collection in The Natural History Museum at Tring. (Warren, 1966; Warren and Harrison, 1977). Material from Fraser's own collection from Ecuador was acquired by the British Museum in 1859, 1860 and 1862 (Sharpe, 1906: 355).

Fraser probably returned to London from South America at the end of 1860. There are references to his attendance at meetings of the Zoological Society in the years up to 1866, usually presenting specimens on behalf of other collectors. In 1862 the Zoological Society granted him £50 to prepare a catalogue of all specimens held at the Zoological Gardens since 1828.<sup>13</sup>

At a meeting of the Society on 12 April 1864 he reported on his visits to the Jardin des Plantes and Jardin d'Acclimatation in Paris, the Schönbrunn Palace and New Zoological Gardens in Vienna, the Zoological Gardens of Rotterdam and the Royal Zoological Gardens, Dublin (Fraser, 1864). There are no records of him at meetings of the Zoological Society after 1866. Sharpe was appointed library clerk at the Zoological Society in 1867, and this



Figure 1. Label in Fraser's hand "Wekiva River near Lake Munroe Fla Mar. 8.1883" from the skin of *Conurus* (*Conuropsis*) *carolinensis*, Carolina Parakeet, held in the collections of the University Museum of Zoology at Cambridge. (Reproduced by courtesy of the University Museum of Zoology, Cambridge.)

was perhaps the time he referred to when Fraser was employed to write the labels for the animals at the Zoo, and twice tried unsuccessfully to establish himself as a dealer in animals in London (Sharpe, 1906: 355). It has not been established when Fraser left for North America, and it is not certain whether he took up employment at Woodward's Gardens in San Francisco. Those Gardens, which were described in 1876 as covering about six acres and containing a natural history museum, conservatories, a zoological garden, aquarium and art gallery (Turrill, 1876), were closed in 1894 and the land sold, and there are no written records left.<sup>14</sup>

Fraser was in North America in the 1880s, but the only certain record is from Florida, not the Pacific coast. The bird collection in the University Museum of Zoology, Cambridge, includes birds collected by Fraser in the western hemisphere, three bird skins collected in Florida between March and July 1883 which still carry labels in Fraser's handwriting (Figure 1) and include a skin of the now extinct Carolina Parakeet, *Conuropsis carolinensis*.

I have not been able to find any record of Fraser's death or burial in Britain, the United States or Canada, and there is no record of his death in consular records up to 1914 nor in the Probate Register.<sup>15</sup>

#### FRASER'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD DERBY

When his correspondence<sup>16</sup> with the Earl of Derby began, Fraser had already published five papers in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, which included descriptions of three new species of birds: *Corythaix macrorhyncha* (*Tauraco macrorhynchus macrorhynchus*

Fraser 1839); *Phaenicophaeus cumingi* (*Lepidogrammus cumingi* Fraser 1839) and *Anas luzonica* Fraser 1839, a review of 15 new species of hummingbirds from Derby's collection, notes on four new species of swift and the creation of a new name, *Pteroglossus flavirostris* Fraser 1840 for *P. azarae* Gould 1834 (Fraser, 1839a, 1839b, 1840a, 1840b, 1840c).

Fraser's letters are easy to read. He was a natural letter writer, his letters being well-composed, and not sycophantic, by mid-nineteenth-century standards, revealing an amiable young man, perhaps a little brash, with a great enthusiasm for zoology. John Gray, in his correspondence with Derby did make several disapproving references to Fraser's youthful lifestyle, but Fraser seems to have had respect for Gray and sought his opinion on occasions. It was Gray he asked to identify the Chiroptera in the catalogue of the Knowsley collection (Fraser, 1850a).

Fraser's early letters to Derby were written from the Zoological Society of London, addressed from 28 Leicester Square until March 1841 and from 57 Pall Mall until 1843<sup>16</sup> (when the museum moved to the Society's Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park, where they had been established in 1828). Much of the subject matter of these early letters concerns the purchase in London, on Derby's behalf, of live animals for the menagerie at Knowsley and the arrangements for sending them by train to Liverpool. Some letters have lists of species and prices, annotated by Derby with details of purchases and payments. The number of agents Fraser dealt with suggest a significant trade in exotic species in Victorian England. The letters are also enlivened by the addition of news of the Zoological Society and its circle. In 1840 he reported that a "man in the name of Jamrach of East Smithfield London Docks has just returned from Rotterdam" and "Mr Gould is expected home next month".<sup>17</sup> He noted the attendance of Johan Natterer from the Vienna Museum at one of the Zoological Society's scientific meetings, visiting London to buy specimens for the Vienna collections<sup>18</sup>, and Fraser reported the death of the Irish ornithologist Nicholas Vigors on 26 October 1840 " ... this morning at 1 o'clock a.m. Mrs. Vigors is very ill and hardly expected to live. Mr. V. was at this house last Tuesday".<sup>19</sup> Fraser's comment "Titus' Giraffes have arrived from America"<sup>20</sup> evidently aroused Derby's curiosity. Three days later Fraser wrote: "Titus is an American Wild Beast Showman (similar to Wombwell) and the master of Van Amburgh the Lion Trainer".<sup>21</sup> There was sometimes news of the Zoo: in 1843 Fraser wrote that Derby would be glad to learn that the Council had ordered a new museum and new lion dens at the Gardens<sup>22</sup>, that the lion cub was doing well, the fittings for the museum were in hand and the financial situation at the Gardens was improving.<sup>23</sup>

## THE NIGER EXPEDITION

In his second letter, dated 24 June 1840, Fraser made a request of Derby.<sup>17</sup> The British Government was preparing to send a Royal Naval expedition to the Niger River in Africa, to make treaties with African leaders to augment the campaign to extinguish slave trading. There was a secondary purpose to the expedition. The Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilisation of Africa (confusingly referred to by Fraser and others as the African Society) planned to set up an "institution for agricultural purposes" (Trew, 1841), a "Model Farm" (Allen and Thomson, 1848: 1: 38) at the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers, site of present-day town of Lokoja in Nigeria, based on farms set up in Liberia by an American society 30 years earlier. It was intended to be a centre for agricultural research encouraging the development of natural resources. The Society published the proceedings

of its first public meeting on 1 June 1840 (Anonymous, 1840: appendix A: 59) and in its first newsletter of 1 January 1841 set out the origins of the society and the proposal to co-operate with the government “in equipping the Niger expedition and in selecting and engaging the services of scientific men in every department of natural history to accompany it” (Trew, 1841).

Fraser wrote to Derby<sup>17</sup>:

may I take the liberty of requesting you to give a formal proposition to the Council to appoint a Naturalist (to be sent out from the [Zoological] Society) in the Expedition to the Niger – in which case I would offer my services, and with your recommendation should, I doubt not, be engaged for that object; which is my earnest desire.

Derby took the matter up. Fraser wrote on 7 July 1840: “I have again to return my most sincere thanks for the great kindness you have shewn on my behalf with respect to the Niger Expedition.”<sup>24</sup>

Derby received a reply from the government in a letter from 10 Downing Street dated 14 July 1840.<sup>25</sup> Lord John Russell “did not see that there would be any objection to such a person accompanying the expedition” provided that he was funded by the Zoological Society. This was at first arranged with the help of Captain William Allen, a corresponding member of the Zoological Society, who was to command HMS *Wilberforce* on the expedition. He signed Fraser on to the ship’s books as captain’s assistant clerk. This arrangement changed in December 1840 when Fraser was appointed official zoologist to the expedition.<sup>26</sup> The newsletter of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade announced Fraser’s appointment as zoologist who would “investigate this department of natural history in a country where no naturalist has preceded him” (Trew, 1841). When his official appointment as zoologist was confirmed Fraser wrote to Derby in January 1841 that “things relative to the Expedition are beginning to look much better than I had anticipated; the Rev. Mr Trew said I should want for nothing ... Capt. Washington of the Geographical Society says I shall be instructed (on board) to take observations of the latitude and longitude to enable me to explore in the interior.”<sup>27</sup>

In September 1840 Fraser visited Knowsley where Derby presented him with a cheque for £100 to equip himself for the expedition (which led to some confusion in January about the purpose of the gift, a misunderstanding which was not resolved until the end of February). In thanking Derby, Fraser had written of his gratitude since his salary as curator’s clerk was only £60 per annum and he would have had no way to outfit himself for Africa.<sup>28</sup> In January 1841 he received another outfit allowance, funded jointly by the Zoological Society and the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade. The condition attached to this was that both “should be entitled to one complete series of specimens of whatever collection he may make, and that he should furnish the African Society with a journal of his observations.”<sup>29</sup> A set of instructions for collecting, observing and recording the natural history of the Niger was prepared for Fraser by Jardine.<sup>30</sup>

The other civilian scientists appointed were the botanist J. R. Theodor Vogel recommended by Humboldt, the mineralogist C. G. Roscher from the Academy of Mines at Freiburg (Trew, 1841), the geologist William Stanger, and the plant-collector John Ansell (Allen and Thomson, 1848: 1: 37–38). At Sierra Leone and Liberia more crewmen, interpreters and prospective settlers for the model farm were to join the expedition in the brigantine *Amelia*. The government was generous in equipping the expedition. The three paddle steamers, HMS *Albert*, HMS *Wilberforce* and HMS *Soudan*, were specially designed and built for river-

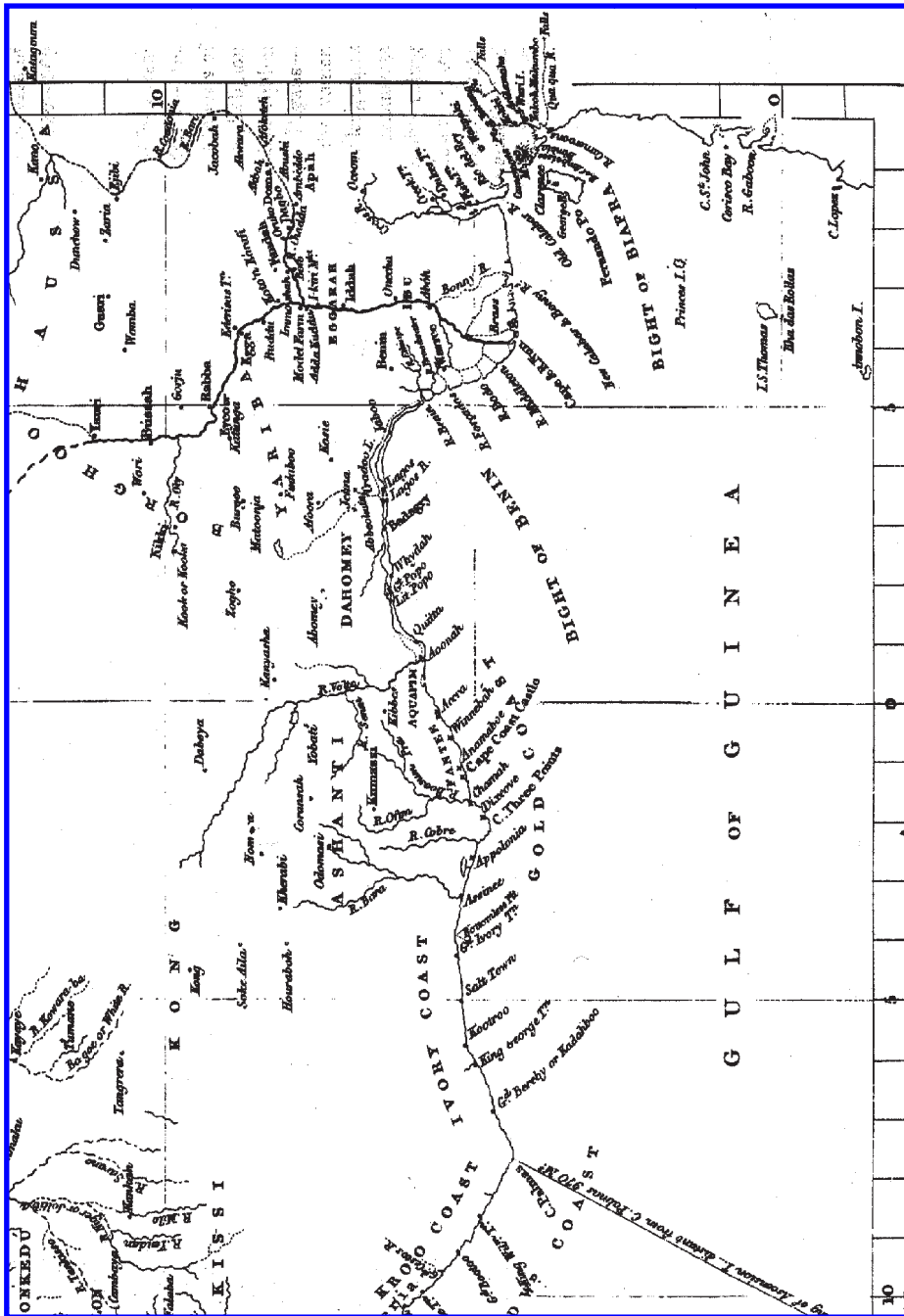


Figure 2. Gulf of Guinea at the time of Fraser's visits in 1841–1842 and 1851–1853, before political boundaries were established. Detail from a map published in Allen and Thomson (1848).

work. The crews, British, West Indian and West African, were selected from volunteers in the Navy and received double pay. Careful thought was given to medical precautions to be taken when the ships entered the Niger.

From time to time Fraser's letters touched on the preparations for the expedition. In October 1840 Captain Allen was in Liverpool for the commissioning of HMS *Wilberforce*, and Fraser suggested to him that he should take the opportunity to visit Knowsley.<sup>31</sup>

By 8 April 1841 Fraser was living on board the *Wilberforce* at the London docks<sup>32</sup> and on 22 April the *Wilberforce* left Woolwich for Devonport and the 15-week voyage to the Bight of Benin, making landfalls at Madeira, the Canary Islands, Cape Verde Islands and at the present day territories of Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana and Nigeria on mainland Africa. It was planned that after arrival at the Niger delta the ships would ascend the river to the site of the model farm at the confluence, after which Allen would explore the Benue to the east and Captain Dundas Trotter would continue up the Niger as far as possible with the *Albert* and the *Soudan*.

That the expedition was a disaster is well-documented in papers in the Public Records Office<sup>33</sup> and in the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office<sup>34</sup> and in newspaper and popular contemporary accounts. The most detailed of these was the account written by Allen in collaboration with the ship's surgeon, Thomas Thomson (Allen and Thomson, 1848). Thomson was also a corresponding member of the Zoological Society. The exploration of the Niger had to be abandoned after only four weeks. Despite precautions, 141 of the 303 personnel who sailed from Devonport became ill and 53 died. Almost all deaths were caused by malaria, described as "river fever" (Allen and Thomson, 1848: 1: 462).

Two letters written by Fraser during the expedition were published (Fraser, 1841, 1842a), while four other unpublished letters are extant. The first of these letters, dated 13 August 1841<sup>35</sup>, was written at the mouth of the Niger as the *Wilberforce* waited her turn to be piloted over the bar and enter the river. Fraser wrote that "I am highly delighted with my trip thus far, though I am not so comfortable as I could wish, though – I could hardly expect that".<sup>35</sup> He was disappointed that despite offering rewards to local hunters he had not been able to collect much because of the short time the expedition had spent at each landfall. Allen would not risk letting him leave the vicinity of any of the ports in the uncertainty of travelling inland, particularly during the wet season. Fraser described meeting Derby's collector, Thomas Whitfield, in Sierra Leone during the expedition's stay at Freetown. Whitfield had made a large botanical and zoological collection including four specimens of the turaco which Fraser had first described and named in 1839.<sup>35</sup>

The ships entered the Niger (Figure 2) and ascended the river slowly, reaching the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers on 11 September 1841, but by then many of the crew were ill and the first deaths had occurred. Allen, who had been on the Niger before, insisted on abandoning his part in the exploration of the rivers and immediately taking the *Wilberforce* back down river to the coast and across to the British watering-base on Fernando Po. After a brief stay there, the *Wilberforce* sailed for Ascension Island with the survivors in an attempt to restore the health of the crew.<sup>36</sup> Fraser was one of the casualties. In a letter written at Ascension Island on 6 February 1842<sup>37</sup>, he described what had happened to him after the ships entered the Niger:

... we steamed across the bar of the river ... we lay just inside for several days for the purpose of repairing our rudder, after which we commenced our ascent on the eighth day reached Eboe, where we received a visit from King Obi, from thence we proceeded to Attah [just south of the confluence], from that place is seen the



Kong Mountains, which were the more pleasing being the first time we could see beyond the banks on either side of us ...Up to this time all appeared perfectly well, but after we took our departure scarcely a day passed without someone or other being seized with the fever, and one or two of our men died before we reached the confluence of the Benue.

On the day of our arrival at this place where we pitched the Model Farm on the right hand bank of the stream, I was seized with the epidemic, when the surgeon ordered my head to be shaved, from this moment until we were about to depart from Fernando Po I was in a state of delirium, having been entirely given up by the Surgeon, Captain, and everyone else about me; – upon my recovering my senses I found a some thing on my uropygium which ultimately proved to be a kind of ulcer and another has formed on the heel of my right foot. So here I am poulticed, plastered etc with daily applications of caustic of bluestone though my health is perfectly restored you may conclude from the above that I am still an invalid and confined to this vessel.

He ended his letter with a postscript. The *Albert* had joined them at Ascension, with the news of the loss of 25 officers and men and the death of Vogel.<sup>37</sup>

Fraser was still at Ascension Island when he wrote to Derby on 17 March 1842.<sup>38</sup> He was unfit and had been transferred to the *Albert* when the *Wilberforce* had sailed back to Africa the week before, leaving him behind. He still hoped he might get to Fernando Po and wait there until the *Wilberforce* had made a second ascent of the Niger. He reached Fernando Po six weeks later and wrote to Richard Taylor on 15 May 1842 (Fraser, 1842a) and to Derby on 6 June 1842.

Fraser had spent the six weeks in other naval ships cruising the Gulf of Guinea before going ashore at Fernando Po. He found lodgings in the capital Clarence (now Malabo) with an African family and had begun to compile a vocabulary of the local language, Booby. He had engaged a gardener to get seeds and plants for Derby and in spite of the onset of the rains he was pleased with the zoological collection he was making.<sup>39</sup>

Fraser was back in London by 2 September 1842 (Trew, 1842; Allen and Thomson, 1848: 2: 334). Whitfield wrote to Derby on 25 September of his pleasure of breakfasting in London with Fraser “in such good health after the perils he and his fellow Travellers had undergone.”<sup>40</sup> During the autumn of 1842 and 1843 birds and mammals from Fraser’s collection were exhibited at scientific meetings of the Zoological Society (Waterhouse, 1842; Fraser, 1842b, 1842c, 1842d, 1842e, 1842f, 1843a, 1843b, 1843c, 1843d, 1843e, 1843f). Waterhouse described the new scaly-tailed squirrel, *Anomalurus derbianus* (*A. fraseri* Waterhouse, syn. *Pteromys derbianus*), and three new species of Sciuridae, *Sciurus stangeri* (*Protoxerus stangeri*), *S. rufobrachium* (*Heliosciurus rufobrachium*) and *S. erythrognys* (*Funisciurus pyrrhopus*), all collected on Fernando Po, and *Felis rutilus* (*F. aurata*) from an imperfect skin Fraser had collected in Sierra Leone. Between October 1842 and March 1843 Fraser described 27 new species of birds (26 still valid species or subspecies) from Fernando Po, Annobon and the coast of the Gulf of Guinea (Moore, 2001). In October 1842 he sent a collection of 21 sunbird skins to Jardine<sup>41</sup> which included two new species: *Deleornis fraseri* (Jardine and Selby, 1843) and *Cyanomitra obscura* (Jardine, 1843). At a meeting on 25 June 1844, Strickland (1844) described seven more new species of birds which Fraser had collected on Fernando Po.

#### CURATOR OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

Fraser was re-engaged by the Zoological Society in November 1842 because the Museum required “great attention at present pending a new Museum Arrangement.”<sup>42</sup> Fraser’s next extant letter to Derby was not written until 6 March 1843.<sup>43</sup>

In early 1844 Fraser married Mary Anne Harrison, daughter of a jeweller, but there is no mention in his letters of his marriage or family until three years later, in February 1847, when times were hard and he asked "what then is to become of my wife and children?"<sup>44</sup>

At the end of 1844 Fraser was planning the publication of *Zoologica typica*. In a letter to Derby, dated 14 November 1844<sup>45</sup>, he wrote:

I am endeavouring to make arrangements for publishing a series of Drawings to illustrate the various Mammals & Birds that have and may hereafter be brought before our Scientific Meetings ... I trust I may I reckon upon your Lordship not only as a nominal subscriber but that you will also allow me, from time to time, the use of your drawings and specimens. I am at present in treaty with a Publisher, not having sufficient means to commence it myself.

He seems to have been unsuccessful in finding a publisher and financed the work himself. By 18 January 1845 he had sent a prospectus to Derby "to which your Lordship was so kind as to favor me with your name as a Subscriber."<sup>46</sup> He had also sent a prospectus to Jardine<sup>47</sup> but Jardine's name does not appear on the list of 97 private and institutional subscribers (Fraser, 1845–1849).

Fraser's intention was to publish *Zoologica typica* in 20 parts (Griffin, 1932), each part containing five plates and text, of species described at meetings of the Zoological Society. The first part was issued in September 1845 but the series was brought to a premature close in February 1849 with the publication of the fourteenth part.<sup>48</sup> The earlier parts were issued at short intervals, eight had been published by August 1846. Then publication became increasingly delayed. The reason given by Fraser (1845–1849: preface) for curtailing the series was that he was fully occupied compiling the catalogue of the collections at Knowsley, but it can be seen from his letters that the financial burden was too much from the beginning. In January 1848 he wrote: "My Lord, in consequence of my late very severe losses and I suppose the hardship of the times, I am at this moment at a loss to know how or where to procure a little ready money, which is the reason the 11th number of my "Zoologica Typica" has not yet appeared."<sup>49</sup> The fourteenth and final part included a list of plates arranged systematically rather than in order of appearance (Griffin, 1932).

Each issue of *Zoologica typica* was made up of plates, each usually showing a single example of a single species, faced by text with descriptions of 28 mammals and 46 birds, sometimes including field notes or extracts from the author's original description. Fraser included several of the new species of birds and mammals collected on the Niger Expedition. The plates were prepared by Charles Couzens and H. N. Turner, some from Fraser's own specimens and some from the collections at Knowsley or the Zoological Society. The illustrations of the animals were enhanced by illustrations of plants and scenes from India copied from Colonel Sykes' drawings. This sometimes results in an incongruity when African species, such as the pangolin, *Manis multiscutata* (*M. tricuspis*), are pictured in an Asian setting.

In July 1845 Fraser forwarded to Derby a copy of a letter (dated 24 January 1845) that he had received from Thomas Bridges who was travelling in Bolivia where he was making a large collection of birds "many of the discoveries of D'Orbigny figured [*sic*] in his splendid work." Bridges hoped that he would soon be able to send Derby 200 species of birds "different from those I forwarded to his Lordship when in England in March."<sup>50</sup>

At the end of 1845 there is the first reference to Fraser collecting in North Africa for Derby. In his letter of 23 December he listed animals and birds that might be collected there, all of which Derby annotated as desirable. Fraser wrote that it would be an inexpensive and

easy trip, he had already received invitations from the Society's corresponding members in North Africa, "viz Sir Thomas Reade, ... Mr Willshire – Mr Drummond Hay – Col. Warrington".<sup>51</sup>

Fraser had suggested to Derby that he might take leave of absence for six months from the Zoological Society but this was not approved. His resignation was submitted, and then accepted, at a meeting of the Council on 23 January 1846. His request to be allowed access to the Society's collection to complete *Zoologica typica* was granted.<sup>52</sup>

In Gray's letters to Derby during 1846 there is some indication that Fraser's employment by the Zoological Society had been about to end and that Derby had made an offer to fund him on a collecting trip to Tunisia.<sup>53</sup> In a letter to Derby, dated 15 January 1846, in what seems to be a reply about the proposal, Gray wrote: "I quite agree ... before you employed Frazer [*sic*] it was quite necessary you should apply to Ogilby. I only doubted if it was requisite to do so until you had determined to employ him if the Society no longer wanted him."<sup>53</sup> In Fraser's letter to Derby, dated 10 February 1846, he thanked Derby "in affording employment at so critical a moment".<sup>54</sup>

Gray drew up a draft agreement between Fraser and Derby which Fraser signed on 10 February 1846.<sup>55</sup> But, in his letter to Derby of 22 February<sup>56</sup>, Fraser referred to another draft copy of the agreement that he had just received from Derby's solicitor<sup>57</sup> which had "one or two things put in by them which I do not rightly understand. I shall consult Mr Gray tomorrow on the subject".<sup>56</sup> The dispute which later arose between Derby and Fraser about the ownership of some of the collection perhaps lay in the interpretation of the new clauses of the agreement.

#### TUNISIA 1846 AND 1847

Derby furnished Fraser with a letter of introduction to Thomas Reade, British Consul at Tunis.<sup>58</sup> By the terms of their agreement, Fraser was to "take every reasonable opportunity to communicate further progress". He did this in some detail in seven letters written between March, when he left London, and the eve of his return in July. He called at Malta, which he thought lacked interest although he did mention two earthquakes and the onset of the sirocco and noted that the poulterers offered hoopoe, rock thrush, goldfinch, greenfinch, linnets and quail for the table.<sup>59</sup> By 8 April 1846 he was staying with Reade in Tunis. Reade entered into the collection of animals for Derby with great enthusiasm. Fraser described a visit to the palace to meet the Bey who appointed a mameluke and two hampermen to help him. At that time the Bey was arranging to despatch an embassy to England with "a magnificent lion, two fine ostriches, six gazelles and seven horses with most splendid Moorish saddles and a large quantity of otto of Roses and Jasmine" for Queen Victoria. The Consul's son, Richard, was to accompany the embassy to Britain to act as interpreter.<sup>59</sup> While in England Reade visited Knowsley and later, in 1847, corresponded with Derby about the collection Fraser made in Tunisia.

Fraser set up his expedition and spent a "few weeks" in the north of Tunisia at Bizerta.<sup>60</sup> He had returned to Tunis by 12 May 1846 and set out again south to Sfax and Jerba, but by then the summer was too far advanced for him to find as much as he had expected. The country was difficult and hazardous, and he was attacked twice on the road by bandits and obliged to sleep "in boots & spurs, ready to mount at the slightest alarm".<sup>61</sup> The city of Kairouan he described as "under a burning sun with a hot wind ... almost desert country

... the road strewn with carcasses of Camels, goats, sheep etc. that have died on the road [and] the flies, fleas and mosquitoes are exceedingly troublesome." He had gone to Kairouan particularly to collect two species of sandgrouse reported there, birds only known from skins. He wrote a two-page history of the founding of the city (which is remarkably similar to the account given in guidebooks today) interrupting his letter in mid-paragraph with "I have this minute received the first living specimens of *Pterocles*."<sup>62</sup>

Fraser stayed with Reade's son-in-law at Sfax and was delighted to acquire six houbara bustards, *Chlamydotis undulata*, which he said he hoped he would "succeed in bringing ... safely to England ... travelling them from here to Tunis I dread much more than from Tunis to Knowsley."<sup>63</sup> He succeeded in getting five of the birds back to Tunis.<sup>64</sup> Fraser was disappointed to learn, when he arrived in Tunis, that Derby would not allow him to extend his tour until the autumn, when he would have had an opportunity to join the Bey's biannual tax-gathering caravan to Ghadames in the far south of the country on the edge of the Sahara.<sup>61</sup> He returned to London with a large collection of animals and birds which included lion cubs, three gazelle, a gundi, augmented by the recent addition of a young Bubal hartebeest and red deer. Thomas Reade had presented Fraser with the "head and horns of a deer from the Island of Lampedusa" for Derby.<sup>59</sup> This evidently interested Derby<sup>65</sup> who replied to Fraser that "I was not aware of any deer found there".<sup>66</sup>

After his return to London Fraser sold 206 specimens from Tunisia to the British Museum, accessioned on 30 October 1846; 53 mammals (28 in spirit) and 153 birds and eggs.<sup>67</sup> No letters from Fraser dated between July 1846 and February 1847 are known. However, Derby's correspondence with Richard Reade gives an account of the dispute about the ownership of part of the collection Fraser had made. On 2 February 1847 Derby wrote to Reade, who happened to be staying near Knowsley, asking him whether his father had helped Fraser only on the understanding that everything he collected was intended for Derby. Fraser had arrived back in London in August 1846 and lodged the whole collection at the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park, as the property of the President of the Zoological Society, Derby. Thompson, the superintendent at Knowsley, was sent down to London to select what was wanted for the menagerie. A large number of animals and birds still remained, some of which Fraser later claimed as his own. Derby was particularly interested in the question of ownership of the lion cubs, Barbary deer, the female ostrich and the griffon vulture which he could use for exchange.<sup>68</sup>

Reade, in his reply, agreed that both he and his father had thought Fraser was collecting only for Derby and that all the animals they had handed over had been intended for Derby alone, but they would have been delighted to help Fraser on his own account too, both he and his father had been struck with the unremitting care and attention Fraser had given to his collection.<sup>69</sup>

In mid-April Derby wrote to Thomas Reade in Tunisia that he had finally settled everything with Fraser who had just left again for Tangier, Tunis and Egypt. Derby had declined to support Fraser's new expedition but should Fraser "succeed in bringing home any good things, I shall be very glad to deal with him if we can agree". He added: "I think it but just to F. to say that what he stated to you respecting my Introduction to him as to Lions etc was perfectly true tho' it does not appear that he stated the whole ... I was to have a lien upon everything that might be brought over alive".<sup>70</sup>

Fraser had written to Derby on 16 February 1847 asking if the business between them could be settled as it had been in Derby's hands for six months and he had "no other means

I leave here, for Devonport, tonight  
 the Volcano sails on Saturday  
 Once more I have the opportunity  
 of saying  
 I have the honor to be  
 Myself  
 Your Lordship's obedient &  
 much obliged servant  
 Louis Fraser  
 I never was treated so well before,  
 in my life my applications have  
 all been granted by Lord Palmerston  
 and followed out by the different  
 departments in the handsomest  
 manner.

Figure 3. Facsimile of a page from the letter written by Louis Fraser on the eve of his departure for West Africa, 2 January 1851, to the 13th Earl of Derby. © The Right Hon. The Earl of Derby (reproduced by permission).

of supporting myself and family than by work."<sup>71</sup> Over the next two months Fraser sold specimens from his earlier collections to the British Museum: from West Africa, 62 birds and seven mammals, accessioned on 18 January 1847; two more birds and the skin of *Felis rutilus* on 12 March 1847; from his collection made in Tunisia, 23 bird skins on 26 March 1847 and 43 mammals on 4 April.<sup>72</sup>

The only references to Fraser's second expedition to Tunisia are in an advertisement by Stevens of a sale in October 1847 of live animals and birds from Fraser's collection<sup>73</sup>, his sale of 79 specimens from North Africa to the British Museum in January 1848<sup>74</sup>, in the exchanges of letters between Derby and Richard Reade<sup>75</sup>, Derby and Thomas Reade<sup>70</sup> and a letter from Fraser, written in September 1847 from Malta<sup>76</sup>, thanking Derby for "the favour of the £100" which had enabled him to leave Tunis "otherwise I would have been entirely ruined."<sup>76</sup> He invited Derby to select items he would like for Knowsley from the collection he was shipping back, the remainder would be sold to the dealer Jamrach when the ship docked at Southampton. On 7 December 1847 Jardine, in a letter to John Gould, asked "What has Mr Fraser brought Home?"<sup>77</sup> The collection was much smaller and less valuable than the previous year; he listed only eleven small mammals, (two porcupines, a genet, four jackals, a wild pig and three jerboa) and about 70 birds, although these did include eight Houbara bustards. Fraser's asking price for the whole collection totalled about £300.<sup>76</sup>

During November 1847 Fraser wrote three times to Derby trying to negotiate the sale of houbara bustards, finally agreeing to sell a pair at a reduced price of £18. He compared his birds with great bustards bought in Germany which were young birds, many with imperfectly ossified bones because they had been reared on unnatural food. Fraser claimed that the Zoological Society had recently paid £30 for four great bustards from the same source, only three had ever arrived at the Gardens and one of those died shortly afterwards. His birds were all adult and healthy after seven months in captivity, which had included a three-week sea voyage to London.<sup>78</sup>

## KNOWSLEY

Fraser wrote to Derby on 17 January 1848 stating that, because of lack of funds, he had given up all thoughts of going abroad again and was unable to publish the eleventh part of *Zoologica typica*. He asked Derby whether he would like the catalogue of the contents of the museum at Knowsley completed; it would "be a very favourable opportunity, as I am an idle man".<sup>49</sup> By 14 April 1848 he had become Temporary Curator of Derby's menagerie, writing from Knowsley about re-arranging the museum, commissioning cabinets for the exhibits and the care of the bird skins.<sup>79</sup> There are several references to Fraser at Knowsley in letters from Derby to Richard Reade between 1848 and 1850, but only four letters written during that period from Fraser to Derby are extant, three being dated August 1848.<sup>80</sup> The fourth was written in March 1849, when Fraser was away from Knowsley. He visited salesrooms and dealers in London and also David Mitchell, Secretary of the Zoological Society, who told him of the plans to reduce the number of specimens in the Society's museum and concentrate on the live collection at the Gardens. The same month the last part of *Zoologica typica* appeared.<sup>48</sup>

At Knowsley Fraser had resumed work on the *Catalogue of the Knowsley collections* (Fraser, 1850a) and had completed 40 pages, which he published himself, before he left for Africa at the end of 1850. In his preface Fraser (1850a) paid tribute to Derby's collection made over 60 years and drew attention to the inclusion of Henry Salt's original Ethiopian

collection and to the specimens acquired from the museums of the previous generation of naturalists, Sir Ashton Lever and William Bullock. The specimens were listed, each with their synonyms and authorities, in chronological order and sometimes with additional notes. Attention was drawn to live specimens in the menagerie and the aviaries.

In 1850 the British Vice-consulate at Whydah became vacant; the vice-consul had met with a fatal accident and Derby intervened with the Foreign Office on Fraser's behalf for the post (Goodwin, 1888). On 11 November 1850 Fraser wrote to the Zoological Society with the news that he had been appointed to Whydah, adding that because "my stay in England is necessarily drawing to a close" he was sending for publication in *Proceedings of the Zoological Society* the descriptions of four new bird species in the menagerie at Knowsley illustrated by Joseph Wolfe, who had been staying at Knowsley: *Palaeornis derbianus* (*Psittacula derbiana* Fraser), *Palaeornis erythrogegens* (*Psittacula longicauda modesta* Fraser), *Crax alberti* (*C. alberti alberti* Fraser) and *Penelope niger* (*Penelopina nigra* Fraser) (Fraser, 1850b).

In Derby's letter to Richard Reade, dated 20 November 1850<sup>81</sup>, in which he congratulated Reade on the promotion of his brother to the post of Consul in Tangier (an appointment also obtained by Derby's intervention), Derby gave a description of Fraser waiting at Knowsley for his instructions from Palmerston, at the Foreign Office, to proceed to Africa. Fraser was

in a general fidget about his arrangements for he is wholly ignorant when he may be called on to start, & is extremely anxious to get there if possible in Jany. ... he ought to be now on the eve of embarkation & in consequence of Ld P's dilatoriness, he is totally unprepared & almost unable to prepare. From the productions of the vicinity of his Post & his own pursuits & tastes, I own I look for much assistance for Zoology from his appointment ... .

Lord Stanley of Alderley wrote on 4 December 1850 to advise Fraser of his appointment at Whydah<sup>82</sup>, and this was confirmed by letters from Palmerston<sup>83</sup> and Stanley<sup>84</sup> on 14 December 1850. On 8 December 1850 Fraser had written requesting that he be supplied with firearms, be allowed to live in the fort at Whydah and to acquire a canoe and crew at government expense for his official duties. These were all needed, he wrote, to avoid the dangers of being "always exposed to poison and assassination" or capsize and meet with his predecessor's fate. These requests were granted by Palmerston<sup>85</sup>, but a further request, made on 22 December 1850, for a chronometer and a textbook on navigation was rejected by Palmerston: "what does he want them for? ... we don't supply Consuls with watches".<sup>86</sup> Fraser's arrival in Benin was delayed by war between the Dahomians and their neighbours, he did not reach Whydah until July 1851.<sup>87</sup> Derby had died on 30 June 1851.

Fraser wrote to Derby from 80 Gower Street, London, on 2 January 1851, the eve of his departure for Devonport to embark on HMS *Volcano* for Africa: "I never was treated so well, before, in my life my applications have all been granted by Lord Palmerston and followed out by the different Departments in the handsomest manner" (Figure 3). Fraser concluded by adding the valediction: "Once more I have the opportunity of saying I have the honour to be | My Lord | Your Lordship's obedient & | much obliged Servant | Louis Fraser".<sup>88</sup>

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am particularly grateful to Clemency Fisher of the National Museums Liverpool, who first drew my attention to the letters of Louis Fraser at Liverpool and at Philadelphia.

The present Earl of Derby kindly granted permission to quote the Derby correspondence held at Knowsley

and to reproduce a page of Fraser's handwriting. I thank the Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries and Information Services, for allowing me access to papers of the 13th Earl of Derby and for permission to refer to them. Reference to material in Merseyside Maritime Museum is by courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the National Museums, Liverpool. The American Philosophical Society kindly extended permission to refer to the papers held in its library and I thank the National Museums of Scotland for allowing me to refer to the Jardine papers held in the library at Edinburgh.

I thank the staff of the General Library of The Natural History Museum, South Kensington, for allowing access to the records in their care, and for the help of archivists Susan Snell and Polly Tucker and for that of Alison Harding, Assistant Librarian of the Ornithology and Rothschild Libraries of The Natural History Museum, Tring. References to archive and manuscript material in The Natural History Museum, London, are by permission of the Trustees of The Natural History Museum, London. I am grateful to the Zoological Society of London for allowing me access to its library and archives and granting permission to refer to the minutes of the council, and I am most grateful to Michael Palmer for his help. I thank Ray Symonds, University Museum of Zoology, Cambridge, for identifying birds collected by Fraser in the museum's collection.

I am also grateful to Judy De Bella, San Francisco City Museum, and Cathy Broad, Linnean Society of London, both of whom took the time to answer my enquires. I thank John Edwards and Christine Jackson, who found me additional unpublished references to Fraser.

I must also thank friends who were generous with their time for discussion and suggestions for this account – Robert Cheke, Robert Dowsett, James Jobling, Deborah Manley and Frances Warr.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Certified copy of an entry of marriage given at the General Register Office, UK, MXA 839 339.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of the meeting of the Council of the Zoological Society of London (hereafter Minutes ZSL) 4 July 1833: volume 3: 183.

<sup>3</sup> Minutes ZSL 20 April 1836: volume 3: 418.

<sup>4</sup> Minutes ZSL 18 November 1842: volume 7: 286.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes ZSL 7 December 1842: volume 7: 291.

<sup>6</sup> Minutes ZSL 13 March 1844: volume 8: 77.

<sup>7</sup> Minutes ZSL 23 January 1846: volume 8: 286.

<sup>8</sup> L. Fraser (hereafter LF) to the Foreign Office, 30 June 1851, Clarence (now Malabo): Public Record Office, London (hereafter PRO): Embassy and Consular Archives FO 2: 5 (hereafter PRO FO).

<sup>9</sup> LF to John Beecroft (British Consul at Fernando Po), 8 May: PRO FO 2: 7.

<sup>10</sup> Earl of Clarendon to Beecroft, 17 February 1853: PRO FO 2: 9. Palmerston had left office in December 1851, Clarendon, a successor at the Foreign Office, was appointed at the beginning of February 1853.

<sup>11</sup> DF218/6, Zoological Accessions 1850–1853: registered numbers 1851.11.5.1–2; 1851.11.27.1–12; 1853.1.26.1–5. LIS-Archives, The Natural History Museum, London (hereafter LIS-A, NHM).

<sup>12</sup> Robert Dowsett (pers. comm., 16 May 2003) drew my attention to Sclater (1915) which suggests that after Philip Sclater's death in 1913 his son, William Lutley Sclater, kept letters sent to his late father. William Sclater died of injuries sustained when a flying bomb hit his home in Sloane Court during July 1944 ([Grant], 1945), and it is possible that an extensive and interesting archive was lost at the same time.

<sup>13</sup> Minutes ZSL 2 July 1862: volume 12: 495. Lists of animals "currently" living in the Gardens were drawn up by Fraser for the years 1862, 1863 and 1865, but he is not mentioned by name in lists issued for subsequent years. No list, compiled by Fraser, of all the specimens held at the Zoological Gardens since 1828 was ever published; the first such list was not produced until 1929 and does not mention Fraser (Michael Palmer, pers. comm., 11 November 2002).

<sup>14</sup> Judy De Bella, pers. comm., 5 September 2002.

<sup>15</sup> John Edwards, pers. comm., 13 April 2001.

<sup>16</sup> Unpublished correspondence between Louis Fraser and the Earl of Derby —

79 letters (14 April 1840–2 January 1851): original mss in Derby Papers (920 DER (13) 1/59/1–79), Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries and Information Services (hereafter LRO).  
Draft agreement of terms of employment of LF by Derby for the collection of live animals in Tunis [*sic*]



and their shipment to Knowsley, undated: original ms (920 DER (13) 1/59/57A). LRO.

3 letters (17 March 1842, 17 July 1843, 7 March 1850): mss (copies made by Derby) in Derby Notebook (MM/8/K/3 and MM/8/K/7), Maritime Archives of the National Museums, Liverpool (hereafter MAL).

3 letters (29 May 1844): Tin Trunk no. 28/1 (11 July 1844): Tin Trunk no. 28/2 (26 July 1844): original mss in Tin Trunk 28/1, 28/2, 28/3, Library, Knowsley.

Solicitor's draft agreement of terms of employment of LF by Derby for collecting live animals in Africa (10 February 1846): original ms in Tin Trunk no. 29, Library, Knowsley.

1 letter (13 May 1846): original ms in 13th Earl of Derby Papers (B D44), Library, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia (hereafter APS).

References to LF in unpublished correspondence between Derby and

John Edward Gray (1800–1875; Keeper of the Zoological Branch of the Natural History Department of the British Museum) (hereafter JEG): 8 letters (15 January 1846–10 February 1846, 8 April 1847): original mss (920 DER (13) 1/69/65–71; 1/69/107). LRO.

Richard Reade (son of Thomas Reade) (hereafter RR): 5 letters (9 May 1847–3 March 1851): original mss in Derby Papers (920 DER (13) 1/135/1–5), LRO; 12 letters (2 February 1847–25 January 1851): original mss in 13th Earl of Derby Papers (B D44). APS.

Thomas Reade (British Consul at Tunis in 1846) (hereafter TR): 2 letters (13 February 1846, 15 April 1847): original mss in 13th Earl of Derby Papers (B D44). APS.

Thomas Whitfield (collector in West Africa) 1 letter (25 September 1842): ms (copy made by Derby) in Derby Notebooks (MM/8/K/3). MAL.

<sup>17</sup> LF to Derby, 24 June 1840 (920 DER (13) 1/59/2). LRO.

<sup>18</sup> LF to Derby, 14 October 1840 (920 DER (13) 1/59/12). LRO.

<sup>19</sup> LF to Derby, 26 October 1840 (920 DER (13) 1/59/15). LRO.

<sup>20</sup> LF to Derby, 3 November 1840 (920 DER (13) 1/59/18). LRO.

<sup>21</sup> LF to Derby, 6 November 1840 (920 DER (13) 1/59/20). LRO.

<sup>22</sup> LF to Derby, 6 March 1843 (920 DER (13) 1/59/40). LRO.

<sup>23</sup> LF to Derby, 18 September 1843 (920 DER (13) 1/59/45). LRO.

<sup>24</sup> LF to Derby, 7 July 1840 (920 DER (13) 1/59/3). LRO.

<sup>25</sup> Minutes ZSL 22 July 1840: volume 6: 334–336.

<sup>26</sup> Minutes ZSL 9 December 1840: volume 6: 379.

<sup>27</sup> LF to Derby, 18 January 1841 (920 DER (13) 1/59/28). LRO.

<sup>28</sup> LF to Derby, 23 January 1841 (920 DER (13) 1/59/29); 30 January 1841 (920 DER (13) 1/59/30); 19 February 1841 (920 DER (13) 1/59/31); 27 February 1841 (920 DER (13) 1/59/32). LRO.

<sup>29</sup> Minutes ZSL 9 December 1840: volume 6: 380. Fraser's collection of birds included duplicates; some he retained and sold to the British Museum in 1847, some were deposited at the Zoological Society and subsequently were purchased by the British Museum in 1855 following the dispersal of the Zoological Society's Museum. Others were acquired by the British Museum at the auction of Jardine's collection at Lockerbie in 1881. Birds collected by Fraser in Africa may well have been included in the later sale of Jardine's collection of 1886 arranged by Puttick & Simpson and met the fate described by Sharpe (1906: 360): "... the bid [for skins] offered by the Museum was outdone by someone who wanted the specimens for fly-fishing!"

The only specimens collected by Fraser in Africa that I have traced (Moore, 2001) are bird skins in The Natural History Museum, Tring, University Museum of Zoology, Cambridge, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, and the National Museums, Liverpool. I have not found any of his field notebooks.

<sup>30</sup> William Jardine, undated draft instructions to LF; original ms. in William Jardine Papers (6/137), National Museums of Scotland Library, Edinburgh (hereafter NMSL).

<sup>31</sup> LF to Derby, 6 October 1840 (920 DER (13) 1/59/9). LRO.

<sup>32</sup> LF to Derby, 8 April 1841 (920 DER (13) 1/59/35). LRO.

<sup>33</sup> PRO: Ships' papers of HMS *Albert* (ADM 51 3549) and HMS *Wilberforce* (ADM 51 3706); those of HMS *Soudan* (ADM 51 3678) are catalogued, but were missing (June 1994).

<sup>34</sup> Captain W. Allen to the Admiralty: 16 letters (25 January 1839 - 23 October 1842): original mss A84; A100-108; A111-112; A115; A141; A145; A147-148) in United Kingdom Hydrographic Office, Taunton (hereafter UKHO).

<sup>35</sup> LF to Derby, 13 August 1841 (on board HMS *Wilberforce* at the mouth of the Niger) (920 DER (13) 1/59/37). LRO.

<sup>36</sup> Captain W. Allen to the Admiralty: 4 January 1842 (A101), 2 May 1842 (A102) UKHO.

<sup>37</sup> LF to Derby, 6 February 1842 (on board HMS *Wilberforce* off the island of Ascension) (920 DER (13) 1/59/38). LRO.

<sup>38</sup> LF to Derby, 17 March 1842 (on board HMS *Albert*, Ascension Roads): Derby Notebook (MM/8/K/3). MAL.

<sup>39</sup> LF to Derby, 6 June 1842 (Clarence, Fernando Po) (920 DER (13) 1/59/39). LRO.

<sup>40</sup> Whitfield to Derby, 25 September 1842; Derby Notebook (MM/8/K/3). MAL.

<sup>41</sup> LF to Jardine, 14 October 1842, 23 January 1843; William Jardine Papers (2/34). NMSL.

<sup>42</sup> ZSL 18 November 1842 Volume 8: 286.

<sup>43</sup> LF to Derby, 6 March 1843 (920 DER (13) 1/59/40). LRO.

<sup>44</sup> Fraser's son, Oscar Louis Fraser, was Second Assistant in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1888 (Goodwin, 1888: 655). He was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society in December 1882 and his death was notified in 1896 (Cathy Broad, pers. comm., 14 November 2002).

<sup>45</sup> LF to Derby, 14 November 1844 (920 DER (13) 1/59/47). LRO.

<sup>46</sup> LF to Derby, 18 January 1849 (920 DER (13) 1/59/49). LRO.

<sup>47</sup> LF to Jardine 28 February 1845; William Jardine Papers, 2/34. NMSL.

<sup>48</sup> LF to Derby, 7 March 1849 (920 DER (13) 1/59/78). LRO.

<sup>49</sup> LF to Derby, 17 January 1848 (920 DER (13) 1/59/71). LRO.

<sup>50</sup> Thomas Bridges to LF, 24 January 1845(Cochabamba, Bolivia) (920 DER (13) 1/59/53). LRO. The letter was received at Knowsley on 28 July 1845.

<sup>51</sup> LF to Derby, 23 December 1845 (920 DER (13) 1/59/55). LRO.

<sup>52</sup> Minutes ZSL 23 January 1846: volume 8: 286.

<sup>53</sup> JEG to Derby, 15 January 1846 (920 DER (13) 1/69/66), 10 February 1846 (920 DER (13) 1/69/71). LRO.

<sup>54</sup> LF to Derby, 10 February 1846 (920 DER (13) 1/59/56). LRO.

<sup>55</sup> Draft agreement of terms of employment of LF by Derby for the collection of live animals in Tunis [*sic*] and their transportation to Knowsley, undated (920 DER (13) 1/59/57A). LRO.

<sup>56</sup> LF to Derby, 22 February 1846 (920 DER (13) 1/59/57). LRO

<sup>57</sup> Copy of an unsigned solicitor's draft of a formal agreement between Derby and LF for collecting animals in North Africa, undated. Tin Trunk, no. 29, Library, Knowsley.

<sup>58</sup> Derby to TR, 13 February 1846. 13th Earl of Derby Papers B D44. APS.

<sup>59</sup> LF to Derby, 8 April 1846 (Tunis) (920 DER (13) 1/59/60). LRO.

<sup>60</sup> LF to Derby, 12 May 1846 (? Tunis) (920 DER (13) 1/59/61). LRO.

<sup>61</sup> LF to Derby, 14 July 1846 (Sfax) (920 DER (13) 1/59/64). LRO.

<sup>62</sup> LF to Derby, 28 May 1846 (Karonon [Kairouan]) (920 DER (13) 1/59/62). LRO.

<sup>63</sup> LF to Derby, 18 June 1846 (Sfax) (920 DER (13) 1/59/63). LRO.

<sup>64</sup> LF to Derby, 24 July 1846 (Tunis) (920 DER (13) 1/59/65). LRO.

<sup>65</sup> Derby to LF, 13 May 1846. 13th Earl of Derby Papers B D44. APS.

<sup>66</sup> Masseti and Zava (2002) concluded that literature and museum collections confirm the existence of *Cervus elaphus* on Lampedusa during the nineteenth century. No deer head and horns from Lampedusa or Tunis are held in The National Museums, Liverpool (where Derby's natural history collection was placed after his death) (Clemency Fisher, pers. comm., 15 May 2003).

<sup>67</sup> DF218/5 Zoological Accessions 1846–1849: registered numbers 1846.10.30.1–206. LIS-A, NHM.

<sup>68</sup> Derby to RR, 2 February 1847. 13th Earl of Derby Papers B D44. APS.

<sup>69</sup> RR to Derby, 3 February 1847. 13th Earl of Derby Papers B D44. APS.

<sup>70</sup> Derby to TR, 15 April 1847. 13th Earl of Derby Papers B D44. APS.

- <sup>71</sup> LF to Derby, 16 February 1847 (920 DER (13) 1/59/66). LRO.
- <sup>72</sup> DF218/5. Zoological Accessions 1846–1849: registered numbers 1847.1.18. 1–74; 1847.3.12.1–3; 1847.3.26.6–28; 1847.4.4.1–43. LIS-A, NHM.
- <sup>73</sup> Gwyn Griffiths, pers. comm., 6 July 2002.
- <sup>74</sup> DF218/5. Zoological Accessions 1846–1849: Registered numbers: 1848.1.8.1–7; 1848.1.10.1–22 (which includes *Anas marmorata* from Algiers). LIS-A, NHM.
- <sup>75</sup> RR to Derby, 9 May 1847 (920 DER (13) 1/135/1). LRO.
- <sup>76</sup> LF to Derby, [16?] September 1847 (Malta) (920 DER (13) 1/59/67). LRO.
- <sup>77</sup> William Jardine to John Gould, 7 December 1847: Gould mss (Gould A, Box 5), Zoology Library, The Natural History Museum, London.
- <sup>78</sup> LF to Derby, 20 November 1847 (920 DER (13) 1/59/68), 22 November 1847 (920 DER (13) 1/59/69), 28 November 1847 (920 DER (13) 1/59/70). LRO.
- <sup>79</sup> LF to Derby, 14 April 1848 (920 DER (13) 1/59/73), 18 April 1848 (920 DER (13) 1/59/74). LRO.
- <sup>80</sup> LF to Derby, 1 August 1848 (920 DER (13) 1/59/75), 3 August 1848 (920 DER (13) 1/59/76). 5 August 1848 (920 DER (13) 1/59/77). LRO.
- <sup>81</sup> Derby to RR, 20 November 1850: 13th Earl of Derby Papers B D44. APS
- <sup>82</sup> Stanley to LF, 4 December 1850: PRO FO 2: 4
- <sup>83</sup> Palmerston to LF, 14 December 1850: PRO. FO 2: 4.
- <sup>84</sup> Stanley to LF 14, December 1850: PRO FO 2: 4.
- <sup>85</sup> LF to the Foreign Office, 8 December 1850; memo by Palmerston to Bidewell, 11 December 1850 (“[these are] reasonable requests”): PRO FO 2: 4.
- <sup>86</sup> LF to Foreign Office, 22 December 1850; addendum by Palmerston, 30 December 1850: PRO FO 2: 4.
- <sup>87</sup> LF to Palmerston, 30 September 1851 (Whydah): PRO FO 2: 5.
- <sup>88</sup> LF to Derby, 2 January 1851 (920 DER (13) 1/59/79). LRO.

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Received: 7 February 2003. Accepted: 20 July 2003.