AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON
K.C.M.G.

BY
NORMAN M. PENZER, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S.

PREFACE
BY
Limited Edition Facsimile

Of the

Original Edition

ISBN 1-888262-65-6

Dedicated
By Special Permission To
Field-Marshal H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught
(Patron of the Burton Memorial Fund)

Martino Publishing
P.O. Box 373
Mansfield Centre, CT 06250
PREFACE

To a person of average intelligence conversant with the nature of Sir Richard Burton's immense literary output, it must be apparent that very few of the books written by that unique scholar and doer of great deeds were destined to become generally popular or to figure in publishers' announcements as "best sellers."

And this chiefly because being himself a simple, honest and straightforward man in all his dealings, and one who believed thoroughly that the intrinsic merits of a work should alone be sufficient to recommend it to the notice of those interested in its subject-matter, he was absolutely incapable of resorting to any of those spurious methods of exploiting an author and "pushing" his wares that at the present day have become so highly complicated and specialized a business.

So, also, he cared not a jot whether he were applauded or condemned by individuals or by the accredited organs of publicity. Neither would he, nor could he, pander to passing phases of popular taste or write down to the mental level of the great mass of his potential readers.

In a word, Sir Richard Burton was throughout the whole length of his writing-life an exceptionally brilliant and original littérateur, never a journalist, a hack writer, nor a business man out to make money or to capture fame.

Each of Burton's books was composed with the sole object of recording every single item of necessary information concerning the subject treated, and that, too, without regard to whether by so doing he would or would not please or offend any particular section of his readers.
viii SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

From the mere commercial or popularity point of view it is obvious that this greatly militated against success, as "success" is generally accounted. On the other hand, it is a fact of great and illuminating value that amongst those specially qualified to criticize their real worth Burton’s books were, and are, regarded with the utmost enthusiasm.

With respect only to the large proportion of Sir Richard’s works concerned with geographical exploration, and speaking from my own personal knowledge, I have always found that those who have themselves examined the localities about which he wrote, such as Stanley and my old friends Sir Harry Johnston, Du Chaillu and Lovett Cameron, were amongst Burton’s most ardent admirers and keenest supporters as to the truth of his descriptions.

Of the oft-repeated charge brought by untravelled and uninstructed critics that Burton’s writings frequently lacked grace and "style" and that he far too often employed "uncouth" foreign words and expressions, I would like to say few other men could have been greater sticklers for the use of English pure and undefiled. And this, too, despite his habitual insistence that when a fitting word or expression did not exist in his mother tongue it was essential an author should, whenever possible, supply the deficiency from other languages.

In connection with this I would add that before the publication of my work on Switzerland, "The Model Republic," both Sir Richard Burton and that supreme master of English prose and verse, John Addington Symonds, were kind enough to read and revise the MS. And in so doing the former laid special stress in his corrections on the need of deleting all unnecessary foreign and obsolete words and phrases I had employed where more suitable English ones could be used.

In like manner I would refute the correctness of the dictum certain critics have laid down that Burton’s "style" was far too often needlessly rough and in other ways opposed to the accepted canons of orthodox composition. Doubtless to the average insular intelligence unused, for example, to the “literary” view-points of Orientals, it would appear that much of what Burton wrote was devoid of conventional melodiousness. But to those who are personally acquainted with the conditions prevailing in the localities where Burton laid his scenes, and who can also appreciate the social and domestic atmosphere pervading them, it is apparent his modes of narration are rightly selected, being as they always are entirely congruous to his subjects. Like all he did, his "style" was thoroughly truthful and realistic. Indeed, with him truth was something of an obsession and no man could possibly have been more particular invariably to adhere both to its letter and its spirit in whatever he expressed.

With regard to this important subject I venture to believe I am exceptionally qualified to form a just opinion, seeing that I have not only journeyed a good deal, both in Africa and in Asia, but especially because I am the sole survivor of those who knew Sir Richard Burton through a long period of close and unbroken association, I having been his daily companion and his travelling medical adviser during the last three and a half years of his superlative and romantic life, when together we wandered in many lands. I am, unhappily, also the last of that small body of devoted friends who were with him when on October 20, 1890, he fearlessly met his death at Trieste.

I would add one word with respect to Burton’s methods of writing. During his travels, and indeed always, he made it a daily practice to record every single occurrence of interest with which he became acquainted. If he were reading a book or other document of importance he would carefully resume the whole of its salient features that were previously unknown to him; if he himself were about to write on any subject he would collect every detail bearing on it; if he talked with anyone he wrote down as soon as possible all that was novel or in any way striking that was uttered; and, in short, on each and every day he inscribed in his diary or elsewhere with meticulous care all that he considered worth while placing on permanent record.
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

And this, too, despite his extraordinarily retentive memory, so determined was he always to be exact in his writings. I may add that he once told me he never remembered reading a book a second time other, that is, than those he wished to learn by heart or to translate, such, for instance, as the Koran or Camões’ "Lusiads."

Also, the pity of it, that so many of Burton's records, crammed as they were with innumerable extremely valuable and often wholly original observations, gathered from the highways, and especially from the byways, of life, can never be available to add to the world's common store of knowledge, seeing that they perished in the ruthless holocaust that followed his lamented death.

But another and a much more forcible factor existed against Burton's books becoming generally popular. I refer to the circumstance that up to a short time ago his writings have never been collected nor properly catalogued and, as regards the majority, have been beyond the reach of those wishing to consult their scientific and artistic riches. Indeed, nothing at all approaching an entire collection of Sir Richard Burton's literary works has ever been available either to public or, so far as I am aware, to private inspection.

And now at length we are offered what has been so long and sorely needed, a complete, clearly detailed and orderly arranged Annotated Bibliography of Burton's vast and varied literary treasures. This volume we owe to the tireless labours through a number of years of Mr. N. M. Penzer, M.A., the foremost living authority on the subject. And what this work must have cost in unremitting research and in the scientific employment of specialized abilities on the part of one who obviously possessed the "literary instinct" in a very unusual degree, only those who have attempted similar tasks, even when of far less magnitude and complexity, can possibly judge.

To most of us, I am afraid, so great a labour of love (and Mr. Penzer, I know, is one who brought not only exceptional mental qualifications to bear on accomplishing his gigantic task, but also a great and lasting affection for Burton's memory) would have seemed at the commencement to be altogether beyond the skill of mortals.

Whatever individual views may be held concerning Sir Richard Burton's works and opinions, common sense and common fairness demand that it should never be forgotten (as apparently it often is) that he was the first Explorer, Orientalist, Linguist and Anthropologist of the great Victorian era—the foremost giant personality of a period so unusually prolific in producing great and original thinkers and strenuous workers in the leading arts and sciences. Moreover, it was his hand that blazed the first trail through many and immense jungles of primeval savagery and "cultured ignorance," and pointed the way for later travellers to introduce, foster and establish nobler and wider channels of existence.

Neither should it be forgotten that to Sir Richard Burton were given unequalled opportunities for making original observations concerning whole hosts of extremely important subjects. So also both by his nature and his upbringing he was endowed with those specific qualifications that impelled their possessors to form just, wise and entirely impartial judgments relating to problems very few others in our history have been better fitted to solve, explain and apply.

F. GRENFELL BAKER

Weemino
October 1922
# CONTENTS

**Preface** ............................................................... vii

**Illustrations** ...................................................... xv

**Introduction** .......................................................... 1

**Part I. The Existing Bibliographies** .......................... 19

**Part II. Works, Translations, and Works Annotated by Burton, Arranged Chronologically with Notes and Prices** .......................................................... 31

**Tabulated List of Works** ........................................... 186

**Part III. Articles, Pamphlets, Letters, Etc., Arranged Chronologically with Notes** .................................................. 191

**Appendices** ........................................................... 289

A. The Burton Library at Kensington and the Relics at Camberwell .................................................. 289

B. "Lives" of Burton with Short Criticisms, Prices, Etc. .................................................. 304

C. Note on the Life of Albert Letchford .................................................. 325

**Index** ................................................................. 339
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ILLUSTRATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, K.C.M.G. (Leighton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontispiece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. TITLE-PAGE OF THE 1890 &quot;GOA, AND THE BLUE MOUNTAINS&quot; 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. TITLE-PAGE OF &quot;A COMPLETE SYSTEM OF BAYONET EXERCISE&quot; 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. THE MURSHID'S DIPLOMA AWARDED TO BURTON ABOUT 1853 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. NECKLACE OF HUMAN BONES FROM GELELE, KING OF DAHOME 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. FRONTISPICE AND TITLE-PAGE OF THE &quot;GUIDE-BOOK&quot; TO MECCA 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. TITLE-PAGE AND DEDICATION OF &quot;STONE TALK&quot; 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. HALF-TITLE AND TITLE-PAGE OF &quot;A NEW SYSTEM OF SWORD EXERCISE &quot; 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. BURTON'S OWN ANNOTATED COPY OF CAMOENS' &quot;LUISIADS&quot; 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. THE ORIGINAL SKETCH FOR FRONTISPICE AND COMPLETE MS. OF &quot;TO THE GOLD COAST FOR GOLD&quot; 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. THE ORIGINAL CERTIFICATE OF BURTON'S BREVET DE POINTE 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. THE MS. NOTES, CUTTINGS, ETC., FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE &quot;BOOK OF THE SWORD&quot; 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. BURTON'S OWN COPY OF THE &quot;NIGHTS&quot;—TITLE-PAGE, ETC., COVERED WITH HIS NOTES 114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# INTRODUCTION

14. BURTON'S OWN COPY OF THE "NIGHTS"—SOME OF HIS ANNOTATIONS IN VOL. X . . . 114

15. TITLE-PAGE AND PROSPECTUS OF "PHIAPELA" . . . 150

16. TITLE-PAGE AND PAGE OF THE INTRODUCTION FROM PART I OF THE "KĀMA ŚŪTRA" . . . 164

17. TITLE-PAGE OF THE "PERFUMED GARDEN" . . . 173

18. PAGES FROM THE ONLY REMAINING BURTON NOTE-BOOK 182

19. DORE'S "ARIOSTO," ENGLISH TRANSLATION WRITTEN IN BY BURTON . . . 184

20. THE TITLE-PAGE, ETC., OF BURTON'S EARLIEST MS., "PIJPAY'S FABLES" . . . 186

21. OUTSIDE COVER OF THE RARE CAMPBELL PAMPHLET, PRINTED IN 1879 . . . 235

22. OUTSIDE COVER OF THE VERY SCARCE "LORD BEACONSFIELD" PAMPHLET . . . 239

23. PART OF THE PREFACE AND OPPOSITE PAGE OF BURKE-HARDY'S "ARABIC PROVERBS" ANNOTATED BY BURTON . . . 298

24. CASTS OF FIVE OF THE RARE BRONZE COINS FOUND BY BURTON IN MIDIAN . . . 302
INTRODUCTION

ON March 29, 1927, was celebrated at St. Mary's Cemetery, Mortlake, the birth-centenary of one of the greatest men of the last century—Sir Richard Francis Burton.

His whole career was filled with serious and continuous research in many fields of knowledge and with hazardous explorations into lands hitherto untrodden by the feet of white men. All these enterprises, and many others, were characterized by intense perseverance, patriotism, honour and honesty. Had Sir Richard's nature been less determined, his manner of working less "thorough," and himself more subservient to those in authority over him, it is possible his name would have figured in history, not only as a national hero of learning and achievement, especially in the departments of geographical, anthropological and linguistic knowledge, but also as one of whom the whole civilized world would have been justly proud. It has often been remarked that Burton lived out of his time, and that his queen should have been Elizabeth rather than Victoria. Unhappily, moreover, the records not only of our own country but of all others, show, with tragic uniformity, that many of the greatest men in all lands and at all periods have never been adequately appreciated during their lifetime, and not till death closed their careers (if indeed even then) have their merits been recognized and their services been duly honoured. Burton was a soldier, and possessed the ideal soldier's indomitable courage, perseverance, determination, and, above all, self-reliance, to a degree that made those qualities con-
sufficiently felt throughout his whole adventurous and romantic life.

When considering the complex character of this extraordinary man there are so many widely differing facets upon which we must look that it is necessary to pause and take each one separately.

It is obvious that Burton was an explorer, par excellence, and I consider it is no exaggeration to assert that he was one of the greatest that the world has ever known, if indeed he was not the greatest. In himself he combined to an extraordinary extent those specific qualities that are essential to a man whose work it is to open up and scientifically report upon the nature and conditions of hitherto unknown territories. Thus in the first place he possessed unusual strength both of body and of mind, and consequently was able for many years to carry out his appointed labours in the face of disease and dire difficulties few others could have encountered and survived. Secondly, his knowledge of human nature in various conditions of race, country, and occupation was wonderful and often quite uncanny in its discernment of what individuals, groups or even whole nations would do in given circumstances.

It might be noted that his unique acquaintance with so many forms and phases of human nature has been strikingly accentuated by the fact that, long after his death, much of what he foresaw concerning the social and political development of certain Eastern nations has come to pass. Thirdly, Burton’s immense powers of keen and accurate observation, coupled with a marvellously retentive memory and an invariable adhesion to straightforward action and truth on all occasions and at whatever cost, are conspicuous features of his character, and as such were of the utmost importance to him as a scientific explorer and as a reliable recorder of his many discoveries and travels.

Fourthly, Burton was exceptionally well equipped for his special form of research, by possessing an immense store of all-round scientific and artistic knowledge; in addition to which he was one of the two, or possibly three, most pro-
6 SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

Extremes of climate have no effect on them. Then again, the War has taught doctors more about tropical diseases than they would otherwise have learned in the next twenty or thirty years. The same applies to aeronautics, surveying instruments, cameras, prismatic glasses, and a hundred other things which form part of the equipment of the modern explorer. The War has also prompted doctors, soldiers, and others to issue books on what to avoid and how to keep well in nearly every latitude on the globe. Above all others I would mention that invaluable handbook of the Royal Geographical Society, "Hints to Travellers," of which the tenth edition has just appeared. It was found that recent inventions and discoveries were so numerous and important that the section on "Medical Hints" had to be nearly entirely rewritten.

Finally, there was one very great luxury which Burton never had on his explorations, and that was an ample supply of money—in fact he has said that on more than one occasion less than £300 stood between him and what would have been some important discovery or necessary survey.

As compared with Burton, Stanley travelled like a king—money and publicity being poured out like water.

It was to a great extent luck and American publicity which made Stanley known to the whole world. Burton was unquestionably the better explorer, and had he had the best of his opportunities and experienced no lack of money his name would be the only one remembered to-day.

It should never for a moment be forgotten that quite apart from the War much of the existing improvement and safety of present-day Africa is due to the pioneering and extremely dangerous explorations of Sir Richard Burton in the far-off days of the middle of the last century when, often alone and unaided, he examined deliberately and with the utmost scientific care the heart of the Dark Continent.

Burton's powers of observation, excellent memory, and strict truthfulness have been noted continually, and even so late as 1920 I have heard explorers say how marvellously accurate were Burton's descriptions of the countries through

INTRODUCTION

which he passed. When Stanley was forced on one occasion to throw away all his superfluous belongings, the one book he would not part with was Burton's "Lake Regions of Central Africa"—not the Bible, as has often been said.

Similarly, Cameron, when crossing Africa, found this great book little short of a Baedeker's "Guide"—or, as we should say to-day, a Muirhead's.

Burton's accounts of routes in parts of East Africa and Arabia were quoted in certain handbooks issued during the War by the Admiralty as being still the most recent and most faithful guide to the region under discussion.

I questioned Colonel Lawrence about the accuracy of Burton's description of the journey to Mecca and Medina, and he said it was absolutely correct in every detail, and that "The Pilgrimage" was a most remarkable work of the highest value to a geographer or to a student of the East.

Hogarth, in his "Penetration of Arabia," states that after Burton had explored Midian there was nothing left for any new-comer, and that his works on the subject still contain the most up-to-date information obtainable.

Burton's scientific knowledge, as I have said, was vastly above the average. He was in varying proportions a geologist, botanist, conchologist, zoologist, folk-lore student,— besides being an artist, linguist, and poet, and I may add a highly proficient doctor, surgeon and lawyer. His linguistic powers were enormous. He spoke no less than twenty-nine languages, and with dialects added the number was over forty. The last dialect he learned (or rather re-studied) was Provençal. Professor A. H. Sayce, in his Memorial Article in the April (1921) number of the "Royal Geographical Society Journal," speaks of Burton as being one of the most learned men he had ever come across. This indeed is specially high praise seeing that it comes from one of the world's foremost and most profound scholars. In the same article, when referring to Burton's linguistic powers, he says, "As regards languages Burton combined linguistic facility with philological knowledge—a combination which is by no means common."
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

Of Burton's marvellous powers of disguising his own identity and assuming that of natives of Eastern countries, history records very few parallels. One could probably not think of half a dozen men who had this gift so strongly developed as had Richard Burton; in fact the names of but four men occur to me. The first of these is the great Venetian traveller Marco Polo* (1254-1324) whose travels have now been so excellently translated and annotated by the late Colonel Henry Yule and revised by Henri Cordier (3 vols. Murray 1903, 1920). The second is the Hungarian traveller Arminius Vambéry (1832-1913) who, disguised as a dervish, penetrated to Khiva and Bokhara as far as Samarakan. (See his "Life and Adventures" by himself, 3rd edition 1884, T. Fisher Unwin; and "The Story of my Struggles: the Memoirs of A. Vambéry," 2 vols., 1904.)

The other two men are still alive. Both explored and lived in Arabia and learned to know and understand the Arabs in a way that, according to some, even rivals Burton's great knowledge. One of these men—Charles Doughty (born 1843)—made a most adventurous journey in 1875 from Damascus along the pilgrim route in search of the famous monuments of Medain Saleh. Here he lived the life of a poor and wandering Arab, under the name of Khalil, and remained till the return of the pilgrims. By this time Doughty had caught the fever of exploration, and although he was practically penniless, picking up a few coppers as a wandering doctor, he spent nearly two years minutely exploring Central Arabia. He acquired a knowledge of Bedouin society that is nearly without equal. The outcome of these wanderings was that classic of travel books, "Arabia Deserta." Dr. D. G. Hogarth gives a short, but clear, account of his work in "The Penetration of Arabia," pp. 370-7. See also the Encyclo. Brit. 11th ed. Vol. 2, p. 257, and Vol. 30 (of the new volumes), p. 853. More will be said of Doughty's relations to Burton in a future page.

* He did not, of course, go in disguise to the court of the great Khan Kubilai, but absorbed the languages, literature and customs of China in a way which only bears comparison with Burton's intimate knowledge of the Moslem East.

INTRODUCTION

The remaining name that completes my quartette is that of Colonel Lawrence—the only man of the four who not only is alive, but still a youth. His adventures, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Lowell Thomas, are now well-known. This is indeed fortunate for us, for Lawrence is the shyest of men it is possible to imagine. He still refuses, I believe, to lecture before any of the learned societies, and only with the greatest difficulty can he be persuaded to comment on the doings or writings of some other traveller or scientist. Besides lecturing, Lowell Thomas also wrote accounts of Lawrence's adventures in the American Geographical Magazine, "Asia," September, October and December 1929, and in the "Strand Magazine" for January 1930, and few following months.

Although in many ways Burton and Lawrence possessed the same intimate knowledge of the Arabs, yet in other ways they were very different. Burton was an Orientalist, while Lawrence was not. By this I mean that whereas Burton, from the time of his early adventures when disguised in India, had, as an anthropologist, geographer and student, always been strangely drawn to the East, Lawrence was an archaeologist pure and simple, and circumstances alone drew him from the ruins of Asia Minor and Syria to the battlefield. There is also another great difference between the two men. Burton journeyed to Mecca as a true Mohammedan. Lawrence emphatically told everybody that he was a Christian, and only disguised himself in order to pass as a native when manoeuvring before the enemy's lines, or while on one of his hazardous expeditions. Numerous other travellers in Arabia have tried to pass themselves off as natives, but the results have been far from satisfactory.Palgrave's attempts at disguise were merely a source of amusement to the Arabs (See Lady Burton's "Life," vol. I, p. 180).

Burton, as I have already stated, was an expert in Eastern disguises, and this gift, coupled with his mastery of languages, his physical strength and a spirit of adventure, gave him the finest opportunities for studying anthropology, and it
need hardly be added that he made the very best of his advantages. In two or three of his books one can read accounts of his successful disguises in different parts of the world. It was during his early years in India when wandering through the villages in Southern Scind that his study of anthropology really commenced, and we find him passing now as a doctor, now as an Arab—or, again, as a dervish, or playing the part of a "bazaar," a vendor of fine linen, calicoes, and muslins. "Now and then he would rent a shop and furnish it with clammy dates, viscous molasses, tobacco, ginger, rancid oil, and strong-smelling sweetmeats; and wonderful tales Fame told about these establishments." Sometimes he would spend the evening in a mosque listening to the recitation of the Koran, or else he would argue on religious topics with the Mullah. At other times he would enter the first door whence issued sounds of music and the dance, or he would play chess with the natives or join the hemp-drinkers and opium-eaters, or, perhaps, he would visit the "Mrs. Gadabouts and Go-betweens who make matches with the faithful," and from them he would learn those intimate details of private history and domestic scandal which an anthropologist finds so hard to obtain. Surely it would be difficult to imagine a better way of studying the manners and customs of men and women of all classes, their characters, their virtues and their vices—in short, "Anthropology" in the truest meaning of the word. Some of these early adventures in Scind are described in a postscript to "Falconry in the Valley of the Indus," and make most amusing and interesting reading. The art of disguise and intimate knowledge of the manners and customs of the Moslems which Burton had acquired in India were the sine qua non of the success of his great journeys to Mecca and Harar. After these two great adventures followed his immense work in Central Africa, and with the discovery of Lake Tanganyika his work as an explorer came to an end. Few writers seem to have emphasized this point; none have realized what it meant.

Burton was no diplomat, chiefly because he could not and would not dissemble but always told the blunt truth and took the consequences. Bad luck, therefore, dogged his footsteps from the very earliest days. While in Scind his good fortune soon deserted him, for Sir Charles Napier's successor was neither an anthropologist nor a man of the world, and in consequence Burton received his first serious reproval. Sir Charles Napier had given him a very unpleasant job to do, and he had done it well and thoroughly. His reports were found by Napier's successor and Burton was removed. Then came Mecca. In itself the Pilgrimage was a real triumph for Burton, but he failed to return home at the psychological moment. Fame and applause were there awaiting him, but with the true heart of a soldier he felt his duty was in the Crimea, and so he hurried off to do what he could for his country instead of going home to benefit himself. His bad luck followed him there, and once again he learned that straightforward dealing and straightforward fighting were not the order of the day.

After Harar he realized the full meaning of Government opposition and narrow-mindedness. Tanganyika was worse—here his own companion took advantage of his collapse which the journey had produced. When Burton was well enough to travel he returned home—but the ground had been all cut before him. After all his former bad luck this new blow must have been hard indeed. He sought out the house of his future wife, whose description of him at this time was terrible. "I shall never forget Richard as he was then," she says; "he had had twenty-one attacks of fever, had been partially paralysed and partially blind; he was a mere skeleton, with brown yellow skin hanging in bags, his eyes protruding, and his lips drawn away from his teeth. I used to give him my arm about the Botanical Gardens for fresh air, and sometimes convey him almost fainting to our house, or friends' houses who allowed and encouraged our meeting, in a cab. The Government and the Royal Geographical Society looked coldly on him; the Indian Army brought him under the reduction; he was almost penniless, and he had only a few friends to greet him. Speke was the
hero of the hour, the Stanley of 1859-64. This was one of the martyrdoms of that uncrowned king's life, and I think but that for me he would have died."

Here was one of the greatest explorers of all time—an Englishman—who, although still in the prime of his life, had not only made two of the most daring journeys—Mecca and Harar—either of which should have been sufficient to establish his fame for life—but who was the pioneer of modern African exploration. The honour due to pioneers cannot be over-estimated and here was one worthy of the greatest honours the Government could confer, yet because it could not make allowances for genius, because it was bound by "red tape," and because the man himself was too noble and patriotic to serve from the high ideal, "honour not honours," which was his life's motto—he was shelved in the prime of his years.

His active career could not be killed by lack of recognition, so in 1863 he entered the service of the Foreign Office. Of the four consulates he received only one was at all to his liking—that of Damascus, and for that very reason, it seems, his bad luck pursued him there. Because he refused to allow a British consulate to countenance the nefarious practices of the usurers of Damascus he was removed. This time the Government was led into making a fresh blunder. Circumstances soon showed that Burton was absolutely in the right in all he did, and that he had, moreover, handled with consummate skill a most difficult situation— not to mention a crowd of rogues of the worst description. Here was the Government's chance to make up for its former mistakes, and, now that matters had been successfully explained, to give Burton a consulsip worthy of his acceptance. Instead of this he was sent to Trieste, to a climate unsuited to his constitution, and was allowed to stay unrecognized in this very second-rate seaport till his death on October 20, 1890.

Burton bore his fresh exile with a resignation and fortitude such as he had always shown in whatever unhappy position he found himself placed. He only made four attempts to escape from his exile at Trieste. The first was to be created a K.C.B. in 1878. The second was in 1880 when, owing to his interest in the suppression of slavery, he wanted to be appointed commissioner for the slave trade in the Red Sea. The third was in 1885 when he was given reason to believe that he would be chosen to succeed Sir John Drummond-Hay in Morocco. When writing on Burton at the time of his birth-centenary, Sir H. H. Johnston speaks on this very point. "No post," he says, "could have been more appropriate. Had he gone there we might long since have known—what we do not know yet—the realities of Morocco. But it was persistently denied him, and given—after the retirement of the great Sir John Drummond-Hay—to diplomatic nineties instead. To none of her great sons has Britain shown herself so ungrateful as to Richard Francis Burton." Finally, in 1886, realizing with a broken heart that as far as Government posts were concerned he was not wanted, he appealed to be allowed to retire on full pension. Enclosed in the letter was a list of "Services" which included only the most salient features of his remarkable career. The list was as follows:—

1. Served nineteen years in the Bombay Army, nearly ten years on active service, chiefly on the staff of Sir Charles Napier, on the Sind Survey, at the close of the Afghan War, 1841-5.

   In 1846 was compelled to leave, without pay or pension, by Sir Charles Wood, for accepting the Consulship of Fernando Po.

2. Served in the Crimea as Chief of the Staff of Bashi-Bazouk (Irregular Cavalry), and was chiefly instrumental in organizing it.

3. Was the author of the Bayonet Exercises now used at the Horse Guards.

4. Have made several difficult and dangerous expeditions or explorations in unknown parts; notably the Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah, and afterwards to Harar, now opened up to Europeans, and the discovery and opening up of the Lake Regions of Central Africa, and the sources of the Nile, a country now well known to trade, to missionaries and schoolmasters.

5. Have been twenty-five years and a half in the consular service, eight to nine years in official bad climates.
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

6. Was sent in 1864, as H.M.'s Commissioner to the King of Dahomey, and resided with him for three months.
7. Was recalled at a moment's notice from Damascus, under a misrepresentation, and suffered heavy pecuniary losses thereby. My conduct was at last formally approved by the Government, but no compensation was given.
8. Was sent in 1882 in quest of the unfortunate Professor Palmer and his companion, who were murdered by the Bedawi.
9. Have learned twenty-nine languages, passed official examinations in eight Eastern languages, notably Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani.
10. Have published over forty-six works, several of which, like "Mecca," and the "Exploration of Harar," are now standard.

This last refusal produced nothing further from Trieste but acquiescence and silence. The entry in his diary on December 6, 1883 fills the heart of an Englishman with pity and a feeling of resentment against the authorities of that day. The entry is written in red ink, and reads: "To-day, eleven years ago, I came here; what a shame!!!"

So far we have only glanced at Burton as the explorer, the pioneer, the adventurer. We must now look at him as the scholar, writer, poet, archaeologist, translator, etc. These numerous and varied attainments, coupled with his fame as an explorer, raise him to an absolutely unique rank.

In criticizing Burton, writers have compared him to such-and-such a great explorer, poet, translator, Arabist, etc.; none, however, could bring forward the name of a single individual whose knowledge and achievements were so stupendous as were those of Sir Richard Burton. This is, I think, the chief reason why no "Life" worthy of the name has ever appeared. It would require more than one man to write Burton's life. It takes a genius to write and understand the life of a genius, and if this man be not forthcoming, the "Life" should be split up into its various phases, each of which should be dealt with by an expert. One should be an explorer and linguist, another an Arabic scholar, a third a poet and translator, and a fourth a judge of human nature and a man of very great worldly experience. Then, perhaps, we would get a record worthy of the man who wore himself out, both body and soul, working for his queen, his country, and the advance of civilization. The very varied subjects of Burton's books show without question that he was both a classical and a modern scholar of no mean order. "The Kasidah" and "Camões" show his poetic gifts to be of considerable merit, while his books on Etruscan Bologna and Midian demonstrate a thorough knowledge of archaeology—though heterodox in its tendency.

The work in which are samples of every kind of knowledge he possessed is, of course, the "Nights," of which more later, as Burton would say. Various writers, especially Wright, have tried to minimize Burton's merits as a translator. As is usually the case these criticisms come from men who are absolutely incapable of judgment. I have spoken to many Arabic and Portuguese scholars regarding the "Nights" and "Camões," and the result is always the same. In the case of "Camões," the translation—and by "translation" I mean conveying the words and spirit of the original into English prose or verse—is absolutely wonderful. Words here and there are certainly archaic, as is necessary if the original Portuguese meaning is to be correctly conveyed. The Portuguese nation owes Burton a very considerable debt for making known to the English the works of their greatest poet. Burton put his soul into "Camões" chiefly because he so thoroughly sympathized with his hero. There was much in common between the two, both were great patriots who had been neglected by their country, both endured the bitterest disappointments without a murmur, both had suffered much in foreign lands. When a man knows a language thoroughly as Burton did Portuguese, and can add to it a sympathy with his hero, such as in this case, the qualifications for a perfect translator are practically complete.

Turning now to the peculiar nature of such works as the "Nights," "Priapia," and "Perfumed Garden," no one worthy of consideration has ever censured Burton for writing these highly important and scholarly books. The career of an explorer had been denied him. The consulships he wished for earlier in his life were given to less deserving men. He made
but little money out of his books, and when the "Nights" taught him the kind of writings that were acceptable, Burton continued to produce (for students only) works of a similar nature. Here was a chance of placing on record that mass of information he had collected, for all of it had gone into the "Nights"—expenses had also increased and money was an absolute necessity. Writing on this same subject immediately after Burton's death the late J. S. Cotton, formerly editor of the "Academy," said: "This, again, was but another facet of Burton's many-sided nature, though one which it would be wrong to ignore when estimating his character and life-work. His insatiable curiosity led him to explore almost every path of learning, especially the bypaths. The origins of civilization, the hoary antiquity of Egypt, prehistoric connections between the East and the West, the ancient race of the Etruscans, the mysticism of the Sufis, the wanderings of the gypsies, the colonial empire of the Portuguese—these were some of the matters that had a special fascination for him. His cast of mind was so original that not only did he never borrow from anyone else, but he was disposed to resent another's trespassing upon such subjects as he considered his own. But no man could be more cordial in his admiration of honest work done in bordering fields of learning. He was ever ready to assist, from the stores of his experience, young explorers and young scholars; but here, as in all else, he was intolerant of pretentiousness and scholasticism. His virility stamped everything he said or wrote. His style was as characteristic as his handwriting. If occasionally marred by the intrusion of alien words and phrases, it always expressed his meaning with force and lucidity, and was capable at times of rising to unlaboured eloquence. And, with Burton, the style was the man. No one could meet him without being convinced of his transparent sincerity. He concealed nothing; he boasted of nothing. Such as circumstances had made him, he bore himself towards all the world: a man of his hands from his youth, a philosopher in his old age; a good hater, but none the less a staunch friend." Such is the opinion of a man who looked at Burton from the literary standpoint, and knew him intimately.

Before closing this introduction let us look at Burton as an explorer through the eyes of an explorer. The late V. Lovett Cameron had better opportunities of studying Burton in all his varying moods than most men, and when he died Cameron felt he had lost not only a fellow-explorer and traveller, but a dear friend and a real "pal." "Perhaps when one first met this tall, dark man, with his scarred face, piercing dark eyes under an overhanging brow, his mouth hidden by a long moustache, one thought the face a striking one but not attractive, and the cynical and sarcastic remarks which he often made did not tend at first to overcome this feeling. When one came to know the man, however, one found that those eyes could beam kindly upon his friends, that advice and information would take the place of cynicism and sarcasm, and that under the rugged exterior there was concealed a heart as tender as that of any woman. Witty remarks and humorous sayings abounded in his talk, but it was rare indeed that they were calculated really to hurt any man but himself, and it is a fact that most of the stories that have been circulated to his detriment have arisen from his way of telling anecdotes about himself, and putting his own share in the transaction in the blackest possible light. He knew his friends would understand him and recked nothing of what the rest of the world would think.

"His entire freedom from jealousy was amply proved to me on the few and rare occasions when he permitted himself to say anything about his dead companion, Speke. Of Speke's work as an observer and geographer, and his industry, he ever spoke in the highest terms of praise, while of the causes of the unhappy difference between them he refused to say ever a word."

In speaking of Burton's accuracy of description, Cameron continues: "Going over ground which he explored, with his 'Lake Regions of Central Africa' in my hand, I was astonished at the acuteness of his perception and the correctness of his descriptions. One was tempted to apply the
phrase of verbal photographs to his records of travel, but though equaling photographs in minuteness and faithfulness, they far excelled photographs in being permeated with a true artistic sense." Speaking later of their joint trip to the Gold Coast, Cameron said: "From Burton, during this trip, I learned much as to the real duties of an explorer and collector; and I also had an opportunity of seeing his kindness towards the unsophisticated natives, and of his tolerance of, and courtesy to, even those who were venereed with civilization. His patience and endurance under illness and suffering were exceptional, and never an angry or a cross word have I heard him utter even when suffering severely from fever and acute pains. . . . The last time I saw him was when he was in England, a little over two years ago, and though then he was already an invalid, and the subject of loving and anxious care from his wife, his mighty intellect was still undimmed, as it was to the last, and it was a pleasure to sit and listen to him unfolding somewhat of his vast store of experience and knowledge. Soldier, scholar, poet, explorer, it will be long before we again see his equal, and as we feel his loss and regret never again to hear his voice, so must our sympathy be true and deep for her who has been his loyal, trusty, loving helpmate for so many years. Goodbye, Dick."

The number of men and women still alive who were intimate friends of Burton is, unfortunately, all too small. The few who still remain are, indeed, to be envied, for they have probed beneath the surface and have found the jewel which was but waiting to be seized by those who cared to search. Now that Burton has gone, all that remains to them is a memory—a memory so dear and so sweet that it still forms the most cherished possession of their lives.
THE EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIES

There is no Burton Bibliography worthy of the name in existence, and it is partly this fact that has prompted me to supply the want.

That it is a want and a real want is surely self-evident, for do not all Englishmen, and the world at large, wish to know as much as possible about men who have laboured all their lives for the glory of their country—as often as not receiving insults instead of honours as their reward?

This book, then, is an attempt to give, in as complete a form as possible, full references to all the writings of Burton, together with more detailed information which, it is hoped, will prove interesting and instructive both to the book-lover and to the patriot.

The main object of the book, however, is to help readers to a better understanding and appreciation of a man who was one of the Empire's strongest and noblest sons.

The "Lives" of Burton do not help us much. With the exception of that by Hitchman and the two pamphlets of 1880 and 1886, every single one was written for some particular object of a personal nature. In writing a biography—one of the hardest tasks an author can set himself to do—personal feelings must not come into play at all, or the result will be, if not absolute failure, what practically amounts to the same thing, a distorted portrait of the man whose life the author is attempting to portray.

On the subject of the various "Lives" more will be found in a future page.

With the single exception of the work by W. P. Dodge, every "Life" contains a Bibliography—or rather a list of books, and in order to show how great was the necessity
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

for a reliable Bibliography I shall deal shortly with each of these lists in turn.

I. OLD OXONIAN. 1880.

The first list appeared on pp. [73]–75 of a booklet entitled "A Short Sketch of the Career of Captain Richard F. Burton . . ." By an Old Oxonian, 1880. The list is arranged chronologically and contains numerous mistakes, which were continually followed by nearly all subsequent writers who in their "Life" have attempted a Bibliography.

The first mistake is that, to be chronologically correct, the Jâtalî grammar should come after the Pushóti article. A little further down the list follows a reference to "The whole of Vol. XXXIII of the Royal Geographical Society . . . 1860." On looking up this reference one finds that the date of Vol. XXXIII is 1863 and contains only one short article by Burton. Further search in volumes about this date shows that Burton wrote practically the whole of Vol. XXIX, 1859, which is obviously the one intended in the reference.

A mistake like this may easily be made, but surely it would soon be noticed and corrected. On the contrary, it was repeated by Richards in the 1886 "Life," and copied by Hitchman, Lady Burton, Miss Stisted, and Wright!—none troubling to verify a reference which any library or learned society could have corrected immediately.

In references to articles in the publications of the learned societies all details of page and month (with one exception) are omitted, thus making the would-be reader wade through the entire volume for the year, while in one case no date is given at all.

The date of "Two Trips to Gorilla Land" is 1876, not 1875 as stated. Everyone copied this error with the exception of Mr. Herbert Jones, who appears to be the one and only author who ever looked at a title-page.

Another item in the list which calls for special comment is "New System of Sword Exercise; a Manual . . . 1875."

THE EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIES

This has always been puzzling, as no book of that title and date has ever been found. The explanation is not hard to find. The correct title of the book is "A New System of Sword Exercise for Infantry," and the date is 1876.

In the last three months of every year, as is well known, a large quantity of books appear on the market bearing the date of the following year. This was exactly what happened with the book in question. Reviews were published in the "Athenæum" for November 13th, and also in other periodicals.

Bibliographers copied from the date of the paper, or that of the actual appearance of the book, and did not trouble to look at the title-page.

In the advertisements of Messrs. Clowes and Sons most of the small military hand-books are referred to as manuals, and by some mistake the word got incorporated with the title. Neither Hitchman, Lady Burton nor Miss Stisted corrected the mistake, while Wright merely left out the words "A Manual," being content with getting the title incomplete and the date wrong.

The next item to be commented upon is "Unexplored Syria," which is referred to as having been written by Richard and Isabel Burton. There is no mention of Drake. Hitchman goes a step farther and gives one by Burton and his wife, and another by Burton and Drake, while for some unearthly reason (carelessness, we must suppose) Lady Burton entirely ignores Drake and puts herself as part author of the book.

The "Old Oxonian" completes his list with the titles of a number of books "in course of preparation," and the following sentence, which certainly gets over much troublesome research work. It was copied verbatim by Hitchman, Lady Burton, and Miss Stisted:

"Besides which, Captain Burton has written extensively for 'Fraser,' 'Blackwood,' and a host of magazines, pamphlets, and periodicals; has lectured in many lands; has largely contributed to the newspaper Press in Europe, Asia, Africa,
and America (both North and South), to say nothing of poetry and anonymous writings."

As we shall see in a future chapter, Burton only wrote one article in "Blackwood," and only two or three in "Fraser," so that these contributions are hardly extensive.

2. A. B. Richards, etc. 1886.

The next "Life" was issued six years later (1886), bearing practically the same title and containing nearly the same text as its predecessor. Its joint authors were A. B. Richards, A. Wilson and St. Clair Baddeley. These men were all friends and admirers of Burton. In the first we recognise the "Old Oxonian," who no longer uses his nom de plume. This accounts for the similarity of the text, and also of the list of books, to which little has been added.

The 1886 work is very rare, and neither Wright nor Dodge could have heard of it, as they both quote the 1886 work as the first "Life."

The latter is, of course, a slightly enlarged edition of the earlier work.

All the mistakes are repeated in this new and enlarged edition, but "Camões," the Gold Coast book, and the "Nights" etc. are added. The only fresh mistake is the quoting of "Iraplama" as a one shilling instead of a two shilling book. Hitchman and Miss Stisted copied this mistake.

The list appears on pp. [79]–82.

3. Francis Hitchman. 2 vols. 1887.

In 1887 was published the two-volume work of Francis Hitchman, "Richard F. Burton... His Early, Private and Public Life."

The "List of Sir Richard Burton's Works" appears almost at the end of Vol. II. In Appendix A, pp. [449]–444.

It is based on the former lists, and although it is intended to be chronological, several references become misplaced. Some of Hitchman's errors have already been mentioned.

But among other new items he gives two which have proved most misleading. The first of these is "Grammar of the Mooltanee Language," "India," 1849. This reference Hitchman must have taken from the title-page of "Goa, and the Blue Mountains," where it distinctly states that Burton is the "Author of a Grammar of the Mooltanee Language." So he was, but, to be more correct, he wrote on a dialect of the Mooltanee (Multani or Multā) language, known as the Jatāki dialect to which we already have been referred, and which forms the first item in Hitchman's own list.1

Thus he took the reference in "Goa" to be actually the name of an article, whereas it is only a statement to the effect that Burton wrote such a grammar, the title of which is not mentioned. This additional mistake is copied by Lady Burton, Miss Stisted and by Wright—the latter even omitting both date and place of issue.

There was certainly no excuse for Lady Burton to let this pass, for the matter could have been cleared up had she troubled to read the last few lines of page 150 (Vol. I.) of her own book, which says, "To the local branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, there were sent two papers, 'Grammar of the Jatāki or Multani Language,' and 'Remarks on Dr. Dorn's Christomathy of the Afghan Tongue.'"

Miss Stisted and Wright might have noticed this, but it is so much easier to copy others! The second misleading reference that Hitchman introduces into his list, is "Psychic Facts. Stone Talk, by F. Baker. Hardwicke, 1865." How these two books got put together apparently as a single work I cannot imagine, especially as one was published fifteen years after the other. Furthermore, the books are as different as two books possibly could.

1 Much research on these languages and dialects has been carried out since Burton's time, and it has been shown that Multāni is really one of the southern group of dialects of that form of the Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Western Punjab, and known as Lahnda or Western Punjabi or Jatāki according to the locality. Thus it will be seen that Jatāki (Jatāki) is not a dialect of Multāni but vice versa. (For fuller details see the article on "Lahnda," by Sir George Granton in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," Vol. 16, p. 80.)
be. “Psychic Facts” is merely a collection of letters, quotations and experiences of numerous well-known people (including Burton himself) on spiritualism, while “Stone Talk” is a long satirical poem written by Burton under the nom de plume of Frank Baker. It was published by Robert Hardwicke in 1865, while “Psychic Facts” was published by W. H. Harrison in 1886.

Once again, Lady Burton, Miss Stisted and Wright copy this new mistake without making any attempt to see if the reference be correct.

The other items in Hichman’s list which appear for the first time, are “Reports to Bombay” (which is wrongly quoted), “A Glance at the Passion Play,” and the “Scented Garden.”


Lady Burton’s “Life” appeared in 1893, and the list of her husband’s works forms Appendix A of Vol. II., pp. [453]-455. Knowing the access Lady Burton had to all Sir Richard’s books, one would have thought that all the past mistakes would have been corrected; but, as we have already seen, she repeats practically every mistake of her predecessors, and even adds one or two new ones.

There is a single new addition to the list of published books—“The Kasidah.”

The only point in which Lady Burton’s list is in advance of the others is in the enumerated unpublished works, some being described as ready for the press, others in an incompeleted form of MS.

At the end of the list is a note stating that she intends following up the “Life” by two volumes, collecting all his pamphlets, essays, correspondence with the Press, letters, and the pith of the work he has endeavoured to do for the benefit of the human race during his seventy years... and that it will be called “The Labours and Wisdom of Richard Burton.”

This work never appeared.

THE EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIES 27

5. Miss Stisted. 1896.

Three years later (1896) was published Miss Stisted’s “Life,” whose list of books closely resembles those of Hitchman and Lady Burton, except that “Catullus,” “Philopela,” and the “Memorial” works have been added.

6. Herbert Jones. 1898.

The next list of books is contained in a work issued in parts in 1898, by Bernard Quaritch. The title of this publication is “Contributions towards a Dictionary of English Book-collectors...” Each part was issued separately—usually at the price of 7s. or 10s. 6d. That part containing, among others, the article on Burton is No. XI. There is a frontispiece of “Captain Burton at Trieste, 1882.” The article itself is divided into two parts. The first of eight pages, is by Mr. Herbert Jones, the Librarian of the Central Library, High Street, Kensington; while the second, in the form of a short Appendix, is by Bernard Quaritch. As can be imagined, the list of works is taken by Herbert Jones from the Kensington Library, where a very large proportion of Burton’s own works is now housed.

The books are arranged chronologically, while the list of pamphlets, etc., is only partially so, since Herbert Jones has omitted dates in numerous cases, owing to the fact that Burton often tore out articles for his own use and bound them together in volumes without preserving any title-pages, so that it was impossible for him to find the correct date without making detailed enquiries elsewhere.

The list of pamphlets includes some interesting items such as “Scoperte Antropologiche in Ossero,” Trieste, 1877, “The Guide Book,” and the “Episode of Dona Izque de Castro (Camões),” London, 1879, all of which are very rare. Unfortunately, this list needs much revision as there are numerous printing errors, besides the incorrect dates. On the other hand the “Sword Exercise...” book receives its correct title and date for the first time. Of considerably more interest than the list of Burton’s works, is
that of the more important of the books which were originally in his own library. These are now housed in the Kensington Library.

7. Thomas Wright. 2 Vols. 1906.

In 1906 appeared Wright's "Life" containing a "Bibliography of Richard Burton," which forms the most recent list of books, articles, and pamphlets. It contains the largest number of references hitherto published, and covers four appendices (Vol. II, pp. [54]-x). It is, therefore, to be regretted that as a Bibliography it is little in advance of its predecessors, owing to the large number of mistakes it contains, and the continual repetition, bad arrangement, and incompleteness of references.

The Bibliography, in fact, closely resembles the rest of the work.

To the casual reader it appears convincing and complete, but a little closer observation will show how utterly unreliable and full of blunders (to say the least) the work really is. It is unnecessary, and would, moreover, prove tedious to the reader, to allude individually to all the mistakes in Wright's Bibliography, and so a few general remarks will suffice.

He has, in the first place, copied practically all previous mistakes, but, not content with this, adds many new ones. There are eight dates entirely wrong, and no less than twenty-three dates omitted. Most of the references to the articles are incomplete, some to such a degree that one wonders what possessed the author to put them in at all. For instance, No. 57 of his first list reads (in its entirety): "The Port of Trieste." Suppose someone wished to read what Burton had to say on the subject! There is no clue as to whether it is a book, article, lecture, or newspaper-cutting; there is no page, month, or year given; no name of a society or periodical, and, finally, even the title (like most of the others) is incomplete.

Wright includes in this first Appendix very many items which are repeated in Appendix IV. This is useless and careless enough, but in some cases the same article appears with different dates.

A separate list of "Posthumous Publications" is given at the end of Appendix I, although many have already been included in the previous list. Even now we find other mistakes in Appendix I -- accents are omitted, titles misquoted, names wrongly spelt, Lady Burton's books included, etc.

Appendix IV is headed "Extracts relating to Burton," whereas, with hardly an exception, they are all original articles by Burton.

Further comment would be superfluous. The above will be quite sufficient to show in what a slipshod way Wright has done his work, and will, I trust, be a warning to readers who are inclined to believe all they read in his so-called "Life."
PART II

ORIGINAL WORKS, TRANSLATIONS, ETC.
ORIGINAL WORKS, TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

In the present work, two chapters are devoted to the Bibliography itself, while the appendices have considerable bearing upon the subject. This chapter contains details of all the original works, translations, and works annotated or edited by Burton. The order of the works is chronological, but all later issues and editions (of whatever date) are dealt with before proceeding with the next work. I have also included at the end of the chapter all the publications of the so-called Kāma Śāstra Society, formed by Burton with the financial assistance of his friend Arbuthnot.

The “Arabian Nights,” although having the name of the Kāma Śāstra Society on its title-page, is dealt with separately in its proper chronological order.

The detail given of each particular book is primarily only that which is necessary for a collector or librarian to have, in order to know exactly what edition or issue he possesses, and to enable him to recognize or check any particular one when he comes across it.

An attempt has also been made to give the price-values of all the books. In one or two cases this has proved practically impossible, as no record of their sale could be found in any of either the English or American sale records. After giving the published price of the work in question, I have employed two distinct systems in estimating the value of the book. In the first place, sale-room prices taken from “Book Prices Current,” and similar publications are given with their dates; and, secondly, the prices taken from numerous second-hand catalogues. The sale-room prices run from the first appearance of the work to the end
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

of July 1922, and the second-hand catalogue prices from 1923 to the end of August 1922.

In the ordinary way it is considered futile in a Bibliography to append the values of books, whether taken from sale-room prices or from second-hand catalogues. Many very excellent reasons are given for this attitude, the main reason in the case of sale-room prices being that the condition of the different copies of a given book varies to such a degree that no price should be quoted unless the book is actually seen and its condition described.

When dealing with catalogue prices there are many considerations that may add a few shillings to the price of a book: the rent in the district may be particularly high, the bookseller may serve a “West End” public and can command a top figure, he may be a specialist in the particular work described, and so on ad infinitum.

I have weighed over all these matters carefully and have come to the conclusion that my own knowledge of the value of Burton books, acquired by averaging prices over a period of many years, enables me at once to know if a Burton book has been bought far too cheaply by the “ring,” or if it has been “run up” either by rival buyers or by arrangement between two booksellers, one of whom is buying on commission, which he is anxious to increase as much as possible.

Then, again, a book may be “run up” at the expense of an innocent private buyer, who thinks that because a book is bought in the sale-room it must necessarily be a bargain. Thus, whenever necessary, I add a note saying that a certain price is too high, or that its average value is only such-and-such a figure.

In this way I hope that the prices will not prove futile, but will serve as a really helpful guide as to the value of the book, besides tracing the fluctuations of any particular work over a number of years.

Luckily (with a few exceptions) Burton books have suffered very little by inflated prices, and nearly all that turn up in the sale-rooms go to the recognized buyers of travel books, fetching a regular figure, which usually only changes with the condition of the book in question. As compared with other travel books of the same date, with the works of such prominent explorers as Livingstone, Burton’s books are very expensive.

If one goes by chance into a shop in the provinces and asks for a Burton book it would be a great exception if they had one, and on questioning the bookseller one would be told that any they had would be sent to London, where there is always a good market.

The truth is that so widely known and sought after (usually by the wrong people) is Burton’s “Arabian Nights,” that all other books bearing his name must be expensive.

It will be seen from an examination of the sale-room prices given in this chapter that, as a general rule, they have not altered more than a few shillings in the course of the last thirty years. There are in fact only two or three books that have undergone any considerable rise in price. The chief of these are “The Arabian Nights,” “Catullus,” “The Pentameron,” “The Pilgrimage,” “The Book of the Sword,” and “Priapeia.” This latter book would certainly have fetched a much higher price had it been generally known that Burton was the author, and many London booksellers are still unaware that he was in any way connected with it.

Owing to the fact that bibliographers differ in their method of describing title-pages, etc., it is necessary to give a short explanation of the manner in which each work is dealt with in the following pages.

The title-page is copied in its entirety, except that mottoes or quotations are not given in full, but merely referred to in square brackets, viz. [quotation]. If a quotation or motto is of two or three lines I print the same number of vertical bars after the square bracket to show its length. Vertical bars are used to show the termination of each line. I have used one at the beginning and end of every title-page to show exactly where it begins and ends. This practice is not usually adopted, but I prefer it for several reasons. The only really correct way to give a title-page
is to reproduce it by photography. This is, however, too expensive and impracticable. I therefore adopt the method of the Bibliographical Society, viz. capital letters are given according to English grammar, and also when their importance in the title-page obviously warrants their reproduction. With regard to lines, pictorial devices, etc., on title-pages, I refer to the former as “rule” or “swell-dash,” according to which it is, and to the latter as “publisher’s device,” —in each case employing square brackets to show the words enclosed do not actually appear in the title-page. In certain cases, such as in describing the Tauchnitz edition of the “Pilgrimage,” I have given details of the half-title, as it gives the number of the volume in the series, and is therefore of value to the would-be purchaser and cataloguer.

Pagination is given next, first the preliminaries and then the text. Although at first I intended describing the preliminaries in detail, I decided that in the case of Burton books it was unnecessary. In several cases the last page of the preliminaries is a blank page and not numbered. I have, however, always counted it in the numbering, but have put it in square brackets. This is not in strict accordance with the usual manner adopted by the members of the Bibliographical Society, but, as provided one is very careful in correcting printers’ proofs, I consider it preferable. I have ignored signatures, details of paste-downs, types of printing, and advertisements.

Illustrations, diagrams, maps, etc., are next given. Special mention of the fact is made if the plates or maps are coloured, on tinted paper, or folded. It has been considered unnecessary to give the numbers of the pages which the different illustrations face, but notes are added if the position of plates is altered in the different editions or issues.

Editions or separate issues are next discussed. First the binding, then the lettering, size, state of edges, and finally any notes that have any bearing on the work in question. With regard to the different sides of a book I have followed the usually accepted forms. If you lay a

works, translations, etc. 37
book down flat on a table that surface which faces the ceiling is the “front cover,” that which touches the table is the “back cover.” If you put the book in a bookshelf the portion you see is the “back.”

The Size of each volume is given in inches, a method I consider more correct than using such terms as royal 8vo, deyn 8vo, etc., which in many cases is not perfectly accurate, owing to the fact that the size of the original sheet differs with various printers. The measurements given are taken from the cover of the closed volume. The width, which I give first, runs from the crest of the hinge to the edge, the bevel of a bevelled edge being counted in the measurement. It should be remembered that as time goes on a book slightly increases in width and decreases in height. Thus all my measurements are taken from good copies, an old and worn copy being sometimes as much as ½” less in height and 1/4” broader. The edges of the book are known as the “top edges,” “bottom edges,” and “fore edges.” If the edges are rough I call them “uncut,” but when the machine has made them smooth I call them “trimmed,” not “cut,” which latter term is liable to be confused with the condition of edges that are the opposite of “unopened,” a term much used in Bibliographies of modern novelists.

1851.

/Goa, /and the Blue Mountains; /or, /Six Months of Sick Leave. /By /Richard F. Burton, /Lieut. Bombay Army. /Author of a Grammar of the Mooltane Language; /Critical Remarks on Dr. Dorn’s Chrestomathy of the Pushtoo, /or Affghan Dialect, Etc. Etc. /London: /Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street. /Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty. /[rule] /1851. /

Pp. viii ÷ 368 with four plates on tinted paper and one folding map.
First Issue:—
Bound in light fawn cloth with blind ornamental border on front and back covers. Lettering on back in gold. 5½ × 8½ ".
All edges uncut.
Rare.

Second Issue:—
I have also seen an issue in light blue cloth, with a more elaborate blind border on both covers.
In this issue, which was probably the "remainder," the frontispiece is now the plate which faced p. 60 in the first issue. The other plates and the folding map are in the same places.
5¼ × 8½ ".
All other details as in the first issue.

Occasionally copies turn up in the market bound in red cloth stamped with an elaborate design in gold. These are " Prize " copies specially prepared for schools, etc., by the publisher.

Burton's own copy, now in the Central Library, Kensington, has been rebound, but the original covers are preserved, at once showing it to be the 1st issue. Its preliminaries and title-page are covered with notes; there are also numerous cuttings and an envelope inserted at the end of the book containing eight interesting enclosures. There was no later edition of this work, but in 1890 there appeared in India the following:—

1890.

The First Four Chapters of /Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, Six Months of Sick Leave./ By Richard F. Burton, Lieut., Bombay Army. /Author of a Grammar of the Mooltanee Language; Critical Remarks on Dr. Dorn's Chrestomathy of the Pushtoo, or Afghan Dialect, Etc., Etc./ With the Articles which recently appeared in the /Madras Mail and Madras Times/ on the Coming Exposition at Goa, &c. /With Frontispiece./ [rule] /London 1851./ [rule] /Madras: Higginbotham and Co./ By Appointment in India to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. /1890./
WORKS, TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

Pp. [vi] + 117, with one plate (frontispiece).
Bound in light pink boards with dark-brown cloth back.
Black lettering on front cover exactly similar to title-page, within
a two-line black border. No lettering on back.
4 1/2" × 7 1/4".
All edges trimmed.
Exceedingly rare. There is a copy in the British Museum.
The frontispiece is taken from a drawing of St. Xavier issued in
Faber's Life of S. Francis Xavier.
Burton's four chapters occupy pp. [2]–28;
Articles from the “Madras Mail” occupy pp. [79]–96, and articles
from the “Madras Times” occupy pp. [97]–117.

PRICES.

1851 Edition:
Published Price.—10/6.
Sale-Rooms.—8/-, Dec. 1897 ; 2½/-, Jan. 1919 ; 7/6, Nov. 1921.
Catalogues.—1½/-, 2½/-, 3½/-, 5½/-.

1890 Edition:
Unrecorded. I would value a clean copy at about £3.

1851.

/ Scinde; or, / The Unhappy Valley. / By / Richard F. Burton, / Lieut., Bombay Army. / Author of “Goa and the Blue Mountains,” &c. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. 1. [Vol. II.] / London: / Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, / Publisher in Ordinary to her Majesty / 1851. /

Vol. 1.—Pp. viii + 207.
Vol. 2.—Pp. vi + 309.

First edition:
Bound in dark-green cloth with elaborate blind border on both
covers. Lettering on back in gold.
5" × 8¼".
Top edges uncut, others trimmed.
Very rare.

Second edition:
Title as above, except that “Second Edition” is inserted between
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

Bound in similar dark-green cloth, with different blind border and gold lettering.
5" x 8½".
All edges uncut.
It contains the same matter printed off the same type.

Burton's own copy at the Kensington Library was used as the basis for "Scind Revisited," which was published in 1877, and it is accordingly full of corrections and additions.

PRICES.

Published Price.—21/-.
Sale-Rooms.—Can find no record.
Catalogues.—4½/-, 6/- (2nd edit.), 6½/-, 6½/-.
The latter prices are too high. The value is about £2 10s. for a copy in good condition.

1851.


Pp. viii + 442, with one folding map (on light blue paper).
Bound in pale terra-cotta cloth with blind triple-line border enclosing blind oval design on both covers. Lettering on back in gold.
5½" x 8½".
Bottom edge trimmed, others uncut.

Burton's own copy at the Kensington Library is full of notes ready for a second edition, which was to contain matter suppressed (for political reasons) in the first edition.

PRICES.

Published Price.—12½/-.
Sale-Rooms.—Unrecorded.
Catalogues.—4½/-, 6½/-, 13½/-, 11½/- (very fine copy).

WORKS, TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

1852.

/Falconry in the Valley of the Indus;/ By Richard F. Burton, Lieutenant Bombay Army. /Author of "Goa and the Blue Mountains," Etc. /[publisher's device]/ London:/ John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row. /[rule]/ MDCCC.LII.

Pp. [100] + 107 with four lithographed plates.
Bound in dark purple cloth (usually discoloured to a dark brown) with blind border enclosing corner and centre blind designs on both covers. Lettering on back in gold.
5½" x 7½".

Top edges uncut, others trimmed.

Burton says: "It was brought out by my friend, John Van Voorst. . . . He proved himself to be a phoenix among publishers. Half profits are no profits to the author; it is the common saying; however, for the last thirty years I have continually received from him small sums, which represented my gains. Would that all were so scrupulous!"

It was never sold as a remainder, and till at least 1910 was still procurable from the successors of Van Voorst.

Burton's own copy at the Kensington Library was given by him to Isabel Arundell (Lady Burton) and bears her inscription.

It contains two statements of the sale of the book and an interesting letter from the publisher stating that of the 500 copies published 227 still (1877) remain unsold, and that he advises "scrapping" them. The copy is prepared for a second edition.

It used to give Burton particular joy to see this book frequently quoted in second-hand catalogues at prices of 7½, 10/- and upwards, when new copies could still be procured from the publishers at 6/- each.

Similar cases often occur in the sale-rooms to-day.

PRICES.

Published Price.—6/-.
Sale-Rooms.—12/-, March 1916.
Catalogues.—14/-, 15/-, 15½/-, 18½/-, 21/-.

1853.

/A Complete System of Bayonet Exercise;/ By Richard F. Burton, Lieutenant Bombay Army,
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

Author of "Sindh, and the Races that inhabit the Valley of the Indus"; "Goa and the Blue Mountains"; "Falconry in the Valley of the Indus"; "Scinde, or The Unhappy Valley"; &c., &c. / London: Printed and Published by William Clowes and Sons, 14, Charing Cross. [Rule] 1853.

Pp. 36, with six "plates" (figs. in the text).
Bound in red cloth with double-line blind border enclosing stamped design on both covers.
On the front cover the design encloses the words, "Bayonet Exercise," in gold.
No lettering on back.
4½ x 2½".
All edges trimmed.
Exceedingly rare.

This is probably the rarest of all Burton's books, and forms one of the most important works on the bayonet ever published, and to it can be traced the change in the systems of bayonet drill adopted in most European countries. I believe I am correct in saying that until about ten years ago it was impossible to find any work on the subject which was not based on Burton's work. Large numbers of it were purchased by foreign army authorities (particularly German).
There are copies in the Kensington Library, the War Office Library, and at the British Museum. The two latter copies are in the original binding and in good state.

THE PRICE.

Published Price.—1 ½.

There is no record of the price of this book in either sale-room or second-hand catalogues. I have, however, heard of one copy changing hands, in which case the figure was something over £10. An enthusiastic collector would give £15 for a good copy.
"... A PILGRIMAGE TO EL-MEDINAH AND MECCA"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third Edition revised</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>1 vol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON

THE PILGRIMAGE TO "EL-MEDINAH AND MECCA."

Of such importance and interest is the "Pilgrimage" that I make no apology for giving certain facts and correcting certain errors concerning it.

As readers will have seen in the Introduction to this book, Burton acquired to perfection the art of disguise when roaming among the villages of Southern Scinde.

All the time he was learning and adding to his store of knowledge of Oriental manners and customs.

After his return to England he wished to put to the test all the mass of knowledge he had collected. With the true explorer's spirit, he picked up the map of Arabia, and going to the Royal Geographical Society offered his services "for the purpose of removing that opprobrium to modern adventure, the huge white blot which in our maps still notes the Eastern and the Central regions of Arabia."

Sir Roderick Murchison and other prominent members of the Society supported the proposition. Accordingly it was laid before the Chairman of the Court of Directors to the Hon. East India Company with an application by Burton for three years' leave on special duty from India to Muscat.

Sanction, however, was refused, and in compensation for the disappointment Burton was granted a year's furlough "to enable him to pursue his Arabic studies."

Thus he was forced to cram into a single year what would take at least three years to do properly—to open up unknown Arabia. The thing was impossible, so Burton changed his plans and decided to attempt "to cross the unknown Arabian Peninsula, in a direct line from either El-Medinah to Muscat, or diagonally from Meccah to Makallah on the Indian Ocean." He would naturally start with the pilgrims and arrange his plans according to circumstances. Accordingly he assumed the character of a Persian Mirza while still in London, and accompanied by an Interpreter, Captain Henry Grindlay, of the Bengal Cavalry, left London for Southampton.

WORKS, TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

On his arrival at Alexandria he was recognized and blessed as a true Moslem by the native population. Here he lived in the outhouse (to arouse no suspicions) of his friend Mr. John Larking. After a month's further preparation in Alexandria, Burton assumed the character of a wandering Dervish, re-forming his title from "Mirza," the Persian "Mister," to "Shaykh" Abdullah.

In this new disguise he left Alexandria for Cairo. The journey, simple as it now is by rail, took three days and nights in a smelly overcrowded steamer. To make matters worse, Burton had to travel third class in his character of a Dervish. He became friendly with one Haji Walli, and this friendship increased when in Cairo they shared the same rooms. After the forbidden weed "hashish" had loosened their respective tongues, Haji Walli strongly advised Burton to lay aside all connection with Persia and the Persians.

After long deliberations he decided to change his nationality and become a "Pathan," born in India of Afghan parents, who had settled in the country, educated at Rangoon, and sent out on his travels. After numerous difficulties Burton set out across the Suez Desert, and on arrival at Suez more trouble awaited him, this time in connection with passports. Finally, however, all difficulties were overcome, the pilgrims got aboard their ship, the "Silk al-Zahab," or "Golden Wire," and started on a protracted voyage of over 600 miles from Suez to Yambé, the port for Medina. For a full account of the adventures which Burton went through before arriving safely at Medina it is necessary to refer to his book, although a very good account can be read in his "Life," by Francis Hitchman (Vol. I, pp. 174–248). At Medina Burton learned, to his great consternation, that the Arab tribes of the interior were fighting. This information, added to other circumstances, forced him to abandon his original plan of crossing Arabia. His desire to visit Mecca was very great, and now came his chance to complete the Pilgrimage, and so, instead of crossing Arabia, he turned his face to the Holy City.
It is interesting to note that it was not till the end of 1917 that Central Arabia was crossed from sea to sea. This great feat was accomplished by Mr. H. St. J. B. Philby, who crossed, however, from east to west, starting at Ojaire on the Persian Gulf and finishing at the port of Jidda on the Red Sea. (See "Geog. Journ.," Vol. LVI, No. 6, Dec. 1920, pp. 446-68.)

Philby has also done most important work further south on the edge of the great unknown sandy desert, and he still hopes to cross Arabia at a latitude of about 20° N., which cuts one of the least-known spaces on the Earth's surface.

In his new work, "The Heart of Arabia," 1922, Philby proves certain points which have a direct bearing on Burton.

Sir Valentine Chisolm told me once that one night he asked Burton to dinner "to meet another Arabian explorer." This was Palgrave. A distinct chill soon manifested itself when the two men met. Palgrave was jealous of Burton, and Burton never believed Palgrave's accounts of his travels in "Central and Eastern Arabia." This view Burton made quite clear in the Introduction to the third edition of the "Pilgrimage" (pp. viii and viii). It is therefore of great interest to see that Philby has proved beyond any doubt that Palgrave described what he never saw, and that once again Burton was correct in his judgment and intuition.

Philby has an interesting note on p. 446 of Vol. II of "The Heart of Arabia."

He is speaking of Palgrave's misstatements about Riyadh, the Wahhabi capital, and states that, in complete contradiction of Palgrave's remarks, immorality is practically unknown there. He mentions Burton, who made a similar statement in his terminal essay to the "Nights" (Vol. X, p. 246).

It is most gratifying to have these early statements of Burton confirmed by an explorer of to-day who has just completed the programme which in 1853 Burton set himself to carry out. But to return to the Pilgrimage. Burton now followed the pilgrim route to Mecca, which he reached after hardships so great that the reader must refer to Burton's own description, or that in Hitchman's account, already referred to, in order to understand how wonderful a feat Burton accomplished not only in getting to Mecca unharmed, but also in getting out of it with a whole skin. Before leaving the subject of the Pilgrimage I would like to correct a common error, namely, that Burton was the first unbeliever, or the first Englishman, to enter Mecca. He was neither. He was the first English Christian to enter Mecca of his own free will as a true Mohammedan pilgrim, and not as a convert. The first Englishman to enter Mecca was Joseph Pitts. Pitts was a sailor born at Exeter in 1663. In the course of his travels he was captured by an Algerian pirate off the Spanish coast. He was sold as a slave at Algiers and forced to become a Mohammedan. He hated his new religion, and "ate heartily in private of hog." In 1680 he went to Mecca, where he stayed four months, twice entering the Ka'bah. He was very little impressed with what he saw, and sums up his impressions by the words: "I profess I found nothing worth seeing in it."

The first European "Haji" was an Italian named Ludovico Bartena (1503), the next Vincent le Blanc (1560), a Frenchman whose story must be taken with reserve. He was followed by a German, Wild, in 1607; Pitts, 1680; Badia Y Leblich, a Spaniard, 1807; Seetzen, a German, 1809-10; Burckhardt, a Swiss, 1814-15; Finati, an Italian, 1814; Roches, a Frenchman, 1841-2; Wallin, a Swede, 1845; Burton, 1853; von Maltzan, a German, 1860; Bicknell, English, 1861; Keane, English, 1877-8; Hurgronje, Dutch, 1885; Gervais-Courtellemont, a Frenchman, 1894; and Wavell in 1908.

Besides these are a number of renegades and nameless Europeans mentioned by various explorers as either getting to the gates of Mecca, or being actually in the town itself. Further accounts of these and also of the above-mentioned travellers will be found in D. G. Hogarth's "The Penetration of Arabia," London, 1904, and Auguste Ralli's "Christians
at Mecca," London, 1909. The conclusion of this latter work is interesting. "It is possible," says Ralli, "to divide Christian pilgrims to Mecca into three groups. First come those from Barthema to Pitts, inclusive, whom I have already compared to a cloud of light skirmishers. They are followed by votaries of science—Badia, Seezen, Burckhardt, Hugonjon. In a parallel column advance those impelled by love of adventure or curiosity—von Malzahn, Bicknell, Keane, Courtellement. Burton belongs to both the latter groups; Wallin to the first, but he fell on evil days; and it is hard to classify Roches." Of all the above-mentioned travellers only Barthema, Wild, Pitts, Seezen, Burckhardt, Wallin, Burton and Keane also visited Medina. Special reference should be made to Ralli’s bibliography at the end of his book.

It is interesting to note that after the surrender of Medina in the late war, a Turkish map of the city, on the 1/50,000 scale, was captured. It was the first map available since Burton’s plan, which faces p. [2] of Vol. II of the "Pilgrimage."

There is one name it is impossible to omit when speaking of Arabian travellers—that of Mr. Charles Montagu Doughty. This great explorer did not go to Mecca, but travelled disguised with the pilgrim caravan as far as Medain Saleh. Had it not been thoroughly against his principles to pass as a Moslem he might have got to Mecca itself. His views on the subject are as definite to-day (I have recently had several most interesting letters from him) as they were in 1875. After his return from Arabia, Doughty lived for many years in the south of Europe, and (partly through prejudice against Burton for passing himself off as a Moslem) never read or even saw Burton’s "Pilgrimage," or other works on the East. Thus it seems a great pity that this attitude should have been taken when Doughty could not possibly have seen matters from Burton’s point of view. For surely no one could read the "Pilgrimage," or know the author personally, without realizing that Burton was the last man in the world to prey into the secrets of the Modern religion (which in many points he so greatly admires) with any idea of irreverence or obloquy.

To give but one example of the spirit in which Burton made his Pilgrimage—he had suffered all the hardships and privations like so many of the other pilgrims, and when back in London he tried to form a company for enabling the pilgrims to reach the Holy City with greater ease and comfort. The company was known as "The Hadjijil, or Pilgrimage to Mecca, Syndicate, Limited." It had a capital of £20,000, in 400 shares of £50 each. I have in my collection a copy of the original prospectus. What became of the company I cannot say, but I suppose it went the way of so many schemes, for I can find no mention of it anywhere.

Burton’s "Pilgrimage" and Doughty’s "Arabia Deserta" are two of the greatest works of travel ever published. The latter has recently been reprinted by the Medici Society.

Burton reviewed "Arabia Deserta" when it first appeared, and his copy, full of corrections and additions, is to be seen in the Central Library, Kensington.

Certain mistakes Doughty made about the Pilgrim Rites could of course have been avoided if he had read "The Pilgrimage."

We will now consider in detail all the editions and issues of "The Pilgrimage."

1855–6.

1ST EDITION.

Vol. I—
Fp. [vii] + 388, with one folding map, a plain plate on tinted paper (frontispiece) and two coloured plates.
The map faces page [7], and comes immediately after the errata sheet which with its blank verso forms pp. [vi] and [vii] of the preliminaries.

Vol. II—
Pp. iv + 426, with two plans (one folding), one coloured plate (frontispiece), three plain plates on tinted paper, and three small plans and an inscription in the text.

This volume contains four Appendices as follows:—

2. The Navigation... of Ludovicus Vertumnus, ... pp. 347–353

Vol. III—
Pp. [viii] + 448, with one folding plan, two coloured and five plain plates (four on tinted paper) and two small plans in the text. This is the only volume containing a list of plates (pp. [xi] and [xiv]).

Bound in blue cloth with black ornamental border on both covers.
Lettering on back in gold.
5½” x 9½”
All edges uncut.
Very rare and increasing in value.

Burton’s own copy at the Kensington Library was that given by him to his wife. Vol. I contains some interesting cuttings and letters. Vol. II has three Arabic extra illustrations and an Arabian map of the Red Sea area. Vol. III contains some cuttings and has various corrections.


WORKS, TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

Vol. I—
Pp. [vii] + 418, with one folding map, two plans (one folding), three coloured and two plain plates on tinted paper, and seven small illustrations, etc., in the text.
The two plans, one of each the coloured (The Pilgrim) and plain plates, are from Vol. II, the others from Vol. I, of the 1st edition.

The plan facing p. 294 is stated to face p. 97, Vol. II. This is obviously a misprint, for the plan is in its correct position. There is, however, a plan facing p. 97 of Vol. II without any printed instructions on it as to its position, so it seems the information was printed by mistake on the wrong plan. This is misleading to a librarian, and I noted that the British Museum authorities have wrongly taken out these two plans and put them back in their changed places, thinking they had been wrongly bound up.

A glance at the list of illustrations or text adjoining the plates shows that they were all bound up correctly.

Vol. II—
Pp. [vi] + 422, with one folding plan, two coloured and seven plain plates (six on tinted paper), and twenty-two small illustrations, plans, etc., in the text. Of these, two uncoloured plates are from Vol. II, and the rest from Vol. III of the 1st edition.

Two distinct chapters are each numbered “Chapter XXIII,” viz. “The Damascus Caravan” and “From El Medinah to El Suwaykliyah” (see pp. 50 and 58). In the first edition “The Damascus Caravan” is not a fresh chapter, but a postscript to Chapter XXII. In the second edition it is made a fresh chapter, but owing to the fact that the next chapter is also numbered XXXIII the numbering of the subsequent chapters is not thrown out.

There is, however, an alteration in the chapter which in the 1st edition was Chapter XXVIII—“Of Hajj or Pilgrimage.” This is removed from its proper place as in the first edition, and becomes Appendix VI. Thus, Chapter XXXIX of the first edition becomes Chapter XXVIII in the second edition, and there are thirty-four chapters in the second edition instead of the original thirty-five of the first edition.

There are six Appendices, four of them are from the first edition, the fifth is on the tribes of El Hejaz, and the sixth has been already referred to above. The index is modified on that of the 1st edition. There are various additional notes in the text.

There were two issues and a “remainder,” as follows:—
First Issue:
Bound in blue cloth, with elaborate border and design in black on both covers. Lettering on back in gold.
5" × 7½".
All edges uncut.

2nd Issue:
Bound in blue cloth, but with border and design in blind. Lettering on back in gold.
5" × 7½".
All edges uncut.

Remainder:
Bound in red cloth, with blind border on both covers. Lettering on back in gold.
Slightly smaller than the other issues.
Top edges uncut, others trimmed.

A certain number of copies of the second edition were bought by booksellers from the publishers in an unbound state, to be subsequently issued in somewhat elaborate binding. These were sold for school prize books. They occasionally turn up, and their appearance is sometimes difficult to explain.

TAUCHNITZ EDITION. 1874.

Half-Title Page:
Collection of British Authors / Tauchnitz Edition.

The quotation which appeared on the title-page of the previous editions is now on the verso of the half-title page.

Title-page:
WORKS, TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

Vol. I.——
Pp. xx + 274, with sketch-map facing title-page.

Vol. II.——
Pp. vi. + 294.

Vol. III.——

Bound in white paper covers similar to the issues of the better
French novel.
4½ " x 6½ ".
All edges trimmed.

This edition is the third chronologically, but, as it is a foreign
publication, is not counted as such in England; hence Mullan's
edition of 1879 is designated "Third edition, revised."

The original preface by T. L. W[alters] occupies pp. [vi]-xi, and
a preface by Burton (dated Trieste, 1873) pp. [xi]-[xviii].

The appendices in Vol. III (which are not named as such) are:
——
Remarks on the Map.  By A. Sprenger.  — pp. [161]-[172]
The Mecca Pilgrimage.          — pp. [173]-[182]

The appendices of the first and second editions are omitted.
The index occupies pp. [183]-276.

There are no separate page-headings in this edition.
The additional notes, plans in the text, etc., mentioned in the
case of the second edition, are here omitted, as well as some which
appeared in the first edition (e.g. see end of Ch. XIII of Vol. I).
The map, being by Sprenger, is naturally different from those
in previous editions. The chapters are not numbered consecutively
throughout the three volumes, but appear in each volume. In this
edition the "Damascus Caravan" forms a chapter of its own, and
no two chapters bear the same number as in the second edition. "Of
Hajj or Pilgrimage" is removed altogether. Thus there are in all
thirty-five chapters, as in the original edition. They are divided up
as follows:

Vol. I.—Fourteen chapters.
Vol. II.—Twelve chapters.
Vol. III.—Nine chapters.

THIRD EDITION REVISED. 1879.

/ Narrative of A Pilgrimage to Meccah and Medinah. / By Richard F. Burton. / [quotation] /
Third Edition, Revised. / [publisher’s device] / William Mullan & Son, / London and Belfast. / 1879. / 

Pp. xvi + 518, with three folding maps, one plate and twenty-seven small illustrations, plans, diagrams, etc., in the text. (This number includes the two in the first appendix.) Bound in green cloth, bevelled edges, with four-line black border top and bottom on both covers. On the front cover the lines enclose lettering and pictorial design (of Burton in pilgrim dress in the desert) in gold; on the back cover they enclose publisher’s design in black. Lettering on back in gold. 

5" x 7.5". 

Top edges uncut, others trimmed. 

This edition also has two prefaces. The first of these is headed "Preface to the Third Edition" (pp. [v]-[vii]) and is dated "London, 31st March, 1879." It is, however, except for a few minor alterations, an exact copy of the preface to the Tauchnitz edition. This is followed by "Preface to the First Edition" (pp. [vi]-[viii]), which is signed in full "Thomas L. Wolley." There is an appendix called "The Bayt Allah" (pp. [289]-[309]) which in the previous editions kept its position as a chapter in the text. This is followed by "Notes on My Journey," by A. Srenger, which is the same as "Remarks on the Map" in the Tauchnitz edition. The map referred to (which does not appear in the "Third Edition" Revised) was in the second edition. The map in this edition is coloured, in which state it has not appeared before. Finally, there is the "Mecca Pilgrimage" (pp. [373]-[379]), as in the Tauchnitz edition. There is no index—a great drawback. 

There are separate page-headings. The numbering of the chapters resembles that of the second edition (i.e. there are two chapters numbered XXIII). "Of Hajj or Pilgrimage" is omitted, and as "Bayt Allah" is no longer a chapter there are only thirty-three chapters instead of the original thirty-five. 


/ Personal Narrative / of a / Pilgrimage / to / Al-Madinah & Meccah / By / Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, / K.C.M.G., F.R.G.S., &c., &c., &c. / Edited by His Wife, / Isabel Burton. / [quotation] / / Memo-

WORKS, TRANSLATIONS, ETC. 55 


Vol. I.— 

Pp. [xxv] + 456, with coloured folding map, portrait frontispiece, six plates (two coloured), two folding plans and eight illustrations in the text. The page before the map bearing the sectional title "Al-Misr" is not counted in the numbering. It should really form p. r. of the text. The preface to the third edition is reproduced, besides a new preface by Lady Burton. The coloured map is from that used in the third edition. 

Vol. II.— 

Pp. xiv + 479, with eight plates (three coloured), one folding plan and twenty illustrations in the text. The page after the dedication bearing the sectional title "Al-Madinah (continued)" is not counted in the numbering. It should really form p. r. of the text. This volume contains eight appendices, as follows:— 

I. Of Hajj, or Pilgrimage. . . . . . pp. 279-293 
II. The Bayt Ulah. . . . . . pp. 294-346 
III. Murshid’s Diploma. . . . . . pp. 377-332 
IV. Navigation and Voyages of Utomkanus. . . . pp. 333-337 
V. Pilgrimage of Joseph Pitts. . . pp. 358-389 
VI. Giovanni Finati. . . . . . pp. 390-401 
VII. Notes on My Journey—Srenger. . . . . pp. 402-408 
VIII. The Meccah Pilgrimage. . . . . pp. 409-474 

It will thus be seen that this edition is very complete, as it has the various appendices from all the past editions. There is also a full index (pp. 415-470). 

As in the second edition, there are thirty-four chapters instead of the original thirty-five, owing to two being made appendices, "The Damascus Caravan" being numbered as a separate chapter. Bound in black cloth, with narrow border in blind on both covers, that on the front cover enclosing stamped design in gold of Burton as a Pilgrim, and Arabic device in gold in right-hand corner; that on the back cover enclosing stamped design of the mausoleum at Mortlake in gold. Lettering on back in gold. 

5½ x 8½". 

All edges trimmed, top edges red.