

Colonel Frederick Gustavus Burnaby (3 March 1842 – 17 January 1885): an unreported trip to Russia and unattributed letters from Russia and Turkey

‘Fred Burnaby, though picturesque and colourful, was a minor figure who missed by a hair’s breadth getting into the main channels of history.’

Louis Blake Duff, *Burnaby*, 1926

Introduction

Duff’s assessment of Burnaby as a minor figure is unfair. Scarcely forty years before he made this comment, Fred Burnaby had been second only to General Gordon among the Soldiers of the Queen in the affection of the British public and, by the time of his death in hand-to-hand combat at the battle of Abu Klea in 1885, he was nothing short of a national hero. His wife’s estates in Ireland came to be known as ‘The Burnaby’, despite the fact that he never lived there, and, according to Duff, his name was chosen for a town in British Columbia he had never visited.

Yet Burnaby was far more than a soldier. In an age when ballooning was still in its infancy, he was an acknowledged pioneer and made the first solo crossing of the English Channel in 1882. He also wrote an important article on the subject and developed aeronautical navigation aids.¹

He mixed easily in society and, for a time, became part of the circle of the Prince of Wales, travelling with him as ADC to Vienna for the Exhibition in 1872, but his bluntness could also lead him into trouble. Among his close friends was Thomas Gibson Bowles, with whom he founded, in 1868, the first British version of *Vanity Fair*, a satirical magazine that became famous for its colour lithograph caricatures. This did not go down well with his military superiors and he was ordered to give up his involvement, although he continued to act as a correspondent for *The Times* and other newspapers. One of the illustrators of *Vanity Fair* was J.J. Tissot, who painted an iconic portrait of Burnaby now hanging in the National Portrait Gallery in London. Sir Algernon Borthwick, later Lord Glenesk, the owner of the *Morning Post* was also counted amongst Fred’s friends and he developed a close relationship with T.H.S. Escott, editor of the *Fortnightly Review*.

He was well-connected politically, particularly with Lord Randolph Churchill, with whom he stood unsuccessfully as a Conservative candidate for the UK parliamentary seat of Birmingham in 1880 and whom he helped to found the Primrose League in 1883. It was then not at all uncommon for a serving soldier to sit as an MP and, given that he had made a good impression on his party, a parliamentary future was almost assured had he lived. He also found time to play his part in the Great Game.

Background

Fred Burnaby was born just outside the town of Bedford in England in 1842. On his father’s side he claimed descent from King Edward I, a conceit that eventually led to a cooling of his friendship with the Prince of Wales. His landowning family certainly had a long tradition of service to both the church and the army. His great grandfather, the Ven. Dr. Andrew Burnaby (1732-1812), had been archdeacon of Leicester and his father, the Rev. Gustavus Andrew Burnaby (1802-1872), was a canon of Middleham in Yorkshire. Throughout his life he remained close to his younger brother, Evelyn Henry Villebois Burnaby (1848-1924), who followed their father into the church. His cousin, Edwyn Sherard Burnaby (1830-1883), was commissioned in the Grenadier Guards and rose to major-general, distinguishing himself at the battle of Inkerman. His uncle, Edwyn Burnaby (1798-1867), had been a captain in the Prince of Wales’s Dragoon Guards and his great uncle, John Dick Burnaby (1776-1852), had been a colonel in the Grenadier Guards. He would even have had a precedent for a naval career. A distant cousin, Vice-Admiral Sir William Burnaby (1710-1777), had served as Commander-in-Chief Jamaica immediately before Admiral Lord Rodney.

Fred seems to have had a happy childhood. His initial education was at Bedford Grammar School, followed by periods at Tinwell, Harrow and Oswestry. His size, strength and character started to become apparent during his time at Harrow, which he left following a letter to *Punch* in his own name complaining about the system of fagging and an altercation with an older boy where he came off best. At Harrow he met Montagu Corry, subsequently Lord Beaconsfield’s private secretary. He did not excel at the classics and was not considered university material. However, after school his father sent

him to Dresden, Saxony to complete his education and prepare for his army examinations, which he passed with flying colours. This is also where his love of modern languages began to develop. At the time of his death he spoke at least seven fluently, in addition to English.

By the time Fred entered the army in 1859, as a cornet in the Blues, he stood six feet four inches tall, with a forty six inch chest. He was reputed to be the strongest man in the British army and was a noted amateur pugilist and gymnast. Among his party tricks were those of bending an iron poker around his neck (or that of anybody else who volunteered) and holding a bar-bell at arms length for far longer than anyone else could manage. In a famous and oft-related incident, he carried a pair of miniature ponies downstairs under his arms from his rooms in Windsor barracks, where they had been induced to stray by fellow officers. His progress through the ranks, in days when commissions were still purchased, was steady; he was promoted lieutenant in 1861, captain in 1866, major in 1879 and lieutenant-colonel in 1880. He was promoted to full colonel in 1884.

Burnaby married Elizabeth Alice Frances Hawkins-Whitshed (1860-1934) in 1879. She was an heiress from an old Irish family and a ward of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The complex marriage settlement gave Fred £1000 a year from her Irish properties. Elizabeth was an extraordinary woman who deserves a comprehensive biography of her own. Although she suffered from ill-health and was forced to move to Switzerland soon after her marriage, she became a noted alpinist, with many first ascents to her credit, and was active in winter sports such as tobogganing and ice-skating.² She was a gifted writer on, and photographer of, alpine life and scenery, mainly under the names of Mrs. Francis Main or Mrs. Aubrey Le Blond (she remarried twice after Burnaby's death). Fred and Elizabeth had only one child, a son, Harry Arthur Gustavus St. Vincent Burnaby (1880-1939). It was speculated by Frank Harris, not always reliable on such matters, that the marriage was not a happy one.

Shooting Leave and Journalism

Heavy cavalry regiments such as the Blues saw relatively little real action during the period that Burnaby served with the colours. Long periods of leave (often from the autumn until the spring) were the norm and Fred took advantage of these to see the world and improve his linguistic skills. These periods were common throughout the army and were sometimes known as 'shooting leave'. It is likely that in many instances, particularly in outposts of Empire, they were actually 'spying leave'.³ Despite his size and strength Fred suffered often from ill health and several periods of leave were spent in enforced idleness, notably in Spain, a country he loved.

His first recorded attempts at journalism were in the winters of 1868/69 and 1869/70, which he mainly spent in Madrid and Seville (he had also been in Madrid in May 1868). He provided a series of twenty one articles for *Vanity Fair* (under the general title 'Out of Bounds' by 'Convalescent') and six for the *Morning Post* (entitled 'An Idler in Spain' by 'A correspondent'). These mainly dealt with social issues, but he also reported on the steady slide of the country into the Carlist civil war. He returned to Spain in the autumn of 1873, during which period he acted as war correspondent for *The Times* with the Carlist forces. His letters are reasonably easy to identify, usually attributed to 'Our special correspondent with the Carlists'. There is some evidence that Fred intended to arrange and publish these later letters from Spain and even went as far as drafting a preface, but the project was dropped.⁴ Likewise his despatches to *The Times* from Egypt and the Sudan in 1874/75 when he travelled to Khartoum and met General Gordon, who famously did not like journalists, were from 'An occasional correspondent'. He may well have been prohibited either explicitly (by the War Office) or by custom from writing letters to newspapers in his own name while on his trips. Fred's journalistic and literary skills were appreciated while he was still alive and one of his obituaries dealt specifically with this aspect of his life.⁵

During the winters of 1875/6 and 1876/7 he undertook two epic rides on horseback through Central Asia and Asia Minor, gaining valuable military intelligence. The books that he wrote about these journeys under his own name (*Ride to Khiva* and *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*) became instant best-sellers and from this point on his public fame steadily increased.⁶ In 1877/8 during his leave he travelled to Turkey as agent for the 'Stafford House Committee' (the British Red Cross), which had sent surgeons to care for the Turkish wounded during the Russo-Turkish war. He participated at the Battle of Tash-Kessan alongside his old friend, Valentine Baker, then in the service of Mehmed Ali Pasha. Baker had been cashiered from the British army for allegedly assaulting a lady in a railway

carriage, but was still highly regarded by many and considered an outstanding cavalry officer. A contemporary press report suggests that Fred took ‘copious notes’ during the winter campaign and intended to write a book on his experiences, but this was another of his projects that failed to materialise, although some of his private letters were published in *Mayfair* and elsewhere.⁷ However, Burnaby had another successful publication in 1882, *A Ride Across the Channel and Other Adventures in the Air*, following his successful solo Channel crossing by balloon that year.

A militarily quiet period ensued, but by January 1884 Baker Pasha was in the service of the Khedive of Egypt and invited Fred to join him during his leave. In the second of the two battles of El Teb that followed in February Fred received a serious wound to the arm, which did nothing to harm his public image on his return to the UK.

In the later years of his life Fred’s liver was a source of constant worry to him, no doubt exacerbated by an inappropriate diet, punctuated by occasional spells of abstinence. He also suffered from mood swings and if not actually under a death wish when he returned to Egypt and the Sudan in 1884/85 he certainly seems to have placed no great value on his life. In part this may have been due to the fact that shortly before he left he had been ostracised by his fellow officers in the Blues, following an incident in which he had shown even less tact than usual.

Burnaby’s final campaign, which he undertook against the wishes of the army hierarchy, again took place during one of his leave periods. He was an old friend of General Wolseley, who had been appointed to lead the Nile Expedition for the relief of General Gordon, and he persuaded Wolseley to grant him a staff appointment. Of course Burnaby’s martial instincts would never allow him to absent himself from the actual fighting and he died with a spear through his throat engaging in hand-to-hand combat in a messy battle at Abu Klea in January 1885. Many other British lives were also claimed in the action and his body, like theirs, was placed in an unmarked grave. When news reached England the story is told that Queen Victoria fainted on learning of his death. *The Times* ran an obituary of 5,000 words and there was a general mourning, with several memorials to him being erected and songs and poems written celebrating his life and death.⁸ In the year following, *Our Radicals* was published, a novel unfinished at his death, but completed by his private secretary, who later became Principal Agent of the Conservative Party.⁹ Although [poorly reviewed, Fred had considered this tale of Fenians and Radicals to be his *magnum opus* and in many respects it was ahead of its time.¹⁰

Historiography

Several popular books have been written about Burnaby, with the first, by R.K. Mann, appearing in 1882. It would be tempting to assume that Mann was a pseudonym – no other works by this author have been traced – but for a letter written by Burnaby on 13 August 1884 to T.H.S. Escott, then editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, which specifically refers to Mann as having been introduced to him by Mr. Lemprière.¹¹ Burnaby continues to say that his only involvement with the project was the provision (by his secretary, James Percival Hughes) of copies of some speeches he had delivered and that he had no pecuniary interest. In fact the work largely consists of extracts from Burnaby’s already published letters, which, presumably, his secretary had also provided. In the bibliography to his own later work Thomas Wright suggests that Mann’s book was revised by Burnaby prior to publication, but this seems not to have been the case. In any event it contains at least two errors as to dates. Mann places Burnaby with the Carlists ‘under fire at the battles of Allo, Dicastillo, Viana and Maneru’ in 1874, but these actions all took place in the summer and autumn of 1873, so Burnaby must have joined Don Carlos immediately after recuperating from typhoid in Naples earlier that year and this is born out by the dates of his despatches to *The Times*.¹² In 1878 Burnaby gave a speech at Birmingham to which W.E. Gladstone, the former Prime Minister, took umbrage and which gave rise to an exchange of letters that was published in the press. Mann incorrectly gives the date of this speech as 29th October, where it actually took place on 23rd July. These mistakes have been perpetuated in practically all subsequent books and articles on Burnaby mentioning these events. Mann also made the mistake of thinking that the series of letters he had been given by Hughes were complete. For example, he refers to Burnaby having written only three letters to *The Times* on his first trip up the Nile, while there were really at least five.

An expanded edition was published by Mann in collaboration with the better known James Redding Ware (1843-1909) shortly after Burnaby’s death in 1885. Referring to the period after Burnaby’s

return from his 1870/71 trip to Russia they state that: ‘The remainder of 1871, and nearly all of 1872, he passed in England, doing regimental duty and enjoying life. His tentative work as a newspaper correspondent had not been continued between 1868 and 1872.’¹³ As will be seen this is incorrect on two counts.

In 1892 Henry Lucy devoted a chapter of his book, *Faces and Places*, to Burnaby.¹⁴ Lucy, a highly respected journalist, had known Burnaby well from 1874, when they had shared a balloon ascent from Crystal Palace. He categorically states that at some time Burnaby had visited South America game shooting, but he would not then have known him and may simply have picked this up from an earlier work.

Much of the same ground was covered in 1908, albeit in a little more detail, by Thomas Wright.¹⁵ In 1926 there was a short work by Louis Blake Duff and there were several relevant chapters in Fred’s wife’s autobiography of 1928.¹⁶ Burnaby is also mentioned in many other works by contemporary authors, including Frank Harris.¹⁷ Superficially there was a great deal of information available for Fred’s biographers: anecdote, contemporary reportage, Burnaby’s own published writing and his many obituaries. However, even the most recent biography by Michael Alexander failed to dig far below the surface of these, although he did have access to a few of his private letters that his family chose to make available.¹⁸

Some of the statements made about Fred are hard to confirm and even Mann & Ware tried to debunk some of the myths that had grown up by the time of Fred’s death. Byron Farwell states that Burnaby ‘... travelled in Central and South America, and Central Asia,’ but he does not cite his source.¹⁹ The Americas are not mentioned in the only biography of Burnaby listed in Farwell’s bibliography, or indeed any of the others except for Duff, who states that ‘The slain Colonel had been a traveller, visiting South America, Central Africa and most parts of Europe’.²⁰ There may have been some confusion with his great grandfather, the Ven. Dr. Andrew Burnaby, who had travelled widely in America and elsewhere. It is likely that a determined research effort would throw up much more information on Burnaby, particularly on his earlier travels, undertaken roughly from 1859, when he was commissioned, until 1867. The question arises as to why Burnaby failed to recount these travels in print, given that he took pleasure from his writing and was not slow to describe others of his undoubted adventures.

The answer may have been hinted at by Andrew Roberts in his biography of the Marquess of Salisbury, who described Burnaby as ‘an adventurer and spy’, although the thought of the six feet four inch tall and forty six inch chest Burnaby acting clandestinely would be absurd and there is certainly nothing in the Hatfield House archives of the Salisbury family to support this.²¹ Also, the Duke of Cambridge, the army’s Commander-in-Chief, would have been unlikely to have ordered his return from Khiva in 1876 if he had caused him to be sent there in the first place. Likewise Sinan Akilli analyses Burnaby’s contribution to the politics of the Great Game, but falls short of describing him as an agent of the British government, secret or otherwise.²² Spies were, of course, employed, but these were usually local people who were paid for their work; Burnaby himself refers in a letter from El Teb to ‘the reports of my spies’ and they also feature in *Our Radicals*.²³ Fred’s discretion on intelligence and other matters also left something to be desired. In a letter of 4 December 1876 to Lady Molesworth that could easily have been intercepted, written after he had reviewed the probable battleground for a Russian/English confrontation in the event of Russia declaring war on Turkey, he was quite open about the likely point of weakness in the English defensive line. In the same letter he made an unflattering comparison between the Duchess of Westminster and the wife of a fat Turkish Pacha with whom he had travelled from Smyrna to Constantinople.²⁴

Another confusion may have arisen from the fact that officers on leave who volunteered to participate in overseas engagements (an officially frowned-upon, but accepted practice) were often employed in support posts, such as transport or ‘intelligence’, and this was indeed the case with Burnaby when he arrived in Egypt in 1884 and was appointed initially to the Intelligence Department by Lord Wolseley, although he subsequently took on a more active logistics role.²⁵

One surviving letter suggests that even if Burnaby was acting in an unofficial intelligence gathering capacity on his Asia Minor trip his briefing beforehand left something to be desired. Following his return, he wrote from St. John’s Wood Barracks to his friend Montagu Corry (1838-1903, later Lord

Rowton) seeking padding for his book: ‘Do you think that you could procure for me any of the reports of our Consuls at Ankara & Scutari [?] during the last 6 or 7 years? ... if there are any reports ... relating to Russian misrule in the Caucasus they would be very useful’.²⁶ The reports were duly produced and appeared as appendices in his book. Even travelling in the full public gaze, however, it was possible to gather useful military intelligence and this was recognised by the War Office in 1877 following his trip through Asia Minor.²⁷ For example, in one of his letters to his mother Burnaby spoke of spending ten hours in the saddle going over the ground that would be the British position in the event of a Russian attack on Constantinople.²⁸ In Thomas Gibson Bowles’ angry obituary of his close friend Burnaby, he mentioned the detailed reports he had provided to Horse Guards on his return from his trips to Khiva and Asia Minor and from the Russo-Turkish war.²⁹

While a full and critical biography of Burnaby has still to be written, additional material on his life does surface from time to time and the purpose of the remainder of this note is to bring some of this to wider attention. There may well be much more left to discover.

The Letters

To deal first with the previously unattributed letters, it is well known that Burnaby made a trip to Russia, Turkey and France in the winter of 1870/71. Several of his biographies quote a letter he wrote to his sister Annie on his arrival in Moscow asking her to ‘...please cut out and send me here any letters which may appear in the *Morning Post*’.³⁰ Attempting to identify these despatches is slightly complicated by the fact that most of that newspaper’s pieces on Russia and Turkey around this time were usually headed ‘From our Correspondent’. Four, however, stand out as being very likely to have been written by Burnaby.

The first, headed ‘From our Special Correspondent, St. Petersburg’, appeared on 8 December 1870 and comprised two letters of the 1 and 3 of December. The writer apparently spoke some Russian and was concerned with his digestion, so it was almost certainly Burnaby. The first part of the first letter is of a light-hearted nature, dealing with the local version of fox-hunting and the performances of Adela Patti, the celebrated soprano married to the Marquis de Caux. The second part of the first letter discusses the shipbuilding being undertaken in the Ukraine to augment the Russian fleet and analyses the possibility of a Russian-Prussian conflict. Burnaby was of the view that in their present state of readiness the Russians would be unable to repulse a determined Prussian attack on Moscow and St. Petersburg. The second letter describes the conversion of the Russian army’s rifles to breech loaders on the Krenk system and the increased military estimates, up 20% on the previous year at 25 million Roubles. The additional expenditure was directed towards a wide variety of activities, including strengthened fortifications, rapid firing field guns, light artillery and vast quantities of ammunition. In one of his early letters from Spain, Fred had also commented on the local variant of fox-hunting and on the conversion of Spanish artillery to breech loaders.

The second and most problematic despatch of the four, datelined ‘Russia, from our special correspondent, St. Petersburg, Dec. 10’ appeared on 16 December 1870. The first part of the letter deals with the influx of Parisians to the Russian capital, escaping the siege of their own city, and relates a story concerning Russian marital infidelity. The second part returns to the subject of army estimates and provides a lengthy quotation from a local newspaper, the *Birjevouai Vedomosti*, on Russia’s increasingly militaristic posture.³¹

The third, datelined ‘St. Petersburg and Moscow, from a Correspondent’, appeared on 8 February 1871; apart from the fact that the writer had recently visited both cities, there is a reference to the writer’s love of Seville and to goose livers (Burnaby’s own liver was always a source of concern to him). It contains little of real importance, dealing with the diversions offered by Moscow (which he much preferred to St. Petersburg) and local religious and other customs.

The fourth, datelined ‘Notes from Turkey, from an Occasional Correspondent, Constantinople, Feb. 17’ appeared on 6 March 1871. The writer mentions having passed through Kiev and Odessa (then in the grip of a cholera epidemic), which Burnaby is known to have done. Militarily this is the most important of the four despatches, the larger part being devoted to General Totleben’s fortification and defence plans for Kiev and the activity in Odessa, through which thirty six Krupp heavy field guns had recently passed *en route* to Nicolayev, an important shipbuilding centre, and Kertch, a base for the

Russian Black Sea fleet ('quite a second Cronstadt'). A tail-piece to this letter describes the increasing emancipation of Turkish women.

All four represent typical examples of Burnaby's style. In her autobiography, Burnaby's widow states that: 'In 1870 the *Morning Post* published various letters from his pen in Russia', so there may still be more to be identified.³²

The Trip

Potentially more interesting, however, is a trip that Burnaby made to Russia in the following winter, which is unrecorded in any of the biographies consulted, his widow's memoirs, or in his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.³³ Oddly, he does not seem to have written any letters to the *Morning Post* or *The Times* while on this trip.

In 1868 Colonel Robert Richardson-Gardner, DL, FSA (1827-1898) had unsuccessfully contested the seat of Windsor and Eton for the Conservative Party. For the next few years he waited patiently to re-contest the seat, which he indeed won in 1874 and held until his resignation in 1890. In the winter of 1871/72 Robert and his wife, Maria Louisa, daughter of Henry Gardner, a wealthy brewer, made the railway journey of over 1,500 miles from London to St. Petersburg and Moscow. The trip was described by Robert in a series of letters written to his brother, John Crow Richardson of Swansea, and published in both the *Cambrian* and the *Windsor and Eton Herald* (which Robert co-owned). These letters were subsequently collected and republished with minor amendments and corrections as a short book. Robert names most of his travelling companions, including Lt.-Col. Money of the North-East London Rifles (of which unit Robert himself had been until recently Honorary Colonel), Captain Chambers of the Canadian army and a Russian officer, Lt.-Col. Isenbeck. However, one of his travelling companions was described only as a 'Captain in the Blues'. Of this officer, whom he first saw at a railway station *en route*, Robert wrote:³⁴

... height 6ft. 4in. in his stocking feet, wrapped up in a splendid Astracan 'Shuba', and to whom I had previously called Chambers's attention, as to his being a magnificent Russian. Our guardsman is a perfect marvel, he speaks nine living language – Russian included – and has travelled over pretty nearly the whole of this world, occupying his 'leave' in so doing; and if he could only get 'leave' in the next, there is no knowing where he would not go.

At this time Burnaby's travels were not well known to the public, but his ballooning exploits were and it may be considered odd that Robert, a social climber, did not recognise him on introduction, at least by reputation or through his connections with *Vanity Fair*; the nine languages may also have been a small exaggeration at this stage of Burnaby's life. The phrase 'he ... has travelled over pretty nearly the whole world' again implies that the officer concerned may have visited at least part of the Americas.

That it was definitely Burnaby is apparent from an article written in French and re-published in the *Windsor and Eton Herald* on 17 January 1872, having originally been published in the *Journal de St. Petersburg* of 3 January 1872 (OS). Referring to a diplomatic reception at the Winter Palace on the first day of the year, there is included a report of presentations: 'During the reception, the following persons had the honour of being presented to their Majesties [the Czar and Czarina], namely: ... Mr. Burnaby, major of the Horse Guards; Mr. Richardson-Gardner, a retired colonel of the regiment of volunteers; ...' (translated by author). So not only was Richardson-Gardner presented to the Czar (and his wife to the Czarina), but also 'Major' Burnaby of the Horse Guards; the fact that Burnaby is described by Wright as an 'extreme Russophobe' obviously did not preclude him from making as many contacts as he could in the country and he had gone to considerable lengths to learn the language, even while relaxing in Spain in 1869.³⁵ Similarly, Alexander states that 'He detests the Russian government,' but Burnaby drew a distinction between the government on the one hand (despite it being an autocracy) and the military and aristocracy on the other.³⁶ Certainly in both *Ride to Khiva* and *On Horseback in Central Asia*, his respect for the Russian officer is obvious. He also approved of Russian staff officer training methods as described in a lecture he gave to the Royal United Services Institute in 1871.³⁷ He probably witnessed the manoeuvres described therein during his visit of the previous winter. We also know that on one of his trips to Russia Burnaby dined in the officers' mess of the *Garde du Corps* at St. Petersburg as a guest of Count Schuvalov (1827-1889),

being described by Schuvalov to a reporter during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877/78 as an ‘old friend’.³⁸ Burnaby had apparently first met Schuvalov when he was Ambassador at the Court of St. James in 1875, while he was preparing for his ride to Khiva.

Conclusion

In and of themselves neither the letters nor the trip are remarkable, but they indicate there is more to be discovered of Burnaby, who was recently described by Lord Lexden as ‘Britain’s most famous imperial knight-errant after General Gordon and the Conservative Party’s most audacious campaigner after [Randolph] Churchill’;³⁹ he deserves his place in history and a critical biography is long overdue. The whereabouts today of the Burnaby family archive is unknown. One can only hope that at some stage these resurface, or that other primary material appears.

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- ¹ See Frederick Gustavus Burnaby: (1) *A Ride across the Channel and Other Adventures in the Air* (London: Sampson Low, 1882); and (2) 'The Possibilities of Ballooning' in *Fortnightly Review* 41 (May 1884), pp. 668-76.
- ² Peter H. Hansen, 'Le Blond, Elizabeth Alice Frances (1860–1934)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4047> accessed 23 April 2010.
- ³ See, for example, Christopher Hudson 'They don't make spies like ferocious Fred any more', *Mail Online* 19 September 2011. Burnaby merits a chapter to himself in John Ure's *Shooting Leave* (London: Constable, 2010), pp. 159-80.
- ⁴ Ware & Mann, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-4.
- ⁵ 'Col. Burnaby as a journalist' in *The Northern Echo* 27 January 1885.
- ⁶ Frederick Gustavus Burnaby: (1) *A Ride to Khiva: Travels and Adventures in Central Asia* (London: Cassell, 1876); and (2) *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (London: Sampson Low, 1877). Following the Khiva journey the *Essex Standard* (6 April 1877) reported that Burnaby was to be honoured with the degree of L.L.D. *honoris causa* by the University of Cambridge.
- ⁷ *The Times*, 15 February 1878. In the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 22 March 1878, it was reported that Burnaby was offered £2,000 for a lecture tour of the United States while travelling out to Turkey.
- ⁸ An obituary for Burnaby appeared in *The Times* 23 January 1885.
- ⁹ Frederick Gustavus Burnaby (edited by James Percival Hughes), *Our Radicals: A Tale of Love and Politics* London: Richard Bentley (1886); its working title had been *Ten Years Hence*. Hughes (1861-1932) was Burnaby's private secretary and married his widowed mother-in-law, Lady Hawkins-Whitshed (1838-1908), in 1885. He was an ineffective political agent and has been described as an 'amiable aesthete'.
- ¹⁰ [Barbara Arnett Melchiori](#), *Terrorism in the late Victorian novel London: Croom Helm (1985) pp. 100-105*.
- ¹¹ The letter is in the British Library Escott Papers ([Add. 58776](#) f.60). 'Mr. Lemprière' was presumably Lieutenant George Philip Lemprière (1855-1949), a well known balloonist.
- ¹² Wight, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- ¹³ Ware & Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
- ¹⁴ Henry W. Lucy 'Fred Burnaby' in *Faces and Places* (London: Henry and Co., 1892), pp. 1-22.
- ¹⁵ This was not Thomas Wright the balloonist, whom Burnaby had known well, but a kinsman and namesake who wrote a number of popular biographies.
- ¹⁶ The relevant works are: (1) R.K. Mann, *The Life, Adventures and Political Opinions of Frederick Gustavus Burnaby* (London: F.V. White & Co., 1882); (2) James Redding Ware and R.K. Mann, *The Life and Times of Colonel Fred Burnaby* (London: Leadenhall Press, 1885); (3) Thomas Wright, *The Life of Colonel Fred Burnaby* (London: Everett & Co., 1908); (4) Louis Blake Duff, *Burnaby* (Welland County Historical Society, Canada: Tribune-Telegraph Press, 1926); and (5) Mrs. Aubrey Le Blond (formerly Burnaby), *Day in, Day out* (London: Bodley Head, 1928).
- ¹⁷ Frank Harris (ed. By John F. Gallagher), *My Life and Loves*. (Paris: privately printed, 1922-27). [Avalon Travel Publishing, 1991, pp. 389-92.]
- ¹⁸ Michael Alexander, *The True Blue: the Life and Adventures of Colonel Fred Burnaby, 1842–85* (London: Rupert Hart-Davies, 1957).
- ¹⁹ Byron Edgar Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). [W.W. Norton & Company paperback edition, 1985, p. 287.] Several of Burnaby's obituaries mentioned that he had travelled to South America (e.g. *The Times* 18 January 1885), but Central America may simply be an error for Central Africa, which then conventionally included the Sudan. Fred's great grandfather, the Ven. Dr. Andrew Burnaby published books on his travels to North America and Corsica. Burnaby in Canada was indeed named after Fred Burnaby, but this was some time after his death.
- ²⁰ Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 6. South America is also mentioned in his obituary in *The Times* 23 January 1885.
- ²¹ Andrew Roberts, *Salisbury: Victorian Titan* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1999), p. 217.
- ²² [Sinan Akilli](#), 'Propaganda through Travel Writing: Frederick Burnaby's Contribution to Great Game British Politics' in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi/Journal of Faculty of Letters* vol. 26 no.1 (June 2009), pp. 1-12.
- ²³ Quoted in Le Blond, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
- ²⁴ [Somerset Archive and Record Service](#): DD\SH/59/274 N.D. WW56/1-16.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- ²⁶ Bodleian Library special collections: Hughenden papers, BXXI/142-1/1404 ff.137-138.
- ²⁷ Le Blond, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- ²⁹ *Vanity Fair*, February 1885.
- ³⁰ E.g. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
- ³¹ *Birjevouai Vedomosti* ('Exchange Statements') was published by Karl V. Trubnikov.
- ³² Le Blond, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
- ³³ Roger T. Stearn, 'Burnaby, Frederick Gustavus (1842–1885)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4047> accessed 23 April 2010.
- ³⁴ Robert [Richardson-Gardner](#), *A trip to St. Petersburg* (London: T. Brettell and Co., 1872).
- ³⁵ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 88 & p. 52.
- ³⁶ Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

³⁷ Frederick Gustavus Burnaby, 'The Practical Instruction of Staff Officers in Foreign Armies' in *Journal of the Royal United Services Institution* vol. 16, no. 68 (January 1872), pp. 633-644. Reprinted as a pamphlet, London: W. Mitchell & Co (1876). Valentine Baker's paper 'Organisation and employment of cavalry' was published in volume 17 of the *Journal*.

³⁸ Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

³⁹ Alistair Cooke (now Lord Lexden), *A Gift from the Churchills: the Primrose League, 1883-2004*. (London: Carlton Club Publications, 2010).