

THE LIFE AND WORK OF
THOMAS BAINES

JANE CARRUTHERS
MARION ARNOLD



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**Puff adder in the desert
between Botletle and Zambesi
Rivers (1862).**

WATERCOLOUR. 27,3 x 38,1 cm.
COLL. MUSEUMAFRICA.



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'I ONLY SHOT FOR THE SAKE OF MEAT'¹*The landscape and natural resources*

Many of Baines's works can be located within the Victorian genre of 'modern life paintings'. They depict nineteenth-century Africa slowly being settled by white people whose occupancy of the land had repercussions for the flora, fauna and indigenous inhabitants. Although he contemplated the landscape with the eye of an artist, Baines looked at the natural world with the curiosity of a scientist and with the sentiments of an Englishman who never questioned that natural resources were available for collection and exploitation.

Victorian geologists, zoologists and botanists, imbued with an immense curiosity about the world, were eager for the empirical knowledge that lies within specimens. They did not regard collecting as the theft of natural and historical resources but as part of a process of scientific classification within the study of natural history. Artists became important members of scientific expeditions and were charged with recording accurate visual information about plants, animals and people – as is evident from Livingstone's pedantic letter to Baines in which he explains the artist's responsibilities on the Zambezi expedition. 'As artist of the expedition,' he wrote, 'you are required to make faithful representations of the general features of the country through which we shall pass in sketches of those points which you may consider characteristic of the scenery. You will also endeavour to make drawings of wild animals and birds copying as closely as you can the natural attitudes.'²

In view of these instructions, the studies that Baines made when he was employed on official expeditions take on meanings located within imperial policy. The sketches are not merely likenesses of nature but documents of a landscape whose natural resources were assessed in terms of British expansionism.

Livingstone's expedition had specific goals arising from his offer to assist the British Foreign Ministry in opening up the African interior to British commerce by way of the Zambezi. The imperial intentions are overt as Livingstone reveals in his letter to Baines. He wrote: 'The main objects of the expedition to which you are appointed artist and storekeeper are, to extend the knowledge we have already attained of the geography and mineral and agricultural resources of eastern and central Africa, to improve our acquaintance with the inhabitants and to engage them to apply their energies to industrial pursuits and to the cultivation of their lands with a view to the production of raw material to be exported to Britain in return for British manufactures.'³

It was on the issue of the navigability of the Zambezi that Livingstone's expedition foundered, and in the light of the importance that the river played in the objectives of the project, Baines's watercolour, *The rapids above Cahora Bassa, 24 November 1858* (1858) (fig. 1),⁴ is much more than a landscape of rocks and rough water. The image, confidently executed in pencil and animated by watercolour washes, shows a turbulent river surrounded by steep, rocky banks. The inclusion of four figures establishes the scale of the river and gorge in relation to man, but the three standing figures are also witnesses whose assessment of nature will confirm Baines's visual representation of the Zambezi as an unnavigable obstacle to the agricultural development of the region.

Nineteenth-century environmental exploitation is fused with imperial ideology, but the issue is further complicated by the radical difference in attitudes to nature and empire prevailing in the Victorian era from those of the post-colonial and late twentieth century. Baines painted the Africa that he encountered

as a Victorian explorer; his sense of acquisitiveness was formed by a British value system and modified by his own artistic and scientific interests. His images endorse the implementation of imperialism but are also constructs of his personal vision and his experiences of tranquillity, loneliness or adventure.

Baines took for granted the practices of travelling in Africa. Expeditions were provisioned in advance but it was customary to depend on hunting to supplement resources and to feed the indigenous retinue. Hunting is an important theme in Baines's landscape paintings and it demonstrates the dialogue between sociopolitical values and the individual experience that shapes the appearance of an image. Writing his journals with a reader in mind, Baines observes of hunting: 'I confess I can never quite

get over the feeling that the wonderful products of nature are objects to be admired, rather than destroyed; and this, I am afraid, sometimes keeps me looking at a buck when I ought to be minding my hind sights.'⁵ He also comments: 'I only shot for the sake of meat for the people and for the opportunity of seeing and sketching the animals.' Wallis concludes that Baines 'always preferred sketching animals to shooting',⁶ and Bradlow likewise accepts Baines at face value, noting that he 'never killed animals . . . unless it was necessary to feed the expedition'.⁷

Although these observations may be correct as regards Baines's own practice as a hunter, they are a selective reading of his journals; he records innumerable accounts of his own



figure 1

The rapids above Cahora Bassa, 24 November 1858 (1858).

PENCIL AND WATERCOLOUR.
28 x 38,5 cm.
COLL: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ZIMBABWE.

The *MaRobert* left Tete on 22 November 1858 and anchored at the mouth of the Kebrabasa gorge. On 24 November, a party including David and Charles Livingstone, Kirk, Baines, Thornton, Rae, the guide – Jose Anselmo de St Anna – and five of his black assistants started upstream on foot to inspect the gorge. Baines made a number of sketches of the landscape.

hunting and also of his companions who shot whenever they came across animals. He gives some graphic accounts of injury and slaughter but he expresses no remorse after excessive killing, nor does he make any comment on the pain suffered by wounded animals that escape from hunters.

It is therefore difficult to accept Bradlow's conclusion that Baines's 'attitudes to game were nearer to those of a twentieth century conservationist than a nineteenth century killer'.⁸ Instead, it is reasonable to postulate that Baines was ambivalent about hunting. He did not necessarily enjoy killing but he wanted to draw and study wildlife and hunting was a means to this end. He also accepted the practice of hunting for sport and of shooting for the pot and for trade in skins and ivory. His wildlife paintings express his personal scientific curiosity about nature as well as a societal belief that masculine adventure and imperial commercial objectives could be met in hunting and killing African animals.

By the time Baines travelled through Africa, the huge herds described by earlier explorers had been radically reduced and forced northwards. The African adventures of William Cornwallis Harris, as described in his book *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa*,⁹ had fascinated him before he ever left Cape Town, but he waited a long time before he himself hunted the big game which he knew from illustrations. Not until he accompanied Chapman to the Victoria Falls in 1861 did Baines experience elephant, buffalo and rhinoceros in large numbers;

they were to provide the subjects for many drawings and paintings, and the multiple versions of some paintings suggest that they were popular.¹⁰

In 1862, Baines describes his first close encounter with an elephant in terms which convey his responses but are also calculated to appeal to the expectations of the Victorian reader. He writes: 'Neither picture nor well-groomed black-skinned show specimen from India I had ever seen had quite prepared me to stand, for the first time, without a sensation of awe and wonder beside the mighty African, fallen in all his native grandeur in his domain.'¹¹

In *Elephant killed in the night by Chapman* (1862) (fig. 2),¹² Baines makes a precise, detailed drawing of the bulk of an elephant killed a few days after he studied his first dead specimen. Through scientifically precise working drawings, he came to know the anatomy of the African animals and he uses this to good advantage in paintings such as *The discovery of gold* (1874) (fig. 13) where the pose is remarkably similar to the drawing made twelve years earlier.

As an artist, Baines was quick to recognize that hunting provided the action and conflict that could constitute the subject of a dramatic painting. At the Victoria Falls he experienced the full dimension of the wilderness – a spectacular landscape shaped by natural forces and inhabited by powerful wild animals. Particularly memorable was an encounter with buffaloes at the edge of the forest adjacent to the Falls. Baines recorded the event as a narrative of interaction between men and beasts that reaches a sensational climax. 'There,' he writes, 'within seventy yards are a hundred buffaloes; fortunately to windward of us. We fire into them, and they charge wildly round to leeward, seeking to sniff our wind. If they gain this, their next charge will be directly at us. Bullet after bullet stops and heads them off . . . At length they turn and rush toward the Fall, crushing through palm brake and rotten timber till, at full speed, they gain the rocky headland, and we hold our breath in momentary terror lest they should rush over. Now they halt on the very edge, their dark massive forms stand out, as in bold relief against the misty clouds, and again, as the bullets tell upon them, they take refuge in the palm brake, the wounded lagging in the covert as they go.'¹³

Baines's illustration of the incident, *Buffalo hunt in the rain forest* (1863) (fig. 3),¹⁴ is quite literally a cliffhanger based on his written account. With its rhythmic profusion of plants and of black men with spears in combat against the buffalo, the

figure 2

Elephant killed in the night by Chapman (1862).

PENCIL, 20.3 x 36.8 cm.
COLL. MUSEUMAFRICA.

Baines used every opportunity to gather information. His studies of dead animals helped him produce convincing paintings of animals in action.



scene is the archetypal jungle of Darkest Africa; but, with the inclusion of naturalistic, botanical detail and expansive space, it is also convincing as an actual place. The centralized focal point where the silhouettes of the buffaloes are poised against the spray, rock cliffs and tumbling waters conveys the horror of falling. The composition, intentionally contrived to express emotions generated by sight, is one of Baines's most romantic paintings. He uses strong tonal contrasts, the play of textures, abrupt shifts in scale, and the horror of the void to titillate the senses. Seen independently of the text the painting accords a minor role to the hunters but, as author, Baines revels in the scene of panic caused by men with guns who were not content merely to witness nature.

Interesting issues are raised when one compares Baines's depiction of the white man's methods of killing with those practised by the black peoples. Indigenous people used pitfalls to trap the big game that yielded meat and also provided skins and horns for trade as well as for ornaments, clothing, musical instruments and receptacles. Communal hunts were organized to drive animals into large pits or *hopos* which were dug at the end of a series of brushwood fences.

Baines painted three oils of the *hopo*. These works, painted in Cape Town, not only depict indigenous hunting but they make a significant statement about Baines's artistic methods. As a professional artist, he produced work for both the market and specific patrons, and in 1860-61 he was trying to make

figure 4

A native game pit (1861).

Oil, 45,8 x 66 cm.

COLL: MUSEUMAFRICA.



money in Cape Town so that he could join Chapman on his proposed expedition from Walvis Bay to the Zambezi River. Of particular interest is the source of two of Baines's *hopo* scenes, namely David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857). Livingstone provides a graphic account of a hunt by the Bakuena near his station at Kolobeng. He describes the construction of the *hopo* and the hunt itself during which 'the animals rush to the opening presented at the converging hedges, and into the pit till that is full of a living mass . . . It is a frightful scene'.¹⁵

Livingstone fails to acknowledge the artist who produced the illustrations for his book but he has been identified as the animal painter, Joseph Wolf (1820-?).¹⁶ The illustrations



figure 5

The pit at the extremity of the hopo.

ENGRAVING BY J.W. WHYMPER FROM A PAINTING BY JOSEPH WOLF.

Published in David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: 1857).

Livingstone described the *hopo*: 'The hopo consists of two hedges in the form of the letter V, which are very high and thick near the angle. Instead of the hedges being joined there, they are made to form a lane of about fifty yards in length, at the extremity of which a pit is formed, six or eight feet deep, and about twelve or fifteen in breadth and length. Trunks of trees are laid across the margins of the pit, and more especially over that nearest the lane where the animals are expected to leap in, and over that farthest from the lane where it is supposed they will attempt to escape after they are in. The trees form an overlapping border, and render escape almost impossible. The whole is carefully decked with short, green rushes, making the pit like a concealed pitfall' (p. 26).



figure 6

The pit at the end of the hopo (1864).

OIL ON CANVAS, 83 x 118 cm.
COLL: SOUTH AFRICAN LIBRARY.



figure 7

The greatest hunt in Africa near Bloemfontein (1860).

OIL ON CANVAS, 46.5 x 62 cm.
WILLIAM FEHR COLLECTION.

(engraved by J.W. Whympfer) are not a great success, largely because Livingstone seemed unable to communicate his requirements to Wolf. The wood engraving, *The pit at the extremity of the hopo* (fig. 5), is the same image as Baines's large oil painting, *The pit at the end of the hopo* (1861) (fig. 6).¹⁷ Recognizing the similarities, Maurice Green speculates that Livingstone may have supplied Wolf with a sketch by Baines (pre 1857) on which to base the woodcut illustration¹⁸ but I suggest that the exact opposite occurred: that Baines based his paintings on the Wolf illustrations.

As there is no evidence that Baines ever witnessed pitfall hunting, he could not have produced *in situ* drawings. However, he did make use of source material other than his own sketches. He would have read Livingstone's book, possibly when it was published or when he was in Cape Town in 1861. Either he produced his two paintings based on the Wolf illustrations because he found the images interesting, or he was commissioned by R.M. Ross, the owner of the two large canvases, who showed them at the Fourth Exhibition of Fine Arts in Cape Town in 1866.¹⁹ What is intriguing about the

paintings is that they are bigger than Baines's usual scale, are monochromatic and are broadly painted. The scale, tonality, free brushwork and unfinished appearance suggest that they might have been made to illustrate a talk.

Conceptually and visually, the most successful *hopo* painting is *A native game pit* (1861) (fig. 4).²⁰ In this work, executed in Baines's usual controlled style, the artist uses his imagination and knowledge of African animals to create a strange and terrifying image of destruction. A disturbing atmosphere is created by night-time lighting, fire and smoke. Turbulent rhythms and actively patterned forms establish a sense of chaos and the long necks of the giraffes floating above contribute to the surreal nature of the scene in which black men are prominent as the perpetrators of death and violence.

The strangeness of the *hopo* site implies that the hunting methods of black people are unnatural, yet those practised by Europeans are represented as normal and acceptable activities for men. In *Herd of buffaloes chased through the Macloutsie River by T. Baines and Carl Lee Wednesday Oct 18 1871* (1873) (fig. 8),²¹ the hunters, indicated by prominent bursts of white gun smoke, are small, distant forms controlling the hunt with their powerful weapons. The sun-bleached savannah is animated by stampeding animals whose distinctive horns, the trophies of hunters, are conspicuous in the foreground. In his account of the hunt, Baines mentions the buffalo leader – 'a magnificent old bull with splendid horns' – and he details the number of animals injured and killed, noting that 'having only a couple of kaffirs with us, we could do no more than cut off the head and shoulder [of one of the beasts] and return to the waggons'.²² Victorian readers and viewers would have accepted these European hunting customs as part of the mind-set of supremacy.

Indeed, white dominance on the continent was decisively displayed when Queen Victoria's second son, Prince Alfred, visited southern Africa in 1860. To celebrate his visit to the Orange Free State, then an independent Boer republic, a vast hunt was organized. A thousand Rolong, members of a Sotho tribe, were recruited to drive herds of wildebeest, zebra, blesbok, hartebeest, ostrich and springbok inwards while three hundred pack oxen stood by to bear the carcasses from the slaughter. Between 20 000 and 30 000 animals were caught within the cordon and hundreds were either slaughtered by assegais or gunfire, or broke through the lines, trampling a number of Rolong.

Working from imagination, Baines reconstructs this orgy of killing in *The greatest hunt in Africa near Bloemfontein* (1860)



figure 8

Herd of buffaloes chased through the Macloutsie River by T. Baines and Carl Lee Wednesday Oct 18 1871 (1873).

OIL ON CANVAS, 51,3 x 65,7 cm.
SANLAM ART COLLECTION.

Baines describes the stampede and then the death of a wounded buffalo in graphic detail: 'He was beginning to move toward us when I gave him a shot which checked him. I ran to reload and we both fired, hitting him again behind the shoulder. I stood to reload and he was again coming when I brought him down with a bullet that broke his near shoulder. One of the kaffirs darted forward and drove his assegai, leaving it in the carcase, and Lee terminated his struggle by shooting the poor beast behind the ear.' (Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, pp. 738-9.)

(fig. 7),²³ one of several paintings commissioned to illustrate *The Progress of His Royal Highness Prince Alfred Ernest Albert* (Cape Town, 1861). The painting, rendered in tones of black and white to facilitate reproduction, celebrates the tradition of the Royal Hunt. Killing becomes a symbolic show of power, and the image acknowledges the British monarchy and the power of the European within a ritual enacted on the plains of Africa.

The exploitation of Africa's natural resources, a pivotal

imperialist objective, was taken for granted by Baines who recorded commercial transactions in a number of paintings. Trade in the urban landscape is the subject of *Wagons on Market Square, Grahamstown* (1850) (fig. 11).²⁴ The painting is in Baines's early style, awkwardly structured, monochromatic, and concerned with transcribing the visual source accurately. The objects for sale – ivory, horns, hides and skins – are prominently located in the format and invite inspection. The



painting is about the production and consumption of wealth; the fashionably dressed foreground figures²⁹ are purchasers of the natural resources of Africa and their prominence asserts the British presence and signifies British economic power.

In the interior of Africa Baines witnessed the commercial results of elephant hunting, the barter and trade that generated contact between the native peoples and the British and established the power relations of colonialism. In *Arrival of Batoana tribe at Lake Ngami* (1861) (fig. 12),³⁰ the artist records an actual event but structures his pictorial information to accord a dominant role to the European presence, signified by the intrusive geometry and tone of the white wagons. The wagons, placed in the middle distance and drawing the procession of Chief Leshulatebe's Tawana tribespeople towards them, are the focal point. In the mixture of the clothing they wear and the combination of spears and muskets, the people show the evidence of contact with Europeans, but the rear of the procession is constituted of 'authentic Africa' – almost nude figures bearing ivory, the wealth of Africa.

Towards the end of his career, Baines was unequivocally drawn into the imperial enterprise when he was invited to lead an expedition to Matabeleland for the South African Gold Fields Exploration Company. The work of his final African period was related to gold either in terms of imagery or as a fund-raising effort to keep the company financially viable. Baines was intrigued by the story of the discovery of gold by the hunter Henry Hartley who, after shooting an elephant, realized that it was lying on quartz which showed traces of the metal. Baines made his first trip to Matabeleland in the company of Hartley who pointed out the place where he had first found gold-bearing rocks and in *The discovery of gold* (1874) (fig. 13)³¹ Baines reconstructs the incident. It is a theatrical scene; Hartley and his employees convey, through gesture and stance, the significance of the event that was to change the landscape and bring settlers across the Limpopo in an extension of the imperial enterprise.

The contrived narrative of *The discovery of gold* contrasts with the reality of gold-mining depicted in *Gold washing in the rivulet at Eersteling* (1871) (fig. 10).³² This factual drawing, a fine example of Baines's crisply assured late graphic style, is also a landscape where the processes of natural transformation have been overtaken by cultural interventions. The small gully, formed by erosion, has been artificially dammed to retain water to wash rocks and soil, and the natural rhythms of rocks,

earth and foliage are interrupted by the geometry of the mining cradles used to separate gold from gravel. The drawing denotes the physical work of mining the earth.

Thomas Baines's drawings and paintings of the natural resources of Africa depict his adventurous travels and his encounters with big game, small plants and gold-bearing rocks, but they also reveal the imperialist mind-set. Like his countrymen, Baines had no doubts that Britain should colonize Africa and take possession of the rich range of natural resources. In representing the landscape, flora and fauna illusionistically, Baines identifies and classifies nature and echoes scientific procedures. But he does not merely describe nature in empirical terms and aestheticize his observations in visual language. The paintings become bearers of the abstract social values of the Victorian world, part of a series of assumptions about British identity and expansionist objectives.



figure 9

The black rhinoceros (1874).

OIL 51.3 x 66.7 cm.
SANLAM ART COLLECTION.

In this painting, Baines's profound knowledge of the African landscape and nature unite with a technical mastery of realism. The attention devoted to the particularities of shape and texture contribute to an accomplished study of an idyllic natural world untroubled by man's presence. The painting is, primarily, a study of the black rhinoceros as a specimen on display in the natural environment. The distinctive head, a focal dark form against the hazy middle distance, identifies the beast for scientists and hunters. Commissioned in the year before his death by his young patron, Guy Dawnay (1848-1889), the image is the result of discussions between Baines and Dawnay who admired the artist's work, wanted animal paintings and stipulated the subjects he desired.

figure 10

Gold washing in the rivulet at Eersteling (1871).

PENCIL 27 x 37.5 cm.
COLL: GUBBINS AFRICANA LIBRARY.

In his diary, Baines commented: 'Near the house, in a deep gully of rich brown soil with a small rill dammed up to retain the water, were two cradles, and across another branch of the rivulet in a broad grassy valley were half a dozen holes side by side, like newly made graves, and from some of these the two ounces of gold exhibited in Pretoria had been extracted.' (Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, p. 762.)



figure 14

Southern crimson-breasted shrike (1864).

OIL, 25,4 x 35,8 cm.
COLL: MUSEUMAFRICA

Baines illustrates both the brilliantly coloured shrike and a dramatic event in this intense, small oil. In *Explorations in South-West Africa* he notes: 'Sunday, 15th [Dec 1861] . . . In the evening a thunderstorm passed over the lake about a mile to the north of us. One flash, streaming from above, set fire to the reeds, which burnt furiously for some time after, sending up sheets of red flame more than twenty feet high.'

figure 13

The discovery of gold (1874).

OIL ON CANVAS, 65,4 x 50,8 cm.
COLL: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ZIMBABWE

Ivory and gold, two resources which were exploited by the colonization of Africa, are the subject of this image. The huge elephant killed by Henry Hartley, its large tusks prominent, lies on the rocky land which conceals yet more wealth. Next to the elephant which he has killed stands the Englishman who controls the situation through his race, technology and knowledge of geology.

figure 15

Ground-scraper thrush (1864).

OIL, 25,4 x 17,8 cm.
COLL: MUSEUMAFRICA

Charles John Andersson commissioned Baines to illustrate birds for his proposed work on natural history. He notes that he measured the birds and handed them 'to my friend to be presented lifelike by his quick and talented pencil. I will not deny, however, that we had our little hitches at the first onset; for Baines could hardly understand why I should lay so much stress upon details as I did . . . I am duty bound to say that he never refused to make the necessary alterations when he found my remarks were just and to the purpose'. (*Notes of Travel in South Africa*, pp. 130-31.)



EPILOGUE



When he died in Durban at the relatively young age of fifty-five, Thomas Baines left no tangible assets, but his legacy in terms of his writings and artworks is an immeasurable cultural treasure. Because he was so talented, prolific and energetic, he bequeathed to posterity a truly remarkable record of the experiences of an eminent Victorian.

Baines lived at a period when to be British was to be 'best' and he enthusiastically accepted as his duty the propagation of British ideology. He believed implicitly that British imperial expansion was the correct way to extend economic and social progress. Not for a moment, whether in word, pencil or paint, did Baines ever falter from his conviction that the British had a mission to bring civilization and Western knowledge to other 'less fortunate' peoples. With this goal uppermost in his mind, he explored southern Africa, Australia, the Zambezi valley, Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe with enthusiasm, revelling in the opportunity to be the harbinger of occidental values to these regions.

Doubtless Baines, like his contemporaries, considered the achievements of his life to have been his explorations in the imperial endeavour. His friend Henry Hall, in his introductory memoir to Baines's posthumously published book, *The Gold Regions of South Eastern Africa*, couched his appreciation of Baines's attainments in the following terms: 'Toiling for years in the cause of civilisation and human progress, as well as in that of the honour and prestige of Englishmen in a barbarous country . . . this fearless and accomplished man has impressed the native mind with a conviction of English courage and



superiority, and has now gone to his rest unrecognised and unrewarded, but not unlamented . . . Like too many other pioneers, poor Baines never reaped the harvest he had sown. A day will, and must come, when great and powerful communities will exist in these wealthy and fertile countries . . . but Baines' reward was only the fame of being the pioneer to point the way to them, and for him that was reward sufficient.'

History has not been kind to these attitudes, and Baines's accomplishments as extolled by Hall are not those which impress the late twentieth century. Becoming enmeshed in the British Empire proved in the longer term not to have been any blessing for most communities – about whom Baines was extremely derogatory and racist – and they struggled for many decades, at least in Africa, to free themselves from its fetters. Even the exploitation of natural resources which Baines so ardently advocated did not bring unmitigated gains and today it seems that the health of the planet might have been seriously jeopardized by the belief in economic growth at any cost.

Other aspects of Baines's career as a Victorian also seem anachronistic from the perspective of the present. There is, for example, his strong ambition to transcend his class origins and to become part of the elite of his time. It is difficult in this egalitarian age to appreciate just what a great achievement this was for Baines, born to an undistinguished family of tradespeople. Baines made the transition well, and his enquiring mind and adventurous career brought him in touch with many of the scientific and aristocratic notables of his time; with them he dealt as an equal, gaining their respect and even their friendship.

figure 4

Cannon trained on low hills (1857).

PENCIL. 18.5 x 24.8 cm.
COLL: MUSEUMAFRICA.

This drawing summarizes much of Baines's existence in Africa. A low range of hills is juxtaposed with an isolated cannon, signifying the opposition between nature and imperial culture. Devoid of human presence, this fragmentary sketch unwittingly comments on the invasion and conquest of African space that comprises nineteenth-century South African history.

An indication of the extent to which Victorian respectability was important to Baines becomes further evident when he failed to earn Livingstone's regard and was dismissed, probably unfairly, for theft during the Zambezi expedition. It is highly likely that Baines's subsequent illness in Cape Town and his bizarre behaviour in Namibia while he was with Andersson were as much due to some kind of nervous breakdown over the issue, as to the effects of tropical malaria or over-indulgence in mercury. Baines also had a strong sense of Victorian family duty and he kept in close touch with his parents, siblings and other relatives. Indeed, his loyalty to his later employer, the

South African Gold Fields Exploration Company, was to bring him to the verge of bankruptcy, an outcome which Baines was apparently unable to foresee although many others were not as naive as he was.

As with his dismissal by Livingstone and his failure to clear his name, in certain other respects Baines was not successful in his own, Victorian, terms. He never became the first person to have to his credit the exploration or discovery of any really important place. There was even dissent among members of his own party over naming a small river in northwestern Australia after him. He did not become the leader of any



figure 2

War dance of the Port Elizabeth Fingoes at Rietfontein (1853).

OIL 45,7 x 63,5 cm.
COLL: MUSEUMAFRICA

Describing the activity that generated this image, Baines reveals both his British racial prejudice towards indigenous 'savages' and the artistic vision that delighted in rhythm and pose. He notes that the Port Elizabeth levy were: 'dancing, or rather performing a kind of pantomimic exercise, with their native weapons, the assegai and the keerie . . . One fine athletic fellow, with a large nodding plume of white feathers overhanging his forehead, displayed singular activity. His every attitude was a model for a sculptor, and I could not help regretting that he wore the garments of civilized life instead of his native costume . . . the horrors of savage warfare were vividly portrayed in his wild shouts and gestures of defiance and the triumphant joy with which he struck down his supposed antagonists by repeated throws of his assegai and completed the murderous work with his knob kerrie'. (Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 2, pp. 225-6.)



figure 3

Title page of *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life*, W.B. Lord and Thomas Baines.

ENGRAVING

Baines never lost his feeling for drama. In this illustration he uses rope as a material of resourcefulness and bridges the chasm with rope words. The presence of words as objects in a stark natural setting transforms reality into surreality, revealing Baines's ingenuity as an imaginative illustrator.

important expedition and his status as storekeeper in Australia and on the Zambezi was a low one. Nor was he even a competent storekeeper, his lack of aptitude at the job being noted by his travelling companions.

It is quite apparent also from the course of his life that Baines was as inefficient at managing money as he was at managing stores. He was unsuccessful at selling his work, most of which remained in the hands of family members and a few supportive patrons until it was acquired by Africana repositories many decades after his death. Only one of his journals, that relating to Namibia, was published in his lifetime and then in a poorly edited edition, and neither it nor his lithographic prints generated any substantial income. Baines was always short of funds and thus never freed himself from the obligation to take on uncongenial tasks for which he would be paid. However, he disliked working on commission, complaining about the lack of artistic appreciation of many of his

patrons in the Eastern Cape and grumbling about drawing Namibian birds the way Andersson wanted them done.

Despite his reticence to discuss personal matters in his journals, it is also clear that Baines had a somewhat difficult personality and lacked any qualities of leadership. Every adventure in which he was part of a team went awry. Gregory's expedition was an ordeal for Baines in terms of human relations, for many members of his group came to dislike him intensely. The artist-storekeeper was, moreover, unable to earn the respect of his colleagues; he could not prevent them from fighting with one another or bring any degree of decorum to the venture in the absence of Augustus Gregory, the commander. Baines's inability to impress Livingstone resulted in his dismissal in disgrace and the Namibian trader, Andersson, privately castigated him for being moody and for having a sour and unpleasant disposition. This unattractive aspect of Baines's personality must, however, be counterbalanced by the conspicuous sense of humour which

emanates from some of his writings and paintings. Like many a loner, he knew how to amuse and entertain, putting on amateur theatricals and producing humorous little illustrated newspapers and journals.

There is no doubt that part of Baines's fascination for a modern audience is his complex personality. While Victorians required their heroes to be straightforward and principled – as they (incorrectly) thought Livingstone to be – Baines could not be easily understood, nor can he be, even today. Certainly, he wrote many thousands of words and painted a tremendous number of pictures, but there is always something of himself which he seems to keep hidden. While his writings and artworks can be appreciated for their content and for the talent they display, there is always the hint that part of Baines is obscured from public view. His paintings embody his point of view and interpretation of places and events, but he rarely offers any analysis either of himself or of those he encountered. We know little about what he thought of others or they of him; in his journals he very seldom mentions his companions – let alone divulges his attitude towards women – and never describes people's characters. Baines certainly had the kind of personality which intrigues and perhaps it is this that today motivates people to read his writings and to view his work.

Baines also appeals to the modern reader and viewer because of his breadth of experience and in *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel and Exploration* he explains how difficult it was to achieve this in Victorian times. A careful reading of this work makes clear Baines's real accomplishments in not only surviving but managing to enjoy global travel in an age when comfort was lacking. He was highly commended for his travel expertise by Eduard Mohr who commented that Baines 'had become familiar with all those arts and contrivances by means of which life in the wilderness can be made pleasant. There was always something to be learnt from him'.²

There is a sense, however, in which all of Baines's output can be seen as an attempt to instruct others. Although he himself declared that the mainspring of his life was his desire to travel, the fact that he left such a full record of his journeys is indicative of his equally strong urge to enlighten others about what he saw and did. To declare this as Baines's primary intention for writing his journals and making his art is not to denigrate him in any way, nor does such a claim detract from his artistic creativity. Nonfiction was in its Victorian heyday and consequently to Baines realistic content was crucial. He

believed implicitly that what one observed should be recorded and, if found to be new or unusual, added to the growing body of knowledge. He lived in an age before disciplinary specialization and thus was able, as an observant amateur, to make a distinct contribution to science. The acquisition of 'true facts' (rather than their close analysis) pre-occupied Victorians and there was great public demand for them, both verbal and pictorial. Victorian confidence extended to the scientific sphere and there was a strong determination to 'quantify' and describe every detail of the earth.³

As a survey of Baines's work makes clear, this opinion did not mean that the encounter with nature should preclude poetry or emotion. In both Baines's writings and pictorial images the thrill of his artistic vision is communicated to reader or viewer and the emotional pleasure he derived from his experience is vivid. As an artist, Baines consistently denied that his work was subjective. He deliberately strove to present his paintings as statements of an empirically verifiable reality and sought an alliance with science to authenticate his vision. Ironically, this attempt to align himself with modern thinking and practice inhibited assessments of the aesthetic aspects of his work.

Indeed, Baines's work tended to be seen as illustration and when much of it eventually returned to South Africa to be housed in museums and archives, it was viewed as 'Africana' and analyzed by historians as information. In failing to understand the devices of persuasive imaging that Baines employed to interpret reality and construct paintings, viewers overlooked his significance as an artist. From a postmodern perspective Baines's work is fascinating as both art and document. His images assert their presence as painted surfaces

created with regard for prevailing aesthetic and stylistic conventions. Simultaneously, they reflect social structures and processes, and the conditions of productivity and reception in Victorian England and colonial South Africa. Baines the artist is ultimately the product of Baines the English traveller.

Baines's talents of combining scientific exactitude and emotional pleasure mark an important highpoint of the link between natural history and aesthetic appreciation.⁴ It is in this vein that it has been argued that, for Victorians, travelling was not primarily a physical activity but an epistemological strategy – a mode of knowing.⁵ It is because we too wish to understand and appreciate African history and art – although perhaps for reasons different from those Thomas Baines intended – that the work of this remarkable man remains both fascinating and significant.



figure 4

Killing a white rhinoceros between Botletle and Zambesi Rivers (1864).

OIL, 45.7 x 66 cm.
COLL: MUSEUMAFRICA.

Placing the dying rhinoceros in the centre of his format, Baines unequivocally focuses on slaughter. The large solid victim, already severely wounded, is attacked by lean dogs, semi-clad black hunters with spears and white men with guns, and the scene is 'naturalized' by the meticulous attention devoted to the wooded landscape.



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 KING'S LYNN ARCHIVES, True's Yard, King's Lynn – Census, Births, Deaths and Marriage Records
 MUSEUMAFRICA ARCHIVES, Johannesburg
 NATAL ARCHIVES, Pietermaritzburg – MCSE4/155 Intestate Estate Thomas Baines
 NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ZIMBABWE, Harare
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INTRODUCTION

- 1 • *Scenery and Events in South Africa: A Series of Views* (London, 1852).
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 - *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel and Exploration*, coauthored with W.B. Lord (London, 1871).
 He also contributed irregularly to periodicals such as *The Cape Monthly Magazine* and *The Illustrated London News*.
- 2 *The Gold Regions of South Eastern Africa* (London, 1877).
- 3 Wallis's biography has been reprinted twice: Bulawayo: Books of Zimbabwe, 1982, and an edition entitled *Thomas Baines: His Life and Explorations in South Africa, Rhodesia and Australia, 1820-1875* appeared in 1976 with an introduction by Frank Bradlow.
- 4 J.P.R. Wallis, ed., *The Northern Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines*, 3 vols (London, 1946).
- 5 The Oppenheimer family – Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, his brother Mr Otto Oppenheimer and Sir Ernest's son, Mr Harry Oppenheimer – have been important collectors of Baines's works. Publications generated by their collections are:
 - *The Northern Goldfields Diaries* cited in note 4; and R.F. Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence in Africa, 1842 to 1853 by Thomas Baines*, 2 vols (Cape Town, 1961 and 1964);
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 - E.C. Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambesi, 1858 to 1859* (Johannesburg, 1982);
 - Jane Carruthers, *Thomas Baines: Eastern Cape Sketches, 1848 to 1852* (Johannesburg, 1990).
- 6 See Select Bibliography for publication details.
- 7 Russell Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition* (Sydney, 1986).
- 8 G. Lacy, 'South African Exploration', *South Africa Handbooks*, no. 81. Reprinted from *South Africa*, August 1915, p. 14.
- 9 R. Thomson, 'The colonial, the imperial and the creation of the "European" in southern Africa',

paper presented to the Institute for Advanced Social Research, University of the Witwatersrand, 23 May 1994, p. 1.

- 10 For example, the title of Wallis's biography, *Thomas Baines of King's Lynn: Explorer and Artist, 1820-1875* (1941), and references: 'Thomas Baines was an explorer first and artist only after that' (Geoffrey Long, Introduction to *Exhibition of Contemporary South African paintings, Drawings and Sculpture* 1948, p. 1); 'Thomas Baines... the renowned explorer artist' (Esmé Berman, *Art and Artists of South Africa*, p. 138); 'the explorer and painter, Thomas Baines' (F.L. Alexander, *Art in South Africa since 1900*, p. 11); Baines the 'traveller artist' (W. Garcia, 'Thomas Baines, Painter Explorer 1820-1875', p. 21).
- 11 R.F. Kennedy, 'T. Baines', *Our Art*, Pretoria: *Lantern*, 1968, p. 50.
- 12 Baines's works have been used to illustrate a wide range of history texts. For emphasis on the image rather than the artist see D. Oakes, ed., *Illustrated History of South Africa: The Real Story* (Cape Town, 1988), where the artists are not even acknowledged in the image captions.

CHAPTER ONE

- 1 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 2. Much of the information concerning the history of King's Lynn has been taken from Paul Richards, *King's Lynn* (Chichester, 1990).
- 2 I am greatly indebted to Mrs Pat Midgley, archivist, North End Trust, True's Yard, King's Lynn, for details concerning the Baines and Watson families.
- 3 H.J. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, (Wakefield, 1978), p. 628.
- 4 Richards, *King's Lynn*, p. 35.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.
- 6 Hillen, *History of King's Lynn*, p. 787.
- 7 Richards, *King's Lynn*, pp. 35-36.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- 9 William Armes, *Memoirs of Lynn* (King's Lynn, 1990), p. 7.
- 10 Richards, *King's Lynn*, p. 17.
- 11 W.B. Stephens, *Education, Literacy and Society, 1830-1879: The Geography of Diversity in Provincial England* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 352-358.
- 12 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 1; Richards, *King's Lynn*, p. 114.
- 13 The original apprenticeship document is housed in The Brenthurst Collection, Johannesburg, MS49.

- 14 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), pp. 1-2.
- 15 Richards, *King's Lynn*, p. 105.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 W.P. Burnett, *A Handbook of King's Lynn or a Visit to the Metropolis of Marshland* (London, 1846), p. 13.
- 18 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), pp. 1, 2.
- 19 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976); see details by F.R. Bradlow, p. 3.
- 20 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 7.
- 21 Richards, *King's Lynn*, p. 75.
- 22 Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (London, 1974), pp. 96-97.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 Vancouver (1757-98) explored the coasts of Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii in the 1790s and then went on to chart the coast of North America.
- 25 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 13.
- 26 P. Rich, 'The quest for Englishness', *History Today* June 1978, p. 25.
- 27 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 6.
- 28 Stephen Gray, *Southern African Literature: An Introduction* (Cape Town, 1979), p. 97.
- 29 Patrick Brantlinger, 'Victorians and Africans; the genealogy of the myth of the Dark Continent', *Critical Inquiry* 12 Autumn 1985, pp. 166-203; C.C. Eldridge, *England's Mission: The Imperial Idea in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli, 1868-1880* (London, 1973), p. xvi; and C.C. Eldridge, *Victorian Imperialism* (London, 1978).
- 30 Carolus Linnaeus (1707-1778), Swedish naturalist and founder of modern systematics.
- 31 H. Honour, *Romanticism* (Hammondsworth, 1979), pp. 17-18.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 247.

CHAPTER TWO

- 1 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 2, p. 7.
- 2 H. Phillips, 'Cape Town in 1829', *Courier* 8 1980, pp. 5-11.
- 3 Leonard Huxley, ed., *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker*, 2 vols (New York, 1978), vol. 1, p. 149.
- 4 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 7.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 5 vols to date (Cape Town and Pretoria, 1968-1987), vol. 2, pp. 411-412.
- 8 See C. Pama, *Bowler's Cape Town: Life at the Cape in Early Victorian Times* (Cape Town, 1977);

- F.R. and E. Bradlow, *Thomas Baines of the Cape of Good Hope: His Life and Works* (Cape Town, 1967).
- 9 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 9.
- 10 In 1846 Baines's studio was at 1 Dixon Street; in 1848 at 140 Long Street.
- 11 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, pp. 12-13.
- 12 *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. 2, pp. 49-50.
- 13 See Baines's history of southern Africa: The Benthurst Collection, MS49.
- 14 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 10.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 17 D. Hammond and A. Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing about Africa* (New York, 1970), p. 197.
- 18 Barbara Stafford, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 25.
- 19 Diemont, *The Benthurst Baines* (Johannesburg, 1975), p. 7. When MuseumAfrica (Johannesburg) acquired some of its material in 1937, it was noted that an album and other Baines items had come from Mr Henry J. Thompson, pupil and friend of Henry Baines and executor of the estate of Henry's widow, who died in 1914.
- 20 By Marius and Joy Diemont (Johannesburg, 1975).
- 21 By Jane Carruthers (Johannesburg, 1990).
- 22 Basil A. le Cordeur, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, 1820-1854* (Cape Town, 1981), p. 168.
- 23 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 189.
- 24 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), pp. 14-17.
- 25 Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p. 107.
- 26 Gray, *Southern African Literature*, p. 112.
- 27 C.C. Crais, *The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865* (Johannesburg, 1992), p. 4.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 101.
- 29 C.W. de Kiewiet, *A History of South Africa: Social and Economic* (London, 1941), p. 48.
- 30 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 17.
- 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 47. It is generally accepted that the name is derived from an Arabic word meaning 'unbeliever' or 'beathen'.
- 34 For example, Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 74.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 163.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 140.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 39 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 2, p. 306.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 174.
- 41 Crais, *Making of the Colonial Order*, p. 129.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 126.
- 43 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, pp. 86, 122-123.
- 44 Crais, *Making of the Colonial Order*, p. 136.
- 45 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 118.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 48 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 239, 259.
- 49 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 165.
- 50 *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 255-256.
- 51 See, for example, Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, pp. 28-29, 44-46.
- 52 *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- 55 *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

CHAPTER THREE

- 1 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 2, p. 57.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 4 This was in 1852. *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. 2, pp. 417-418.
- 5 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 2, p. 79.
- 6 *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 153-165.
- 7 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 176.
- 8 Hammond and Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was*, p. 188.
- 9 The area north of the Orange River.
- 10 J. Huet, *Het Lee der Zwartten in Transvaal* (Utrecht, 1869), p. 21.
- 11 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 2, pp. 45, 101, 166.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 58; E.C. Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior of South Africa, 1849-1863: Hunting and Trading Journeys from Natal to Walvis Bay and Visits to Lake Ngami and Victoria Falls by James Chapman* (Cape Town, 1971), vol. 1, p. 23.
- 14 Minutes of the Volksraad of Andries Ohrigstad, Article 7, 18 March 1846.
- 15 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 84.
- 16 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 75, 87.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 95-97.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 54.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 93.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
- 24 J.B. Peires, *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-7* (Johannesburg, 1989), p. 12.
- 25 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 2, p. 193. It was on this journey that McCabe and his companion reached the lake.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 302.
- 27 Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870* (New Haven and London, 1957), p. 161.
- 28 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 2, p. 197.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 216.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 212.
- 31 Baines, *Gold Regions*, p. xii.

- 32 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 2, p. 302.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 304.
- 34 Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (New York, 1989), pp. 53-59.
- 35 The Benthurst Collection, MS49.
- 36 The Benthurst Collection, MS49; Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 54.
- 37 *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 47, 9 December 1865, pp. 557-558.
- 38 Robert Stafford, *Scientist of Empire: Sir Roderick Murchison, Scientific Exploration and Victorian Imperialism* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 1-10, 24.
- 39 Brantlinger, 'Victorians and Africans', *Critical Inquiry* 12 Autumn 1985, p. 176.
- 40 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992), p. 88.
- 41 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 51.
- 42 See Lucile H. Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion: The Role of the British Royal Botanic Gardens* (New York, 1979), and Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History*.
- 43 Kew Archives, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, vols 34/6; 34/7; 35/35: Baines to Hooker, 31 July 1854, 5 August 1854, 25 August 1854.
- 44 The Benthurst Collection, MS49/5.

CHAPTER FOUR

- 1 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 51.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- 3 Alan Powell, *Far Country: A Short History of the Northern Territory* (Melbourne, 1982), p. 66.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.
- 5 P.F. Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities: A History of South Australia's Northern Territory* (St Lucia, 1981), p. 22.
- 6 Stafford, *Scientist of Empire*, pp. 44-47.
- 7 *Geographical Journal*, 26 1905, pp. 226-227; *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 4, 1851-1900 (Melbourne, 1972), pp. 293-295.
- 8 Powell, *Far Country*, p. 66.
- 9 Lord and Baines, *Shifts and Expedients*, p. 623.
- 10 Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*, pp. 156-157.
- 11 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 23. It was, in fact, the last exploratory initiative in Australia to come from Britain; subsequently all similar enterprises were launched by the Australian colonies themselves. See Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities*, p. 22.
- 12 Lord and Baines, *Shifts and Expedients*, p. 623.
- 13 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 53; Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*, p. 17. The journal was presented to the Library of Parliament, Canberra, by the artist's nephew, Mr Thomas Baines Elliott, son of Baines's sister, Emma. See Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 54.
- 14 T. Baines, 'Additional notes on the North Australian Expedition under Mr A.C. Gregory', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 2(1) 1857, p. 4.

- 15 Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History* (London, 1987), pp. 52-65.
- 16 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 62.
- 17 Baines, 'Additional notes', p. 7.
- 18 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), pp. 76-77.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 20 Powell, *Far Country*, pp. 67-68.
- 21 Baines, 'Additional notes', p. 15.
- 22 Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*, pp. 151-153.
- 23 G.C. Bolton, *A Thousand Miles Away: A History of North Queensland to 1920* (Canberra, 1972), p. 15.
- 24 *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 1, p. 42.
- 25 Powell, *Far Country*, pp. 67-69.
- 26 Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*, p. 152.
- 27 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 88.
- 28 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-89.
- 29 Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*, p. 18.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 70-71.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 32 Carter, *Road to Botany Bay*, pp. 88-100.
- 33 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 56; Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*, p. 17.
- 34 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 57.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 62; Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*, pp. 17, 34, 41, 57, 74.
- 36 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 75; Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*, p. 89.
- 37 Braddon, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*, pp. 136-137.
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 49, 59-60.
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48, p. 50.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 157. This comment was made by John Kirk, his fellow explorer on the Zambezi River.

CHAPTER FIVE

- 1 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 217.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 4 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 91.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 6 *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 2(1) 1857, p. 3.
- 7 R.A. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps* (London, 1970), p. 285.
- 8 T. Jeal, *Livingstone* (London, 1993), p. 1.
- 9 Carter, *Road to Botany Bay*, pp. 119-121.
- 10 R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, with A. Denry, *Africa and the Victorians* (London, 1974), pp. 2, 24.
- 11 J.P.R. Wallis, ed., *The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone, 1858-1863* (London, 1956), pp. 136-137.
- 12 See, for example, Jeal, *Livingstone*, *passim*, and Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, pp. 27-35.
- 13 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 27.

- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 15 Jeal, *Livingstone*, p. 4.
- 16 Hammond and Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was*, p. 13.
- 17 R. Coupland, *Kirk on the Zambezi: A Chapter of African History* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 3-13.
- 18 Hammond and Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was*, p. 189; Coupland, *Kirk on the Zambezi*, pp. 162-163.
- 19 J.M. MacKenzie, ed., *Imperialism and the Natural World* (Manchester, 1990), pp. 1-10.
- 20 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, pp. 35-38.
- 21 Wallis, ed., *The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone*, p. 434.
- 22 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 42.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 76.
- 24 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 92.
- 25 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, pp. 71-76.
- 26 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 91.
- 27 Johannesburg, 1962.
- 28 2 vols, London, 1956.
- 29 2 vols, London, 1963.
- 30 2 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1965.
- 31 London, 1993.
- 32 Maurice Boucher, ed., *Livingstone Letters, 1843 to 1872: David Livingstone Correspondence in The Brentnall Library, Johannesburg* (Johannesburg, 1985), p. 131; Jeal, *Livingstone*, p. 265.
- 33 Jeal, *Livingstone*, pp. 371-373.
- 34 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 193; Jeal, *Livingstone*, p. 227.
- 35 Jeal, *Livingstone*, p. 226.
- 36 See the books cited above *passim* for details of this personal conflict.
- 37 Jeal, *Livingstone*, pp. 371-373.
- 38 He did, however, remain with the expedition in a private capacity and was eventually reinstated.
- 39 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 217.
- 40 *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.
- 41 Reginald Foskett, ed., *The Zambezi Journal and Letters of Dr John Kirk, 1858-1863*, 2 vols (London, 1965), vol. 1, p. 263.
- 42 There is also a rewritten copy in the archives of the Royal Geographical Society; Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 106 and *passim*.
- 43 See also Stafford, *Scientist of Empire*, pp. 173-181.
- 44 Coupland, *Kirk on the Zambezi*, p. 132.
- 45 Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p. 191.
- 46 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, pp. 228-234.

CHAPTER SIX

- 1 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, p. 481.
- 2 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), pp. 116-117.
- 3 Stafford, *Scientist of Empire*, pp. 172, 181-182.
- 4 Wallis, *Thomas Baines*, (1976), p. 118. Publications connected with Prince Alfred's visit included *The Progress of His Royal Highness Prince Alfred Ernest*

Albert Through the Cape Colony, British Kaffraria, the Orange Free State, and Port Natal in the Year 1860 (Cape Town, 1860), which contained reproductions of four of Baines's paintings, including that of the great hunt.

- 5 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 117; Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, p. III.
- 6 Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 1, pp. ix-xii; *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 163-165.
- 7 Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 1, p. 213.
- 8 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, p. 340.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 263, 494.
- 10 Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 1, p. 213.
- 11 The full title was *Explorations in South-West Africa: Being an Account of a Journey in the Years 1861 and 1862 from Walvisch Bay, on the Western Coast to Lake Ngami and the Victoria Falls* (London, 1864). It was translated into French as *Voyage dans le sud-ouest de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1869) and a facsimile edition was published in Salisbury in 1973.
- 12 T. Dederer, 'Southern Namibia c. 1780 - c. 1840: Khoikhoi, missionaries and the advancing frontier', PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989.
- 13 Brigitte Lau, *Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time* (Windhoek, 1987), pp. 108-109.
- 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 19-30. See also Brigitte Lau, 'Conflict and power in nineteenth-century Namibia', *Journal of African History* 27 1986, pp. 29-39.
- 15 Lau, *Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time*, pp. 56, 88, 91-92.
- 16 Brigitte Lau, 'The emergence of Kommando politics in Namaland, southern Namibia, 1800-1870', MA dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1982, pp. 254-256.
- 17 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, pp. 43, 49, 73.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 280-287.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 465-466.
- 20 See, for example, Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, p. 77; Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 2, pp. 43, 45 and *passim*.
- 21 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, pp. 206-207.
- 22 Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 2, pp. 30, 45.
- 23 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, pp. 356-359.
- 24 Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 2, p. 27.
- 25 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, p. 489.
- 26 Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 2, p. 61.
- 27 *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 131.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 196.
- 30 Lau, 'Kommando politics', pp. 292-293.
- 31 Lau, *Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time*, p. 133; Lau 'Kommando politics', p. 329.
- 32 Lau, *Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time*, p. 88.
- 33 *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 14-16. See also J.P.R. Wallis, *Fortune My Foe*

- The Story of Charles John Andersson, African Explorer (1827-1867)* (London, 1936).
- 34 The Brenthurst Library, Baines' African Collections.
- 35 Frank and Edna Bradlow, *The English Vision at the Cape Prior to 1875* (Cape Town, 1984), p. 79; Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. xiii.
- 36 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. xiii.
- 37 Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, p. 213.
- 38 Brigitte Lau, ed., *Charles John Andersson: Trade and Politics in Central Namibia, 1860-1864* (Windhoek, 1989), p. 159.
- 39 Eduard Mohr, *To the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi* 2 ed. (Bulawayo, 1973), p. 100.
- 40 Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 1, p. 213.
- 41 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 22.
- 42 Charles John Andersson, *Notes of Travel in South Africa* 2 ed. (Cape Town, 1969), p. 84.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 44 *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141, 162.
- 45 *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 140-141.
- 46 Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 2, pp. 35-38.
- 47 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 131-132.
- 48 Mohr, *To the Victoria Falls*, p. 101.
- 49 Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, vol. 2, pp. 37, 41, 52, 127, 183.
- 50 *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 154.
- 51 Lau, ed., *Charles John Andersson*, pp. 111-113, 119, 141, 164.
- 52 In Tabler, ed., *Travels in the Interior*, Chapman mentions his own constipation and also that Baines suffered from boils because of an all-meat diet. See vol. 2, pp. 84 and 137. Braddon also broaches the subject in *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*, p. 50.
- 53 J.E. Schmidt, *Attorneys' Dictionary of Medicine and Wound Fester* (New York, 1993); Edward Shorter, *The Health Century* (New York, 1987), pp. 13-15.
- 54 R. Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century, 1815-1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion* (London, 1976), pp. 135-150.
- 55 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), pp. 2, 152-156.
- 56 See J. von Moltke, 'Thomas Baines: Artist and Explorer', *South West Africa Annual* (Windhoek, 1972), pp. 155-161.
- 57 Lau, ed., *Charles John Andersson*, pp. 122, 158-159.
- 58 *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.
- 59 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 151; F.R. Bradlow, 'Thomas Baines and the Victoria Falls album of lithographs', *Africana Notes and News* 29(6) 1991, pp. 207-209.
- 60 The Brenthurst Library MS49/5, 6 November 1863.
- 61 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, pp. ii-vii.
- 62 National Archives of Zimbabwe, BA7/1/1, Baines to Murchison, 28 June 1865; Baines to mother, 12 October, 1865; Baines to mother [1865]; Mrs Baines to an unknown recipient, 24 May 1867.
- 63 Kew Archives, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, 35(34) 24 June 1863, Baines to W.J. Hooker, 41(42)

- 28 July 1865, Baines to Hooker, 77(316-320), Baines to Hooker, January 1866 to January 1867.
- 64 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 154. See also Frank Bradlow, 'Robert White, Thomas Baines and The Gold Regions of South Eastern Africa', *Africana Notes and News* 23(4) 1978, pp. 131-147.
- 65 See, for instance, 31 January 1866, 17 February 1866, 21 April 1866, 19 May 1866, 1 February 1868, 11 April 1868, and so on.
- 66 See Lord and Baines, *Shifts and Expedients*. An excellent foreword to the 1975 facsimile edition is provided by Frank Bradlow; Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), pp. 157-158.
- 67 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 160.
- 68 *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.
- 69 National Archives of Zimbabwe, BA7/1/1, Logier to Baines, 19 September 1867.
- 70 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 157.

CHAPTER SEVEN

- 1 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, vol. 1, p. 61.
- 2 Baines, *Gold Regions*, p. xiii.
- 3 Thornton, 'The colonial, the imperial . . .', pp. 1-7.
- 4 Baines, *Gold Regions*, pp. v, 1.
- 5 Stafford, *Scientist of Empire*, p. 160.
- 6 Baines, *Gold Regions*, pp. 12-13.
- 7 For details of Mauch's achievements, see E.E. Burke, ed., *The Journals of Carl Mauch: His Travels in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, 1869-1872* (Salisbury, 1969).
- 8 H.M. Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia* (London, 1926), pp. 1-6; National Archives of Zimbabwe, BA7/1/1, 908-911, Baines to his mother, 11 March 1869.
- 9 Julian Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820-1896', PhD thesis, University of Lancaster, 1976, p. 312.
- 10 *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. 2, pp. 437-438. In the event, the endeavour failed and the agency closed in 1870.
- 11 Tabler, *The Far Interior* (Cape Town, 1955), p. 317.
- 12 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), pp. 160-161.
- 13 Mohr, *To the Victoria Falls*, p. 5.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 15 It was alleged by medicine men that the white portions of this flag drove away the summer rains and Baines was obliged to use the Red Ensign instead. See Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 321.
- 16 L.H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934* (London, 1965), p. 53.
- 17 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, vol. 1, p. 141.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 244.
- 19 Mohr, *To the Victoria Falls*, pp. 230-231.
- 20 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, vol. 1, p. 156.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 242.
- 22 Tabler, *The Far Interior*, p. 365.

- 23 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, vol. 1, p. 55.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 299.
- 25 *Ibid.*, pp. 315-329.
- 26 Tabler, *The Far Interior*, p. 334.
- 27 National Archives of Zimbabwe, BA7/1/1, 939-944, Baines to Emma Elliott, 13 December 1871.
- 28 The content of this document is reproduced in Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 674.
- 29 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 662-663.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 800.
- 31 National Archives of Zimbabwe, BA7/1/1, 939-944, Baines to Emma Elliott, 13 December 1871.
- 32 Tabler, *The Far Interior*, p. 365.
- 33 This is housed in The Brenthurst Library and the National Archives of Zimbabwe.
- 34 The Brenthurst Library, BL MS49/4-6, Draft letter Baines to Vause, the South African Gold Fields Exploration Company's Natal agent, 9 June 1874.
- 35 Tabler, *The Far Interior*, p. 375.
- 36 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, vol. 1, p. 13.
- 37 The Brenthurst Library, BL MS49/4-6.
- 38 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, vol. 1, p. xxv.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.
- 40 Bradlow, 'Robert White, Thomas Baines and The Gold Regions . . .', *Africana Notes and News* 23(4) 1978, pp. 131-147.
- 41 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, vol. 2, pp. 574-575.
- 42 *Ibid.*, pp. 279-280. See caption to *The first gold prospecting expedition* (1870), Chapter 11, fig. 7.
- 43 G. Dominy, 'Thomas Baines: the McGonagall of Shepstone's 1873 Zululand expedition?', *Natalia* 21 1991, pp. 75-79.
- 44 A. Duminy and Bill Guest, eds, *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History* (Pietermaritzburg, 1989), pp. 183-184.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 76.
- 46 Dominy, 'Thomas Baines: the McGonagall', pp. 78-79.
- 47 A detailed analysis of both sketch and painting is to be found in Graham Dominy, 'Thomas Baines and the Langalibalele Rebellion: a critique of an unrecorded sketch of the action at "Bushman's Pass", 1873', *Natal Museum Journal of Humanities* 3, October 1991, pp. 41-55.
- 48 Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg, MSCE 4/155, Intestate Estate Thomas Baines.

CHAPTER EIGHT

- 1 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 1.
- 2 Bradlow notes that he has 'seen well over two thousand oils, and almost three thousand water-colour and pencil sketches', 'Thomas Baines's oils on paper', *Africana Notes and News*, 28(2) 1988, p. 64.
- 3 *Catching crocodiles in Egypt* (n.d.). Juvenilia. Watercolour. 28 x 24 cm. Coll: King's Lynn Museums.
- 4 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 1.

- 5 Many drawing and painting manuals were available, such as David Cox's *A Series of Progressive Lessons intended to elucidate the Art of Painting in Water Colours*, produced in different editions between 1811-1845. Deviating very little from the 'how to do it' books of the twentieth century, Cox's illustrated text followed a step by step approach, moving from the choice of pencils and outline drawing to finished watercolour.
- 6 Baines made copies of Cornwallis Harris's animal illustrations (*The Wild Sports of Southern Africa* 1839) and copied paintings by minor masters, for example *Destruction of Spanish ships Gibraltar Sept. 14th 1782* (1851), oil on canvas on masonite, 59 x 86 cm, coll: Gubbins Africana Library, after James Jeffereys (c. 1757-1784).
- 7 Henry Baines (1823-1894) initially went to sea but after several voyages he decided to make painting his career. He studied in London and was influenced by Etty and Landseer. He spent three years on the continent, returned to Lynn in 1855 and spent the remainder of his life there, painting and teaching at his Academy of Art in Union Street. His best works are watercolours.
- 8 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, vol. 1, p. 180.
- 9 When White's collections were sold in 1911, the Baines paintings realized £511 1s. (Handwritten summary of takings on the sale catalogue, p. 60, National Archives of Zimbabwe.)
- 10 Information on the Royal Academy is from Sidney Hutchinson, *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1986* (London, 1986).
- 11 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 48.
- 12 Cutting in The Brehmst Library MS49/29/1-11; announcement signed by Edward L. King, Honorary Secretary, Lynn Conversazione and Society of Arts, 27 October 1857.
- 13 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 9.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 126.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 151.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 152.
- 18 Quoted by Frank Bradlow, 'The private journals of Guy Dawnay', *Quarterly Bulletin*, 48(1) 1995, p. 38.
- 19 Founded in 1830 as the Geographical Society and incorporated by charter as the Royal Geographical Society in 1859, the RGS sought to advance geographical knowledge by supporting exploration and research.
- 20 At the Great Exhibition of 1851, Paxton's Crystal Palace symbolized the inventive use of new materials while the emphasis on industrial art gave visibility to design and new technological processes.
- 21 In his short memoir Hall says of Baines: 'His sketch-maps of his travels in the interior of Africa are laid down and founded on facts, not imagination, and constructed on a scale so large that when reduced to that of maps in general use, all small errors would merely be eliminated.' Henry Hall, 'Memoir' in Baines, *Gold Regions*, p. xvi.
- 22 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 51.
- 23 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 1.
- 24 Baines, *The Victoria Falls*, p. 2.
- 25 In *Shifts and Expedients*, Baines has a subheading 'Stationery and Artists Materials' in Chapter I, and devotes Chapter XIX to 'On Sketching and Painting Under the Ordinary Difficulties of Travel'. His list of watercolours is particularly interesting: he lists 26 colours thus confirming that his colour range was extensive. He advocates the use of good quality materials – preferably tubed colours from Reeves or Winsor & Newton, loose sheets of Whatman paper, or Rowney or Winsor & Newton sketchbooks.
- 26 Hall, 'Memoir' in Baines, *Gold Regions*, p. xvii.
- 27 Thomas Rebok who cleaned and restored the three canvases owned by the South African National Gallery goes so far as to state that Baines was 'technically quite brilliant' (interview 1 November 1994). Rebok speaks as a restorer and makes his claim because Baines respected the consistency of his oil paint – he did not create problems for the restorer by weakening the binding medium with resinous thinning agents. As a result his paint does not become affected by solvents, and even the amateur restorers who have worked on Baines paintings have not been able to damage them too severely. Rebok confirms that Baines 'definitely used high quality paint'. It must be noted that Rebok's experience is with works from the late period.
- 28 Details of a large order placed with Winsor & Newton in October 1868 are in The National Archives of Zimbabwe. The Brehmst Library contains a letter to Winsor & Newton, written from Port Elizabeth, 7 December 1874, ordering tubes of oil paint. In *Shifts and Expedients*, Baines is at pains to stress the importance of travelling with materials obtained from reputable suppliers.
- 29 *Hippo shoot near Logier Hill* (1862). Oil. 45,7 x 66 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
- 30 Hall, 'Memoir' in *Gold Regions*, p. xvii.
- 31 Unsigned memoir originally published in the *Natal Mercury*, reprinted in the *Lynn News*. Cutting in The Brehmst Library, MS49/28/45.
- 32 In a letter of 25 April 1858, Baines gives instructions to his mother to mount paintings: 'The sketches can be mounted on canvas and framed . . . they should be mounted with white lead and oil instead of paste.' (Royal Geographical Society Archives.)
- 33 Marianne North (1830-1890) travelled the world painting flowers and landscapes. She built the Marianne North Gallery at Kew Gardens which houses 832 of her botanical paintings including those executed in South Africa.
- 34 By 1840, popular paintings were engraved in editions of up to 30 000 prints, which enabled the artists and the images to become widely known. Patented in 1840, chromolithography facilitated full colour reproduction and simulated the appearance of watercolours.
- 35 • *The Falls by sunrise with the spray cloud rising 1200 feet* (1862). Watercolour. 28,6 x 38 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
• *The 'spray cloud' of the Victoria Falls* (1863). Oil on canvas. 45 x 62 cm. Coll: First National Bank.
• *Our first bivouac abreast of the Victoria Falls*, signed and dated Novr 16 1863; and signed, extensively inscribed and dated on reverse. Oil on canvas. 45,7 x 66,1 cm. Formerly collection Guy Carleton Jones, and offered for sale as The Property of a Gentleman, Christie's sale, 4 June 1985.
• *The smoke or spray cloud of the Victoria Falls, July 24 1862* (1863). Oil on canvas. 45 x 64 cm. Coll: South African Library.
• *The Falls by sunrise, with the 'spray clouds' rising 1,200 feet*. Lithograph. 27,9 x 39,5 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Published by Day & Son, October 1865. Actually published 12 January 1866 in plain and coloured editions.
- 36 There are three oils in the South African National Gallery, five authenticated oils in the King George VI Art Gallery, Port Elizabeth, and one oil in the Pretoria Art Museum. A number of corporate art collections own Baines works.

CHAPTER NINE

- 1 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, vol. 1, p. 149.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. xx-xxi.
- 3 Patricia Hills, 'Picturing Progress in the Era of Westward Expansion' in William H. Treutner, *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920* (Washington and London, 1991), p. 100. 'Persuasive imaging' is a particularly useful term to describe how naturalism, as a convention, convinces the viewer of the reality of what is in fact selected and manipulated pictorial information.
- 4 *A walk up the Devil's Mountain* (c. 1842-46). Watercolour. 8,9 x 10,8 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. This work is from a sketchbook in which Baines worked during his first years in Cape Town.
- 5 • Edmund Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757).
• William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty, On Picturesque Travel, and On Sketching Landscape* (1792).
• Also important for their theoretical contributions to the picturesque doctrine are Uvedale Price, *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794-98) and Richard Payne Knight, *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805).
- 6 It is worth noting that the most important centre for watercolours outside London was Norwich,

where watercolours were exhibited with oils rather than separately from them as occurred elsewhere. Baines must have visited Norwich before he went to Africa and on his return visits to his home in King's Lynn.

- 7 By the time Baines began painting, 'picturesque' had become a popular term rather than a significant force in aesthetic debate.
- 8 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 2, p. 262.
- 9 *Logier River, tributary of the Zambesi* (1863). Watercolour. 28,6 x 38 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscribed: 'Logier River - tributary of the Zambesi Jan'y 7 1863 T Baines'... 'Decr 2 1862 looking north or toward the Zambesi - Maruru Papeerie or poison Grub tree of the Bushmen - Euphorbia.'
- 10 • *The Leaping Water looking NE* (1862). Watercolour and gouache. 37,5 x 28 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscribed: 'the leaping water the westernmost end of the [gorge] of the Victoria Falls from the S'
 - *Devil's Cataract* (1862). Oil on canvas. 66 x 45,7 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe. Inscribed on the reverse, 'The Leaping Water or Western most Cataract of the Victoria falls and the three rill fall - from the South side of the Chasm - View No. 2 from the West Sketched on the spot August 10th 1862 and finished at my house on LOGIER HILL Zambesi River Wednesday Octr 29 1862 T. Baines.'
- 11 Baines, *The Victoria Falls*, p. 4.
- 12 *Southeaster in Table Bay: brig working in* (1847). Oil. 46 x 57 cm. Coll: Anglo American Corporation. The painting is very similar to *Table Bay and Mountain* (1847). Oil. 54 x 80 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe.
- 13 *View of Port Elizabeth from the sea* (1848). Also known as *Port Elizabeth - Algoa Bay*. Oil on paper on canvas. 46,8 x 65,4 cm. Coll: King George VI Art Gallery.
- 14 *Crossing the Overlog's Port River* (1848). Oil. 45,7 x 65,4 cm. Restored 1942. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
- 15 *South-west angle of Lake Ngami* (1861). Oil on canvas. 45 x 65 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscription on canvas: 'The South Western angle of Lake Ngami sketched from the hill SW of our outspan painted on the spot Decr 20 1861 T Baines.'
- 16 *Victoria Falls - first sketch* (1862). Watercolour. 5,8 x 11,4 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscription on card to which the sketch is pasted, not in Baines's hand: 'First sketch taken - Thomas Baines F.R.G.S., Henry Ed. Barry Victoria Falls Zambezi River 25th July 1862.'
- 17 • *Eastern portion of Victoria Falls* (1863). Oil on canvas. 45,8 x 66,7 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscribed on reverse: 'No 7 View from the north opposite No 4. The Eastern portion of the Victoria Falls Zambesi River looking past the outlet. From Garden Island nearly in the centre of the Fall - the

cliff in the foreground and the spectator's right is that to the edge of which the herd of buffaloes rushed on 23rd July - Sketched on the spot Wednesday Augst 13 1862 and painted in Mr Andersson's house at Otjimbengue Octr 6 1863 T Baines.'

- Another slightly later version of the image, with minor differences, is *The Victoria Falls from Garden Island looking towards the outlet and Buffalo Cliff* (1864). Oil on canvas. 44 x 65 cm. Coll: South African Library. Sketched in 1862; painted in October 1864 at Otjimbengwe.
 - A finished watercolour version is *The east end of the falls of the Zambesi* (1862). 37 x 37 cm. Coll: The Brentnust Library. In this study, the artist is on the rock but his painting equipment is not shown and Chapman stands in the middle distance on the left but is not busy with measurements.
- 18 *Bird's eye view of the Victoria Falls from the West* (1874). Oil on canvas. 49 x 65 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe. Inscribed on the reverse: 'Bird's eye view compiled from sketches of every part taken by the artist in 1862. Painted in Durban, Natal, June 1874.' An earlier view of the scene (1873; University of Cape Town Collection) shows a herd of buffalo in the right foreground.
 - 19 *The Illustrated London News*, 20 June 1868.
 - 20 *Troops ascending a ravine from Amesley Bay in Abyssinia* (1868). Oil on canvas. 44 x 65 cm. Coll: Gubbins Africana Library. Restored 1977. Inscription as in the title on the reverse of the painting in Baines's handwriting.
 - 21 Among the sources Baines consulted were: Johan Martin Bernatz, *Scenes in Ethiopia* (1854); Henry Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country* (1814).
 - 22 The image is entitled 'Halting Place of Hilaileea, in the Tekonda pass'. It is reproduced as a full page engraving in *The Illustrated London News*, 30 November 1867, p. 589.
 - 23 *Zanjueela, the boatman of the rapids* (1863). Oil on canvas. 65 x 45 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe. Inscribed on the reverse: 'Zanjueela The Boatman of the RAPIDS. Taking us to the Victoria Falls Zambesi River - Wednesday Augst 13 1862 Sketched the next day and painted in Mr Andersson's house Otjimbengue Novr 9 1863 T BAINES.'
 - 24 *Port Elizabeth - Algoa Bay from the Anchorage* (1874). Oil on canvas. 51,2 x 76 cm. Coll: King George VI Art Gallery.

CHAPTER TEN

- 1 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, vol. 1, p. 155.
- 2 David Livingstone to Thomas Baines, 18 April 1858, National Archives of Zimbabwe, L1 1/4/3, ff. 75-81, quoted in Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambesi*, p. 65.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

- 4 *The rapids above Calara Bassa*, 24 November 1858 (1858). Pencil and watercolour. 28 x 38,5 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe.
- 5 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, p. 307.
- 6 Wallis, *Thomas Baines* (1976), p. 8.
- 7 Frank R. Bradlow, *The Contributions of Thomas Baines to South Africa* (Grahamstown, 1975), p. 11.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
- 9 William Cornwallis Harris, *Portraits of the Game and Wild Animals of Southern Africa* (London, 1840 and later editions) and *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa* (London, 1852 and later editions). Cornwallis Harris was a talented artist and Baines made a number of copies of his wildlife studies in an attempt to learn the forms of African animals.
- 10 Late in his career Baines attracted the attention of Guy Dawney who commissioned at least fifteen animal paintings and hunting scenes including *Herd of buffaloes chased through the Maclousie River* and *The black rhinoceros* (figs 8, 9). Frank Bradlow's meticulous research on Guy Dawney was published as 'The private journals of Guy Dawney' in the *Quarterly Bulletin*, 48(1) 1993, pp. 32-44.
- 11 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, 1864 ed., p. 307, entry for January 1862.
- 12 *Elephant killed in the night by Chapman* (1862). Pencil. 20,3 x 36,8 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. James Chapman describes this event in *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, part 2, pp. 24, 26.
- 13 Baines, *The Victoria Falls*, p. 4.
- 14 *Buffalo hunt in the rain forest* (1863). Oil on canvas. 45,7 x 66 cm. Coll: Royal Geographical Society. Baines made several versions of this image and reproduced it as *Herd of buffaloes driven to the edge of the chasm* in the lithographs published as *The Victoria Falls - Zambesi River* (1865).
- 15 David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), p. 26.
- 16 See Maurice Green, 'Joseph Wolf, Animal Painter, 1820- (?)', in *Africana Notes and News*, 5(2) 1948, pp. 42-43.
- 17 *The pit at the end of the hope* (1861). Oil on canvas. 83 x 118 cm. Coll: South African Library.
- 18 Green, 'Joseph Wolf, Animal Painter', pp. 42-43.
- 19 Information from the South African Library records. Although the two works owned by the South African Library are not dated, the third image of the scene, *A native game pit*, oil, 45,8 x 66 cm, in the collection of MuseumAfrica, is dated 'March 12 1861'.
- 20 *A native game pit* (1861). Oil. 45,8 x 66 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Signed 'T Baines March 12 1861', this work was completed shortly before Baines left Cape Town on 21 March 1861 for Walvis Bay.
- 21 *Herd of buffaloes chased through the Maclousie River by T. Baines and Carl Lee Wednesday Oct 18 1871* (1873). Oil on canvas. 51,3 x 66,7 cm. Coll: Sanlam.

- 22 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, vol. 3, pp. 738-39.
- 23 *The greatest hunt in Africa near Bloemfontein* (1860). Oil on canvas. 46,5 x 62 cm. Coll: William Fehr.
- 24 *Wagons on Market Square, Grahamstown* (1850), also known as *Mr Hume's waggon with ivory and skins from the interior of Africa on the Graham's Town market*. Oil. 48 x 64,8 cm. Coll: Albany Museum.
- 25 It is interesting to note that when this painting was reproduced in *The Illustrated London News*, 21 April 1866, as *Ivory and skins for sale on Grahamstown Market Square*, the engraver in London updated the fashions of the six British figures in the foreground.
- 26 *Arrival of Baswana tribe at Lake Ngami* (1861). Watercolour. 28 x 38 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. The oil version, *Arrival of a Bechuana tribe at the outpost near Lake Ngami* (1861), is also in MuseumAfrica, and an engraving entitled *Bringing ivory to the wagons in South Africa* was published in *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 52, 11 April 1868.
- 27 *The discovery of gold* (1874). Oil on canvas. 65,4 x 50,8 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe. Inscribed on the reverse: 'What lead to the discovery of the South African Gold Fields. Mr Hartley and his Matabili servants Elephant hunting among quartz reefs and old diggings in the Northern Gold Fields 1865 & 1866 T. Baines Durban Natal Sept 28 1874.' [Baines's punctuation.]
- 28 *Gold washing in the rivulet at Eersteling* (1871). Pencil. 27 x 37,5 cm. Coll: Cubbins Africana Library.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

- 1 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence* (1964) vol. 2, p. 306.
- 2 Published in two editions.
- 3 *Surf boats off the jett, Algoa Bay Sept 8 1848* (1848). Oil on canvas. 45 x 64,5 cm. The Standard Bank Corporate Art Collection.
- 4 Lord and Baines, *Shifts and Expedients*, p. 385.
- 5 *Sundays, Thursday March 2* [1848] (1848). Pencil. 16 x 22 cm. Coll: The Brenthurst Library. Inscribed: 'Sketched in the wagon which causes it to be shaky.'
- 6 *Descent of Mackay's Nek* (1848). Oil. 45,8 x 63,5 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
- 7 • *Klats Smi's River - wagon broken down* (1848). Pencil. 17,8 x 27,3 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
• *Klats Smi's River - waggon broken down, crossing the drift* (1848). Oil. 46,5 x 65,5 cm. Coll: The Brenthurst Library.
• *Klats Smi's River - waggon broke down, crossing the drift*. Published in 1852 as one of six prints in *Scenery and Events in South Africa*. Lithograph. 33 x 48,3 cm. Various collections; fig. 6, coll: Dr R. Greenwall.
- 8 *Our wagon capsized on climbing out from Hout Bosch Raand, Natal* (1869). Watercolour and pencil. 28 x 38 cm. Coll: Natural History Museum.

- 9 *The first gold prospecting expedition* (1870). Oil on canvas. 50,2 x 63,5 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe. Inscribed on the reverse: 'The South African Gold Fields Exploration Company's Expedition preparing to leave The Market Square, Pieter Maritzburg. NATAL. The Wagons of Messrs Mohr & Hubenaar [sic] - fitting to follow. Young Wildebeestes, Quaggas and Blesboks for sale Painted at Lee's farm Mangwe River Matabili Land March 15 1870 T. BAINES.'
- 10 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, vol. 2, Wednesday 16 February 1870, p. 279; Saturday 12 March, p. 294; Thursday 17 March, p. 298.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 327.
- 12 Baines notes with pride that at Ngami 'a lady of the lake conferred on me the title of *Ra Mogwala*, the Father of Painting, and this, as an artist, I rather like to stick to'. Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, vol. 1, p. 79.
- 13 Quoted by Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 27.
- 14 *The MaRobert aground in the Zambezi River, August 1858* (1858). Watercolour. 23,8 x 36 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
- 15 *Striking the colours - the last of Logier Hill* (1863). Watercolour. 27,3 x 38,1 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscribed, 'Striking the colours - the last of Logier Hill for the season Wednesday Feby 4th 1863;' written below the figures indicated: 'Mrs Snyman' - 'Snyman and his troop' - 'Damaras'. Signed 'from memory T Baines Feby 5th Matietsie River'.
- 16 Lord and Baines, *Shifts and Expedients*, pp. 250-51.
- 17 Illustration from *Shifts and Expedients*, p. 255. Wood engraving.
- 18 *Kaffirs having made their fortunes leaving the colony 1848* (1848). Oil. 47 x 65,4 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
- 19 The image is reproduced from the lithograph as 'Fingoe-Familie auf der Wanderschaft' in G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's* (F. Hirt, 1872), p. 148, and with the same title in F. Korner, *Süd-Afrika* (F. Hirt, 1873), p. 180. Reproduced from Fritsch in E.C. Godee-Molsbergen, *South African History told in Pictures* (S.L. van Looy, 1913), p. 66, with the caption, 'A Fingo family trekking into the Cape Colony, to escape from the condition of slavery in which they were held by the Amaxosa . . .'. Also reproduced as 'Removing to new quarters' in T.M. Thomas, *Eleven Years in Central South Africa* (John Snow & Co., c. 1872).
- 20 *Major-General Somerset's division on the march 1847* (1854). Oil on canvas. 40 x 63 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe.
- 21 *Woodstock Beach looking towards Mitherton* (c. 1847). Oil on board. 45 x 62,5 cm. Coll: William Fehr.
- 22 *Church Square Grahamstown* (1849). Oil. 49 x 75 cm. Coll: Syfrets Trust, on loan to the Albany Museum.
- 23 *Potter's Row, Hill Street, Grahamstown* (1848). Oil on canvas. 81 x 120 cm. Coll: Syfrets Trust, on loan

- to the Albany Museum. William Potter, an 1820 Settler, owned the inn at the corner of Hill and New streets in Grahamstown. Baines lodged with the Potters on many occasions.
- 24 *Fort Beaufort and the Kat River* (1849). Pencil and watercolour. 19 x 48 cm. Coll: The Brenthurst Library.
- 25 *Bathurst* (1849). Oil on paper mounted on canvas. 45 x 63,5 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. There is another version of this image in the National Archives of Zimbabwe collection.
- 26 *Village near Tete Mozambique* (1859). Oil. 45,8 x 65,8 cm. Coll: The British Museum, Department of Ethnography.
- 27 *King William's Town and the Buffalo River* (1850). Oil. 47 x 65 cm. Coll: William Fehr.
- 28 *Bloemfontein* (1851). Oil. 38,5 x 61 cm. Coll: William Fehr.
- 29 Narrow rawhide thongs used for whips, for thonging the backs and seats of chairs and sometimes for shoelaces.
- 30 • *View of Pretoria* (1872). Oil. 47 x 63 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
• *Durban from Mr Currie's residence, Berea 1873* (1873). Oil. 45,5 x 60 cm. Coll: Durban Local History Museum.
- 31 The Natal Agricultural and Horticultural Society was founded in Durban in 1848 and acquired 25 acres of crown land for a garden in 1851. Donald and Patricia McCracken, *Natal, the Garden Colony* (Sandton, 1990), p. 4.

CHAPTER TWELVE

- 1 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 126.
- 2 *Knal of the Kaffir Chief Samdile* (1849). Oil on canvas. 46 x 65 cm. Coll: South African Library. Baines probably painted this scene in Grahamstown in late 1849. Another virtually identical version is in the William Fehr Collection.
- 3 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 145.
- 4 Baines describes this incident in *Journal of Residence*, 18 August 1849, vol. 1, p. 146.
- 5 *The loyal Fingo* (1851). Oil. 43 x 30,5 cm. Coll: William Fehr.
- 6 *Fingo village Fort Beaufort 1848* (1848). Oil. 45 x 65 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. The museum also possesses the watercolour study (14 x 23 cm). The incident was included in the lithographic folio *Scenery and Events in Africa: A Series of Views*.
- 7 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 39.
- 8 See *Journal of Residence*: 'His every attitude was a model for a sculptor . . .' (11 September 1851, vol. 2, pp. 225-26); 'Many of the men were models for a sculptor, and their heavy blankets hung round them in massive folds like the drapery of an antique statue . . .' (20 December 1851, vol. 2, p. 283). See also Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, vol. 1: 'The young girls moved or stood with unembarrassed ease and freedom, in attitudes

- which a sculptor might long to witness, while their forms were in many instances sufficiently perfect to serve him as models of beauty ...' (14 July 1869, p. 76.)
- 9 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, Thursday 15 July 1869, vol. 1, p. 81.
 - 10 *Ibid.*, Wednesday 14 July 1869, p. 80.
 - 11 *No Bengula the King-elect of Matabeloland: or famille* (1869). Watercolour. 39 x 28 cm. Coll: Natural History Museum.
 - 12 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, Thursday 28 October 1869, vol. 1, p. 208.
 - 13 *Tuesday June 6 [1848], Fish River* (1848). Pencil, watercolour and ink. 25,5 x 22 cm. Coll: The Brenthurst Library.
 - 14 *Two slave women* (1859). Watercolour. 25,4 x 24,8 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
 - 15 *Head wife of a chief* (1873). Oil on canvas. 61,5 x 45 cm (oval). Coll: South African National Gallery. Inscribed on the reverse: 'Woman of the Amakosa or Frontier Kafirs. Head Wife of a Chief. Port Elizabeth, 29 March 1873.'
 - 16 The painting, with its companion piece *Returning from waré* (1873), was exhibited at the South African National Gallery in 1993-94 in *Enokwanto: Beadwork from the Eastern Cape*. The label stated, 'Historical records prove that Thomas Baines' paintings ... are inaccurate, for example in showing red beads.' I would argue that Baines used his memory of different ethnic groups, including the Mfengu, to produce commercially viable pictures, not ethnographic records, and he was not overly concerned with 'accuracy'.
 - 17 *A Damara family group* (1861). Oil. 45,7 x 65,4 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscribed on the reverse: 'Damara family from Otjimbengue at the outspan at Kunobis or Otjimbende Augst 29 1861 - Otjiboora or Dikkop (Mr Chapman's herdsman) Kano Kuambo Dikkop's wife, Kynamobia his married daughter, Kouloloa her younger sister, Pompey a boy of the poor Damara of Elephant's fountain' - 'Bushman in the second group belonging to the plain' - 'T. Baines commenced on spot Augst 29th finished at Kobis Sept 6 1861'; written along the bottom of the canvas 'Pompey Kynamobia Kouloloa Dikkop Otjiboora'.
 - 18 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, pp. 16-63.
 - 19 *Police Station Fort Cox - Superintendent Davies's venudah* (1849). Oil. 45 x 66 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscribed on the stretcher: 'Machael, Botman's Chief Counsellor - the Kafir Chief Botman - these are both good likenesses - Machael - Superintendent Davis' daughter - The Kafir Chief B... - Kafir policeman teaching young Davis to throw the assegai - Sandile and Dundas - ... and ... 11 ... - Sentry Kafir poli ...'
 - 20 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, vol. 1, p. 148.
 - 21 *Ibid.*
 - 22 *Intauguation of the Cape Town breakwater: the tipping of the first load of stones by H.R.H. Prince Alfred 1860* (1860). Oil. 45,7 x 66 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
 - 23 *The 74th Highlanders with Beaufort and Port Elizabeth Fingo levies storming the stronghold of the rebel chief Sandili in the Amatola mountains, June 1851* (1851). Oil on canvas. 45 x 72 cm. Coll: First National Bank.
 - 24 Kennedy, ed., *Journal of Residence*, 14 July 1851, vol. 2, p. 209.
 - 25 Baines' African Collections, The Brenthurst Library, vol. vii; article in the *Lynn News*, quoting a letter (Camp Amatola 30 June 1851) received by friends of Baines.
 - 26 Robert R. Wark, ed., *Sir Joshua Reynolds: Discourses on Art*, 2 ed. (New Haven and London, 1975), p. 57.
 - 27 *Battle of Blannebant: 1838* (1854). Oil. 63 x 77 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscription on label on stretcher: 'Attack on the waggons of the Dutch Emigrant Boers after the murder of their Commandant, Pieter Retief, by the Zulus under Dingaan at Natal, 1838. Signed T. Baines. Lynn ... 185 ...' Baines was in King's Lynn in 1854 and the painting probably dates from that year.
 - 28 *Devra (or Mount) Dams with procession of the heir to the throne of Abyssinia* (1867). Oil on canvas. 44 x 65 cm. Coll: Gubbins Africana Library. Restored by Reginald Hoare, London, 1977.
- Inscribed on the reverse: 'Devra (or Mount) Dams with procession of the heir to the throne of Abyssinia (the mountain from a sketch by Salt). T. Baines. London Xmas 1867.'
- 29 In 'Baines' Abyssinian Paintings' (delivered at the tenth conference of the South African Association of Art Historians), Elizabeth Delmont outlines the circumstances initiating the Abyssinian campaign.
 - 30 In a letter dated 28 October 1852 (Baines' African Collections, vol. 5, The Brenthurst Library), John Ayliff notes that the two paintings he has received are not large enough for the best room of his house and he commissions two further paintings, the landing of the settlers in surf boats, and a view of arrival at an area near Bathurst. An order for £7 10s was enclosed in part payment for the set of four paintings.
 - 31 *The landing of the British settlers in Algoa Bay in the year 1820* (1852). Oil on canvas. 45,5 x 63,5 cm. Coll: King George VI Art Gallery, Port Elizabeth. Inscribed on verso: 'The landing of the British Settlers in Algoa Bay/ in the year 1820 from descriptions/ by the Rev. J. Ayliff [and] others of the early Settlers/ T. Baines Grahamstown/ 1852.' There are three extant versions of this scene in public collections of which this is the earliest. The second, in the 1820 Settlers Museum, Grahamstown, dated 1853, is a different view of the scene. The third, in the William Fehr Collection, Cape Town, dated 1874, is almost a copy of the 1852 painting, indicating that Baines was willing to repeat popular imagery years after initially conceptualizing an idea.

EPILOGUE

- 1 Baines, *Gold Regions*, pp. x, xiv-xv.
- 2 Mohr, *To the Victoria Falls*, p. 100.
- 3 Merrill, *Romance of Victorian Natural History*, pp. 66, 255-261.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.
- 5 Carter, *Road to Botany Bay*, p. 69.