THE LIFE AND WORK OF
Thomas Baines
Jane Carruthers
Marion Arnold
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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.'

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.'

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), 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.' 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', and Bradlow likewise accepts Baines at face value, noting that he 'never killed animals . . . unless it was necessary to feed the expedition'.

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
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 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, 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. 9

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'. 10

In Elephant killed in the night by Chapman (1862) (fig. 2), 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.' 10

Baines's illustration of the incident, Buffalo hunt in the rain forest (1863) (fig. 3), 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
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 centralised 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
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'.

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-?). The illustrations...
The greatest hunt in Africa near Bloemfontein (1860).

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

(engraved by J.W. Whymper) 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). 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 illustration 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. 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). 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), 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 wagons'. 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)
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). 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 figures 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 Tawana tribe at Lake Ngami (1861) (fig. 12), 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) 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). 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 values of the Victorian world, part of a series of assumptions about British identity and expansionist objectives.
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.

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.)
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

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.
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

**EPILOGUE**

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’.

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 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'.

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. 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 Botlele and Zambesi Rivers (1864).*

Oil. 46.7 x 66 cm.

Coll. Museum Afrika. 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.
Archival manuscripts
THE BRENTHRUST LIBRARY, Johannesburg - Baines' African Collections MS49
KING'S LYNN ARCHIVES: True's Yard, King's Lynn - Census, Births, Deaths and Marriage Records
MUSEUMAFRICA ARCHIVES, Johannesburg
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ZIMBABWE, Harare
ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS, Kew - Correspondence, vols 34, 35, 38, 41, 60, 77, 189
SOUTH AFRICAN CENTRAL ARCHIVES, Pretoria - SAB ARH 2 G/2/1

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BAINES, T., 'Scenes on the Zambesi', The Cape Monthly Magazine 8 November 1860, pp. 269-299.

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ARNOLD, MARION, 'Thomas Baines, landscape painter', de Arte 23 April 1979, pp. 26-41.
DELMIlON, ELIZABETH, 'Baines' Abyssinian paintings', paper delivered at the 9th Annual Conference of the South African Association of Art Historians, University of Stellenbosch, July 1994.

GARDINGER, K., 'The oil paintings of Thomas Baines in the possession of the society', Geographical Journal 141(2) 1975, pp. 327-330.
HARRINGTON, NORMAN H., 'The discovery of an oil painting which can be attributed to Thomas Baines', Africana Notes and News 23(8) 1979, pp. 336-337.
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PHILLIPS, H. 'Cape Town in 1829', Centre 9 1980, pp. 5-11.


SECORD, JAMES A. 'Natural History in depth', Social Studies of Science 15 1985, pp. 181-200.


INTRODUCTION

2. Explanations in South-West Africa: Being an Account of a Journey in the Years 1861 and 1862 from Windward Bay, on the Western Coast to Lake Ngami and the Victoria Falls (London, 1864).
5. He also contributed irregularly to periodicals such as The Cape Monthly Magazine and The Illustrated London News.


3. Wallis's biography has been reprinted twice:

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.

6. Wallis'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


2. Much of the information concerning the history of King's Lynn has been taken from Paul Richards, King's Lynn (Chichester, 1990).

3. 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.


5. Richards, King's Lynn, p. 35.


7. Ibid., p. 72.

8. Ibid., p. 104.


10. Richards, King's Lynn, p. 17.


12. Wallis, Thomas Baines (1976), pp. 1; Richards, King's Lynn, p. 114.

13. The original apprenticeship document is housed in The Brenthurst Collection, Johannesburg, MS49.
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CHAPTER THREE

2 Ibid., p. 1.
3 Ibid., p. 51.
4 This was in 1852. Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. 2, pp. 417-418.
7 Ibid., p. 3, p. 176.
8 Hammond and Jablok, The Africa That Never Was, p. 188.
9 The area north of the Orange River.
12 Ibid., p. 57.
14 Minutes of the Volkstaad of Andries Ohrigstad, Article 7, 18 March 1846.
16 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 75, 87.
17 Ibid., p. 95-97.
18 Ibid., p. 54.
19 Ibid., p. 90.
20 Ibid., p. 94.
21 Ibid., p. 99.
22 Ibid., p. 87, 93.
23 Ibid., p. 187.
26 Ibid., p. 174.
29 Ibid., p. 216.
30 Ibid., p. 212.
31 Baines, Gold Regions, p. xii.

CHAPTER FOUR

2 Ibid., p. 56.
6 Stafford, Scientist of Empire, pp. 44-47.
8 Powell, Far Country, p. 66.
9 Lord and Baines, Shifts and Expeditions, p. 623.
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 Expeditions, p. 623.
13 Wallis, Thomas Baines (1976), p. 53; Bradden, 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.
13 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 27.
14 Ibid., p. 49.
22 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 42.
23 Ibid., p. 76.
36 See the books cited above for details of this personal conflict.
38 He did, however, remain with the expedition in a private capacity and was eventually reinstated.
40 Ibid., pp. 220-221.
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.
46 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, pp. 228-234.

CHAPTER SIX

1 Baines, *Explorations in South-West Africa*, p. 481.
3 See, for example, Jeal, *Livingstone*, passim, and Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, pp. 27-35.
4 Tabler et al., eds, *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 27.
28 July 1865, Baines to Hooker, 77(316-320). Baines to Hooker, January 1866 to January 1867.
55 See, for instance, 31 January 1866, 17 February 1866, 21 April 1866, 19 May 1866, 1 February 1869, 11 April 1869, and so on.
56 See Lord and Baines, Shifts and Expedients. An excellent foreword to the 1975 facsimile edition is provided by Frank Bradlow, Wallis, Thomas Baines (1876), pp. 157-158.
57 Wallis, Thomas Baines (1876), p. 160.
58 Ibid., pp. 155-156.
59 National Archives of Zimbabwe, BA7/11/1, Logier to Baines, 19 September 1867.

CHAPTER SEVEN

2 Baines, Gold Regions, p. xiii.
3 Thornton, ‘The colonial, the imperial . . .’, pp. 1-7.
4 Baines, Gold Regions, p. v, l.
5 Stafford, Scientists of Empire, p. 160.
7 For details of Mash’s achievements, see E.E. Burke, ed., The Journals of Carl Mash: His Travels in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, 1869-1872 (Salisbury, 1969).
11 In the event, the endeavour failed and the agency closed in 1870.
14 Ibid., p. 161.
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.
18 Ibid., p. 244.
19 Mohr, To the Victoria Falls, pp. 290-291.
21 Ibid., p. 242.

CHAPTER EIGHT

2 Bradlow notes that he has ‘seen well over two thousand oils, and almost three thousand watercolour 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.
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 outlines to designing and finishing watercolour.

6 Baines made copies of Cornelius Harris’s animal illustrations (*The Wild Sports of Southern Africa* 1859) and copied paintings by minor masters, for example * Destruction of Spanish ships Gibraltar Sept. 28th 1851*, oil on canvas on masonite, 59 x 86 cm, coll. Gubbins African Library, after James Jeffereys (c. 1757-1874).

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 Eddy and Landseer. He spent three years on the continent, returning to Lyon 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.


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.)


12 Cutting in the Brehm Museum MS49/29/11; announcement signed by Edward L. King, Honorary Secretary of The National Archives of Zimbabwe, 27 October 1857.


14 Ibid., p. 126.

15 Ibid.


17 Ibid., p. 152.


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.


24 Baines, *The Victoria Falls*, p. 2.

25 In *Shifts and Expeditions*, 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 Travelling’. 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 tube colours from Reeves or Winsor & Newton, loose sheets of Whatman paper, or Rowney or Winsor & Newton sketchbooks.


27 Thomas Rebek 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). Rebek 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. Rebek confirms that Baines ‘definitely used high quality paint’. It must be noted that Rebek’s experience is extensive.

28 Details of a large order placed with Winsor & Newton in October 1859 are in The National Archives of Zimbabwe. The Brehm Library contains a letter to Winsor & Newton, written from Port Elizabeth, 7 December 1874, ordering tubes of oil paint. In *Shifts and Expeditions*, Baines is at pains to stress the importance of travelling with materials obtained from reputable suppliers.

29 Hippo shoot near Logier Hill (1862). Col. 45.7 x 66 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.


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 1841, chromolithography facilitated full colour reproduction and simulated the appearance of watercolours.

35 • The Falls by sunrise, with the ‘spray cloud’ rising 200 feet. Watercolour. 28.6 x 38 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.

36 These 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

NOTES

1 Wallis, ed., *Northern Goldfields*, vol. 1, p. 149.

2 Ibid., pp. xx-xxi.


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.


7 Also important for the extant 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).

8 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.


10 Another slightly later version of the image, with minor differences, is the *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 Otjimbingwe.

• A finished watercolour version is *The East end of the falls of the Zambezi* (1862). 27 x 37 cm. Coll: The Brenthurst 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.

11 Baines, *The Victoria Falls*, p. 4.

12 *Southeast 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 *Crawling the Oorlog's Poor 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. Incription on canvas: *South-west 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 Zambesi River 25th July 1862.'

17 *Eastern portion of Victoria Falls* (1863). Oil on canvas. 45.8 x 66 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 August 13 1862 and painted in Mr Anderson's house at Otjimbingwe Octr 6 1863 T Baines'.

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.


20 *Trip up the river and into the mountain country* from Garden Island (1862). 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: Johann Martin Bernatz, *Scenes in Ethiopia* (1845); Henry Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country* (1814).

22 The image is entitled 'Halting Place of Hilaileeaa, in the Tekonda pass'. It is reproduced as a full page engraving in *The Illustrated London News*, 30 November 1867, p. 589.

23 *Zanqueen, the boatman of the rapids* (1863). Oil on canvas. 65 x 45 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe. Inscribed on the reverse: *Zanqueen The boatman of the RAPIDS Taking us to the Victoria Falls Zambesi River - Wednesday August 13 1862 Sketched the next day and painted in Mr Andersson's house Otjimbingwe Novr 9 1863 T Baines*. Notice the watercolour on the spot Augst 13 1862 and painted in Mr Anderson's house at Otjimbingwe Octr 6 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


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., *Baines on the Zambezi*, p. 65.

3 Ibid., pp. 64-65.

4 *The rapids above Calhora Bassa*, 24 November 1858 (1858). Pencil and watercolour. 28 x 85,5 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe.


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 Dawny who commissioned at least fifteen animal paintings and hunting scenes including *Herd of buffaloes chased through the Macchuvis River and the black rhinoceros (figs B. 9).* Frank Bradlow's meticulous research on Guy Dawny was published as *The private journals of Guy Dawny* in the *Quarterly Bulletin*, 48(1) 1993, pp. 52-44.


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).


17 The pit at the end of the hope (1861). Oil on canvas. 83 x 119 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe. The painting is reproduced in the paint- ing in Baines's Art Gallery.


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 Macchuvis River* by T. Baines and Carl Lee Wednesday Oct 18 1874 (1873). Oil on canvas. 51.3 x 66.7 cm. Coll: Sanlam.
The greatest hunt in Africa near Bloemfontein (1860). Oil on canvas. 46.5 x 62 cm. Coli: William Fehr.

Wagons on Market Square, Grahamstown (1850), also known as Mr Home's waggon with ivory and skins from the interior of Africa on the Graham's Town market. Oil. 48 x 64,3 cm. Coll: Albany Museum.

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.

Arrival of Bawana 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 1866.

The discovery of gold (1874). Oil on canvas. 65.4 x 50.8 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe. The oil version, the Northern Gold Fields 1865 hunting among quartz reefs and old diggings in the interior of South Africa near Algoa Bay, 50,8 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe, was founded in Durban in 1848 and acquired 25 acres of crown land for a garden in 1851. Donal and Patricia McCracken, Natal, the Garden Colony (Sandton, 1990), p. 4.

Gold washing in the river at Eersteliug (1871). Pencil. 27 x 37,5 cm. Coll: Cubbins Africana Library.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

2 Published in two editions.
3 The surf boats off the jetty, 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 Expeditions, p. 385.
6 Inscribed: 'Sketched in the wagon which causes it to be shaky.'
7 Descant of Mackay's Neck (1848). Oil. 45,8 x 65,5 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
8 Klaas Smits River - wagon broken down (1848). Pencil. 17,8 x 27,3 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.
9 Klaas Smits River - wagon broken down, crossing the drift (1848). Oil. 46.5 x 65,5 cm. Coll: The Brenthurst Library.
10 Major-General Somerset's division on the march 1847 (1854). Oil on canvas. 40 x 63 cm. Coll: National Archives of Zimbabwe.
11 Woodstock Beach looking towards Mthibombo (c. 1847). Oil on board. 45 x 62,5 cm. Coll: William Fehr.
12 Potter's Row, Hill Street, Grahamstown (1848). Oil on canvas. 81 x 120 cm. Coll: Syfrets Trust, on loan to the Albany Museum.

NOTES
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.)


10 Ibid., Wednesday 14 July 1869, p. 80.

11 No Bengula the King-elect of Matatlatekane: en famille (1869). Watercolour. 39 x 28 cm. Coll: National Historical Museum.


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 24.3 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica.

15 Head 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 Kaifers. Head Wife of a Chief. Port Elizabeth, 29 March 1873.'

16 The painting, with its companion piece Returning from work (1873), was exhibited at the South African National Gallery in 1993-94 in Entwinnu: 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 Otjibengue at the outspan at Kunobis or Otjimiwe on the 29th at Kunobis or Otjimbende August 29 1861 - Otjihora or Dikkop (Mr Chapman's herdman) Kano Kusambo Dikopp'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 Otljihoro'.

18 Baines, Explorations in South-West Africa, pp. 16-63.

19 Police Station Fort Cox - Superintendent Davies's residence (1849). Oil. 45 x 66 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscribed on the reverse: 'Machael, Botman's Chief Counsellor - the Kafr Chief Botman - these are both good likenesses - Machael - Superintendent Davies' daughter - The kafr Chief B ... - Kafr policeman teaching young Davis to throw the assagai - Sandile and Dundas - ... and ... 11 ... - Sentry Kafr poli ...'


21 Ibid.


23 The 74th Highlanders with Benvor and Port Elizabeth Fingo loves storming the stronghold of the rebel chief Sandili in the Amanato mountains. June 1851 (1851). Oil on canvas. 45 x 72 cm. Coll: First National Bank.


27 Battle of Blantyre (1854). Oil. 65 x 77 cm. Coll: MuseumAfrica. Inscription on label on stretcher: 'Attack on the wagons of the Dutch Emigrant Boers after the murder of their Commandant, Pieter Retief, by the Zulu 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.


Inscribed on the reverse: 'Devra (or Mount) Damo with procession of the heir to the throne of Abyssinia (the mountain from a sketch by Salk). 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.


4 Ibid., pp. 51-53.

5 Carter, Road to Botany Bay, p. 69.