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**IMAGES OF A CHANGING FRONTIER:
WORLDVIEW IN EASTERN CAPE ART
FROM BUSHMAN ROCK ART
TO 1875**

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

A discussion of the concept of worldview shows that how an artist conceives the world in his images is governed by his worldview - an amalgam of the worldview of the group of which he is a part modified by his own ideas, beliefs, attitudes, perceptions and upbringing. The author proposes that studying an artist's work can reveal his, and hence his group's, worldview and thus the attitudes prevalent when the work was produced.

A brief historical sketch of the Eastern Cape to 1834 introduces the various settlers in the area. Though no known examples of Black, Boer or Khoi pictorial art are extant, both the Bushmen and the British left such records. A short analysis of rock art shows how the worldview of the Bushman is inherent in their images which reflect man's world as seen with the "inner" eye of the spirit. In white settler art, the author submits that spatial relationships changed in response to a growing confidence as the "savage" land was "civilised" and that the position, pose and size of figures - and the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups - reflect socio-political changes.

The two foremost nineteenth-century Eastern Cape artists, Thomas Baines and Frederick I'Ons, succeeded in capturing the atmosphere of Frontier life but are shown to interpret their surroundings through the rose-tinted spectacles of British Romanticism. They also reveal individuality in approach - Baines preferring expansive views while I'Ons's landscapes tend to be "closed-in", strictly following the *coulisse* scheme of Picturesque painting. Perhaps, the author postulates, such differences result from the very different environments, i.e. Norfolk and London, in which the two grew up. I'Ons is shown typically to use generalised landscapes as backdrops for his foreground figures, while comparing Baines's scenes with modern photographs shows that he adjusted the spacial elements of the topography as well as the temporal sequence of events to suit aesthetic considerations. Lithographed reports of his work contain even further adjustments. The author concludes that the use of Africana art as historical records must be treated with great caution.

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NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY

- (1) For the sake of literary convenience, and to avoid the clumsy terms "he/she" and "his/hers" that are unfortunately becoming regarded as "correct", I have used the pronouns "he" and "his" when referring to artists in general without regard for gender. Since all but two of the artists discussed are men there are in fact few places where the masculine terms do not also "correctly" apply.
- (2) Though not wishing to offend, but with a view to maintaining historical accuracy, I have retained references to black persons in the original parlance. Readers should bear in mind that, in the last century, the expression "Kaffir" (and its various spellings) was commonly used to indicate a black (generally Bantu) person without any pejorative intention merely in much the same way as the term "African" is used today.
- (3) Regarding the names given to the various groups, "Bushman", "San" and "Hottentot", the latter two terms have largely been rejected by a growing number of scholars in order to avoid the confusions these names have produced. Most historians today prefer "Khoikhoi" or "Khoi" for Hottentot, and the Khoikhoi term "San" for the Bushmen, and "Khoisan" when a distinction between them is not required (Davenport, 1987:31). Lewis-Williams, however, points out that the word "San" - a word used by the Nama Khoikhoi people for all Bushman groups and by which the Bushmen are known in academic journals and books today - has highly pejorative associations (Lewis-Williams, 1989:9). I have thus retained the term "Bushmen" in this thesis, but like Lewis-Williams, use it without insulting overtones.

PREFACE

Even though from the 1860s onwards the function of recording was taken over by the camera, there are still those who insist that Africana art (defined as encompassing all historical art pertaining to southern Africa) only has value as "records of the past", i.e. as historical documents. However the author submits that seeing, believing, understanding and interpreting are as much a part of the *cognitive* processes of image-making in Africana art as in any other artform. These processes are overtly or inherently influenced by the artist's *worldview*, which lies at the very heart of culture. Some of the artist's beliefs and attitudes may have originated from personal traits, others from recognisable traditions and yet others from social upheavals that turned old traditions upside down. A brief study of Bushman rock art will demonstrate that the worldview of these peoples is indeed apparent in their pictorial images, which reflect their explorations not only into the physical world but also into "the most distant purlieu of the mind" (Lewis-Williams, 1988:21).

A brief historical sketch of the Eastern Cape up to 1834 introduces the Khoi, Bantu-speakers, Xhosa, Boers and British in that area. An initial study into the Calvinistic background of the Boers revealed that the early Dutch settler farmers misinterpreted the tenets of the Calvinistic traditions regarding art. Whereas philosophers such as van der Walt (ca. 1975:7) explain that Calvinism is in favour of art as a instrument by which adherents could glorify their Maker, the Boers regarded art as a frivolous past-time to be avoided. Thus the lack of a two-dimensional artistic tradition amongst the Boer, the Khoikhoi and the Bantu-speaking peoples narrows the scope of this study to the Bushman rock art practiced in the Eastern Cape for some 10 000 years B.P. and to the works of the British artists who arrived in the region from the end of the eighteenth century.

Artistic changes are considered in the light of changing socio-political scenarios in the Eastern Cape from the latter 1500's to 1875. The pictorial art of that period is shown to contain clues to the social and "geosopic" attitudes then prevailing. These attitudes moulded the worldview of the artists of the time and, it is the author's contention, led to changes in certain compositional conventions in their images. It will be argued not only that spatial relationships changed in response to a growing confidence as the "savage" land was "civilised", but also that the artistic forms - the position, pose and size of the figures - and the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups reflected the social and political attitudes then current.

Although some two hundred-and-seventy artists visited, worked or exhibited in the Eastern Cape (a dictionary of these, compiled by the author, appears at the end of this thesis), the limitations of a work such as this prevent a fuller discussion of their individual contributions. Furthermore, the general lack of available comment by the artists themselves also necessitates that interpretations and conclusions drawn from their works must remain tentative.

M C

Grahamstown, 1992

I

WORLDVIEW AND ITS EXPRESSION IN BUSHMAN ART

An increasingly popular term, *weltanschauung* (worldview), first appeared in Georg F W Hegel's *Phaenomenologie des Geistes* in the early 1800's. In Wilhelm Dilthey's *Weltanschauungslehre* (theory or doctrine of worldviews), 1927, the term acquired proper systematic philosophical importance (Echeverria, 1985:245). "Worldview", according to Kraft (1988:54) "is the central systematisation of conceptions of reality to which the members of the culture assent (largely subconsciously) and from which stem their value systems. Worldview lies at the very heart of culture, touching, interacting with, and strongly influencing every other aspect of the culture". Kaufmann (1970:204) summarises the usefulness of the concept as follows:

Worldview is a notion that enables a cultural analyst or historian to discern, relate and hold together in significant unity certain common features of the most diverse artifacts or cultural expressions of a given community or epoch, all of them understood as expressive of the worldview then prevailing; it also facilitates distinguishing and comparing certain comprehensive gestures of the experience, attitudes and stance in life of one community (or individual, or period) with another, in a way not otherwise possible.

Relating common features or comparing certain gestures are not the only functions of worldview, for Kraft (1988:21) explained worldview as also *evaluating* how and why things got to be as they are and why they continue or change. According to him, worldview embodies, explicitly or implicitly, the basic assumptions concerning the ultimate things on which people base their lives. The basic values and goals of a society are ethnographically evaluated as best, and therefore, sanctioned by the worldview of that culture. For most of the world's cultures, the ultimate grounding for these sanctions is the supernatural - for it is through their God or gods that most people seek to validate their worldview and thereby their culture as a whole. Worldview also *psychologically reinforces* a group whose members can turn to their common conceptual system to find appropriate behaviour or actions to cope with points of anxiety or crisis in life. In many cultures, this reinforcement takes the form of ritual or ceremony (eg. funerals, rain dances or harvest celebrations). The worldview of a culture or subculture also *integrates and systematises* for its members their perceptions of reality into an overall design. A group's worldview does not completely determine the perceptions of all its members at all times, however, since those perceptions often shift as people come to see things differently.

Collingwood (1924:25) noted that "any given work of art is based upon the entire previous experience of the artist, not only his artistic experience, but his whole experience forged into a single imaginative view of reality". Thus an artist's worldview will largely determine the way he

perceptualises or conceptualises his experiences in art. As the artist's "entire previous experience" will have occurred within the context of the social systems of his own epoch, his images will also reflect how people have *collectively* thought about the world. The spatial relationships afforded to the relative positioning of man, landscape and human/animal activity in pictures, for example, should enable some deductions to be made concerning man's view of his place in the world and his *attitude* towards his fellow man.

Rookmaaker (1975:131) gives an example of the way in which an ideology, belief or a religious attitude may inadvertently be "hidden" in the iconography of an artwork. In his discussion of Duccio's *Madonna with Child*, fig 1, where the Christ-child is seated on the arm of the Virgin who is depicted against a background of gold, he explains that "icons were not examples of 'primitive' styles of painting... mediaeval man did not really believe that Bethlehem air was golden... nor was accurate archaeology or historiography the concern of the mediaeval painter [for]... he must have realised that fashions had changed since the birth of Christ". The gold background, however, suggested her divine nature and a world other than our own, where the artist was "depicting a dogma, a credal statement in a well-defined, traditional, compositional scheme". Duccio intended his picture to symbolise truths deeper than the eye could see - in some cultures, such pictures themselves were considered holy. His painting depicts "a human experience, a human understanding, an insight and emotion into what the truth about reality is" (idem). Rather than having attempted an historically "correct" mother, the icon aims to illustrate, instead, the artist's *belief* about reality in an artistic way.



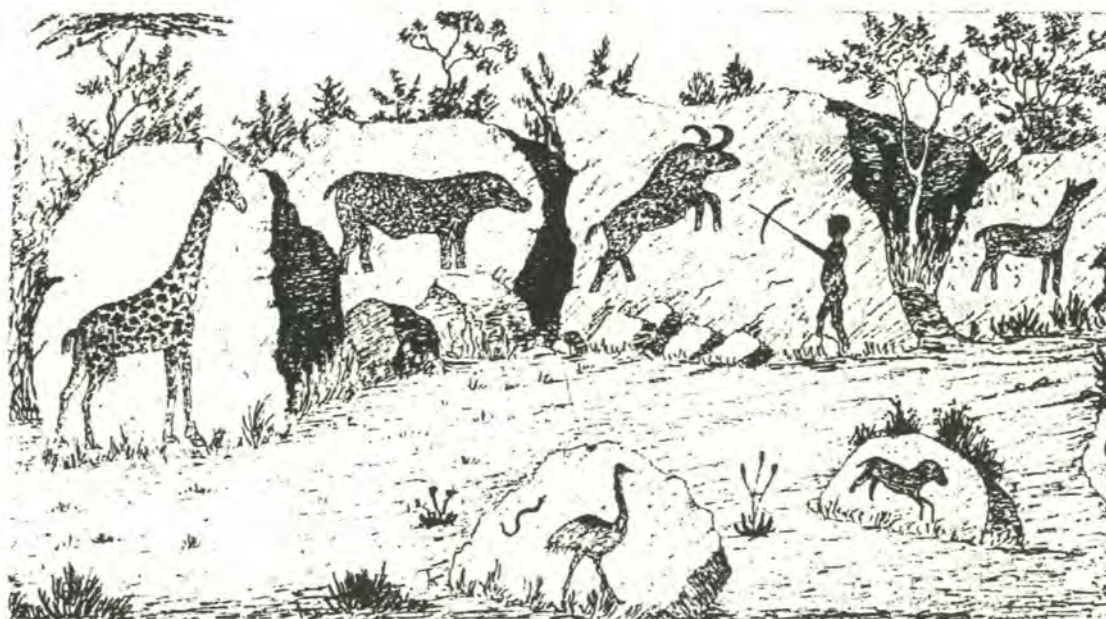
1. Duccio. *Madonna and Child*, Siena. ca. 1300

This study similarly seeks to demonstrate the relevance of worldview as a basis for understanding the iconographical significance of the paintings and drawings produced by artists in the Eastern Cape. In this regard, it would be appropriate to consider *all* the groups who ventured into this region. Unfortunately the Khoikhoi and Bantu-speaking immigrants did not carry a two-dimensional art tradition, while there are no known examples of artworks produced by the Dutch farmers or Trekboers prior to 1875, which limits the scope of this study to the British artists who arrived in the region from the end of the eighteenth century and the Bushman rock art tradition practiced in the Eastern Cape for some 10 000 years. That Bushmen roamed the grassy plains and crags of the Eastern Cape is well documented by Late Stone Age sites which provide a good picture

of subsistence, technological development and seasonal movement (Hall,1985:30). From the late seventeenth century onwards, an increasing number of European travellers penetrated the Eastern Cape and described the indigenous peoples they encountered (Hall,1986:42). Such explorers referred to "Bushman" (Le Vaillant,1790; Sparrman,1786) and, although Barrow (1806) found that "Bushman" were numerous in the Sneeuwberg, he also mentions that the Winterberg was uninhabited (Hall,1986:42). However, from the visual description of the rock art encountered by Anderson (1888), fig 2, one must doubt the reliability of Barrow's perceptions. Many known sites preserve rock paintings - such as Wilton near Alicedale; Melkhoutboom in the Suurberg; Springs Rock Shelter, Glen Craig and Uniondale, situated immediately north and east of Grahamstown (idem) - but many other Eastern Cape rock sites are as yet unexplored, such as the Winterberg which contains many unrecorded painted sites (Oliver-Evans,1985:47). As the Bushmen were undoubtedly the first peoples living in the region, it is fitting that our discussion of worldview in art should begin with them.

The yellow-skinned Bushmen are considered the last of the Stone Age hunter-gatherers who inhabited southern Africa for more than a million years. Initially called *Soaqua* by the early Europeans, later the term *Bosjesman* came to signify the group of dispossessed Khoi and "San" who attacked others and lived by raiding. Though a lot has been written about the meaning of the terms, no definitive name has seemed suitable.

The Bushmen were mostly misunderstood by the early colonists. As early as 1731 the traveller Kolben described them as "Troops of abandon'd Wretches... who... sally out from Time to Time... to steal cattle". Even George McCall Theal (1837 - 1919), considered the father of history writing in South Africa, classified the Bushmen as being on the bottom of the ladder of civilisation, suggesting that as a primitive race of its kind, the Bushmen were unimprovable, since they could



2. Unknown. Ancient Carving on Rocks...taken in 1860's.

not, and would not, conform to God's law of raising themselves constantly higher. Since they had attained the highest point of their progress, they suffered stagnation and had died out (Theal,1964:19). For centuries the Bushmen, who, unlike the Bantu-speaking Iron Age pastoralists, used no iron tools and owned no cattle, had freely roamed the African grasslands hunting and gathering food - hence being called "hunter-gatherers" by archaeologists and lay-people alike. "Then, from about 2 000 years ago, pastoralists arrived from the north, bringing with them a totally new way of life - the herding of stock - into the hunting grounds of the Bushmen" (Saunders,1989:20). The influx of these peoples, and later white settlers, caused great upheaval in Bushman society. The newcomers not only required land for crops and cattle, but the whites also hunted for the pot, trophies, skins and ivory. The appearance of domestic stock added considerably to the stress experienced by the hunter-gatherer communities (Parkington,*et al*,1986:314). "While the techniques of herding can be learned, social obligations are difficult to circumvent" (idem:317). A lack of mobility affected Bushman lifestyle, while the herds of the newcomers were vulnerable to raiding (ten Raa,1985), and thus, as the diminishing numbers of game forced the Bushman out of their traditional hunting grounds, the previously docile nation looked to the immigrant herds to fill their empty stomachs. It was therefore not surprising that the Bushmen became known as thieves and cunning savages. Even the missionaries despaired of ever bringing a Bushman to Christianity for, as one claimed, the Bushman "has no religion, no laws, no government... a soul, debased, it is true, and completely bound down and clogged by his animal nature" (Lewis-Williams,1983;13)¹.

Not all Europeans saw the Bushmen in this light, however, as some even romanticised their unhappy plight in poetry, such as Thomas Pringle who wrote (in Thompson,1827):

*The Bushman sleeps within his black-brow'd den,
In the lone wilderness: around him lie his wife and little
ones unfearingly -
For they are far away from "Christian men".
No herds, loud lowing, call him down the glen;
He fears no foe but famine; and may try
To wear away the hot noon slumberingly;
Then rise to search for roots - and dance again -
But he will dance no more! His secret lair,
Surrounded, echoes to the thundering gun,
And the wild shriek of anguish and despair!
He dies - yet, ere life's ebbing sands are run,
Leaves to his sons a curse, should they be friends
With the proud Christian race - "for they are fiends!"*

Similarly, not all travellers saw the Bushmen as "abandoned wretches". As early as 1797 the mysterious beauty of rock art amazed explorers such as Sir John Barrow who, coming upon a rock shelter with paintings "too well executed not to arrest attention", recognised that such work could

¹ Unless stated otherwise, all references in the rest of the chapter are to Lewis-Williams.

not "be expected from savages" (Barrow,1797:239-40). What greeted Barrow were rocks bearing a profusion of stick-like figures, interspersed with elegantly drawn animals, flying arrows and strange collections of dots, lines and geometric patterns. He admitted that "the force and spirit of the drawings, given to them by bold touches judiciously applied, and by the effect of light and shadow... showed that they were more than 'the work of idle boys'... similar to those on the doors and walls of uninhabited buildings". The work of researchers such as the nineteenth-century German linguist Wilhelm Bleek was instrumental in changing public opinion to consider the previously berated Bushmen as talented artists. In 1870 Bleek persuaded the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, to allow some Bushman convicts working on a new breakwater in Table Bay to live on his Mowbray property where he studied the fast disappearing /Xam language. In 1874, when he first saw the magistrate Joseph P Orpen's article on what he had learned from a young Bushman guide Qing, Bleek recognised the vital link between Bushman art and beliefs (Lewis-Williams and Dowson,1989:29). He wrote that

The fact of Bushman paintings, illustrating Bushman mythology, has first been publicly demonstrated by this paper of Mr Orpen's... it gives at once to Bushman art a higher character, and teaches us to look upon its products not as the mere daubing of figures for idle pastime, but as an attempt, however imperfect, at a truly artistic conception of the ideas which most deeply moved the Bushman mind, and filled it with religious feeling. (Orpen,1874).

After his death in 1875 his work was continued by his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd, and later by his daughter, Dorothea, who compiled a Bushman Dictionary published in 1956. Other researchers, amongst them Frobenius, the Abbé Breuil, Burkitt, Goodall, Cripps and Cooke (Cooke,1969:23), recorded much valuable information, but romantic speculation still shrouded their interpretation of Bushman rock art. To some, Bushman art was purely "art for art's sake" or mere embellishment of Bushman habitations. Although the daily activities of the Bushman are often depicted and some sites appear to contain straight-forward paintings of the animals in that vicinity, this seems not to have been the main interest for the Bushman artist. While "environmental factors like geology and topography might explain something of the spatial delimitation between rock engravings and paintings" (Morris,1988:109), many of the sites constitute excellent look-out points over the surrounding countryside, but can scarcely be considered suitable for day-to-day habitation. At an Eastern Cape site along the Spring Valley River, for example, Oliver-Evans (1985:23) remarks that rock paintings occur along the walls of the rocky outcrop but that the small surface area for standing suggests it would be inhospitable as an actual rock shelter. Similarly, at Newtondale farm, rock paintings appear on a large overhang but the lack of deposit suggests the site was not used as a living area.

Even the extensive work of modern-day archaeologists (Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974, 1981, 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1986, 1988; Vinnicombe 1972, 1976; Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1989; Deacon 1986, 1988; Dowson 1988), has not been totally successful in allaying all controversy surrounding the enigmatic artform. Their research has shown, however, that "where ethnography has been mustered to approach the cognitive context of the art" (Morris,1988:109), it

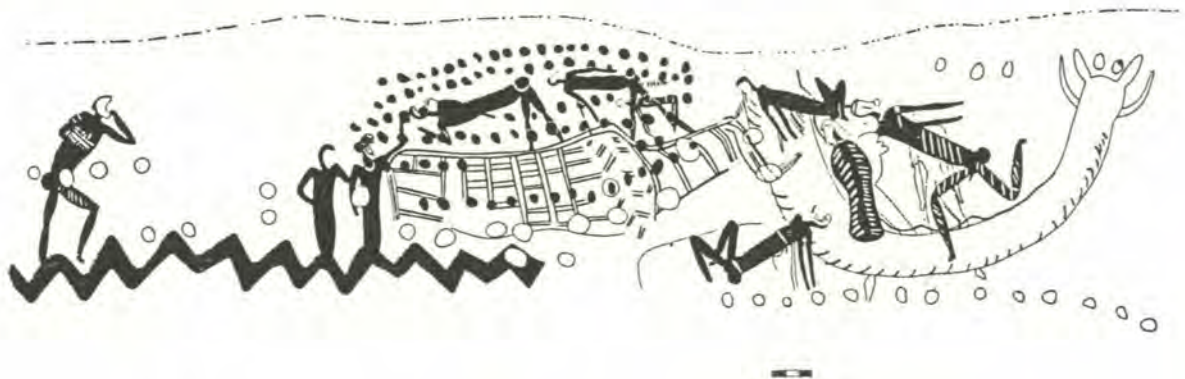
has been possible for some highly convincing interpretations to be made. Lewis-Williams's work reveals that rock art goes beyond purely hunting magic or aesthetics, being associated rather with the rôle of the shaman or "medicine people" in trance dance. According to him, trance dance and shaman trance experiences give form and substance to the whole of the Bushman's view of the cosmos and humankind's place in it. "The spirit world is for them the real, ultimate world" and the trance dance is a vital link to this realm (1988:3).

A summary of Lewis-Williams's interpretation of the trance dance will facilitate our analysis of some Eastern Cape examples of rock art. At the start of the dance, women sit in a circle, sing special medicine songs and clap while the men dance around them. Figure 3, from an Eastern Cape panel, illustrates an example of women clapping. The rhythm of the clapping and the insistent music, intensifies the dancing which causes an invisible *n/um* potency to "boil" in the shaman and rise up in their spines. Their stomach muscles contract, the writhing pain causing them to bend over such as in the panel from the north-eastern Cape, fig 4. They tremble and sweat profusely and experience tingling sensations which causes the hair on their bodies to stand up. Nasal haemorrhages are often suffered amongst southern people. When the boiling "explodes" in their heads, they enter trance, in which condition they are believed to be able to cure the sick and to go on out-of-body travel: the shaman has then entered the supernatural world. On coming out of trance, the shaman attempts to relate his "other-worldly" spiritual experiences to the group by portraying his experiences on the rocks.

Of particular interest during trance are the three stages of hallucination. "The first stage

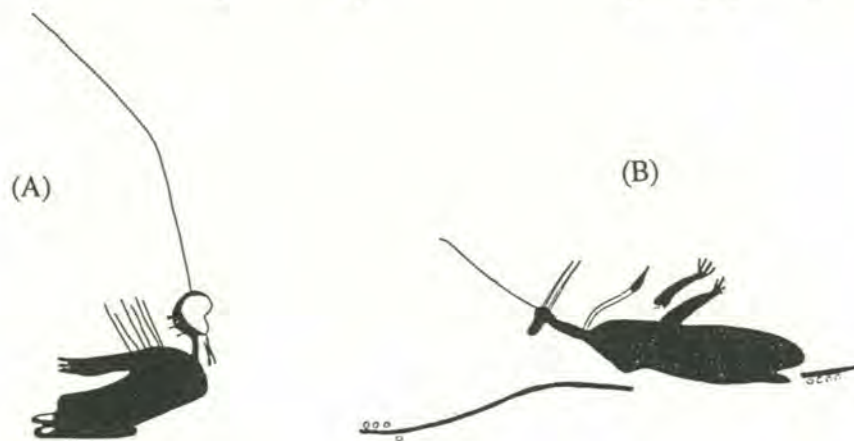


3. Women clapping. Eastern Cape.



4. Rock painting of complex hallucinatory elements. North-eastern Cape.

consists of visions of patterns [or entopics] of zigzags, chevrons, spots, spirals and grids which correspond to the human experience of drug- or migraine-induced hallucinations. These forms are a product of the human nervous system, and are cross-cultural: people from all cultures report seeing such forms in altered states of consciousness" (1986:35). Depictions of the patterns seen during this stage of hallucination would appear to explain, for example, figure 4 which is typical of the rock paintings of the northern Cape and Karoo with their limited repertoire of geometric designs. Previous "interpretations had been diverse, ranging from Stow's (1905) idea that they were 'emblems', to the notion that they may represent a proto-alphabet (Schönland,1896; Van Riet Lowe,1955; Slack,1962); from Wilman's claim that they were inspired by 'natural objects' like flowers; to the approach that they were symbolic (Fock,1969b:126; Vinnicombe,1972)" (Morris,1988:114). "The second stage of hallucination goes further and includes a range of emotionally charged objects. [In the] third... and perhaps the most fascinating stage... advanced stage elements merge with one another and various entities, unseen by those in a normal state of consciousness, are visible. The paintings... show many of the gestures medicine men claim they can see. Some men, for instance, are painted with long lines emanating from the tips of their heads, [fig 5]. Because it is from here that a man's spirit [is believed to] depart on extra-corporeal journeys, these lines can be interpreted as representations of the departing spirit" (1986:35).



5. Medicine men who have fallen to their knees in trance. Barkly East.

Bushman art, according to Lewis-Williams, is a series of metaphors for, and descriptions of, the hallucinations seen by shaman when in trance. These hallucinatory experiences are best described with metaphors to include the sensations of "being underwater", "flying" and "death". Struggling, gasping for breath, sounds in the ears, or a sense of weightlessness reported by those entering the trance state are experiences analogous to "being underwater". These experiences were alluded to in 1873 by Qing, J P Orpen's informant (1983:61), who was asked the meaning of some paintings of men with antelope heads. He replied that "they were men who had died and now lived in rivers...". Several rock art sites have well-drawn fish, eels and crabs to emphasise the experiences of the shaman. Since animals are often selected for their symbolic value, or by some feature of their behaviour; in some images, species are chosen for their ability to inhabit both water and air, such as Egyptian Geese whose "depiction may be seen as a further, reinforcing metaphor which refers to the

medicine man's ability to transcend natural restrictions and to inhabit different worlds" (1983:61).

Flight is another metaphor for trance. In an example from the north-eastern Cape, fig 6, an entopic form (a) has been construed into wing-like structures curving away from the figure (b).

A further example, fig 7, of flight in hallucinatory trance collected by the author comes from the farm "Stanley", 30 kms. from Adelaide on the Tarkastad road. It shows a figure flying horizontally just above a large Eland, right arm stretched forward, left arm at his side.

In a rock art panel from Brakfontein in the Winterberg, Eastern Cape, fig 8, cross-like configurations pervade the lower half of the panel, looking much like large bees. "The !Kung Bushmen consider bees to have a great deal of potency, and they like to dance when bees are swarming because they believe they can harness the bees' power" (Lewis-Williams/Wilmsen in Hall, 1986:42). They thus construe the aural hallucinations produced by the human nervous system to be the humming of bees and thus interpret their visual hallucinations to be the bees themselves.

The metaphor which is most pervasive, however, is death. Shaman are said to "die" in trance and exhibit all the characteristics typical of a dying eland. At death the eland is thought to "release" its potency. The lowered head, trembling, sweating, bleeding from the nose and raised hair, fig 9, are features which the shaman and the dying eland share in common. In some trance dances, hair



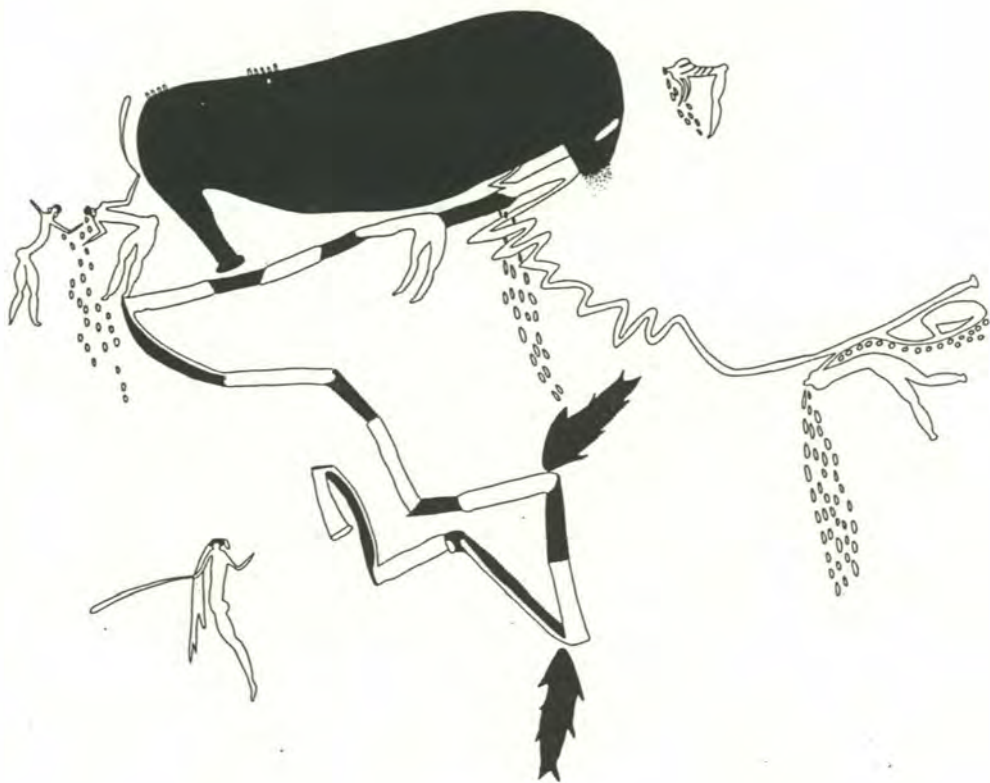
6. (a) *Navicular entopic phenomenon and (b) Shamanistic figure*, North-eastern Cape.



7. *Flying figure above eland*. Eastern Cape.



8. Rock Art panel, Brakfontein, Western Winterberg.



9. Medicine men bleeding from the nose in trance attempt to control a rain-animal, De Rust, Eastern Cape.

was even thought to grow on the back of a man.

In the Kalahari, men still "dance eland potency" next to the carcass of a freshly killed eland believing thereby to acquire eland potency for healing. So closely was the eland interwoven into Bushman folklore and medicine, that it was included in the most important rituals: male and female dancers mimed the eland's mating behaviour at girls' puberty rituals; the boys' first-kill observances required shooting an eland; and, similar to a marriage ritual, eland fat was used in ceremonial lacerations of the skin. Besides these, eland mating communicated ideas of maturity, good hunting and adequate rainfall, while the eland was also associated with the safety of the members of the camp. Dances "in praise of the fat" were performed at a kill and the aromatic "perfume" - originating from the eland's mythical association with honey and bees - acted as a medium for the transference of supernatural power. In "translating" the association of the eland with the trancing shaman, Lewis-Williams writes of the dangers of reducing metaphors to mere literal statements such as "the trancing man trembles like a dying eland", or "The trancing man sweats like a dying eland": the key to understanding the associations lies in an interaction of these associations *in the mind of the viewer*. An entirely new and irreducible statement is created which actually *does things*: the shaman resorted to animal metaphors in order to change themselves, simultaneously strengthening themselves with animal potency. In this way, "their whole being merged with the most powerful of creatures" (1983:53). It is of interest to note that the eland played a central rôle in Bushman magic and curing rituals in both western and eastern regions of the Cape, being the most commonly engraved species; the relative numbers of engraved eland decreasing from the east to the west (Morris, 1988:113). However, in the Brakfontein panel, fig 8, cattle are juxtaposed within an older eland panel. Lewis-Williams points out that the Bushmen saw many similarities between eland and cattle, and often transferred the eland's metaphorical qualities to cattle (in Hall, 1986:48) after their introduction some 1 500 years ago. "Not only are the cattle juxtaposed, but the central animal has been superimposed directly over an older eland, and the whole association between eland and cattle appears to have been done quite deliberately" (*idem*). In the same panel, Hall notes that the superposition of the cow on the eland also takes advantage of the black zig-zag line associated with the back of the eland and, by superposition, the back of the cow as well. These may have significance in terms of Bushman beliefs concerning the *n!au* powers focused at this particular point and the effects these can have in influencing the weather (Lewis-Williams, 1983:9 in Hall, 1986:48).

Some early researchers claimed that the strange animal-headed figures in Bushman paintings (see fig 6b) were influenced by similar figures connected with belief and ritual that appeared in the art of the Egyptians as early as several hundred years B.C. However we must be careful not to link all primitive representations with supernatural beliefs. The researcher George Stow, for example, included such a *caveat* when he wrote in 1905 of the habit adopted by Bushmen to hunt in the various guises of animals (Cooke, 1969:70):

They appeared again in the spoils of the blesbok with the head and wings of a vulture, the striped vulture, the striped hide of a zebra, or they might be stalking in the guise of an ostrich... In their paintings we constantly find both huntsmen and warriors using the disguises we have mentioned. These drawings would appear to

anyone not acquainted with the habits and customs of the old hunter race to be intended for supernatural deities; around which some ancient myth was embodied.

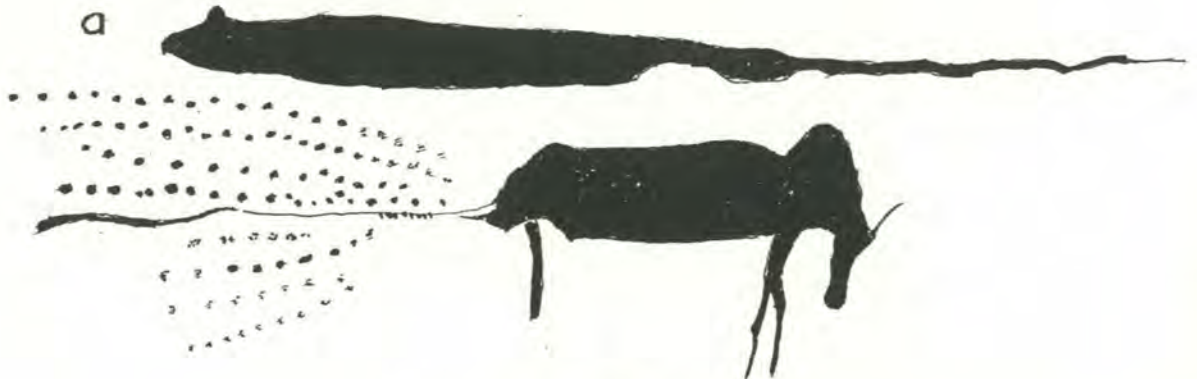
Such rain-animal and shamanistic figures, occur in figures 9 and 10 from the Eastern Cape and eastern Orange Free State respectively. George Stow copied figure 10 in the 1870's and identified



10. *Rock painting of a rain-animal and shamanistic figures, Eastern Orange Free State.*

it with the assistance of one of Bleek's nineteenth-century informants as a "black rain" - implying a black thunderstorm (Stow & Bleek, 1930 in 1988:15). The panel also clearly shows shaman transformed into animal-headed figures. The rain bull has a zigzag which emerges from or enters the eye - in some cases the zigzags leave the shamans' bodies and are therefore clearly not body paint (1988:15). One of the shaman figures is comparable to figures in the north-eastern Cape panel, fig 6, where in both instances, the zigzags curve away from the figures (1988:15). It is also of interest to note the erect body hair surrounding one of the figures in the "black rain" panel.

Transformation into an animal is a common trance hallucination (1988:17): one subject described such a transformation: "I thought of a fox, and instantly, I was transformed into that animal. I could distinctly feel myself a fox, could see my long ears and bushy tail" (Siegel and Jarvik, 1975:105). Snakes, like eland, are also sometimes painted with unusual features like the



11. (a) *Eared snake, Eastern Cape.*

eared snakes in the Eastern Cape example, fig 11, (see also fig 4). Snakes are often featured entering and leaving the rock face with trance features such as nasal blood (1981:fig 23). Entering and leaving the rockface is significant because shaman believe they go into the ground and then come up again to see where they are (*idem*).

In this century, much speculation has surrounded the question of the existence of regional similarities or styles in rock art.² The ethnographically specific nature of rock art does not lend itself to being categorised into artistic trends or styles in the same way as European art. Radiocarbon dating and chromatography (to date amino acids found in the binding medium of paint) have, to some extent, been successful in establishing some accuracy in assessing the age of the paintings in rock shelters.³ Depending on the nature of the rock, weathering can be a gradual crumbling of the surface, or a flaking off of large pieces. While both processes destroy the paintings, researchers have tried to estimate the age of the art from the amount of weathering, with particular regard to engravings rather than paintings.³ In the latter, age is estimated by radiocarbon dating of carbon associated with painted portions of the rock face which have broken off and been buried.

More recent developments in technology such as cation-ratio dating, have enabled archaeologists to analyse the patinas, or rock surfaces, of the rocks themselves rather than having to rely on organic rock material which might be present (Jacobson, 1989:22). While attempting to date Mojave artefacts using cation-ratio dating and accelerator radiocarbon dating, Dorn et al (1986:830-33) found that the dates for most of the paintings were linked to periods when increased social change occurred in the society. Such findings corroborated the research of others such as Thompson *et al* (1986:361-4), who suggested that stress could have resulted from increased opportunities resulting from favourable climatic changes, such as the Little Ice Age (dating from about 1500 to 1900 A D). They also indicated that adverse climatic and environmental change during the later Pleistocene and Holocene possibly placed whole populations at risk, resulting in increased stress within their communities (Morris, 1988:113-115). Although Parkington *et al* do not suggest as rigid a relationship between stress and ritual (1986:314), they do suggest that an intensification of ritual elements occurs in response to the stress produced when social cohesion is threatened.

The most successful attempt to categorise Bushmen rock art into regional periods was made by Patricia Vinnicombe who distinguished *phases* rather than styles, in rock art (1983:28). She analysed some 1600 superimposed paintings in the Drakensberg and recorded four phases present in

2 The oldest rock paintings in southern Africa yet found are those discovered by Eric Wendt in his excavation of the Apollo II shelter in southern Namibia. He found fragments which were dated by associated charcoal to at least 19 000 to probably as much as 26 000 years before the present (1983:26).

3 The artist Thomas Baines, unwittingly provides information about weathering of Bushman paintings in the Adelaide district. His journal describes his visit to the farm of William Dodds Pringle, where he was shown some Bushman paintings below a signature of the poet Thomas Pringle. His painting of this visit, dated 25 January 1849, is now housed in the Africana Museum. The author, upon inquiring about the present condition of the Bushman paintings depicted in Baines's rendering, was told that these had just about faded away. One may draw the conclusion that, in this case, the paintings took minimally some one-hundred and forty years to fade (personal communication with Eric Pringle, August 1990).

Bushman art. Because of the poor state of preservation, however, the first and earliest phase of these superpositioned paintings is the least understood. Horizontal blocks of dark red or maroon appear almost as stains on the rock rather than layers of paint. The shapes of these stains suggest the bodies of antelope rather than vertical human figures. The second phase is easier to distinguish by the fact that animals and human figures have been arranged in clear groups. In this phase, there is a wider range of colours, although most paintings are monochromes. Men and antelope are sometimes painted in red or white - the white usually forming the face and under-belly of an eland or other animal. Shaded polychrome paintings, including colours such as white or red, are mainly characteristic of the third phase. These are sensitively shaded to give the effect of the antelope's natural colouring while shading also effectively suggests the roundedness of the shoulder, flanks or belly. The skill in using a single waving line to suggest both the movement and the massiveness of the antelope, comes to full flowering in this phase.⁴ Human figures are more finely drawn than in other phases and often antelopes, too, are painted in surprising detail with eyes, mouths, ears, cloven hoofs and occasionally a twisted horn suggesting that a particular individual is being depicted. Large, animated groups of people, dancing and performing, date principally from this period. The fourth, and briefest, phase is most notable for its exotic subjects. In this phase representations of contact and interaction with whites seem to be most prevalent. "White settlers are depicted with their rifles, hats, garments and horses [fig 12]. In the western Cape there is even a painting of a four-masted sailing ship. These paintings originate from a time when the social structure of the Bushman was under considerable strain, but were nevertheless done by hunters who



12. *Close-up of man and horse* - note the British soldier's uniform.

4 In 1930 the researcher Mary How contacted an old Phuti man, Mapote, who had as a child painted with the Bushman in their caves. Mapote asked for eland blood to paint images on a piece of rock. Beginning at the chest, and moving his feather brush smoothly along its form, he unhesitatingly produced an eland. He further produced images of a hartebeest, a lion, two Bushman and one Phuti man, with similar ease (1983:29).

clung to their traditional way of life" (1983:29).

If, as stated earlier, artworks overtly or inherently, express the spiritual, cognitive and social experiences of the artist, they can be "read" for the effects of change occurring within these various scenarios. We have noted that Bushman art reflected not only man's perceptions of the world as seen with his *physical* eye, but also his beliefs as seen with the "inner" eye of the spirit. In the words of Lewis-Williams, "we have been reconnoitering a mysterious no-man's land between reality and non-reality - strange and bizarre for us, but not so much for the shaman-artists who regularly explored the most distant purlieus of the mind and then fixed their visions and understandings of the spirit world on the rocks of southern Africa" (1988:21). And, where it has been suggested that ritual elements increase in response to stress, Lewis-Williams's words ring all the more true: "... it is sometimes hard to accept that they were conceived not in serene contemplation, but in the turmoil, terror and power of an overwhelming experience" (*idem*). Significant is the idea that Bushman art not only expressed the social needs and beliefs of the culture, but also indicated stress feelings within the group.

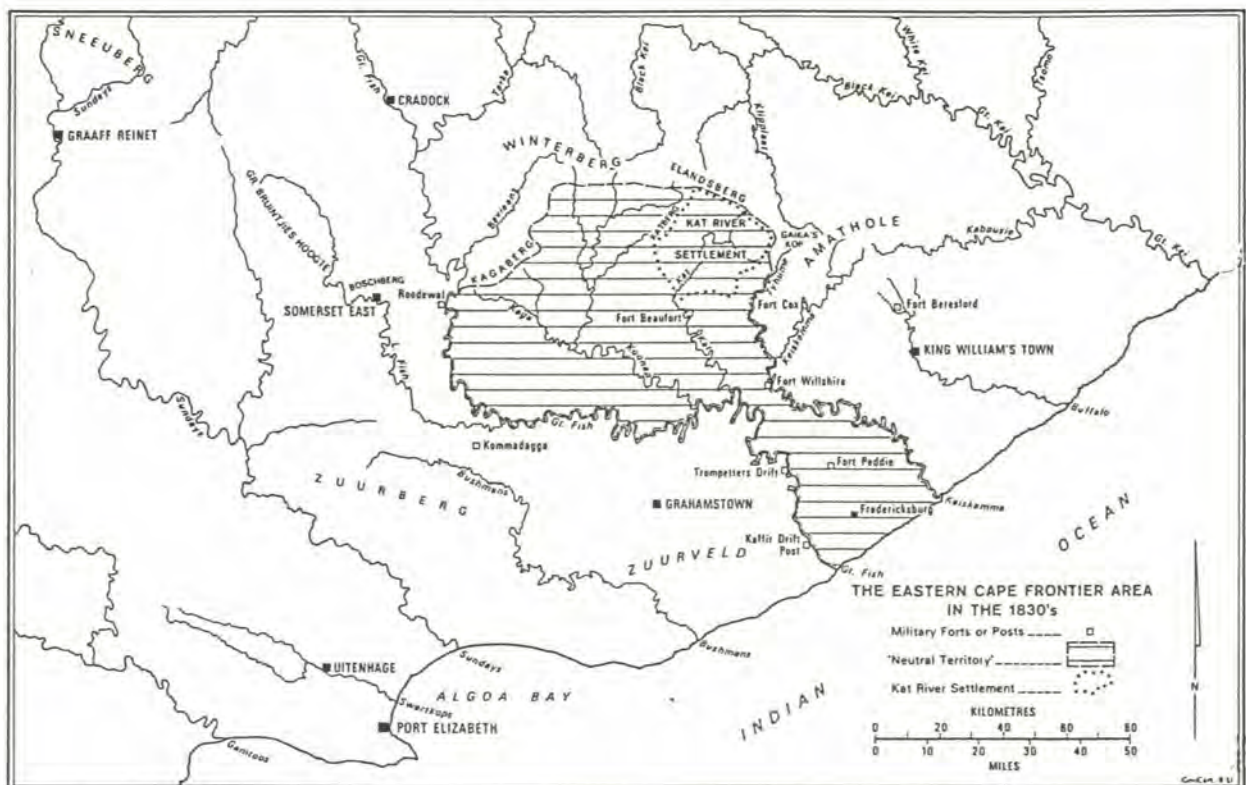
Although art by no means held such a prominent position in the culture of the British Settlers, nevertheless the stresses of forging a new life in a strange land were woven into their worldview and found subtle expression in the artworks of the period. This will be discussed more fully in chapters IV, V and VI.

II

THE EASTERN CAPE FRONTIER UP TO 1834

The scenario of our drama takes place in what is today known as the "Eastern Cape". Originally known as the Zuurveld, a region covering an area some 80 km long and 40 km wide between the Sundays and Great Fish Rivers, it received its name from the natural sour-type grasslands which covered its hilly slopes. In 1789 the Scottish explorer Paterson described the grass here as being "so high that it reached our horses' bellies. This part of the country is agreeably diversified with little pleasant woods upon the declivities of the hills" (Paterson in Forbes, 1970:18). In the period under review, the Zuurveld encompassed the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony - an area bounded by the Boschberg and Great Fish River in the north and east and by the Zuurberg in the west, fig 13. Today this area is comprised of the districts of Albany, Bathurst, and Alexandria.

The first peoples to inhabit the Zuurveld were the Khoikhoi ("Hottentot") and Bushmen ("San") peoples. Research has indicated that the Khoikhoi and the Bushmen were not necessarily separate ethnic sub-groups, but rather racially related groups with divergent life-styles (Elphick, 1977:23-412). The yellow-skinned Bushmen are considered the last of the Stone Age



13. West. *The Eastern Cape Frontier Area in the 1830's*

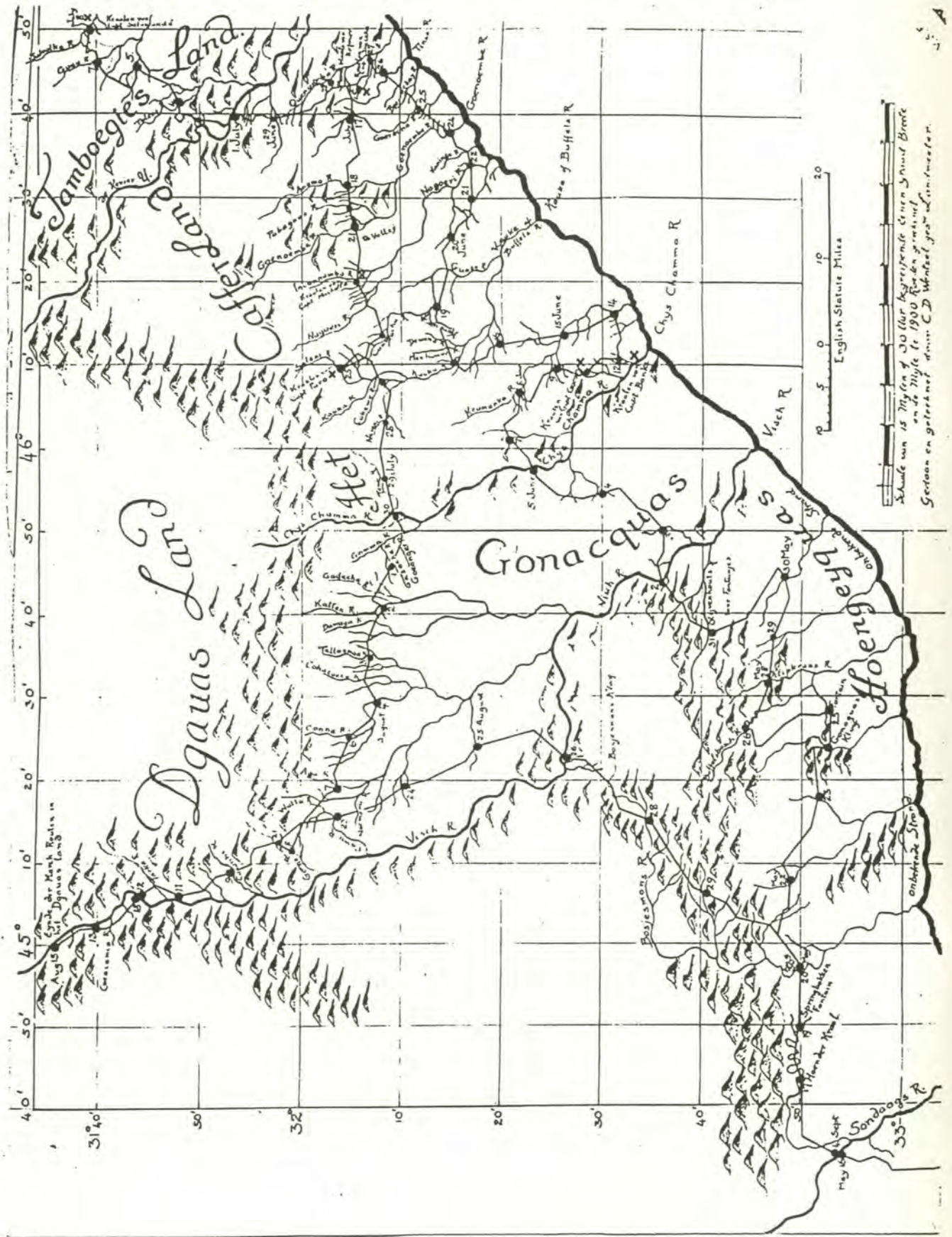
hunter-gatherers who inhabited southern Africa for more than a million years. They lived by hunting animals and gathering wild plant foods, while the Khoikhoi were mainly pastoralists, moving seasonally to pastures better suited to their grazing cattle.

Before contact with the White colonists, i.e. before ca. 1660, the Bushmen were living around the Winterberg, Sneeuwberg, and Bosberg regions (Bergh and Visagie, 1985:3) with further groups in the drier regions around the Nuweveld, Great Swartberg and Roggeveld mountains. In the same period, the Khoikhoi inhabited the regions closer to the coast, i.e. the Gonaqua Khoi in the area between the Bushman's and Keiskamma rivers, the Damasqua Khoi between the Gamtoos and the Sundays rivers, while the Gamtoos and Inqua Khoi were further inland.

Archaeologists and anthropologists are not able to agree upon the date of arrival of the first Bantu-speaking peoples at the southern end of the African continent. The Iron Age, however, has been associated with Bantu-speakers who, unlike their Stone Age predecessors, lived a settled village life, grew crops and herded cattle and were able to make metal objects (Maggs, 1986:37). The earliest occurrence of Iron Age technology is from sites around Lake Victoria dated to 100 BC. Evidence from a number of archaeological sites in the eastern Transvaal and coastal Natal, suggests that the Iron Age reached South Africa by AD 250 - 400 (*idem*). The most southerly Iron Age settlement yet found is only 60 km south west of the Great Fish River. Survivors of shipwrecks recorded their contact with both Khoisan and Bantu-speaking tribes in this region and their journals suggest that the Zuurveld was by no means the isolated region it was believed to be. For instance, in 1593, survivors of the wreck of the "Santo Alberto" wrote that Xhosa-speakers inhabited the vicinity of the Mthatha and Mbashe rivers. The southern Nguni - the Xhosa-speaking people consisting of the Xhosa, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Bomvana and Thembu groups - are known from similar sources to have settled in the areas comprising Transkei and Ciskei.

Southward migration of these Iron Age peoples brought them into contact with the Khoisan. However, their migration was controlled largely by rainfall since the Bantu were dependent on crop production and were therefore prevented from expanding into the drier western half of the country. Despite this natural ecological boundary which separated them from the Stone Age peoples, considerable interaction amongst the peoples of the Zuurveld occurred. In 1752 the traveller Tulbagh found the Gonaquas - a people of mixed Xhosa and Bushmen blood - living in the region between the Great Fish and Keiskamma rivers. The "click" sounds, which still form part of Xhosa speech, testify to the degree to which mutual assimilation of Xhosa and Bushmen cultures had occurred (Maggs, 1986:43).

At first the Zuurveld served only as an important route travelled by early explorers to the North, being entered at the Sundays River near Addo. The first official expedition to determine the economic potentialities of the Zuurveld (not yet known by this name) was despatched from Cape Town by Governor Tulbagh in 1752. In the official report it is recorded that the farmstead "Hagelkraal" 32 km north west of Mossel Bay, was then the "last place on this east side of Africa inhabited by Christians". The expedition crossed the Sundays River on 17 May 1752 and proceeded east as far as the Bushmans River. Not only is their route described in some detail but it is also depicted in its entirety by surveyor C D Wentzel. Their journal contains the first cartographic



14. Wentzel. The first cartographic representation of the Zuurveld, 1752.

representation of the Zuurveld - a representation which is remarkably accurate, fig 14 (Forbes,1970:1).

Several further exploratory expeditions were made into the Eastern Cape, many being hunting trips lasting anything up to nine months. One hunter/explorer was Hendrik Swellengrebel who, in October 1776, also visited the region to estimate its economic potential. He was accompanied by the artist J Schumacher, whose sketchbook of his journey includes two sketches of the Zuurveld. Other visitors such as L S Faber and J F Mentz, landdrosts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, arrived to fix the eastern boundary of the colony, while the Swedish doctor, Andrew Sparrman, whose well-known book on the Cape appeared in 1783, travelled past Algoa Bay in December 1775 and outspanned at Assegaai Bush.

Around the 1770's a new group of people began to arrive in the Zuurveld - the first of the many Trekboers expanding eastwards from the Cape, seeking new pastures and lands. Initially, there was no sudden clash with the Bantu-speaking people, but rather a gradual intermingling of Trekboer and Xhosa. Boers went into Xhosa territory to trade iron, copper and trinkets for cattle and ivory, while the Xhosa sometimes worked for the whites as herders and domestics. Both Xhosa and Trekboers were pastoralists and subsistence farmers, but they differed in customs of land tenure. The Xhosa regarded the land as a common property, while the whites held it on an individual basis. Competition for pasture in the Zuurveld sparked the first grievance of the Trekboers.

The first British explorer to publish an account of a visit to the Zuurveld, was William Paterson, a Scottish plant-collector who, in 1779, was on the third of his four long journeys in Southern Africa. From the Cape he made his way east to a place called *Now Tu*¹ (later spelt *Nautoe* and then changed to "Table Farm") which lies some 13 km from where Graham's Town would be established thirty-three years later. The best record of this region in the eighteenth century was published in a book written in 1797 by Sir John Barrow, private secretary to the Governor of the Cape, Lord Macartney. Barrow, who made his way from Algoa Bay to Assegaai Bush, crossed the Kowie River with considerable difficulty and reached the mouth of the Great Fish River. His journey took him to within four miles of the present Grahamstown (Forbes,1970:3).

At the end of the eighteenth century a new element was added to the kaleidoscopic array of people in the Zuurveld: the British. From 1795 to 1806 the Cape changed hands three times: the British captured it from the Dutch East India Company in 1795; the British handed it over to the Batavian Republic in 1803 as part of the Treaty of Amiens but took it back in 1806 (Lantern,1980:9) when the first shots of the Napoleonic Wars were fired. This time they had come to stay - and over the next century would make the Cape settlement the nucleus of a huge area under British rule, spanning most of southern Africa (Saunders,edt,1988:94).²

1 Nautoe - Table Farm - later became the property of the 1820 British settler Thomas Charles White, whose descendants still occupy the farm today.

2 In 1799, during their first occupation, the British had been given some idea of the escalating tensions between black and white. By 1801 there had been three Frontier wars, although these were usually little more than a series of prolonged skirmishes between burgher commandoes and the Xhosa tribes over the possession of cattle (Saunders,edt,1986:94).

In an attempt to maintain control over the area, the Governor at that time, John Cradock, decided to station the Cape Regiment in the Zuurveld. The commander of the Regiment, Col John Graham, initially wished to establish his headquarters on the old loan-farm, *Nautoe*, but on the recommendation of Ensign Andries Stockenstrom, it was shifted to the deserted homestead of the loan-farm *De Rietfontein*, belonging to Lucas Meyer. The building of the new headquarters, on the site of the present Church Square in Grahamstown, began in June 1812 (Bergh and Visagie, 1985:22).

The Great Fish River had been declared the eastern boundary of the Cape Colony in 1780 during Dutch East India Company rule and during the second British occupation, it was still considered by the authorities to be the legal boundary between colonist and Xhosa. However, it was regularly crossed not only by the Xhosa who came to graze their cattle on the European side and to barter their wares, but also by European traders, hunters and adventurers. The Xhosa had an overwhelming superiority of numbers and the traveller Alberti, in the days of the Batavian Republic, noted that, in his opinion, control and force were equally necessary to maintain the *status quo* (Maxwell, 1986:2).

Successive British governors attempted to enforce segregation and rid the Zuurveld of the Xhosa presence. The most drastic attempt, ordered by Governor Sir John Cradock, resulted in the Fourth Frontier War of 1811-12, when Colonel Graham drove an estimated 8 000 Xhosa back over the Fish River. The Frontier was then fortified with a line of blockhouses and garrisons; the northernmost being Cradock and the southernmost Graham's Town. But the blockhouses failed to stop interaction between black and white across the Fish River. What the governing bodies never realised was that the artificial separation of the races was incompatible with the social and economic needs of the peoples living in the region. "The most obvious incompatibility was between maintaining the separation of white and black while trading with Africans, employing them as labourers, and preaching the gospel. The same people in the white group supported both separation and interaction; they talked about maintaining the Frontier, but they themselves employed African labourers and travelled in Xhosa country buying cattle and ivory. For their part, the Xhosa desired the goods of civilisation, yet wanted to maintain traditional custom. The whites sought chiefs in control of their subjects with whom to negotiate, while, at the same time, they broke the power of the chiefs because they were a military threat" (Wilson, 1970:271).

A new measure for "legal" bartering was introduced in 1824 by the Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, at specified trading fairs such as at Fort Willshire. "Here settlers and tribesmen could barter axes and knives, blankets, cottons and ironmongery besides the staple currency of glass beads and brass wire and buttons, in exchange for ivory, ostrich feathers, hides and skins. These dealings, however, were to be the exclusive right of the government" (Nash, 1986:99). These fairs were successful to a limited extent because of the willingness of black and white to trade the necessities they were able to supply; however, the vast distances most traders had to travel to fairs impeded brisker trade between the two. Thus, despite the outlet for legal trading at the fairs, 'illegal' business across the racial boundaries flourished "as usual".

The first step towards a civic government in the Zuurveld was the appointment of Captain G S Frazer on 10 July 1812 as the deputy-landdrost of the district of Uitenhage (which should not be confused with the present town of Uitenhage) and it was intended that the Zuurveld would be administered as a sub-district of Uitenhage. By 1820 the district of Uitenhage had been sub-divided into seven field-cornetcies: Tsitsikamma and Krom River, Winterhoek, Swartruggens, Riet River, Bushmans River, Bruintjeshoogte and the Zuurveld. The Field Cornet, who had direct contact with the inhabitants of his cornetcy, was answerable to the deputy-landdrost, who represented his district to the heemraden.³ With the proclamation of Albany as a deputy-drostdy on 7 January 1814, the Zuurveld, along with Upper Bushmans River and Bruintjeshoogte, was put under the deputy-landdrost's jurisdiction.⁴ In September 1820, Albany was given the status of an independent magisterial district. Major James Jones, who had served on Donkin's staff in the Peninsula, was gazetted both landdrost of Albany and commandant of the frontier on 30 May 1821 (Nash, 1986:96).

On 14 April 1814, Lord Charles Somerset arrived at the Cape as governor. One of his first concerns was to further the aims of a white settlement policy which hoped to assist the cause of law and order by maintaining a strong white presence. Even before setting sail from Britain, Lord Charles had written to Earl Bathurst and drawn his attention to a plan proposed by Colonel Graham suggesting Scottish Highlanders as suitable candidates to populate the Frontier. Captain Benjamin Moodie, an enterprising Scot, pioneered the emigration of parties of Britons to the Cape without state aid in 1817. He brought out three shiploads of immigrants, indentured Scottish artisans who were rapidly absorbed into the labour-starved western districts of the Cape Colony. Also amongst these 200 immigrants were the poet Thomas Pringle and the philanthropist Robert Hart, who for some time superintended the government-owned experimental farms in the present Somerset East.

By 1819 at the start of the Fifth Frontier War, Xhosa/white relations were at a particularly low ebb. Continual stock thefts, illegal crossing of territorial boundaries and cold-blooded murders had caused the patience of frontier farmers to run out despite the orders issued by Somerset that the policy towards the blacks was to be one of the "greatest forbearance". Hostilities exploded into the Battle of Graham's Town on 22 April 1819. Guided by the prophet Makana who declared that the white man's bullets would become "like water" and that the white men would be driven into the sea, 10 000 warriors under Ndhlabie stormed the little town. Young Colonel Willshire repulsed them with only some 300 troops and a few armed civilians - certainly one of the miracles of the time.

An attempt to negotiate with the Xhosas on issues of territorial rights was broached on 14 October 1819 when Lord Charles Somerset (surrounded by his military personnel and two

3 The role of the Field Cornet was described by George Thompson in his *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*, 1827: "The Veld-Cornet is a sort of petty magistrate, empowered to settle little disputes within a circuit of fifteen or twenty farms, to punish slaves and Hottentots, to call out the burghers, over whom he presides in the public service, and act as their officer on *Commandoes*; for this service he receives no salary (except upon the Caffer frontier), but is exempted from all taxes".

4 This sub-drostdy of Uitenhage was named "Albany" by Sir John Cradock, who was governor of the Cape from 1811-12, on 7 January 1814 in honour of the New York birthplace of the Duke of York.

daughters) held talks with Ngqika, paramount chief of the Rharhabe, at the Mgwangqa River, a tributary of the Keiskamma. Somerset and Ngzika conversed via a Khoi interpreter of the Ghona tribe (who enjoyed a close relationship with the Xhosa) and the landdrosts who translated the Khoi interpreter's Dutch (Bryer and Hunt, 1987:10). At the meeting it was agreed that the district between the Keiskamma River and the Fish River would become unpopulated, neutral territory except for the colony's army patrols. The terms "Neutral Territory" and "Ceded Territory" however, were to some a mere pretext for what could be better termed "Annexed Territory": Somerset had, in fact, reserved the right of occupation of the "neutral" territory for the British Government. A second outcome of the meeting was the implementation of Somerset's reprisal, or Spoor Law system, whereby stolen cattle were to be traced by government patrols to a kraal and the thieves punished by the chief. It is not difficult to imagine that both schemes caused acrimonious and anti-British sentiment to mount.

Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815 did not spell relief from the gloom of poverty which had hung heavily over Britain. Before the start of the Napoleonic war, the Industrial Revolution had already seriously undermined the British economy and now post-war Britain staggered under an exorbitant war debt. Such a predicament required drastic action from the Tory Government which, in the face of public rioting and strikes, was anxious to placate both the parliamentary opposition and the people. It proposed assigning £50 000 to assist British emigration to the (eastern) Cape of Good Hope. Debate was short and in about 20 minutes the decision was taken (Nash, 1986:94) which would alter the course of African history. During 1819 over 90 000 applications to immigrate to the Eastern Cape flooded the Colonial Department. Applications came from all sectors of society - military officers, desperate war veterans, farmers, bakers, tin-smiths, gardeners and the like. To ensure that land was granted only to settlers with the capital and labour to develop it, free sea passages, victuals and land grants were offered only to those emigrants who could afford to engage and maintain at least ten able-bodied men, with or without families (Nash, 1986:95). About 4 000 people grouped into 60 parties travelled in 21 ships from London, Portsmouth, Liverpool, Bristol and Cork. The first arrival, the *Chapman*, dropped anchor in Algoa Bay on 9 April 1820, while the last was the *Duke of Marlborough* arriving at the end of June.

The haste with which the scheme was launched, however, meant that insufficient time was allowed to adequately prepare for the Settlers' arrival. Only in November 1819, for instance, had the surveyor, Mr J Knobel, been instructed by the landdrost of Uitenhage, Colonel J G Cuyler, to survey locations for the immigrants. Each location was granted to a leader who then assigned portions to the different members of his party. The allocations were mainly in the eastern half of the Zuurveld in a region extending between some 48 km to 64 km inland from the coast between the Sundays and Great Fish rivers (Forbes, 1970:16). However, many of these locations were unsuitable for agriculture, which subsequently forced several Settlers to move into Graham's Town.

Although the Frontier had settled down after the unsuccessful Xhosa attack on Graham's Town in April 1819, Colonel Cuyler reputedly had greeted the new arrivals with the stern warning never to go out to plough leaving their guns at home. While the Settlers' first year was remarkably free from any kind of tribal interference, no one seemed to realise that the tribes had refrained from their

customary raids for the simple reason that the new Settlers possessed no cattle. The first recorded contact between the Xhosa and the Settlers took place on 7 January 1821 when Thomas Mahoney and his party saw a large number of tribesmen approaching his settlement which was situated on the Clay Pits, near the Fish River boundary. For generations these pits had been used by the Xhosa to obtain clay for pots, make-up and medicine. Although Col Willshire had granted them permission to pass through the neutral territory to obtain clay, the visit nevertheless unnerved the newly-arrived Settlers. The visit passed off peacefully, but it wasn't long before the Xhosa started to help themselves to the cattle that the Settlers were beginning to acquire. In September Mahoney's son was murdered while herding his father's cattle and forty-eight cattle were stolen. An armed patrol, sent out to track the thieves, forced the chief Gaika to execute the murderer. This marked the beginning of a heated conflict between Settler and Xhosa which was to endure for some thirty years (Lamb, 1970:65). Settlers, such as Mahoney and his neighbour John Brown, had not realised earlier that they were, in fact, being used as a "buffer" between the British Colony and the Xhosa.

Further disappointments such as successive crop failures caused by drought, rust and a deluge of rain were to test the Settlers' endurance to the hilt. The British Government showed only minimum concern for the social and economic welfare of the Settlers and it was clear that they had been left to their own resourcefulness to overcome their hardships. Henry Dugmore's injunction for the Settlers to "take root or die"⁵ therefore had great significance to the hard-pressed Settlers.

Amidst hardship, however, there is often enterprise. Settlers such as Richard Daniell realised the potential of the Zuurveld for sheep farming. Although sheep had existed in southern Africa for over two thousand years,⁶ the introduction of merinos in 1826 started an industry which, developed by farmers such as Pigot, Campbell, Bowker and Hobson, had grown by 1845 to give an annual wool clip of a million pounds in weight.⁷ While ivory had provided the initial spurt to the developing commerce of the Eastern Cape, it was wool which was destined to have a significant long-term rôle.

As has been mentioned, not all farmers were successful in coaxing their livings out of red-clay Zuurveld soils. By the mid 1820's many a frustrated Settler had moved into town and of the 1 004 men who had made up the settler parties at the time of landing, only 438 remained on their locations. Once settled in the towns, a growing diversification of economic activities sprang up and specialisation of labour led to a brisker flow of goods and purchasing power (Arkin, 1970:461). In Graham's Town, baking, smithing, tanning and carriage-making were amongst trades which

5 "Take Root or Die" - the oft-repeated words of Settler Henry Dugmore after they were first written in his journal.

6 The earliest radiocarbon dates so far obtained for paintings of sheep in the Bushmen rock paintings in the southern Cape, range from the first to the fourth century A.D. (Lewis-Williams, 1983:34).

7 The father of South African sheep-farming according to Alfred Cole in his travelogue *The Cape and the Kaffirs*, was Lieutenant [Richard] Daniell, R.N. Cole, who had explored the Cape and Zuurveld in 1852, wrote that "the progress which has been made since he [Daniell - leader of Daniell's party of settlers] started sheep farming, in 1827 or 1828, may be appreciated from this fact, that, in 1830, the whole eastern province of the colony exported only 4,500 pounds of wool, at the value of £222. In 1842, the same province exported above 1,000,000 pounds, at the value of upwards of £34,000" [Cole's statistics].

that moves the world.

BRUARY 29, 1867.

No. 287.

MERINO THIBET RAMS.**Arrived at Port Elizabeth,**

PER "MAID OF THE ISLE,"

TWENTY RAMS

provided the necessities of life for the rapidly-expanding community. J C Chase's 1838 map records that, from an initial population of 180 whites and 22 houses in 1820, the community had by 1832 increased to 2 500 whites and 630 houses. While figures for the black population are not recorded, he does note that, in 1832, trade with the "native tribes" was estimated at £51 290.

By this time, positive reports were beginning to reach Britons at home. In 1834 the *Cape Almanac* recorded this glowing account:

For several years after the arrival of the Settlers, many serious difficulties presented themselves; but these have since, by great industry, enterprise and perseverance, been entirely overcome; and this District may now with truth be pronounced as one of the most interesting and important sections of the Colony. The inhabitants derive their importance - not from their agricultural and pastoral pursuits, - but from their Commercial enterprise, and the lucrative trade that is carried on for an immense distance with the Natives of the Interior.

(Cape Almanac, 1834:204-m).

The year 1834 was momentous in the history of South Africa as it crystallised certain significant changes (Redgrave & Bradlow, 1958:1), amongst these being the abolition of slavery by legislation of the Reform parliament. By 1834, new districts had been opened up and a legislative council had been established in Graham's Town for the first time (*idem*). However, the hopes that a "genteel" Colonial society would now also find a firm footing in the Eastern Cape seemed to have been dashed, for Judge Cole was later to complain that "Graham's Town has acquired a "trading"

character". "[It] is decidedly and essentially a stupid town. It has about six thousand inhabitants, who are nearly all of the shopkeeping class... These same store-keepers, who are as cute as any citizens of the Model Republic, are most unfortunately "snobby" in dress, manners, language, and equipments" (Cole,1852:289). Fortunately, however, all was not lost for the budding town, for Cole assented that Grahamstonians "still they have their good points... their *intense love of an officer in her Majesty's land service*" (idem).

But while 1834 marked the start of the Frontier war of 1834-35 and was a year of severe drought, it was also the year in which the artist Frederick Timpson I'Ons arrived in Graham's Town.

III

THE EUROPEAN HERITAGE OF THE EASTERN CAPE ARTISTS

*With terrors round, can reason hold her throne,
Despise the known, nor tremble at the unknown?
Survey both worlds, intrepid and entire,
In spite of witches, devils, dreams and fire?*

Alexander Pope, *Pastorals*, 1709.

In analysing the work of the nineteenth-century artists in the Eastern Cape, we must assess it not only in terms of the different geographical and cultural climate of their adopted homeland, but also within the context of their European heritage - for it was in Europe and specifically England, where most of these artists grew up. Although the desiccated plains of Africa were devoid of mediaeval ruins, lakes and waterfalls, they offered the Settler artist a wide spectrum of new and strange subject-matter. Geographical differences and the kaleidoscopic array of Frontier peoples with their multiform lifestyles provided him with an equally formidable range of contrast. A brief analysis of the Romantic movement in Europe between the years 1750 - 1850 will help delineate the artistic background of the artists who ventured into the Eastern Frontier.

The development of courtly art, which had continued since the close of the Renaissance, came to an end in the eighteenth century. The rational atmosphere, spawned by Enlightenment theorists such as Hume (1711 - 1776) and Kant (1724 - 1804), which had inspired art historians such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717 - 68), brought about considerable changes in the belief-structures of Western Europe. Combined with the social and economic implications of the Industrial Revolution in England (begun ca. 1760) and the Revolution in France (begun ca. 1789), major upheaval characterised much of the socio-political ethos of western Europe.

The discovery of Graeco-Roman paintings in Pompeii and Herculaneum in 1748, and the renewed emphasis on Greek art as the original source of classical style encouraged an awareness of History in western Europe. Neo-classicism of the late 1700's differed from the earlier Classic revivals in that, for the first time, artists consciously imitated antique art and knew what they were imitating both in style and subject matter. Prior to this, artists had merely imitated aspects of the classical styles without having first understood their context or aims. Such awareness of earlier Greek models, further encouraged the development of historical consciousness. The detailed study of classical Greek architecture in Athens and of Roman architecture in centres such as Palmyra and Baalbek, saw the revival of antiquity becoming a cultural passion in the eighteenth century. Collections of sculpture and vases sprang up and considerable sums were spent on classical works of art. Artists drew new inspiration from what Winckelmann acclaimed as the "noble simplicity

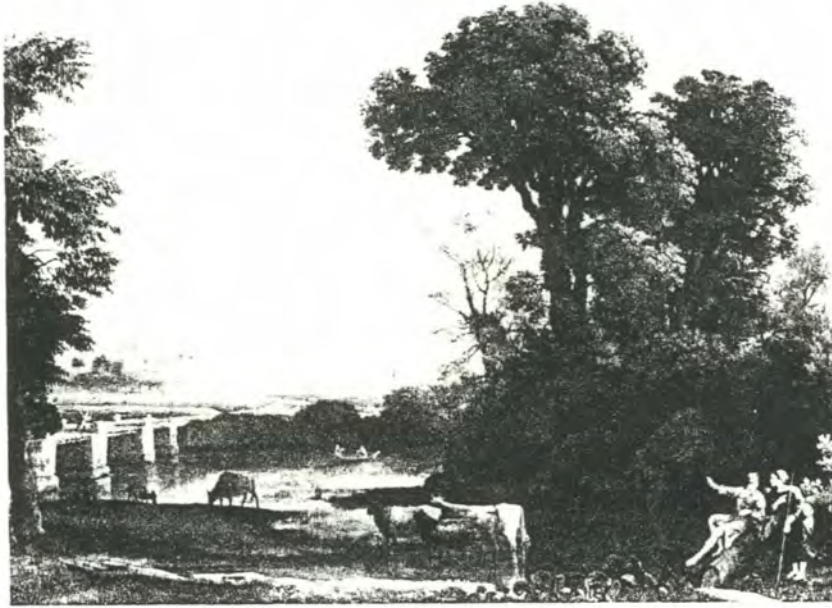
and calm grandeur" of Greek art¹. "The only way for us to become great", Winckelmann insisted, "... is through the imitation of the ancients" (idem). Such exhortations prompted architects, sculptors and painters alike, to produce more "serious" works.

Winckelmann's writings deeply impressed two painters then living in Rome, the German, Anton Raffael Mengs, and the Scotsman, Gavin Hamilton, as well as the French painter, Joseph-Marie Vien (Janson, 1970:464). Hamilton and Vien instigated the "Winckelmann program" during the 1760 and 1770's, which advocated a return to the "True Style" of the Roman-Graeco world. These requirements were similarly emphasised by writer/critics such as Denis Diderot (1713 - 84) and, in England, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723 - 92), first president of the Royal Academy. What was needed, it was felt, was art that reacted against the artificiality of the Baroque and Rococo age and reflected, instead, the nobility of man in a perfect Nature. It was felt that no artists better exemplified such aspirations than the painters Nicolas Poussin (1593/4 - 1665) and Claude Lorraine (1600 - 82). Poussin believed that the highest aim of painting was to present noble and serious human actions. These were to be shown in a logical and orderly way - not as they really happened but as they would have occurred if nature were perfect (Janson, 1970:441). Themes taken from the Bible, or out of history, became idioms for the "new" classicism. In *Landscape with the Burial of Phocion*, 1648, fig 15, landscape itself becomes a memorial to the Greek who died because he refused to conceal the truth. The elements of colour and emotion are suppressed in favour of a more intellectually oriented style.



15. Poussin. *Landscape with the Burial of Phocion*, 1648.

1 Winckelmann popularised the famous phrase when referring to imitations of Greek art in his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* - (Thoughts on the imitation of Greek works in painting and sculpture) published in 1755.



16. Lorrain. *A Pastoral*, ca. 1650.

Similar in spirit to Poussin, although already showing some tendency to romanticise his idyllic landscapes, was Claude Lorrain. *A Pastoral*, ca. 1650, fig 16, does not aim at topographical exactitude but seeks rather to "evoke the poetic essence of a countryside filled with echoes of antiquity" (Janson, 1970:441). Although French-born, Lorrain spent almost his whole career sketching amongst the *campagna* of Italy and is said to have depicted the countryside with more devotion than the Italians themselves.

The most rigorous of "Neo-Poussinists" was Jacques Louis David (1748 - 1825) who became



17. David. *Oath of the Horatii*, 1785.

known as the father of the neo-classical "History Painting". From ca. 1780 to ca. 1800, after the start of the French Revolution, art was no longer permitted to be a "mere ornament on the social structure", but was required to employ neo-classical principles in support of the Revolutionary cause (Hauser,1972:138). David's *The Oath of the Horatii*, fig 17, 1785, was not planned as a revolutionary work.² It was painted in response to critics' demands that art should be of the large state-commissioned, Salon-displayed type, rather than the private Rococo-type fripperies which hung in the apartments of the rich. When first exhibited in 1785, it was hailed by critics as "the most beautiful picture of the century", for here, the academicians declared, "was a picture which celebrated the moral vigour of republican Rome" (Lynton,1965:11).³ In 1829, Quatremère de Quincy, *Secrétaire Perpétuel* of the *Académie des Beaux Arts*, read an essay on originality before the Academy decrying any (Romantic) innovation in art (Boime,1971:179). A good friend of David's, he took it upon himself to assert the classical principles of the *style historique* before the Academy (idem:7); any avoidance of these rules, he maintained, simply demonstrated an incapacity to produce High Art (idem:178). David similarly renounced any pictorial effects or devices, which would have made the picture a "feast for the eyes", in favour of heroic realism. Rational order is particularly evident in *The Oath...*, where the linear arrangement of the brothers becomes an iconographic symbol for their common aim to save their city from the attacking tyrant. As David's subsequent pictures returned time and again to themes that were drawn from ancient history to illuminate the condition of France (Lynton,1965:11), he became politically and culturally powerful. His influence was not only far-reaching in his own country, but was widespread throughout England.

The British Royal Academy, founded in 1768, similarly advocated the "History Painting" as the highest form of art. Jonathan Richardson, whose essays remained the cultured Briton's chief guide to the fine arts for nearly one hundred years, found landscape of small account when measured against history pictures of mythological and biblical events. In *The Connoisseur* (1719:44-45) he declared: "A History is preferable to a landscape, sea-piece, animals, fruit, flowers or any other still life, pieces of Drollery and the like; the reason is the latter kinds may Please, and in proportion as they do so they are Estimable but they cannot improve the mind, they excite no noble sentiments". Regard for the History Painting was not to be short-lived: some 130 years later Burnet, in his *Practical Essays on the Various Branches of Art* (1848:43), still quoted the theorist/artist Sir David Wilkie as exhorting "those who minister in the high calling [of History painting] should ponder well on whatsoever they do, that all may be for the honour and dignity of art, and elevating to the character in the land wherein they dwell". Identification with History Painting's "noble" attributes did not end at the shores of France and England: British artist J D Harding was quoted by Cape artist Thomas Bowler in his undated *Handbook for those Studying Art* as saying that "as Imitation is the true source of Art, it is necessary to study what

2 It was actually a state commission for Louis XVI.

3 David became the father of the "neo-classicists" - a title that circumstance, rather than the artists themselves, conferred on them.

degree of it is requisite to reach the true End of Art, namely to improve the mind and ennoble the feelings" (ca. 1852:9). Thus the History Painting came to be considered the *tour de force* of art which, by its very associations with great Deeds of Time Past, could ennoble mind and spirit as well as one's "character in the land".

However, time was to prove that a strict "True Style" could not be sustained for long. A growing taste for the sentimental eroded much of art's elevated idealism. In politics, France had abandoned the "Roman Republican" approach of the Revolution for the imperial dictates of Napoleon's court. David had taken an active part in the Revolution and for some years had power over the artistic affairs of the nation (Janson, 1962:472). Though David's style embodied many of the Revolution's finest ideals, Napoleon personally preferred the more sentimental styles of David's most gifted pupils: Girodet (fl. 1780's - 1812), Guérin and Gros (fl. 1790's - 1820's). Gros particularly was to influence the artists Géricault and Delacroix who subsequently had great impact on the development of Romantic painting itself.

Antoine-Jean Gros (1771 - 1835) heralded the neo-Baroque phase of Romanticism which incorporated the Baroque energy and action of the Flemish seventeenth-century painter, Rubens (Janson, 1970:474), with the formal heroism of Poussin (Lynton, 1964:12). Reviving Rubenism appealed greatly to the French and British alike, but was a direct "slap in the face" to David: Rubens stood for sensuousness of colour and gesture, created by flowing forms and *sfumato* effects; Gros added similar vibrancy of colour and a vivacious technique, bringing liveliness to the static hero-image advocated by David. Gros's *Napoleon at Arcole*, 1796, fig 18, shows the emperor as a dynamic, determined, yet vulnerable, leader. Gros owed his fame to his ability to



18. Gros. *Napoleon at Arcole*, 1796.

19. Gros. *The Battlefield of Eylau*, 1808.

represent a scene strikingly and to his new moral conception of the battle image. In his *Battle of Nazareth* (not shown here) for which only the sketch was carried out in 1803, Gros stressed the tension between the hero he set out to glorify and the multitude engaged in battle. The commander, General Junot in resplendant uniform, is shown slashing with his sword at the Turkish cavalry squadrons, as they turn and fly under the bright Palestinian sky (Leymarie, 1962:52). In his *Bonaparte visiting the Plague-house of Jaffa*, ca. 1804, (not figured), Napoleon is similarly glorified as he threads his way amongst the dead and dying, his outstretched hand suggesting the healing gesture of "the miracle worker of all ages" as he touches the sores of one of the plague-stricken inmates (idem). This gesture is repeated again in *The Battlefield of Eylau*, 1808, fig 19, but now the emphasis is on the fallen rather than the figure of Napoleon. In the *Battlefield...* snow-sprinkled, blood-splattered corpses dominate the canvas painted twice the size of life; Gros believed that the miseries of war were so great that war should be portrayed from the humanitarian, rather than the heroic angle. The spine-chilling realism shocked conservatives, but greatly impressed the younger artists, and other young *Romantiques* such as Géricault were quick to follow suit.

Romanticism, spanning the period extending roughly from 1750 to 1850, has often been seen as a movement separate from neo-classicism, though in essence, neo-classicism received its impetus from the Romantic spirit. One hundred years of revolution, social and moral change had taken its toll on the stability of Western civilisation. Though Romanticism professed no creed or dogma, a longing for a new world and a new order permeated much of its artistic and literary expression. "Romanticism was the ideology of the new society and the expression of a worldview of a generation which no longer believed in absolute values, could no longer believe in any values without thinking of their relativity and their historical limitations" (Hauser, 1962:162). The search

after meaning and the awesome consequences of man's actions in the events of history, gripped the imagination of the Romantic. By extracting styles from the past (from Antiquity, or seventeenth-century Dutch, French or Italian artists), the Romantic artist attempted to escape *into* the past where, according to Hauser (1962:157), "the Romantic experience of history gives expression to a psychotic fear of the present." According to German writer/critic Ruge, the roots of Romanticism were found in the torment of this world... "and so one will find a people the more romantic and elegiac, the more unhappy its condition." (Ruge in Hauser, 1962:163). But, comments Hauser, "... no psychosis has ever been more fruitful" (Hauser, 1962:157) - suggesting that the more woeful man found his world and the more he sought refuge in its past (or even in his own imagination), the more impetus this gave to the Romantic movement.

Two painters who worked in the Grand Style (hitherto reserved only for heroic themes but which nevertheless included the sufferings of ordinary people) were Théodore Géricault (1791 - 1824) and Eugene Delacroix (1798 - 1863). Géricault's *The Raft of the 'Medusa'*, 1818-19, fig 20a, and Delacroix's *The Massacre of Chios*, 1822-24, fig 20b, were to be acclaimed as the archetypes of French Romantic painting. It is significant that Géricault's picture *realistically* "recorded" a contemporary event, i.e. the grounding of "The Medusa" in 1816,⁴ whereas History Painting demanded that such events be *allegorised*. Géricault depicted the dramatic moment when the fifteen survivors on the raft, after thirteen days ordeal, first sighted the rescue ship. The men on the raft were not heroes in the normal sense of the word. "Neither Spartan courage nor Stoic self-control was displayed by any of them: they... survived from a crude and animal urge to live. They suffered atrociously, but in no good or noble cause: they were victims of jobbery and malevolence" (Honour, 1979:41).

An admirer of both Gros and Géricault, Delacroix had been exhibiting for some years, but *The Massacre of Chios* established him as the foremost representative of Neo-Baroque Romantic painting. Like Géricault's painting, Delacroix's *The Massacre...*, (the full title is *Greek Families Awaiting Death or Slavery*) represented an actual event but overlaid it with the "generous sentiments of those liberals like Shelley and Byron who dreamed that Greece might yet be free" (Clark, 1969:311). The painting depicted the atrocities committed by the Turks on the Greek island of Chios in 1822 which had outraged the entire civilised world. Delacroix planned the picture in May 1823, and worked on it in successive bursts of enthusiasm during 1824, momentarily interrupted, but stimulated by, news of the deaths of Géricault in January and Byron in April of that year (Leymarie, 1962:68). Although the painting stirred a sympathetic response throughout Western Europe, the fact that it relied on the impact of vibrant colour interposed with emotional tension aroused by "fierce pride contrasted with shattering disaster" (idem:71), caused some conservatives

4 On 2 July 1816, a French government frigate, *La Medusa*, carrying troops to Senegal ran aground on the West African coast. The captain and the senior officers took the few sea-worthy life-boats, while the passengers and crew, 149 men and one woman - were cast adrift on a makeshift raft; fifteen men survived for thirteen days and five of them died shortly after they were rescued. As the captain was a returned *émigré* who owed his appointment to the ultra-royalist Minister of the Navy, the story became a political scandal. Two survivors wrote a book which told the whole horrifying story, published in November 1817 (Honour, 1979:375).



20a. Géricault. *The Raft of the 'Medusa'*, 1818 - 19.



20b. Delacroix. *The Massacre of Chios*, 1822 - 24.

to condemn it as "the massacre of painting" (Janson,1970:481). However, Delacroix's canvases aimed at "poetic truth" rather than attempted to recapture specific, actual events. *The Massacre...* shows us a splendid admixture of sensuousness and cruelty, but Delacroix's hyperbolic over-emphasis of human experience, leaves the viewer not quite accepting it as authentic.

Romanticism after the 1820's, refers not to any specific style but rather to an attitude of mind (Janson,1970:453). Its source revelled in the emotions - in fantasies and fears, longings and imaginings. "In the name of nature, the Romantic worshipped liberty, power, love, violence, the Greeks, or anything which aroused his response - while he actually worshiped emotion as an end in itself" (Janson,1970:454). Writes Janson, "history, literature, the Near East... became the domains of the imagination - so in the imagination did artists increasingly seek refuge from the turmoil of change and revolution" (1970:483). The stage was set for the total liberation of the emotions: for the dreams, longings and fantasies of the enticingly *irrational* world of the Romanticists (Honour:1979:18 - 21). In these turbulent times, Romantic liberty sought freedom from the constraints of social and artistic formality. The cause of liberty was a favoured theme of Delacroix for whom exotic harems, wild hunts and animals or sensuous interiors signified such a detachment from real life. Enchanted by the Near East, painters such as Delacroix, brought its sense of intrigue as well as its rich colours into European painting. His dictum that a picture should be "above all a feast for the eyes" (Hauser,1962:208) demonstrates how far artistic thinking had detached itself from David's original renunciation of "any devices which would have made the picture a feast for the eyes".

In Britain, Romanticism performed a transitional function between a waning neo-classicism - exemplified by literary landscapes with a nostalgia for the Graecian past - and the growing Romantic taste for variety of roughness, light and shade. The cult of the Picturesque landscape was to become fully fledged from the 1820's onwards, when Romanticism had finally outgrown neo-classicism.

Travellers on the fashionable Grand Tour to major art centres of Europe had become acquainted with Italian landscape traditions inspired by those of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa. Till the middle of the nineteenth century in England, enthusiasm for painting in the style of these artists, under the name of *Picturesque*, remained a mark of a cultivated taste (Coetzee,1988:39). In 1811 the painter, J K W Turner (1963:145), wrote of Claude:

Pure as Italian air, calm, beautiful and serene springs forward the works and with them the name of Claude Lorrain. The golden orient or the amber-coloured ether, the midday ethereal vault and fleecy skies, resplendent valleys, campagnas rich with all the cheerful blush of fertilisation...

Neo-classicism had thus given way to the Picturesque style as the accepted painting style for the Romantic artist. Certain structural principles for the Picturesque landscape became accepted for all landscape painters: Andrews outlines the *tripartite* scheme for the Picturesque landscape which broke it down into three distances: the dark foreground frame, a strongly lit middleground, and the background (1990:29). The importance of a pictorial frame as a means of increasing a sense of depth was emphasised by William Derham, for example, in his *Psycho-Theology*, 1713. Objects,

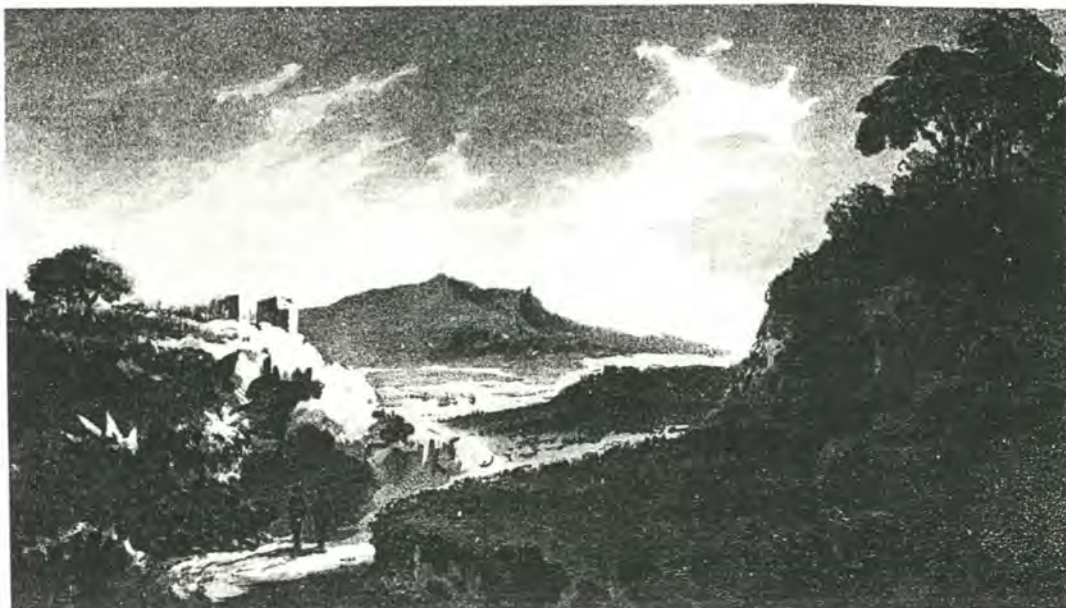
he wrote, were rendered more striking by framing the view with the hands (*idem*). Thus devices such as "side-screens", "off-skips" or stage-like wings (or in Claudian terms: *coulisses*) created the illusion of depth and were considered essential for the *repoussoir* effect. Such receding perspectives, were further emphasised by "mountains... rising to a great height, one behind the other... like scenes at a playhouse" (Piggott,1976:122). Departure from such conventions was tantamount to artistic heresy.

For the Picturesque connoisseur, noted Andrews (1990:65), nothing attracts attention like neglect. "The Picturesque eye", maintained the artist/theorist William Gilpin (1724 - 1804) "must find its own beauties; and often fixes... on some accidental rough object which the common eye would pass unnoticed" (1789:14). In his book *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape*, 1792, Gilpin expounded his views on the Picturesque landscape. Using two figures, 21 and 22, he explains the difference between the Picturesque and the non-Picturesque Mountain Landscape:

It is the intention of these two prints to illustrate how very adverse the idea of smoothness is to the composition of landscape. In the second of them the great lines of the landscape are exactly as in the first; only they are more broken...the roughness forms the most essential point of difference between the beautiful and the picturesque; as it seems to be that particular quality, which makes objects chiefly pleasing in painting...why does an elegant piece of garden-ground make no figure on canvas? The shape is pleasing; the combination of the objects, harmonious; and the winding of the walk in the very line of beauty. All this is true; but the smoothness of the whole, though right, and as it should be in nature, offends in picture. Turn the lawn into a piece of broken ground: plant rugged oaks instead of flowery shrubs: break the edges of the walk: give it the rudeness of a road: mark it with wheel-tracks; and scatter around a few stones, and brushwood; in a



21. Gilpin. *A Non-Picturesque Mountain Landscape*, 1802.



22. Gilpin. *A Picturesque Mountain Landscape*, 1792.

word, instead of making the whole smooth, make it rough; and you make it also picturesque.

Although not a whole-hearted admirer of his, Gilpin conceded that Claude's "aerial distances and his colouring" were good. He felt however, "that Claude's landscapes were too cluttered and lacked simplicity" (Andrews,1990:31). Figure 23, *Landscape Composition*, depicts Gilpin's rendering of the simplified Claudian landscape.

The doyen of Picturesque theorists, Sir Uvedale Price, similarly advocated the Picturesque effects of roughness and criticised the garden architect Capability Brown for his dull landscapes with his "smoothing and levelling" (Price,1796:40 footnote). Thus the seemingly innocuous Picturesque landscape, with its appeal to neglect and disuse, was a reaction against the engineering of social change (Andrews,1990:65). "Price and his followers in the 1790's want to turn the clock



23. Gilpin. *Landscape Composition*, undated.

back, to rediscover the landscapes where there are not only no traces of contemporary industrialisation, land enclosure..., but where... the terrifying "levelling" influences can never come" (idem:66).

Another characteristic of British Romanticism was the close emulation - and adulation - of "The Old Masters". The Richardsons, in their *Account of the... Pictures in Italy France, &c., 1722*, (Exhibition catalogue p. 15), sum up Claude Lorrain and the taste for the work of the "Old Masters":

...of all the Landskip-Painters Claude Lorrain has the most Beautiful and Pleasing Ideas; the most Rural, and of our own Times. Titian has a Style more noble. So has Nicolas Poussin, and the Landskips of the Latter are usually Antique... Salvator Rosa has generally chosen to represent a sort of wild, and savage Nature... Rubens is pleasant, and loves to enrich his Landskip with certain Accidents of Nature, as Winds, a RainBow, Lightning &c [sic]. All these Masters are Excellent in their Several kinds.

Not only Italian landscapes but other landscape formulations, such as those of the seventeenth-century Dutch landscapists, were imbibed by artists. Their brownish "Old Master" tints were greatly admired and hence, any subversive use of bright colour was consequently frowned upon. The search for the Old Master tone was very earnest (Andrews, 1990:28), Gilpin recalling his own practice in the 1730's and 1740's:

I well remember... when a boy I used to make little drawings, I was never pleased with them till I had given them a brownish tint... I used to hold them over smoke till they assumed a tint which satisfied my eye (Gilpin, 1804:14).

Sir Joshua Reynolds, besides being the main proponent of classicism in Britain, also advocated Dutch seventeenth-century artists as archetypes of excellent landscape art. He maintained that, for the artist to progress, a constant contemplation of the Dutch works was imperative: "... painters should go to the Dutch school to learn the art of painting, as they go to a grammar school to learn languages", Burnet (1848:90) quoted him as saying. Also outlining the benefits of closely studying the old Dutch Masters was Thomas Phillips who, in his *Lectures on the History and Principles of Painting* (1833), wrote that the governing principle of effect in painting was light and shade. The artist could find no "truer model" for this than Rembrandt who had mastered the subtleties of *chiaroscuro* to the point of perfection. He quoted Turner as saying in 1811:

Rembrandt depended upon his chiaroscuro to be felt. He threw a mysterious doubt over the meanest piece of Common; nay more, his forms, if they can be called so, are the most objectionable that could be chosen, namely, the Three Trees and the Mill, but over each he has thrown that veil of matchless colour.

With regard to the use of figures in landscapes, landscape painting in Britain from the 1700's - 1870's can be roughly divided into three categories: purely topographical descriptions, decorative backgrounds for human activity, and picturesque views which were mainly figments of the Romantic imagination and in which figures may appear. In the 1700's, even the dedicated landscape-student William Gilpin conceded that "History-painting, like epic poetry, is certainly the grandest production of art" (Gilpin, 1809:38). "For most of the eighteenth century", writes

Andrews, "those who commissioned paintings were mainly interested in portraits and history paintings, both of which subordinated landscape to little more than a decorative backdrop". However, as the landscape slowly rose in acceptability during the eighteenth century, figures were introduced as *staffage* or merely to "animate a landscape" (Andrews,1989:24,25). From once having "ruled the day" in portraiture and history painting, human figures were now often relegated to the very side-lines of compositional importance. Figures, if there were to be figures at all, were to be distant, impartial and insignificant. Their use was merely "to mark a road - to break a piece of foreground - to point out the horizon in a sea-view" (Gilpin in Andrews,1989:25). Gilpin writes "If, by bringing the figures forward in the foreground, you give room for *character* and *expression*, you put them out of place as *appendages*, for which they were intended" (Gilpin,1794:77).

However, landscapes did not remain entirely devoid of some dramatic or emotional content. From the clear-cut, line-and-wash techniques used in depicting topographical scenery, watercolour painting was finding increasing favour as a medium for expressing certain *emotional* responses to Nature (Andrews,1989:37). One of the greatest protagonists of English landscape painting, John Constable (1776 - 1837) was an avid admirer of the "pure" landscapes of the Dutch seventeenth-century painter, Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/9 - 82), as well as Claude Lorrain. True to the classicist tradition, he was strenuously opposed to flights of fancy: landscape painting, he believed, must be based on observable facts (Janson,1970:469). Although he had little use for figures in the landscape, he was influenced by the poetic idiom of Lorrain's work, stating that landscape "should aim at embodying a pure apprehension of natural effect" (idem). For the ordered beauty of a tranquil landscape, with "the sun breaking fitfully... lighting up patches of land" (Murray,1967:286), he looked to Ruisdael. Constable was one of the first painters to take his "studio" into the open air to capture the changing effects of wind, sunlight and clouds. "The sky, to him, was the keynote, the standard scale, and the chief organ of sentiment - he studied it with a meteorologist's precision, the better to grasp its infinite variety" (Janson,1970:469).

But, according to Constable, the "greatest genius that ever touched landscape" was the watercolourist John Robert Cozens (1752 - 97) whose controversial, melancholy mountain landscapes offer some of the earliest examples of expressive watercolour painting. "Cozens is all poetry", said Constable (Andrews,1989:38). Even the arch-conservative Gilpin, at the end of his life, conceded the validity of the emotional in landscapes. "If the landscape painter can create images *analogous to the various feelings, and sensations of the mind*, then where would be the harm of saying that landscape, like history paintings, hath its ethics?" (Gilpin in Andrews, 1989:38). Cozens's watercolours influenced Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775 - 1851) and Thomas Girtin (1775 - 1802) whose poetic landscapes finally brought the *genre* to maturity in the later 1790's. It had been Constable's aim to "catch" and fix the poetic realities of Nature; it was Turner's aim to associate poetry with lashing waves and swirling clouds. Turner, who spent a lifetime trying to make visible the poetry of Nature, found inspiration in the space, air and light in Dutch landscape painting and in some of the luminous qualities of Claude Lorrain's work. These artists supplied what was felt to be missing in both the topographical tradition and the formulary

Pictureseque mode - the poetry of landscape (Andrews, 1989:38).

Other strong protagonists of the Dutch landscape tradition were Thomas Gainsborough (1727 - 88) and John Crome (1767 - 1821), founder of the Norwich School. English imitations of the "little Dutch landscapes" after Ruisdael, Wijnants and Hobbema were still a novelty in the 1740's but by 1788 Gainsborough had made them a trend, while John Crome based his observations of Norfolk on Hobbema and Ruisdael. Constable, Gainsborough and Crome "rightly recognised that their East Anglian landscapes had more in common with Holland than Italy" (Andrews, 1990:28). It is not difficult to imagine that Norfolk's close resemblance to the creeks, waterways and windmills of the Netherlands was similarly to inspire one of the most important artists to work in South Africa, John Thomas Baines (1820 - 1875) whose work will be analysed in chapter VI.

In portraiture, too, the Dutch had much to offer the Romanticists. Rembrandt-like *chiaroscuro* shrouds the famous portrait of Gainsborough's *Mrs Siddons*, 1785, for example, in an alluring aura of mystery. Lively highlights, seeming to exude from out of the deep recesses surrounding her, nevertheless suggest the vivacious personality for which she was well known. Such an interplay of light and shade, used to suggest the physical as well as spiritual characteristics of sitters, were devices often employed by portraitists such as Frans Hals, Jan Steen and Jan Vermeer.

As Romantic ideals took hold of society, so the artists' subject-matter swung away from classical heroes to depictions of the state of the "man-in-the-street". Although artists such as Géricault had heralded the age of the "unsung hero" - and consequently the *bourgeois* art of the late 1700's - it was the Spaniard Francisco de Goya (1746 - 1828) who first made the state of humanity his central concern. "His ideas, his technique, his constantly deepening art, all entitle him to the double place of last of the *ancien régime* painters and first of the moderns", writes Levey (1966:233). His personal vision was filled with images of profound anxiety and horror as he recorded the collapse of eighteenth-century stability. According to Lynton (1965:15), "Goya not only commented on the condition of the world, he gave visual expression to the timeless anxieties that had not before been allowed to form art's content". Writers such as Goethe expounded the "new" bourgeois attitude to life, which "reflected the modern artist's awareness of his own middle-class frame of mind... [and] stressed the ethical standards of ordinary work even in relation to artistic production" (Hauser, 1962:120). Such reflections, however, were not entirely new in Europe as time and again developments in *bourgeois* art had found their precursors in past history. The "moral commentary" on man's condition, for example, had a precursor in the English satirist, William Hogarth (1697 - 1764). Though he had studied the "Grand Style" at the Academy in St Martin's Lane, he was most famous for *The Rake's Progress*, the series of satirical etchings recording a young man's progress into debauchery. His "morals" series was a theme similarly taken up by the French satirist, Honoré Daumier (1808 - 79), who in his turn, influenced the realists of the Barbizon school including such artists as Courbet, Millet and Corot. In *The Third Class Carriage*, ca. 1862, fig 24, Daumier captured a peculiarly modern condition, "the lonely crowd" - people who are together in a railway carriage, but who take no notice of one another.



24. Daumier. *The Third Class Carriage*, ca. 1862.

Janson (1970:483) comments that Daumier's feelings for the dignity of the poor also suggests the French artist Louis le Nain (1593 - 1648) and, comparing Daumier's *The Third Class Carriage* with Le Nain's *The Peasant Family*, (ca. 1640), fig 25, we can easily believe that the old woman on the left of the latter seems the direct ancestor of the central figure in the former. *The Peasant Family* again stems, like the peasant pictures of seventeenth-century Holland and Flanders, from



25. Le Nain. *The Peasant Family*, ca. 1640.



26. P Bruegel, the Elder. *Peasant Wedding*, ca. 1652.

the most important satirist in the Netherlands after Bosch (Murray, 1959:39), Pieter Bruegel⁵ the Elder (ca. 1525/30 - 69), well known for his scenes of peasant and country life and, particularly, for his *Peasant Wedding*, (ca. 1652), fig 26.

"Peasant Bruegel" similarly influenced artists such as Adriaen Brouwer (1605/6 - 38), who was the link between Flemish and Dutch genre painting. Brouwer's pictures, apart from a few landscapes, represent sordid tavern scenes usually populated by carousing "*boeren*" - in many cases events in which Brouwer himself took part. An artist who worked with Brouwer and who was similarly interested in tavern scenes and peasant jollifications (and who particularly was to influence the Eastern Cape artist, Frederick I'Ons, as we will discuss in chapter V), was Adriaen van Ostade (1610 - 85). His figures and themes similarly reflect those of the Breug(h)els; rather stupid, "simpleton" types drinking or fighting in their typical flat-topped caps.

To sum up common factors binding these eighteenth and nineteenth-century artists, we need briefly to recall our original concept of *worldview*. We have discussed how art in these two hundred years reflected the social, moral and spiritual condition of Man. Art acted and reacted in response to changing socio-political scenarios: it became the instrument of high-minded rulers projecting an image of Man more perfect than reality would have; it became flights of fancy for those refusing to acknowledge the truth of man's lesser condition; it became a mouthpiece for those who saw the truth all too clearly. To Pope's question *With terrors round, can reason hold her throne?* (*Pastorals*, 1709), Goya unwittingly provided an answer in his etching, *The Dream of Reason brings forth Monsters*, fig 27, (part of a series entitled *Los Caprichos*) by writing that it was

5 Discrepancies abound regarding the spelling of the Breughel family name. Murray used *Breugel* when referring to Peter the elder, b. ca 1525: likewise the writers of the exhibition catalogue *Bruegel - Een Dynastie van Schilders*, Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, Belgium, 1980. When referring to Pieter his son and Pieter his grandson, the surname *Breughel* is used.

intended to "banish harmful vulgar beliefs, and to perpetuate... the solemn testimony of truth" (Levey, 1966:202).

His message is clear: behind the sham of Arcadia, lie the realities of man's true nature wherein formality hides the lurking ghouls and monsters of his deepest fears and anxieties. Very fittingly, he inscribed a similar drawing *A Universal Language*, 1797. If we were to extrapolate a message from the art of the previous two centuries, Pope's lines might help to explain their common spiritual quest:

*That reason, passion, answer one great aim;
That true self-love and social are the same;
That virtue only makes our bliss below;
and all our knowledge is, - ourselves to know.*

The foregoing discussion has attempted to delineate the Romantic ideals and the artistic tradition in which the early nineteenth-century British Settlers and artists would have been steeped. These artists would have studied and drawn classical sculptures and vases; they would be familiar with the Dutch masters, the English and Italian Landscapists and particularly with the requirements of a Picturesque landscape on the Poussin/Lorrain model. Such influences would have been a major part of the "cultural baggage" of the Frontier artist, often becoming spectacles through which they viewed their adopted homeland. Most significantly, they would have been part of the Romantic spirit which longed for a New Order - and a New World. It was this spirit that spurred on the early missionaries and explorers and which gave respectability to the military as they pushed back the Frontiers of the Empire. To the military, Africa was an unconquered land to be won for King and Country. To the missionaries, Africa was a field of souls ripe for harvest. To colonists generally, Africa was a green pasture ready for sowing. But for the artists, who ventured to make a living in the new land, there were the problems of adapting their European traditions to the requirements of a new and hostile environment - an environment without lakes, canals and cathedrals - without the greenery and bright colours of the emerald isle from which they had ventured.



27. Goya. *The Dream of Reason*
Brings Forth Monsters, ca. 1796.

IV

ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS IN THE IMAGES OF EASTERN CAPE ARTISTS FROM THE 1500s TO 1875

They will find among the orange and almond bowers of southern Africa no Elysian retreat from the everyday troubles of life, and if they ever indulged golden dreams of there realising sudden affluence, they will soon find themselves unpleasantly wakened from an absurd delusion.

Thompson, 1827 (2:196).

As discussed in chapter I, artworks must be assessed in terms of the characteristics, or worldview, of the people who created them. This implicates the artist's humanness - his personality, beliefs, values, attitudes and opinions which overtly or sub-consciously shape his artistic representation of the world. Some of his beliefs and attitudes may have originated from personal traits, others from recognisable traditions and yet others from social upheavals that turned old traditions upside down (see chapter III). The process of social change also causes shifts of attitude and these are often reflected in the work of an artist who may alter not only his choice of subject matter but also his formal artistic approach.

On the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony, travellers and settlers had various and changing attitudes to the unfamiliar land and to the strange culture of its indigenous peoples. These attitudes moulded the worldview of the artists of the time and, it is the author's contention, led to changes in certain compositional conventions in their pictorial images. Comparing some representative depictions of life in southern Africa, in general, and the Eastern Cape, in particular, between the years 1500 and 1875, one is struck by the manner in which the pictorial interest in the landscapes, for example, moves from the middle- to the foreground planes while these planes, originally clearly delineated (eg. figs 48-55), merge into one continuum by the end of the periods under review (eg. figs 59, 61-63, 66). Furthermore, excepting where human figures are the sole pictorial interest (eg. figs 30, 33-36), the subject matter changes from "empty" landscapes (eg. figs 48-50) to landscapes with small groups of people drawn small (eg. figs 37-40), to larger groups in larger size (eg. figs 61, 64-66) - in one period comprising mainly the military (eg. figs 61-66) - and finally, to depictions purely of Nature or of civilian works (eg. figs 67-74). In some town views wherein certain groups would seem to be relevant in depictions of the society, they or their dwellings have been left out (eg. fig 72).

It will be argued not only that spatial relationships changed in response to a growing confidence as the "savage" land was "civilised", but also that the artistic forms - the position, pose and size of the figures - and the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups reflected the social and political attitudes then current and are an integral part of the *iconographic* language of African art. These artistic changes are considered below in the light of the historical events in the Eastern Cape from the latter 1500's to 1875 and the pictorial art of that period is shown to contain clues to the social and "geosopic"¹ attitudes then prevailing. Unfortunately, the general lack of available comment by the artists themselves necessitates that interpretations and conclusions drawn from the works must remain tentative.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES - FROM VENUS TO VILLAIN

From the time of the discovery of the "dark" continent by European voyagers of the 15th century a dichotomy of views has existed about its inhabitants. The earliest "Geographers of Africa-

Tabula noua partis Africae.



28. Munster. *Tabula Nova Partis Africae*, 1544.

1 A discipline proposed by American geographer J K Wright in 1947, relating to man's sense of (terrestrial) space.

maps" not only filled their "gaps" with "elephants for want of towns"² but also dotted the plains with a selection of African rulers - looking remarkably like European kings - with sceptres, cloaks, thrones and crowns (see, for example, the map *Tabula Nova Partis Africae* from Sebastian Munster's *Geography and Cosmography*, 1544, fig 28).

This transposition of Europe into Africa is not surprising, since even today, people naturally rationalise the unknown in terms familiar to themselves. Initially only a few sailors and explorers had first-hand knowledge of the continent and its inhabitants and travellers' tales quickly spread misconceptions amongst the "armchair travellers" of Europe whose perceptions of the indigenous inhabitants ranged from the "Noble" to the "Primordial Savage".

The idea of a wondrous Africa inhabited by unspoiled peoples, whose nakedness reflected their simple and "honest" innocence, was often projected in the accounts of early travellers to Africa. Illustrated by woodcuts, copper-plates or etchings (often copied from other accounts), such travelogues recorded ethnological, biological, zoological and geographical information as well as detailed descriptions of voyages and expeditions for an adventure-hungry Europe, fig 29.

However, the accuracy of these travellers' accounts is open to speculation for, as the translator of Anders Sparrman's book *Travels in the Cape 1772 - 76* put it, the travelogue was really "a treatise of experimental philosophy" (van Wyk-Smith, 1990:19). The fictional possibilities of the travelogue were often used to enhance romantic conceptions of a wild, inhospitable and inaccessible Africa and to perpetuate the (mis)concepts of the indigenous peoples expected by European readers. The blacks were seen as the "other" - the simple Children of Nature - different to the European not only in race, but in actual brain size and unable to comprehend or execute the basic skills of civilised life. But as long as they embodied Rousseau's idea of the "Noble Savage" they posed no threat and, to many travellers, expeditions to Africa were tantamount to returning to the original Paradise. Paradisal analogies were evoked from an early stage (van Wyk-Smith, 1990:8) and the religious image of Adam before the Fall may account for some artists portraying the African along the lines of Adam in the garden of Eden.



Hippopotamus amphibius, Linn.
Zoo-Loc. Belgis ad C.B.S.
Hußpferd

29. Sparrman. *Hußpferd (Hippopotamus)*, 1772-76.

2 Jonathan Swift (1667 - 1745). "So Geographers, in Afric maps,/ with savage pictures fill their gaps;/ and o'er unhabitable downs/ Place elephants for want of towns" *On Poetry*, (1733,1,177).

As early as ca. 1508, Hans Burgkmair produced an original woodcut of a group of indigenous people of "Allago" (Algoa Bay, now Port Elizabeth), fig 30, featuring a man, a woman and two children, elegantly posed and with distinctly European features. Though dressed in the garb "of the wild", the group in fig 30 is depicted in a similar fashion to icons of the Holy Family (van Wyk-Smith, 1990:6), and is posed in European *contrapposto* (reminiscent of Michaelangelo's famous virtuosity in this field). The older child is similarly reminiscent of a *putto*-figure (the modern-day "cupid") - in this case *sans* his bow-and-arrow. However, intestines strung around their necks, point to their "savage otherness".



30. Burgkmair. *Allago*, ca. 1508.

Illustrations generally vacillated between such quasi-religious perceptions and the straightforward sensational. In the anonymous journal, *Verhael van de Reyse bij de Hollandsche Schepen 1597*, for example, the Khoi are "cannibals... because they eat raw meat, yes, the entrails and the stomach of it comes from the beast, without cleaning it...they stink terribly, speak in a clucking manner like turkey cocks". Such opinions were shared by the traveller Johann Jacob Saarman, 1662,³ who described the band of Unmenschen (inhuman-like creatures) he encountered on the beach: they are "not large of Stature, thin and lean, and have an unappealing speech... similar to that of Indian hens".

By the end of the seventeenth century, images were shifting more to the fiercely pejorative concept of a barbarous race unworthy of their Eden. Ethnic groups were also placed on a scale of differing degrees of barbarity. "Pity 'tis that so beautiful and rich a country should be inhabited by so barbarous and rude a people", Heyleyn wrote in *Cosmography* (1677:64). Heyleyn was responding to the idea of the continent of Africa as an ethnographic ladder (van Wyk-Smith, 1990:8), where Homer's "blameless Ethiopians" of Upper Nubia were placed at the top and the inhabitants of southern Africa at the bottom. By 1788 John Matthews was writing (1788:9): "Trace the manners of the natives...and you find a constant and almost regular gradation in the scale of understanding, till the wretched Cafre sinks nearly below the Oran Outang [sic]". However the idea of the Noble Savage had not been abandoned.

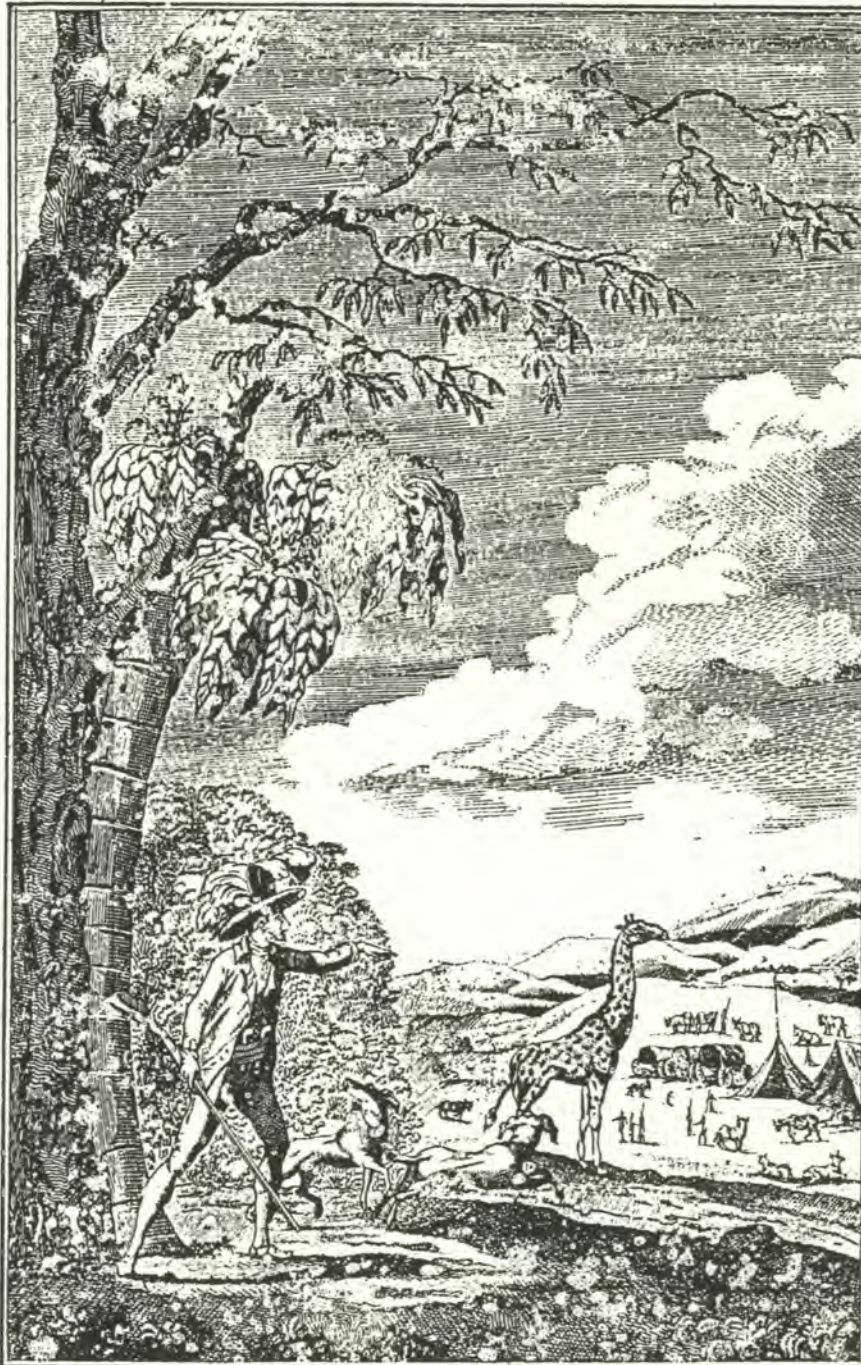
In 1780 the French traveller and ornithologist, Francois Le Vaillant,⁴ arrived at the Cape and

3 Untranslated travelogue, page 157, above translation by author. [AM].

4 Francois Le Vaillant was born at Paramibo, Dutch Guiana, in 1753. Taken to Europe in about 1764, he studied ornithology in France and Germany. He travelled in the Cape of Good Hope from 1780 - 85. Died in France in 1824.

organised two expeditions into the interior to study its bird life. The first expedition took him to the Great Fish River in the Eastern Cape and the second northwards to the Orange River. These journeys were described in several works, his most famous being *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique par Le Cap de Bonne Espérance* (1798) in which he recorded his encounters with the peoples and his observations of the natural history of the Cape. Figure 31 is the frontispiece of this work which shows the traveller in the foreground plane of the composition, almost overshadowed by the exotic trees towering above him. One hand holds a rifle while the other points towards the interior of Africa into which he will proceed. The middle plane is occupied by the familiar

Frontispice du Tom. I.



Campement dans le Pays des Grands Namaquois.

31. Le Vaillant. *Campement dans le Pays de Grands Namaquois*, 1798.

"trappings" of such expeditions: tents, wagons, draught oxen and ... a giraffe. One is given the idea - though subtly - that, with his instrument of conquest in one hand, he is about to "name and claim" the exotic Natural World. The frontispiece thus seems to "sum up" the ideology, purpose and methods of the expedition in one image.

Le Vaillant's accounts reflect the romantic image of a traveller seduced by the poetry of Africa and its peoples. In *Dangerous Attack of a Tyger*, fig 32, the frontispiece of his 1790 version of *Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa*, the Romantic idiom of his travelogues is illustrated even more vividly, with the circular arrangement of exotic trees and foreground vegetation surrounding the flamboyant "actor" (in appropriate hat) in a natural "lime-light". The huts of the indigenous peoples, though secondary in importance to the scene, are visible in the middleground. A tribesman watches in the shadows of the "wings", whilst the hunter's attention - and that of his dogs - is trained on the lion appearing out of the undergrowth. In this depiction the tribesman is clearly a necessary, though not central, part in the white man's conquest over Nature and its savage elements.



32. Le Vaillant. *Dangerous Attack of a Tyger*, 1790.

On his northward trip, on which he claimed to have crossed the Orange River and to have been the first European to travel overland from the Cape to the Tropic of Capricorn, Le Vaillant met the Namaqua people. A plate in his travelogue of a young Namaqua chief (not reproduced here) shows a tall, regal figure entirely within the idiom of the Noble Savage, but with an unexpected mediaeval touch (Le Vaillant, 1790:399 in van Wyk-Smith, 1990:25): "Every time I looked at them I fancied I beheld some of those lank, long-visaged gothic figures placed at the church door in certain Roman Catholic countries as if to serve as sentinels".

His perceptions of the indigenous people evoke images of Africa as an Arcadia roamed by nubile Adonises and Venuses. He relates how after exchanging gifts with some Gonaqua people he observed a young girl of about sixteen in the crowd who

shewed more curiosity in examining my person, than eagerness to share in the trinkets which I was distributing to her companions. She looked at me with so much attention, that I approached her that she might have more time to survey me at her leisure. I found

that her figure was altogether enchanting; she had the freshest and the most beautiful teeth in the world; her person was slender and elegant, and her shape, formed to inspire love, might have served as model for the pencil of Albane. She was the youngest of the Graces, under the figure of a Hottentot (Le Vaillant, 1790:251).

In posing his "Venus", whom he named Narina ("flower"), fig 33, Le Vaillant seems to follow the tradition of the Greek sculptor Praxiteles who taught in his *Cridian Aphrodite* that the flowing curves of the female form were emphasised by shifting the figure's weight onto one limb.

Enamoured by the natural charms of "his young Savage", Le Vaillant records her "playing with me by the way, with as much freedom as I had been her brother" (Le Vaillant, 1790:437) and himself taking pleasure in "decorating her" or walking her to his tent. Le Vaillant's infatuation with Narina was not unique (van Wyk-Smith, 1990:26) for the primitive Venus appears in several travelogues of the period.⁵ See, for example, figure 34, *Hottentots Drawn from the Life* [sic] by Le Vaillant, appearing in John Chapman's book, dating from 1868. John Stedman, in his book *Expedition to Surinam* (1796), also described a fifteen-year old slave, Johanna, in terms strongly reminiscent of Le Vaillant's (van Wyk-Smith, 1990:26).

According to van Wyk-Smith (1990:27), Narina's success in the imagination of Europeans was due less to the fact that she embodied "the Eve-like figure of a pre-lapsarian age" which Europeans had hoped to find in the Khoi people, but rather that "after three centuries of describing and depicting the Khoi, they were finally turning into a charming and comforting European myth, just as the Khoi themselves were about to disappear from the scene". But as increased contact with travellers brought the Khoi closer to western civilisation, the myth faded and perceptions, particularly of Khoi women, were negatively influenced. Because of the strange (to European eyes) physiognomy of (particularly) the women, some individuals were treated as "curious" entities, or "anatomical specimens", rather than being accepted as human beings in their own right. Several

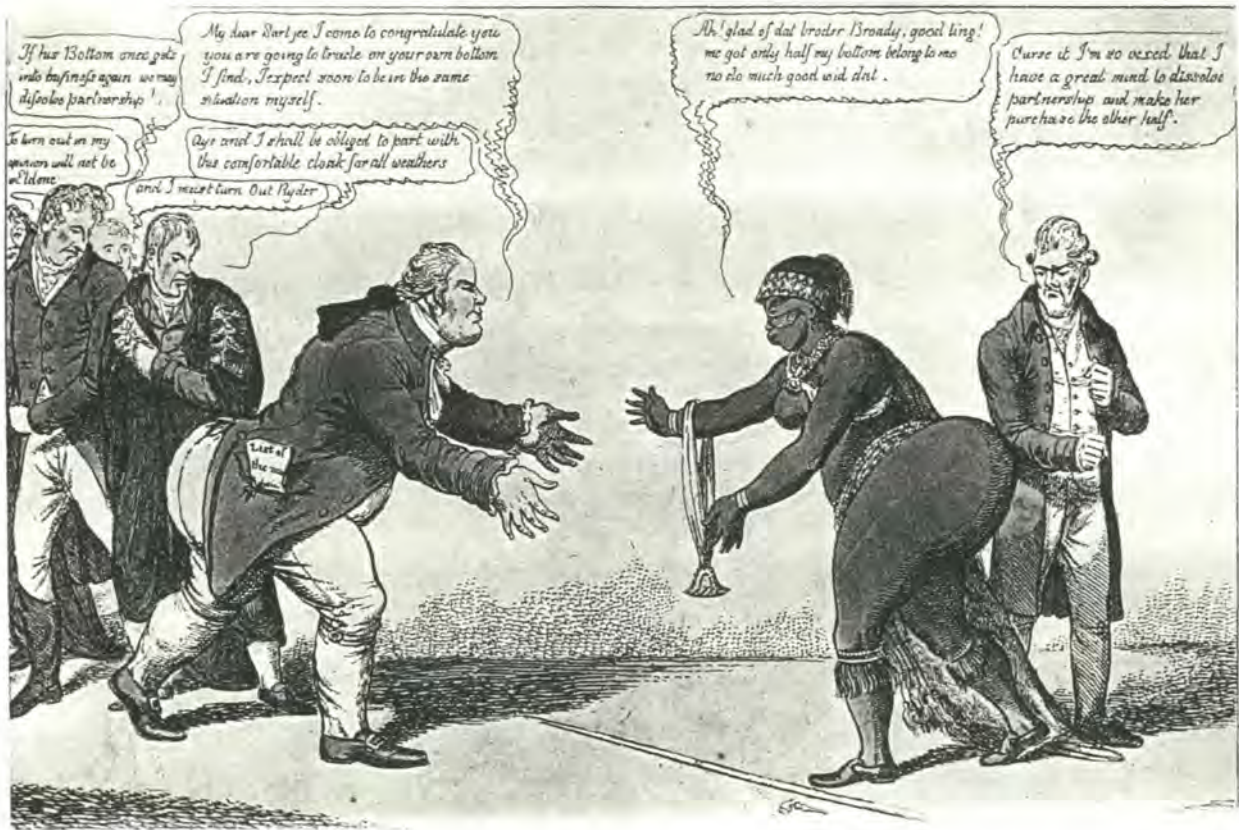


33. Le Vaillant. *Narina, Jeune Gonaquoise*, 1790.

5 Smith 1744; Hawkins 1797; Durand 1803. William Smith 1744: *A New Voyage to Guinea*, London, John Nourse. Joseph Hawkins, 1799: *A History of a Voyage to the Coast of Africa*, Troy, N Y, Luther Pratt. Jean Durand, Jean B L, 1803: *Voyage au Senegal*, English translation, London, Phillips 1805.



34. Chapman, J. *Hottentots drawn from Life*, 1868.



35. Loftus. *Prospects of Prosperity or Good Bottoms Going into Business*, ca. 1819.

Khoi women were taken to Europe; probably the most famous being Saartje Baartman, who was exhibited in a peep-show in Paris in 1812. Her enlarged buttocks and genitalia evoked both awe and ridicule from the vast audiences she attracted and, considering her curiosity value, it is not surprising that casts of her preserved body are displayed in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Cartoonists made good use of the opportunity for ridicule as the cartoon *Prospects of Prosperity or Good Bottoms Going into Business*, fig 35, shows. One may surmise that the corpse of a Bushman, fig 36, pickled and shipped to Berlin, must similarly have been an object of great curiosity and fascination.

Further examples of the manner in which attitudes to the "other" are inherently discernible in the engravings and woodcuts of travelogues, appear in books by Peter Kolbe (1719); Anders Sparrman (1772 - 76) and De Chevalier Howen and J Smies (1803). *Capute Bonae Spei Hodiernum* (1719) by Peter Kolbe (1657 - 1725), a German scientist and writer on the Cape, appeared in four languages and contained a considerable number of highly fanciful engravings of the Khoi and their habits (Gordon-Brown, 1975:8). Kolbe's illustration of fishermen bartering with the European



36. Müller. "Pickled Bushman", ca. 1837.

travellers, fig 37, presents the Khoi in an appreciative, though somewhat contrived light. The near-naked Khoi are figured in large size in the foreground of the composition so that their nakedness, contrasting strongly with the lavishly dressed traders on the right, underscores their "otherness". The incorrect proportionality of the figures to the landscape suggests the environments in which both groups are placed are "implied" rather than "real". The bartering takes place against something akin to a theatre backdrop, with appropriate accessories, viz. the symbolic ships, denoting the *idea* of sea and land rather than the *actual* elements. Contact between the two groups occurs but only superficially, since each group remains confined in its own separate "world".



37. Kolbe. *Hottentot Fishermen at the Cape*, 1719.

Another illustration showing the Khoi "in harmony" with their primeval world is *Africanische Landschafft*, dated ca. 1772, fig 38, from Anders Sparrman's travelogue. Small groups of people are shown in a variety of activities; fore-, middle- and background again being used as scenarios for these activities rather than the artist depicting their true natural environments. Though it is clear that depicting the Khoi and their lifestyle is of primary importance to the artist, the image also includes the presence of Sparrman and his entourage seen descending the hill on the right. Common in these images, however, is the sense that both Khoi and traveller are comfortable in one another's presence.

Gezicht Van Een Kaffersche Woonplaats, 1803, fig 39, a lithograph originally drawn by De Chevalier Howen and J Smies, and *Meeting of Kaffir Chiefs with Col Janssens*, by W B E Paravicini di Capelli (*aide-de-camp* to the Colonel), 1803, fig 40, are both remarkably similar in compositional lay-out and iconography. Strongly horizontal arrangements in the foreground in both depictions suggest a *tableau* "showcasing" the subject of the lithographs: fore- and middlegrounds, for instance, become artificial plateaux for showing different activities occurring simultaneously in

a single depiction (a phenomenon which we will discuss again in chapter VI). Overly-tall trees on the right of both form frames around a "stage" and, in the case of *Meeting of Kaffir Chiefs...*, dramatise an historical meeting. The middlegrounds of both are slightly raised, "showcasing" the huts of the tribespeople in figure 39 and the occupation by British troops in figure 40. The idea of an unlimited, unexplored Africa is suggested by the tall, distant mountains which are common in both figures, as is the Edenic setting with seemingly contented people in an ordered, sterile environment. (See also Daniell's *African Homestead*, 1805, fig 41, below).



Africanische Landschaft.
 1. Hottentotten, auf einem zuseitlichen Ochsen reitend, v. pag. 222. 2. Hottentottin, in ihrer eigenthümlichen Tracht ihr Kind säugend, v. pag. 118. u. f. 3. Hottentott, in seinen Karoß, gekleidet, Taback rauchend, die Haszazaj in der Hand. 4. Ein Hottentotten Kraal od. Dorf, v. p. 138. 5. am Cap gewöhnliche Art zu jagen, 6. des Vorfahrs Reis Equipage v. p. 114.

38. Sparrman. *Africanische Landschaft*, ca. 1772.



39. De Chevalier Howen and Smies. *Gezicht Van Een Kaffersche Woonplaats*, 1803.



40. Paravicini de Capelli. *Meeting of Kaffir Chiefs with Col Janssens*, 1803.

In the early 1800s the young explorer John Barrow arrived in the Cape as secretary to the first British Governor, Earl Macartney, and set about his task of surveying the new British possession "with sextant... good pocket chronometer, a good compass and measuring chain" (Barrow, 1801:v2:23). The accuracy with which he recorded his observations would certainly have also been required of his under-secretary, the artist Samuel Daniell, who accompanied him on his expeditions and illustrated Barrow's *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*, (1801 - 4). While the first edition contains no ethnographic illustrations, the second, published in 1804-5, includes several illustrations based on Daniell's originals (van Wyk-Smith, 1990:29). His portrayals of the indigenous peoples of southern Africa, though characterised by a high degree of ethnographic realism (idem:30), were not without some romanticism. In an aquatint of *Booshuana Women Manufacturing Earthenware*, 1805, fig 41, Daniell depicts an elegantly ordered African world

wherein gracefully posed "Attican" potters, whose fluid forms - reminiscent of the early sixteenth-century Italian Mannerists (Pontormo, Bronzino) - complement that of their wares.



41. Daniell. *Booshuana Women Manufacturing Earthenware*, 1805.

The device of portraying different scenes simultaneously in order to "show" African lifestyle occurs again in Daniell's illustrations. The silhouette-effect of the figures contrasts with the light walls enclosing the action in the foreground plane; these figures again contrast with the men's kraal raised on its own on a distant hill, thereby enabling the men to be seen to better advantage. Delineating the picture surface into distinct, separate entities also stresses each entity to be in its own "world" - men's rôles traditionally being of peripheral importance in domestic matters, for example. Beyond them, the homestead lies unbounded in an unending Africa. Scenes such as those in figures 37 to 41 wherein the indigenous people are dominant are common in earlier images (i.e. prior to colonial settlement), but become rarer as the African loses his "child of Nature" image and negative attitudes become more fixed.⁶

From the end of the eighteenth century, small numbers of white settlers started to arrive in the Eastern Cape. Their ranks were swollen in 1817 and again in 1820 when some 4000 persons were settled in the frontier region under the British Government's scheme of populating the area to prevent encroachment by blacks.

The inevitable contact of the settlers with the indigenous peoples exploded many of the myths created by the old travellers' tales. Disillusionment followed closer knowledge of these peoples whose culture was judged according to European norms - and found wanting. The white man considered that he stood on the pinnacle of anthropological evolution with the African tribespeople at its lowest levels (Lewis and Foy, 1971:3). He believed that, without British intervention and the white man's religion, the blacks were a doomed race. White intervention implied civilisation along the lines of a British ethic: work created opportunities for industrious pursuit and, in the British

⁶ This does not include the specific singular or group portrayals of indigenous peoples where they appear as subjects of ethnological interest. The portrayals of Xhosa chiefs in the work of Frederick I'Ons, for instance, come to mind, (see chapter V) or similar portrayals in later accounts of missionaries or travellers.

view, all races should be engaged in re-creating "another England" in order to enjoy the fruits of western civilisation on African soil.⁷ Furthermore, many a colonist hoped that the new British possession would make him the "Lord of an [African] Manor" with an estate such as he could never have aspired to at home.

Competition for land as well as opposing notions of land ownership, became sources of growing conflict between the settlers and the indigenous peoples. For the blacks, land provided grazing for cattle and soil for crops. Stock and agriculture required fertile land, and whenever more was needed a tribe traditionally moved further afield seeking new pastures. To the whites, land ownership was a statutory factor, properly formalised by title deeds and implying a recognisable measure of wealth. The belief that the land was theirs - or that it ought to be - also contributed to the change in white attitude regarding the "others" (Lewis and Foy, 1971:107). From the initial fascination with the natural African "Paradise" (see, for example, Daniell's aquatint *Scene in Sitsikamma [Tsitsikama]*, 1805, fig 45), and with its curious peoples, the period 1806 to 1830 was characterised by a growing awareness of the political, agricultural and economic potential that the new British possession held for the extension of the British Way of Life on the African continent.

Sketches by Seymour.

N^o 36. - Vol. 1.



Peter Simple's Foreign Adventure, N^o 2.

Here I am, married to the only daughter of the great chief, who would have roasted me with the rest of our crew, had I not given a joyful consent; Oh, I wonder if I ever shall get home & be married to Miss Wiggins!

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42. Seymour. *Peter Simple's Foreign Adventure no. 2*,
ca. 1819.

⁷ Bryer and Hunt (1985:2) quote a contemporary editorial from *The Times* referring to the 1820 Settler scheme which will "carry out as settlers all the families who have not bread nor labour here, and we lay for posterity *another England*, with which, by equitable and skilful government, the mother country will be joined with bands indissoluble".

Portrayals of black people by white artists now showed even more variation mirroring the increased contact and the attitude of the observer. "Noble savages" (such as I'Ons's depictions of tribal chiefs or prophets, fig 98 in chapter V) and "primordial savages", fig 42, were by the 1830s joined by portrayals of blacks as drunkards, layabouts and *skelms*, fig 43.



43. I'Ons. *Four Men*, undated.

There were also, however, depictions of the "good black" - a biddable, helpful, hard-working person, knowing his place, faithful to his master's truest interests and grateful for his education into civilised ways (Lewis and Foy, 1971:107). Depictions of blacks as onlookers in landscapes became fewer after the consolidation of white settlement. Where blacks were included, they were placed in the farthest extremities of compositions or were shown ploughing, shepherding or involved in subservient tasks.⁸ Despite his affection for tribespeople, even the artist Thomas Baines left black dwellings (which, according to early maps, existed in 1846) out of his panoramic view of Graham's Town in *Fort Selwyn*, 1850, fig 118 in chapter VI. This tendency is also evident in views of Graham's Town by many other artists such as W J Huggins or Oliver Lester in his *View of Graham's Town*, 1863, fig 72. One may reason that continual Frontier hostilities contributed to the human tendency to "cypher out" elements which threatened the idyllic dreams of the new settler society. Deeply ingrained class consciousness may also inadvertently have contributed to tribespeople being considered of too little significance to be included as main subjects in artworks. But the artist cannot shoulder the entire blame, for many relied on the commercial success of their work for survival and therefore had to pander to the attitudes of the day.

The expansion of mission activities, particularly after the 1830s, drew tribal communities into closer contact with whites. Mission stations became popular centres for trade and training and

⁸ In the twentieth century they often re-appear in large, single compositions as "poetic innocents", or as the "children" of the (white) patriarchal fathers (ie. the black subjects of Oerder or Dorothy Kay).

missionary influence increased amongst the black peoples. This influence probably played a more prominent rôle in establishing British rule in Africa than in any other part of the British Empire (Lewis and Foy, 1971:57). Some historians blame the destruction of traditional African lifestyles and identity on missionaries endeavouring to further the aims of colonial expansion,⁹ though missionaries such as James Stewart (1887:2:4) argued to the contrary: "Merely to civilise can never be the primary aim of the missionary... But among barbarous races a sound missionary method will in every way endeavour to promote civilisation by education and industry, resting on the solid foundation of religious instruction." Figure 44 encapsulates the image of the missionaries as they saw themselves - idealised figures converting savages to faith (Lewis and Foy, 1971:57).



44. Artist unknown. *The Missionary as the missionary society saw him.*, undated

The arrival of Christianity certainly brought about fundamental changes in traditional patterns. However, unable to see beyond their own *mores* and traditions, the missionaries insisted that converts should follow the social and ethical norms of the newcomers. Not only did the missionaries preach the Protestant gospel of learning and work, for instance, but also insisted on converts wearing European-style clothing, which became the outward indication of the rejection of "savage" ways. The pose of the Khoi woman in G F Angas's wood-engraving from his *Kaffirs Illustrated*, 1849, fig 45, is a telling example of the "new dignity" attained by the indigenous woman, proud of her acceptability in her European attire. Bishop Merriman, however, in his *The Kafir [sic], the Hotentot [sic], and the Frontier Farmer*, scorned the untutored missionary who equated the Christian "dying to self" with the abolition of tribal clothing:

One Kafir told me it was too hot for him to turn Christian; he must wear clothes if he did, and might not grease his body, or paint it with red clay... and when I told him that Christianity did not consist in clothes, or the arts of life, he could scarcely comprehend the distinction, so unhappily had the Gospel been lowered in this land, and made to appear part and parcel of European civilisation (Merriman:1853:9).

9 Majeke, for example, saw the various elements amongst the Europeans, including the missionaries, as having one common aim: the confiscation of land and the establishment of white supremacy (Majeke, 1952:6). But missionaries such as William Shaw and later the Lovedale teacher, James Stewart, saw their task as fulfilling a Divine Plan for the upliftment of the "savage" tribes of Africa. Shaw, quoting the *Missionary Notes* of February 1820, writes in his book *The Story of My Mission* (1860) that

The introduction of so great a number of professed Christians... into the heathen land, we cannot but consider as one of those circumstances which Providence... is so obviously overruling, for the purpose of extending the Kingdom of Christ in the world.

The young black, "Ji Ji", who had exasperated his mistress in her attempts to teach him to write, similarly thought himself "too stupid to become a Christian" (Cunynghame, 1880:161). The traveller Campbell reported that by 1822 the wearing of the "white man's" attire had become more common-place amongst the young, although the elders tended to mock the new ways (Campbell, 1822: 2:64). That dress mode had become such an *idée fixe* amongst those involved in "civilising" the African peoples, is illustrated by the missionary William Shaw who, after encouraging a petty Chief to change his dress habits, reported the following conversation:



45. Artist unknown. Khoi Woman, 1849.

"I wish you would try to dress yourself". "Dress myself!" he replied, with evident surprise: "Don't you see that I am dressed? Don't you see that I have got a new ingubu" (kaross, or cloak). "And do you not see that it is faced with a Tiger skin?" This was undeniably true; and his calling my attention to it betrayed his pride of birth, none but chiefs being permitted to put tiger-skin facings on their cloaks... And he added with much animation, "Don't you see that I have been well greased and smeared with ochre?" This was likewise evident, and in accordance with what was usual among the best dressed gentlemen of Kaffraria, who melt... tallow and fat, and mix therewith some red ochre...[and this] unguent is smeared all over the person, and ...gives them the appearance of bronzed figures. He called my attention, also, to the singular and careful manner in which his hair had been... rolled up in separate knobs, after having been bedaubed with grease and ochre.. he refer[re]d to the strings of beads ...around his neck... and the brass-wire bracelets that covered his fore-arms; and concluded by saying, "I am dressed just as we dress to go to a wedding feast or dance, and you tell me to try and dress myself! I don't understand you!" (Shaw, 1860:408-9).

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE LAND

(1) Settlement (1820s - 1850s).

Once settlement of the Frontier got underway and contacts became closer, the European's "rose-tinted" perception of the indigenous tribespeople changed to a more realistic view. The settlers must soon have realised that the land to which they had come was not at all the African Paradise of Daniell's *Scene in Sitsikama* [Tsitsikama], fig 46.

However, although many a settler greeted the sparse Algoa Bay coastline with tears of dismay, Lewcock (1963:147) states that "gentlefolk among the settlers, bred in the traditions of the English landscape garden, were impressed by the natural beauties of the Albany countryside". The traveller George Thompson (1827:1:35) described, "... the distant ground on every side appeared to be a Park, and the road was so tastefully planted out that it was in vain persuading some of the party that we were not approaching a Nobleman's residence". Lord Charles Somerset and Thomas Pringle used similar terms, Pringle (1835:105-6) writing that:

The general aspect of the country [around Albany] was...fresh, pleasing and picturesque. The verdant pastures and smooth grassy knolls formed an agreeable contrast with the dark masses of forest near the river courses. The undulating surface.... was... often agreeably diversified with scattered clumps or thickets of evergreen interspersed with groves of large trees, like a nobleman's park...

It seems probable that the newcomers were subconsciously trying to compensate for their decision to come to Africa. Knowing no other world than Europe, they would naturally have imagined that the new land would be as green and fertile as the one they were leaving - in fact, another England - and the reality that awaited them must have proved a severe shock.



46. Daniell. *Sitsikamma*, 1805.

Nevertheless, if they did not find another England, they could at least try and create one.

By 1821 new farm settlements were appearing like small white "blocks" scattered haphazardly over the landscape (Lewcock:1963:146): the *cultural transformation*¹⁰ (i.e. changes inspired by specific cultural traits and ideas) of the land had begun. Villages such as Bathurst and Salem, fig 57, were laid out according to the typical English garden-plan - Bathurst sporting, for example, a "Somerset Crescent" while Salem, with its parish church and village "green", reflected the typical English rural villages so recently left behind.

The 1830s saw the district of Albany beginning to flourish as a viable and prosperous economic community - buoyed up by the expanding wool trade - "the farms were well stocked...trees had grown around farmyards...sheltering white cottage windows and shading the carriage tracks leading up to the houses" (Lewcock:1963:151 and 164). Settler Philip Lucas at "Rietfontein" even "had splendid walks cut out...in the bush in front of the house...and a maze in which the children could easily lose themselves for a time" (Campbell :1897:198) By 1828, Lt Richard Daniell, who had served in the Royal Navy during the Napoleonic wars, had built a Regency-style country house on his estate "Sidbury Park" named after his birth-place. This great house overlooked parklands where clumped trees and water features enhanced the view - an obvious attempt to re-create the parkland estates of his mother country (Lewis,1990:8). Thomas Baines's painting *Cradock Place*, 1873, fig 130 in chapter VI, which was the seat of the wealthy land-owner, John Centlivres Chase, similarly depicts what might be a typical English country scene, rather than an African farm. (For further discussion see chapter VI).

Between 1835 and 1837, Daniell also laid out the village of Sidbury (see fig 59) according to the English grid-iron plan and granted occupiers of erven commonage rights similar to those held by villagers in England and Wales (Lewis,1990:10). Lord Charles Somerset's parkland estate *Oatlands* outside Graham's Town similarly reflected the predilection of the English to transfer British traditions to Africa.

By adopting British agricultural, architectural and town-planning methods and by endeavouring to maintain a British lifestyle, people created a "little bit of England" in the far reaches of Africa. Features of typical English country life such as fox-hunts (adapted, however, to the "jackal hunt"), fig 47, had made their appearance by 1843.¹¹ Even the English Robin Red-Breast was included in the settler's "cultural baggage"; the Graham's Town Journal advertising in 1862 that *A Large number of English Robin Red Breasts* have been imported into this Colony per steamer "Briton".¹²

10 I am grateful to Prof C A Lewis for pointing this out. See also Hoskins, W G, 1983: *The Making of The English Landscape*.

11 In 1843 the 7th Dragoon Guards imported "Mr Meschach Cornwall... with 21 couple of hounds" from England to form the Fort Beaufort hunt. "Occasionally the hounds were at Graham's Town and shewed some capital sport to the civilians hunting jackal" (Arkwright, Lt, R: *Sport and Services in South Africa*, ed. by E C Tabler:1970).

12 *Graham's Town Journal*: 16 1 1862. These have not survived, according to Albany Museum ornithologist, D Sülter. Skead, C J, 1965: *Birds of the Albany District* makes no mention of them, nor has any sightings been reported of them by the Diaz Bird Club since its inception in 1976.



47. Darrell. *Run with the 7th Dragoon Foxhounds*, 1852.

Artists arriving in the Eastern Cape brought with them their own "cultural baggage" which included social and political norms and ideals, racial attitudes, perceptions about the indigenous peoples and contemporary European artistic ideas. The latter, however, had to undergo some radical changes in the new African context. Most British artists arriving in the Cape would have been familiar with the prescriptions of the Picturesque landscape whose details were discussed in chapter III. Amongst its other dictates, a Picturesque landscape usually required the middleground plane to depict "picturesque" ruins such as decaying castles or cottages and/or a reflective body of water (pools, rivers or streams) - items essentially foreign to the African scene. The traveller and natural historian, William Burchell, was one of the first traveller/artists to recognise the need to adapt "home-grown" ideas of the Picturesque to the strange social and geographical structures of the new African homeland. He wrote in his *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa* (1822:2:194):

In the character of [this] landscape and its peculiar tones, a painter would find much to admire, though it differed entirely from the species known by the term "picturesque". But it was not the less beautiful; nor less deserving of being studied by the artist: it was that kind of harmonious beauty which belongs to the extensive plains of Southern Africa. The pale yellow dry grass gave the prevailing colour... sufficiently varied the uniformity of the plain; while clumps of elegant arcacia... relieved these long streaks by an agreeable change of tone, and the most pleasing forms backed by low azure hills in the farthest distance.

It required only the addition of horses and oxen grazing in the foreground, Burchell continued, to complete "a landscape... which, put on canvas, would... prove to the European painter that there exists... a species of beauty with which they may not yet be sufficiently acquainted". Figure 48 shows Burchell's solution to the problem of creating the Picturesque in Africa: tall grass and hills on the right and rocks on the left provide natural coulisses to the image. Burchell and his party are shown looking inwards in the foreground, their silhouettes allowing for a natural meander of the



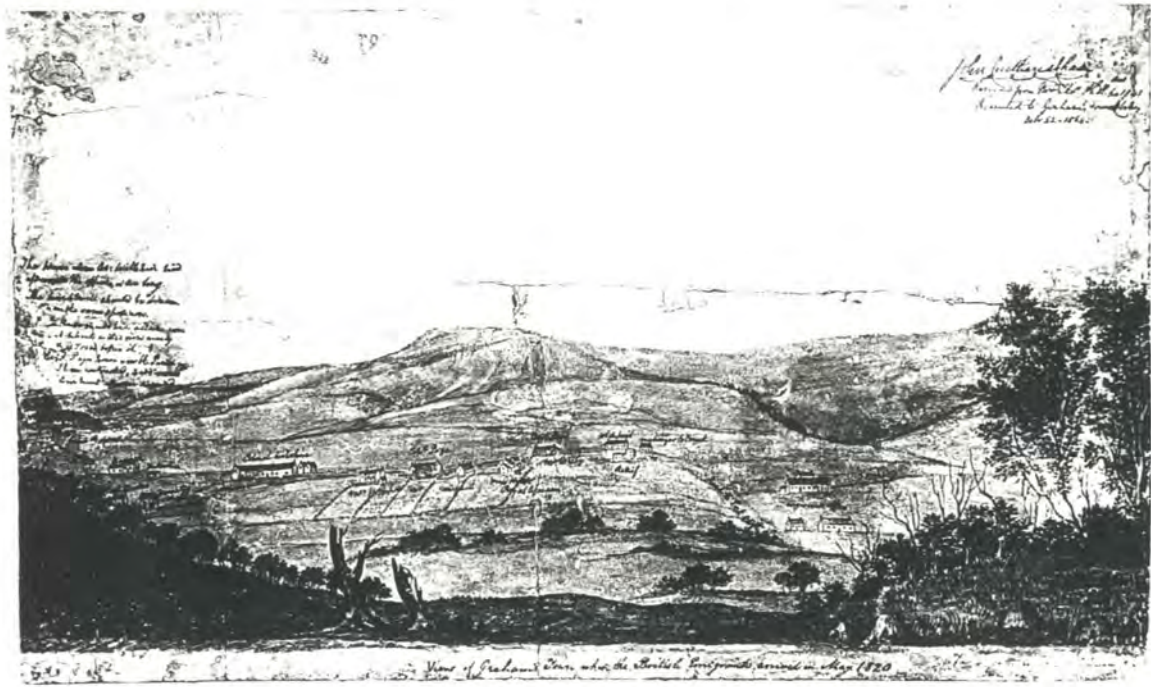
48. Burchell. *A Natural Obelisk in the Country of the Bushmen, 1822 - 24.*

eye into the middle plane of the picture.

Landscapes in the 1820s and 1830s reflected attempts to retain the formulations of the British Picturesque and adapt them to the typically Eastern Cape countryside; *coulisse's* of rocks, such as those in Burchell's illustration, along with aloes and euphorbia, replaced leafy British oaks and glades. The narrow strip of foreground which appears in many examples of work from the 1820s to 1830s, is shared by both the viewer of the picture and any onlookers in the foreground. It also forms a subtle barrier between them and the landscape beyond. Foregrounds in these years tend to show minimal human or animal activity. When people are shown, they often appear in small groups in the foreground or in small size farther into the central plane itself, thus remaining a fairly minor element within the greater natural environment. Typically, a third plane of hills and a fourth of mountains dissolve into the seemingly limitless expanse of Africa and its expansive skies, suggesting a land waiting to be named, tamed and claimed.

With regard to views of the indigenous peoples, blacks are sometimes present as onlookers in landscapes, though usually drawn diminutively in relation to the wider expanses of colonial development. Although they may be depicted going about their natural business such as ploughing or herding cattle, their general absence from artworks after settlement was consolidated may be attributed to the process of "cyphering" them out of the colonial landscape that began at this time. As mentioned above, moral justification for colonising the new land required that it be empty and unclaimed and this mental attitude appears to be reflected graphically in the artworks of the period. By contrast, a missionary artist like Thornley Smith was possibly prevented by his ecclesiastical calling from joining in the "cyphering out" process, for in figure 55 two groups of clearly drawn indigenous people occupy mid-centre "stage".

More interestingly, however, is the fact that the landscape appears sub-consciously to express



49. Chase. *View of Graham's Town, 1820.*



50. Artist unknown. *View of Graham's Town, 1822.*

specific social and geosopic attitudes prevalent in the Eastern Cape, such as a sub-conscious awe at the untapped African hinterland. John Centlivres Chase's *View of Graham's Town when the British Emigrants arrived in 1820*, fig 49, shows a characteristic dark, narrow strip of foreground plane which opens onto the wide, panoramic middleground wherein nestles the budding town of Graham's Town. Figure 50, painted by an unknown artist in 1822, shows the middleground plane largely barren and void - not surprising since settlements were then still sparse. Yet these seemingly

"empty" spaces seem to suggest a greater *perceived* "emptiness" - "the myth of the vacant land" which existed in the minds of the early colonists eager to affirm that the land, as yet unclaimed by civilisation, was rightly theirs. Further examples which clearly illustrate this are the pen-and-ink drawing of Graham's Town by J F Foley, *Graham's Town from the South Side*, 1823, fig 51, the watercolour, dated 1822, fig 52, by the unsurnamed (perhaps McCombie?¹³) Lieutenant "Charley" and his wife Ellen, a military artist couple stationed in Graham's Town at the time and J F Comfield's *A View of Port Elizabeth, Algoa Bay, taken from the Burying Ground*, 1823, fig 53. If we compare figure 50 with figure 55, painted 22 years later, we can see how, later, the foreground "strip" began to "interlock" with the middleground, instead of just closing off the view with a "frame".

Land- and townscapes in the 1830s follow much the same pattern as that established in the previous decade, with the exception - not surprisingly - that settlement and cultivation are shown to be further advanced, fig 54.

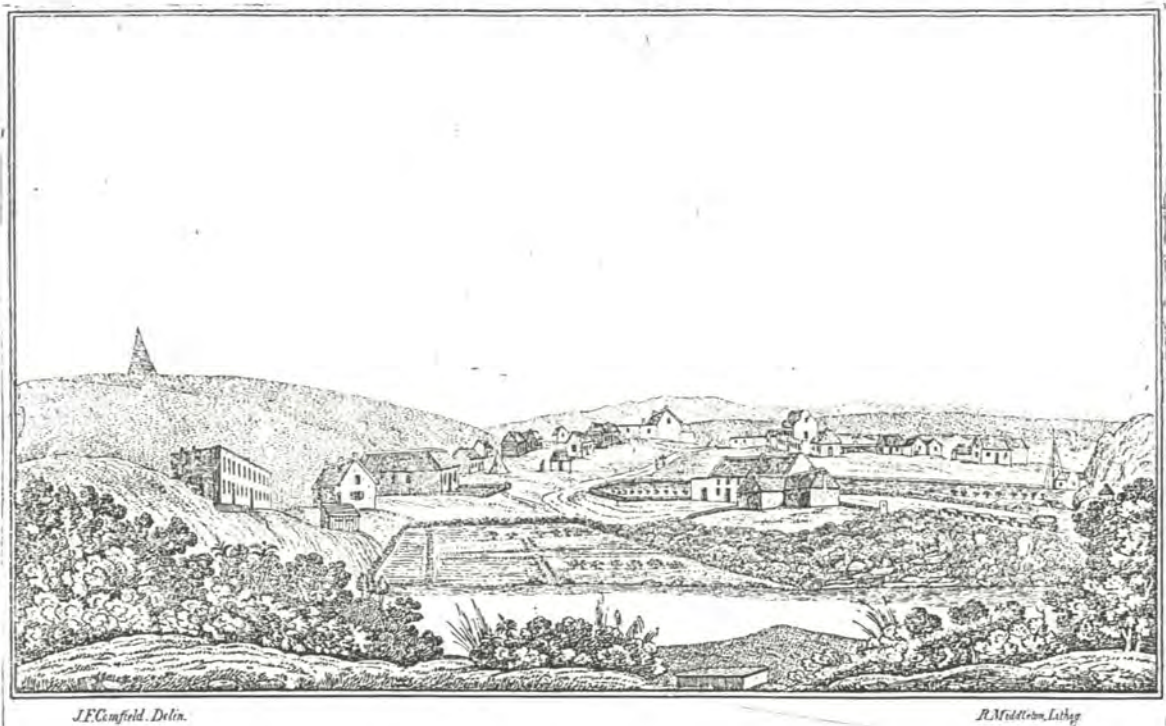


51. Foley. *View of Graham's Town from the South Side*, 1823.

13 A similar depiction of Graham's Town by the couple bears the words "X marks our house". An attempt to identify the couple by means of an early map showing military quarters has been inconclusive. However, records consulted by the author in the Public Records Office at Kew yield a Lt Charles McCombie of the Royal African Corps present in Graham's Town at the time.



52. "Charley and Ellen" (McCombie?). *View of Graham's Town, 1822.*

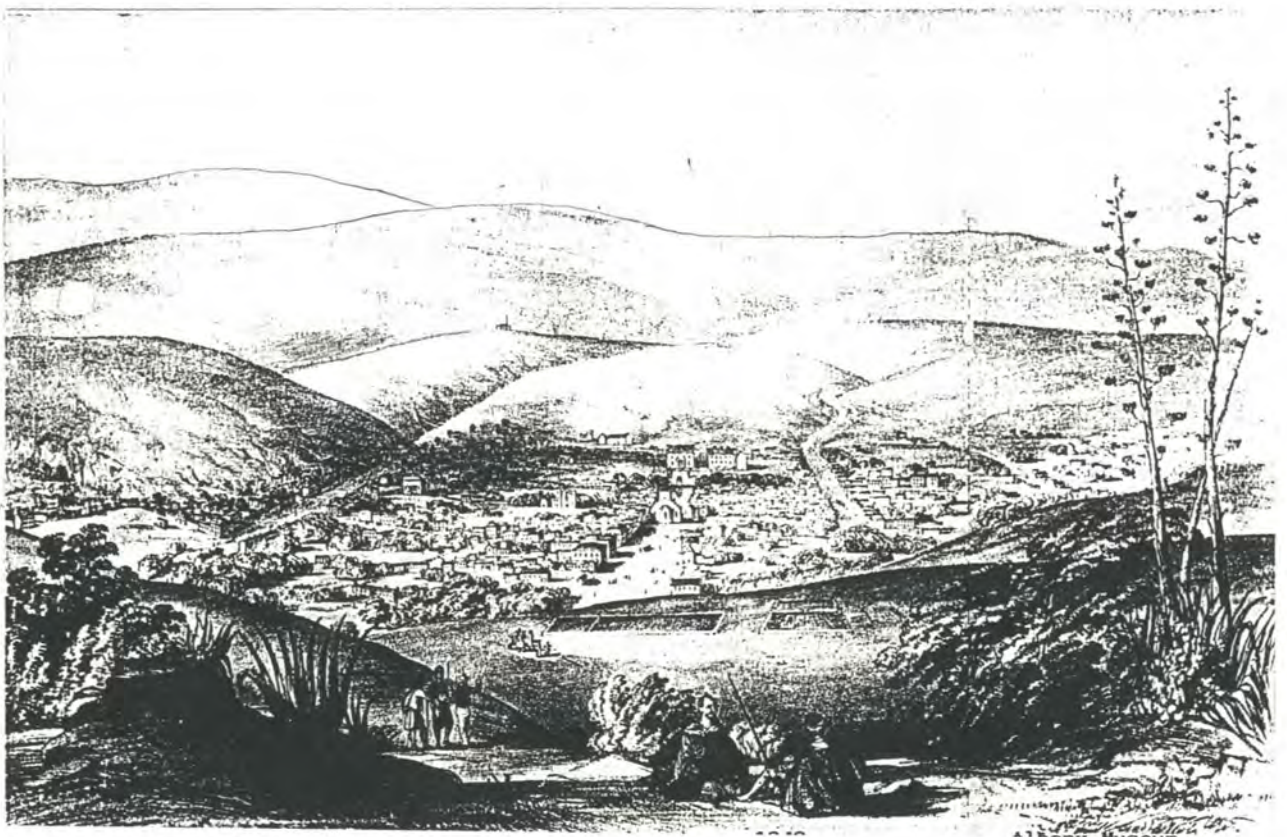


53. Comfield. *View of Port Elizabeth, Algoa Bay..., 1823.*

By the 1840s, the foreground becomes less "strip-like" and may include much of the activity/interest which continues into the middleground. (We will describe later how in the 1850s these two planes were often merged into one). Thornley Smith's *View of Graham's Town, 1844*, fig 55, and Rev James Backhouse's *Makwatling, Paris Mission Station*, dated 1844, fig 56, illustrates this clearly. Note how the background hills in figure 54 appear as towering mountains in



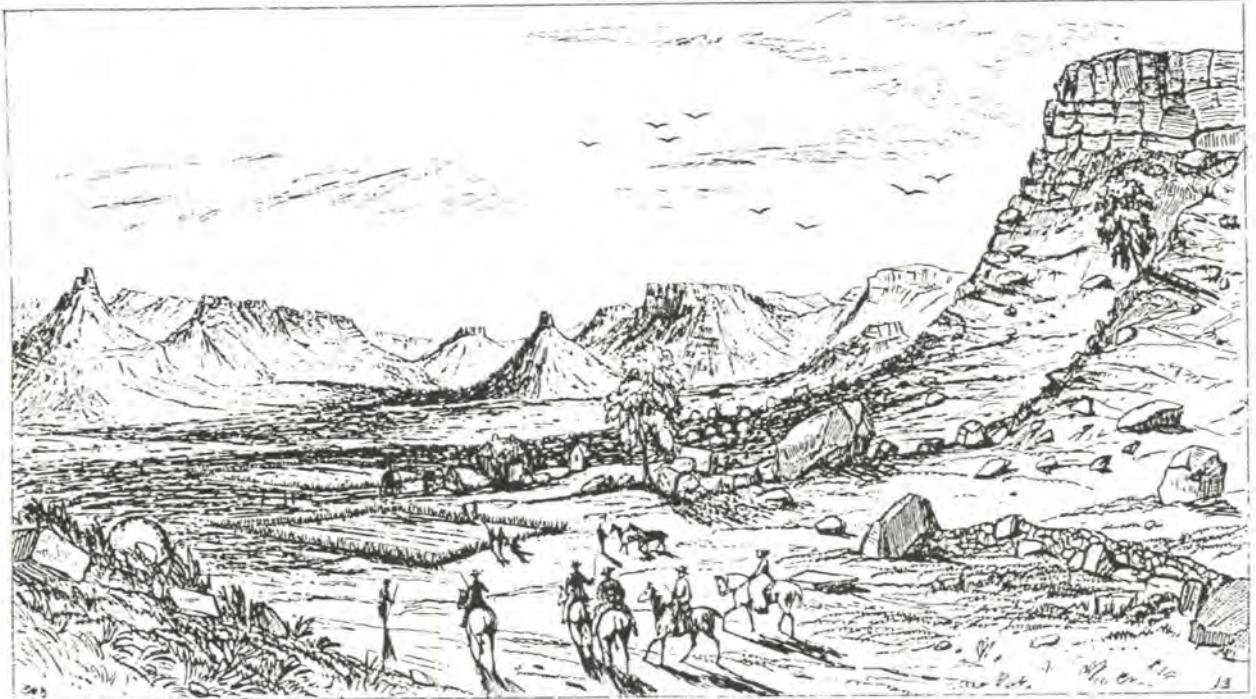
54. Huggins. *View of Graham's Town, 1833.*



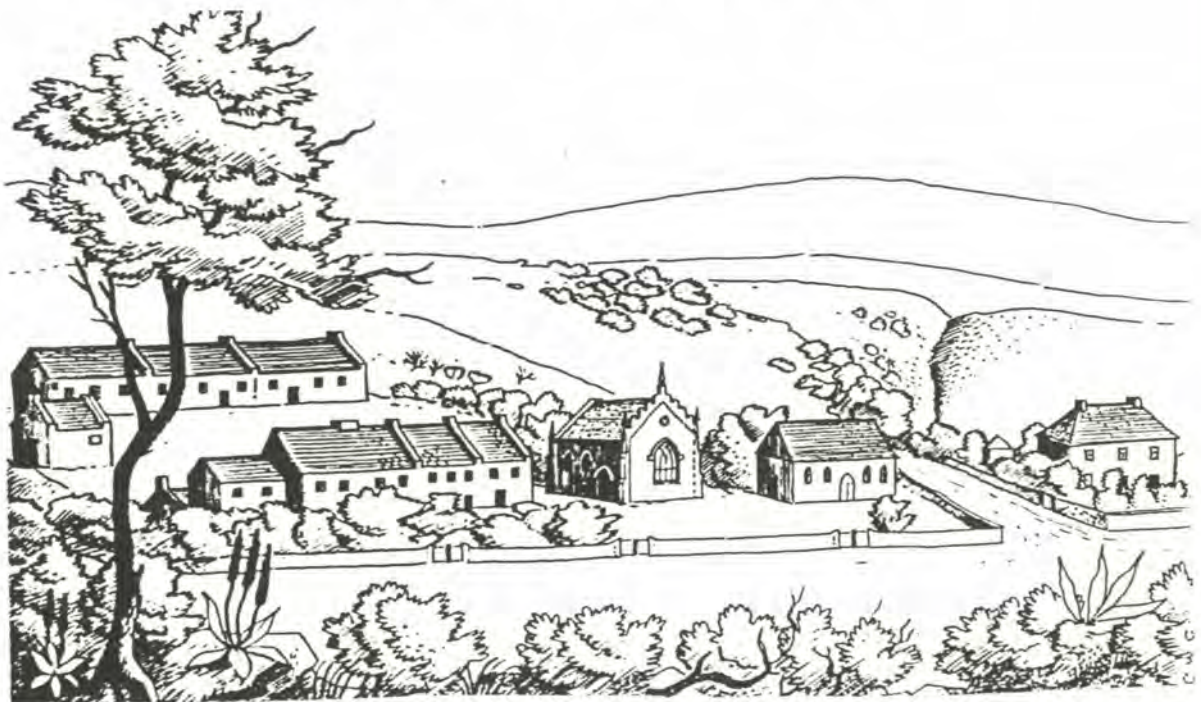
55. Thornley Smith. *Graham's Town, 1844.*

Huggins's depiction, whereas, in reality, they are no more than slight hills.

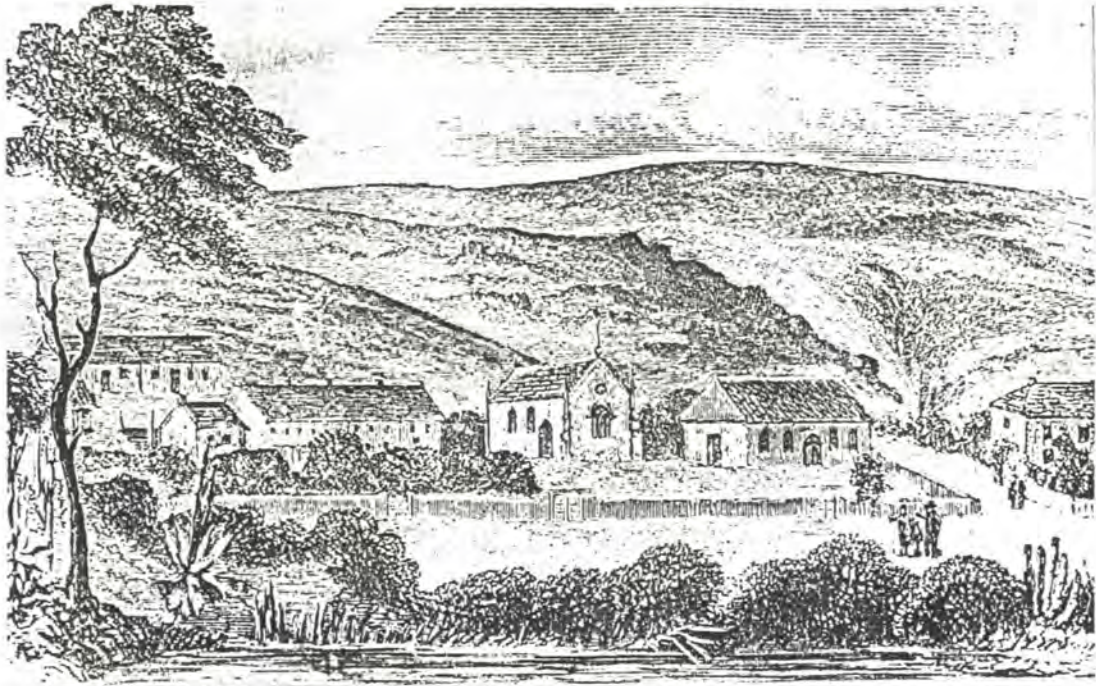
The writings and sketches of missionary artists such as Rev Thornley Smith, Rev William Binnington Boyce, Rev James Backhouse and the aspiring cleric, Charles Bendelack, though not prolific, nevertheless shed light on social and geosopic attitudes of the day. Rev Thornley Smith's lithograph, fig 55, brings the orderly world of civilisation closer to the viewer, though still seen across a strip of foreground space. People move about comfortably in the well-laid out village whose buildings solidly occupy the middleground. This can also be seen in Thornley Smith's drawing *Salem*, dated 1848, fig 57, and the lithograph of the same scene, fig 58. In Thomas



56. Backhouse. *Makwatling, Paris Mission Station, 1844.*



57. Thornley Smith. *Salem, 1848.*



58. Thornley Smith. Lithographed version of *Salem*, 1848.

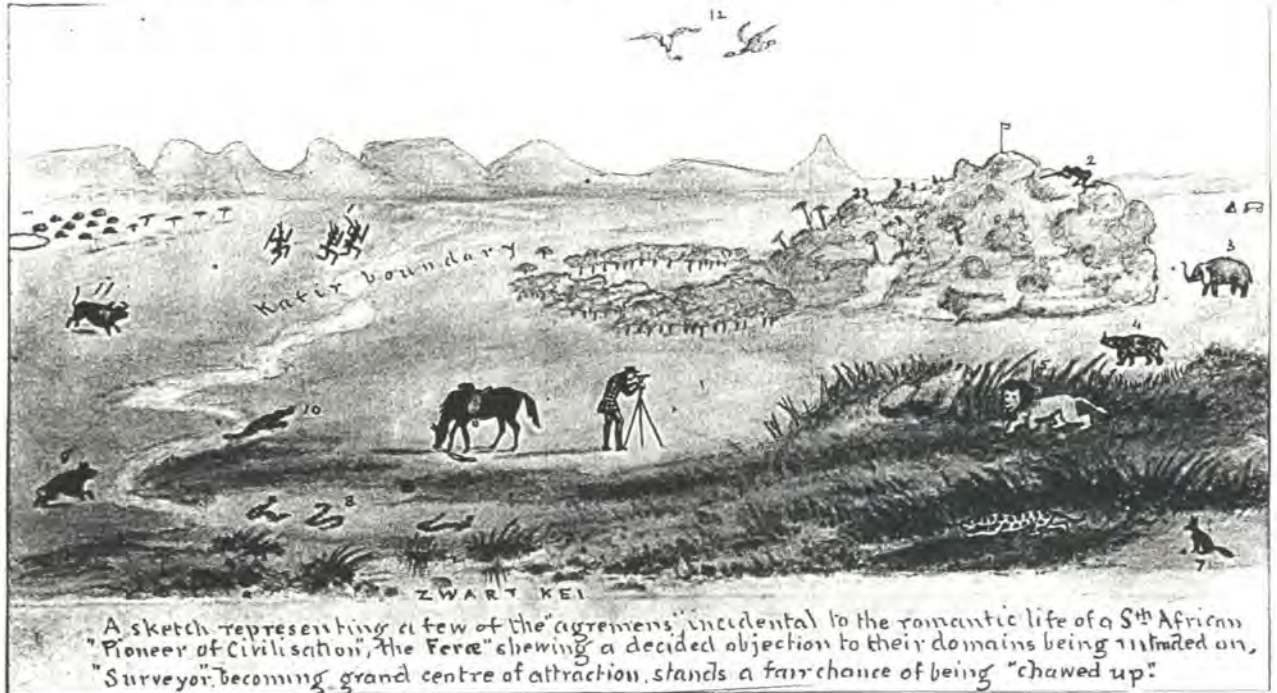


59. Baines. *Sidbury*, 1849.

Baines's *Sidbury*, 1849, fig 59, a horseman demarcates the end of the foreground plane which reveals this artist's typical attention to relief and vegetation type. The horseman is also silhouetted against a light background - part of Baines's predilection for creating rhythmic bands of chiaroscuro which light up consecutive planes; (see also *Cradock Place*, 1873, fig 130 in chapter VI). However, while the foreground plane in *Sidbury* is separated from the middleground, it is still seemingly part of the whole.

(2) Confidence in Conquest (1830s - 1850s)

Despite tangible and visible evidence of expanding cultural transformations, the cloud of Frontier hostility darkened many a settler's horizons. The sketch by L Cloete, *The Ferae [wild creatures] shewing a decided objection to their domain being intruded on...*, 1855, fig 60, lightheartedly shows some of the difficulties likely to be encountered by the South African "Pioneer of Civilisation". And lumped together with the 'wild' animals are the 'wild' black warriors seen defending their hilltop domains.



60. Cloete. *The Romantic Life of a Sth. African "Pioneer of Civilisation"*, 1855.

The Settlers (most of whose homes were totally undefendable) had been warned on numerous occasions of the dangers of Frontier life (Lewcock, 1963:167), but despite this, little thought had been given to defence in the Colony. When hostilities arose, rural families had had no alternative but to flee to the towns. On returning after these raids, the settlers were invariably staggered by the pillage and destruction of their farms. After the 1834 Frontier hostilities, "...altogether, 455 farm-houses had been sacked and burnt, while 111,418 cattle and an even greater number of sheep had been driven back to Kaffirland" (Shaw, 1860:164).

The growing necessity to secure the Colony from "Kaffir deprecation" and insurrection, now prompted the revision of many of the plans and ideals which the colonists had fostered for the new African hinterland. Amongst these was the form of the architectural landscape. In 1835, Captain J Alexander, *aide-de-camp* to the Governor, stressed the need for defensible architecture in the Eastern Cape where, prior to 1834, no more than a dozen stone-built forts existed (Lewcock, 1963:168). The design of defensible farms and dwellings was considered by George

Gilbert, one of the most distinguished building contractors in the Colony (Lewcock,1963:168), whose design for "Sephton Manor", his own fortified house near Fort Beaufort, was published in the *Graham's Town Journal* of 10 September 1835. Thereafter "garrisoned" farmyards began to supersede the park-land estates graced by elegant carriage-ways and walks while sites affording maximum security replaced those chosen for their picturesque aspects (Lewcock,1963:171).¹⁴ Meanwhile chains of forts and signal towers were visible evidence of the expanding military presence on the Frontier.

Although landscape depictions continued in the traditions discussed above (Rev Thornley Smith's *View of Graham's Town*, 1844, fig 55), many of the landscapes of the later 1840s and 1850s reveal a preoccupation with, and an infusion of, militarism into the worldview and lifestyle of the people living on the Frontier. Artists of the 1850s so readily depicted military subjects, or the presence of the military in some form on the landscape, that one can, with a certain amount of success, date such an artwork to this period. Besides the inclusion of roadways, wagons, fences, or Euphorbia's, foregrounds include military activities (such as mounted guards, wagons, etc. See, for example, *Koonap Heights - 74th Highlanders escorting Supplies from Graham's Town*, 1852, lithographed by G Parr, fig 61). Although the military had been a tangible presence in the Eastern Cape since 1812 and had been engaged in several Frontier wars at varying times, a greater emphasis on military activities is evident in artworks from this period. Accompanying this change in subject



61. Parr (lithographer). *Koonap Heights - 74th Highlanders escorting Supplies from Graham's Town*, 1852.

14 Fortifications of farmhouses in the Albany area ranged in the type from simple walled enclosures for stock adjoining the houses, to elaborate hilltop fortresses, towers and defensible farmyards of which "Barville Park" is an example (idem).

matter was a change in artistic *métier* which, it is the author's contention, mirrored the confidence felt by the British in their ability to subjugate and control the Eastern Cape. The artworks seem to show man proportionally greater in size while the landscape diminishes in importance. This appears to be sub-consciously expressed by the deepened foreground plane, the larger and clearer drawing of figures in the landscape - the figures often appearing to fill most of the picture surface.

The diminishing of the old strip-like "barrier-type" foreground and the "opening up" of space invites the viewer directly into the immediacy of the action itself. Larger figures have a similar confrontational effect making human activities more dominant in the artist's vision. Carl Gustav Henkel's *The Landing of the British German Legion at East London, 1857*, fig 62, shows this clearly. Likewise in *74th Highlanders and Port Elizabeth Fingo Levy storming the position of the rebel Hottentots in the Amatolas, 26 6 1851*, (fig 136 in chapter VI), Thomas Baines assigns equal



62. Henkel. *Landing of British German Legion at East London, 1857.*



63. Martens. *Conference at Block Drift, Kaffir Land, 1846.*

picture surface to both fore- and middleground planes, but shifts the main focus of the picture from the middleground to the interest-laden foreground. The artist Henry Martens produced the original sketch for the lithograph of *Conference at Block Drift, Kaffir Land, Jan. 30 1846 - Between Lt-Gov Col Hare and the Kaffir Chief Sandilla before commencement of the Hostilities*, fig 63, in which the foreground and middleground are converged into a single entity.

Although both black and white forces in figure 63 are regimented, the angle of the British line, reaching diagonally across the picture surface, has the effect of being about to make "a clean sweep" of the terrain. This is reinforced by the greater regimentation and weaponry - the British being represented as a more formidable war-machine compared with the primitively equipped blacks, who do, however, "hold" the hill in the distance. The conference itself looks like a mere formality, occurring unobtrusively at the picture's centre. Landscape in this case, provides a stark and bland "neutral space" for the conference - a "virgin territory" bearing no sign of agriculture or habitation.

Sir Harry Darrell, Bart,¹⁵ (commanding the 7th Dragoon Guards) sketched a series of four lithographs for his volume entitled *China, India and the Cape of Good Hope and Vicinity*, 1852. One of these, *Interview between Col Hare, Lt-Governor, and the Caffer Chiefs at Block Drift, 1846*, fig 64, contrasts with the lithograph discussed above. The importance of the interview between Col Hare and Sandille has been enhanced by drawing these figures larger and placing them more forward in the picture. The standing position of the white officers and the interpreter contrasts with the less clearly delineated figures of the Chief's entourage, which possibly could suggest the artist's bias and on whose terms the treaty is being negotiated. Alternatively, perhaps the seated tribesmen are merely expressing a traditional mark of respect for their Chief!

Thomas Baines also produced the original sketch, fig 65, which was reworked by Henry Martens and lithographed by Ackermann as *Attack of the Kaffirs on the Troops under the Command*



64. Darrell. *Interview between Col Hare, Lt-Governor, and the Caffer Chiefs at Block Drift, 1846.*

15 Sir Harry Darrell was stationed in the Eastern Cape from 1843 - 48. He commanded a troop of the 7th Dragoon Guards and led the Charge of the Gwanga where he was wounded. He was a popular officer and notable horseman. He died at Cagliari, Sardinia, while on a hunting expedition.



65. Baines. *The 74th Regt and Beaufort Fingoes attacked [sic] by Macomo's Kaffirs in the Kroomie Forest, Sept 8th, 1851.*

of Lt-Col Fordyce of the 74th Highlanders, 8 September 1851¹⁶, fig 66. The artist's white bias in figure 66 is clear from the manner in which the iconographical elements are arranged in the picture; also by the fact that this lithograph was intended for a specific audience: i.e. "*Dedicated with permission to Maj-Gen Henry Somerset*" (commanding the 1st Division of the Forces of the Cape of Good Hope).

Attack of the Kaffirs... differs from many other military portrayals in the Eastern Cape as the viewer is immediately presented with the main subject of the military action. The mass of fighting bodies cascades down in an "S" curve towards the viewer. The immediate foreground is taken up in the base of the curve which runs along the bottom edge of the composition. (It is of interest to note that the image continues off the picture surface - a rare phenomenon in Africana artworks for, up till then, compositions had always been "complete" entities on the picture surface itself. Cropped figures have the discomforting effect of partly occupying, or impinging on, viewer space).¹⁷

The "message" of this image reveals the British having the upperhand in this particular engagement. The British soldiers are drawn large and clear and remain elegantly upright in combat

16 The caption continues: "while forcing their way through Kroomie Forest, 8 September 1851. The descending path at this pass is very narrow, only two or three men pass abreast at this along the right side of a deep ravine lined on both sides with dense bush, and is, I think about one mile and a half in length. The men were in possession of the bush, and kept up a fire as we marched along the path, but with little effect; one man of the 74th highlanders was wounded... but no other casualties occurred until the rear of the 74th had passed the middle line".

17 This might possibly be explained by the advent of photography in the late 1840's which may have contributed to an awareness of the "snap-shot" effect of "unfinished" actions continuing off the picture surface.



66. Martens. Reworked version of *Attack...*, 1851

- with not even a cap askew. Even the British wounded lie, or die, elegantly - contrasting with the bodies of the savage enemy, which, like the monkey-ropes in the forest, are slung in similar fashion monkey-like from the trees.

History, however, tells a somewhat different story. Having by now perfected the art of guerilla warfare, chief Maqomo's people ambushed the British troops in a narrow ravine. In this disaster, the popular Col T J Fordyce, commander of the 74th Highlanders, along with several British soldiers, was killed. Figure 65 shows Baines's version of *The Attack...* as completed by himself. His depiction records the appropriate jumble and confusion of human bodies, but shows no single victor. Having to beat a retreat in this engagement (amongst others), however, did not deter Governor Sir Harry Smith from informing his superiors in London that his generals had "well succeeded in driving from their strongholds of the Waterkloof etc the greater portion of these numerous bandits" (Peires, 1989:15). The Colonial Secretary, however, was better informed on the situation and recalled Sir Harry in disgrace - which heralded an inglorious end to his career (idem).

(3) The Rewards of Conquest (1850s - 1870s)

The latter years of the 1850s and the 1860s were marked by clear affirmation of British domination in the social, political and economic affairs of the Eastern Frontier. The end of the Eighth Frontier War in 1853 had, in the British view, settled the question of land ownership and resulted in the withdrawal of the main sectors of the British army from the Eastern Cape. Attitudes regarding both victor and vanquished changed as British authority became indelibly stamped into all sectors of Eastern Cape society. The national suicide of the amaXhosa in 1856 following the revelations of the prophetess, Nongqawuse, had reduced the Xhosa nation to a shadow of its former

strength.¹⁸ A sense of infallibility stemming from now unquestionable British strength and authority, heralded a belief that the day had dawned to reap the rewards of colonial conquest and industry.

Such attitudes prompted significant changes in artistic *métier* on the Frontier, which resulted in changes in both composition and subject matter. The merging of foreground and middleground, begun in the earlier period, was usually continued; the foreground no longer merely acting as a frame for the picture but becoming part of the picture itself and often being cut through by a road linking activity in the fore and middle grounds (see e.g. figs 56 and 61). Subjects often changed, from events occurring in the environment to the environment itself, while a renewed taste for the Picturesque became manifest. With or without man's manipulations or intrusions, the Eastern Cape again became a natural African "Wonderland".

The Romantic movement and particularly its Picturesque phase, continued to find expression in the images of Eastern Cape artists. The artist Thomas Bowler (1812 - 69), for instance, sketched a series of picturesque views in the volume *The Kaffir Wars and the British Settlers in South Africa* which appeared in 1865 (Gordon-Brown, 1975:126). Distant horizons are of little consequence in these pictures, or seemingly to the colony itself, which to the British mind was finally secured. Bowler was clearly taken by the beauty of the landscape at hand, not resisting, however, the (British) impulse for some romanticisation. *Macomo's Den, Waterkloof*, 1864, fig 67 and *Peffer's Kop, near Alice*, 1864, fig 68, for instance, could have illustrated a volume on the Creation story admirably. A further example of the Eastern Cape interpreted in romantic idiom was Lt Lumley Graham's lithograph *Scene on Patrol in the Amatolas*, 1852, fig 69, where craggy mountains suggest Alpine-sized peaks, while *View of the Keiskamma Hoek...*, 1852, fig 70, with its rolling hills and reflective pool, fulfills many of the prescriptions for the typical British Picturesque



67. Bowler. *Macomo's Den, Waterkloof*, 1864.

18 The official census of British Kaffraria between 1 January and 31 July 1856, for example, shows a decrease in the black population from 104 721 to 37 229 of both sexes and ages (Theal, 1927:206).



68. Bowler. *Peffer's Kop, near Alice,*
1864.



69. Graham. *Scene on Patrol in the Amatolas,*
1852.



70. Graham. *View of Keiskamma Hoek and Mount Kemp, Quili Quili, ca. 1851-3.*



71. Schiffman. *View of Graham's Town, 1862.*



72. Lester. *Graham's Town from the North Side, 1863.*



73. Jay. *Opening of Parliament, 1864.*

landscape. Urban depictions such as Schiffman's *View of Graham's Town*, 1862, fig 71, and Oliver Lester's *View of Graham's Town*, 1863, fig 72, distinctly carry an air of settled Colonial estates, while Charles Jay's townscape *Opening of First Parliament in Graham's Town*, 1864, fig 73, aptly expresses the "pomp and ceremony" attached to the crowning moment of Colonial civil authority.

After the discovery of diamonds in 1869 a large scale exodus of Eastern Cape colonists occurred to the Kimberley area. Fortunately the resulting drain in the white population did not spell the end of artistic life on the former Frontier. Although artists such as Elizabeth Barber did join the rush to Kimberley, John Roland Brown, George Daws, Annie Galpin (née I'Ons), Walter Galpin, Charles Jay, and Oliver Lester were amongst those who continued to hold the artistic fort.¹⁹ Their compositions, however, no longer reflected the colonial dreams and aspirations of their predecessors. Artists such as Elizabeth Barber's niece, Ellen White of Grahamstown, were content to produce detailed studies of plant and insect life, or record Nature. Others were producing pure studies of landscape or plant and animal life, or scenes of town life which showed the fruition of white cultural settlement. Foreground and middleground in the 1870s are usually integrated in one large plane approached directly from the point of view of the onlooker - without a need for an "introduction". The largeness of the subjects and the manner in which they fill the entire picture surface, seem to express a sense of confidence and pride in what man has been able to achieve in the Colony. In J Burnett Stock's *View of Graham's Town*, 1877, fig 74, the vantage point of this scene is not just of an onlooker, but one who is a participant, i.e. included in the same urban environment. The image has been cropped in the foreground so that the viewer feels no distinction



74. Burnett Stocks. *View of Graham's Town*, 1877.

19 Baines had left the Eastern Cape by 1852; F T I'Ons was well advanced in age. Other artists of whom examples of works are extant are R Austin, William C Bisset, E Bruce, R S Cooper, Edith Cock, Charles Cowen, Alex Dalziel, F L Dashwood, Sir Whatley Eliot, Charles Essex, Rev F Flemyng, John William George, Lt Col J Grant, Caesar Carl Henkel, Emily Hockey, F Schiffman, A D Smidt and T Spinks.

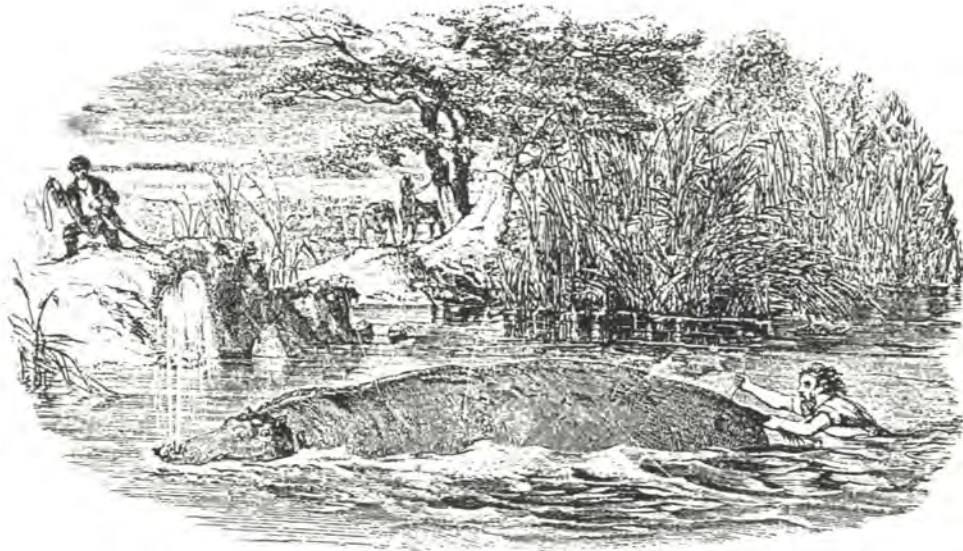
between his space and the space depicted. Viewer space, foreground and middleground have thus been integrated into a unified whole. Distant hills are viewed from within the security of this orderly town scene with its neat buildings, streets and vegetation. Activity is equally reassuring - the fruits of orderly agriculture are being processed into a thriving economy.

After the withdrawal in 1853 from the Eastern Cape of most of the army, other distractions filled the minds and lives of white colonists. The future of British settlement was no longer of prime importance in cultural life and its expression. Thus, we find that artists depicted a diversity of human activities and attitudes. Now that the land and the indigenous people had been tamed, the animals were subjugated by the British hunter prepared to dare anything in the process. "Nature's Edenic Paradise" became "Nature's Playground" as the cult of the hunter reached its heyday. Wild animals - preferably alive - had been sought after items for the Menageries of the kings of England since the 12th century: lions, tigers and elephants not only represented the "wild and untamed" idiom of the Romantic movement, but also symbolised wealth and status (Thomas, 1983, 56). The Royal Menagerie which had existed in the Tower until 1834 symbolised its owners' triumph over the Natural World. Zoos thus symbolised colonial conquest as well as wealth and status (*idem*). With the growth of European exploration and discovery, the import of rare species from every part of the world for private menageries assumed unprecedented dimensions (*idem*). Concomitant with this grew a demand for the spoils of the hunt.

Back in 1836, the proto-type of the successful big-game hunter in Africa, Captain William Cornwallis Harris²⁰ of the Royal Engineers, had undertaken an extensive hunting expedition from Port Elizabeth to the Limpopo river, on which he claimed to have fired some 18 000 bullets. A skilled artist, he produced splendid coloured sketches of African people and wild animals and wrote and illustrated, *inter alia*, the book *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa*, 1838, which by 1852 had reached its fifth edition. In 1846, Harris's feats were more than emulated by Roualeyn Gordon Cumming who on a similar expedition, took 3 cwt of lead, 400 lbs of gunpowder and 50,000 percussion caps. In *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa*, 1850, Cumming seemingly aimed to amaze his readers with the dread of his adventures - such as having unknowingly shared his pillow with a black [sic] puff-adder (Cumming, 1850:1:187). Equally vivid illustrations accompanying his writings no doubt ensured that his book was a best-seller. In *A Waltz with a Hippotamus*, fig 75,²¹ Cummings shows his attempts at driving a hippotamus to shore, holding on by means of her tail while driving his knife into her hide. Certainly no hippo would have tolerated such an assault, but Cummings shows himself waist-deep in water clearly in control of his situation. A black "handlanger" and tethered horses await to take the hero home. *Drawing a Snake*, fig 76, and Bissett's *Elephant's Head*, fig 77, similarly illustrates the assumption that since the colonist now had control of both land and Nature, he could do with both as he pleased.

²⁰ Harris was born in 1807 and as a small boy exhibited such a strong propensity for handling firearms that his people considered a warlike career befitting his genius. He died in 1848 in Poona, India (Loubser, 1947:3).

²¹ Cumming returned from his expedition having minimally killed 105 elephant, 80 lion, 60 hippo and 800 antelope (Cumming, 1850:254-384).



75. Cummings. *Waltz with an Hippopotamus*, 1850.



76. Cummings. *Drawing a Snake*, 1850.



THE ELEPHANT'S HEAD.

77. Bissett. *The Elephant's Head*, 1875.

This attitude, where man saw himself as 'owner' rather than 'custodian' of Nature, resulted in the rapid destruction of many species of wildlife. By the 1870's most of the game had been shot out to the Limpopo river and by 1880 many species were extinct (Lewis and Foy, 1971:47,49). Wild animals, like the indigenous tribespeople and the very land itself, were now subject to the whims of the colonists. The whole environment - man, beast and land - were being harnessed to their precepts of "civilised" life.

The unknown author of the undated press clipping from *The Scotsman* in Thomas Edward Buckley's album [SM] surely epitomises the spirit of the 1870s:

Africa, some people are ready to assure us, is almost played out as a land of romance and discovery, and even as the scene of sport and adventure. The books have nearly all been written and the stories nearly all been told that have a real savour of wild life in the continent of the black man... The day of the hunter and explorer has gone; that of the gold and diamond prospector has come. The vast herds of wild animals that once covered the great plains of South Africa have been thinned down or driven northward... The native, too, where he has not disappeared with the giraffe and the zebra before the coming of the white man, has put away with his savage and warlike traditions and tribal customs nearly all that made him interesting, and has sunk to the estate of a tramp or unskilled labourer of the lowest class, clad after the fashion of a European scarecrow. For the genuine flavour of African romance, and of African sport and travel, one must seek to outrun civilisation, from the march of which no nook of the interior is any longer safe.

V

FREDERICK TIMPSON I'ONS
A ROMANTIC ARTIST ON THE FRONTIER

In many respects, Frederick Timpson I'Ons, one of the best-known of the nineteenth-century Eastern Cape artists, was a true exponent of some of the foremost artistic principles of the nineteenth-century Romantic age. In our earlier discussion of Romanticism, we noted that the Romantic movement embodied several phases which became incorporated into a single *notion* or Romantic *spirit*; one such phase being the neo-classical style of "approved" classical forms for expressing civic ideals. Later searches for suitable pictorial forms led to the adoption of aspects of Baroque style, the imitation of "The Old Masters" of Italy and the Low Countries, as well as the "anti-heroic" art of "the People". Certainly to the war-worn, industrialised Europeans, the Picturesque phase in landscapes represented an escape to an idyllic Utopia.

Many factors played important rôles in how these Romantic tendencies were expressed on African soil: for instance, the artist's own background or social *milieu* and the socio-political situation in his adopted homeland. Though the extent of the artist's training and his innate skill affected the *quality* of his work, his ingrained artistic traditions and principles ultimately decided the *form* of his images. At the time of I'Ons's arrival in the Eastern Cape in 1834, some of Europe's greatest Romantic artists - Ingres, Delacroix, Corot, Constable, amongst others - were at the height of their fame. I'Ons must have felt their influence at some stage during his formative years for, as a semi-trained artist and member of the privileged class in Britain, he would have seen, or heard of, the work of major exponents of the Romantic tradition in both England and the Continent. He may very likely himself have undertaken "The Grand Tour" to view the works of the Great Masters of Europe. Thus, steeped in the ideals and influences of the Romantic tradition, I'Ons arrived into, what may well have seemed to him, the artistic desolation of the Eastern Cape to become one of its foremost artists.

Born in Islington on 15 November 1802 into an aristocratic family, Frederick had received an excellent education. Latin, geography, history, the classics, as well as drawing would certainly have been included in the schooling of an upper-class child of that time. Frederick's father, John I'Ons, initially fostered hopes that his son would join him in the family riding school catering for "the sons and daughters of noblemen only", but after completing his education, Frederick opened a "commercial and Classical Academy" offering to teach "English, French, Latin, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping... Geography with the use of the Globe, Mathematics and every other branch of Education" (Redgrave and Bradlow, 1968:6). Teaching the "sons of gentlemen" did not ultimately satisfy the adventure-loving and artistic young schoolteacher. He laid aside chalk and mortar board to convert his Marylebone school premises into an art studio. Although he never

received any training at an art academy, he was fortunate to have had a close friend in one of Britain's foremost sculptors, John Francis (1780 - 1861),¹ from whom I'Ons received the only formal art instruction he ever had.

In keeping with the general *mal du temps* of the Romantic age in Europe, it was not surprising that I'Ons looked to distant shores to escape the realities of a turbulent, post-Napoleonic, workless Europe. War efforts having severely depleted state coffers, he must have foreseen no immediate relief from economic stress and hardship in Britain, while enthusiastic letters from friends settled in the economically thriving Cape Colony must have proven tempting. The final decision to leave for Africa, however, was hastened by his wife's fall down the stairs of their Northumberland home, which resulted in the miscarriage of their first infant and a severe setback in the young woman's health. It was hoped that the move from the bleak British winter to the warmer, drier South African climate would expedite her recuperation. Leaving their furnished home in the hands of his sister, Eliza Horden, the couple left England and landed at Algoa Bay on 27 October 1834 (Redgrave and Bradlow, 1958:7). They planned to return again after three years.

Little could Frederick and Annie I'Ons have guessed at the life that awaited them in the straggling village of Graham's Town - the "metropolis" of a strife-torn eastern Frontier. Disagreements between amaXhosa and settler were again about to erupt in warfare. Factors such as the Spoor Law, under which farmers were only permitted to retrieve stolen cattle from Xhosa territory with the aid of a military patrol, had contributed to rising tension between black and white and even Dutch and English. Hopes for a just settlement to Frontier aggression receded even further when, for example, the trader Purcell was murdered in July 1834. This incident was exacerbated when military requests to hand over Purcell's killer (Redgrave and Bradlow, 1958:9) were repeatedly ignored by Paramount Chief Hintsá who, unbeknown to the settlers, was preparing his warriors for war. Finally, on 21 December 1834, the Xhosa stormed into the colony: the 6th Frontier war had begun. Every available house in Grahamstown sheltered panic-stricken farmers and traders who had fled from Hintsá's marauding mobs. The I'Ons's first Christmas possibly found Annie amongst the women and children huddled together in the gallery of St George's Church (now the Cathedral of St Michael and St George), while her husband was probably amongst the armed men crowding the floor below (Redgrave and Bradlow, 1958:9) for, having spent his youth amongst horses, I'Ons wasted no time in joining the Grahamstown Mounted Volunteers.

Does this indicate that he merely enjoyed "a good scramble on horseback"² or did I'Ons actually believe the Colonial struggle to have been a righteous one? How did I'Ons personally stand regarding the politics and people in the Eastern Cape? He was apparently present at the controversial death of the Xhosa chief Hintsá in 1835 and the picture he painted of that event, fig 85, contrasts with accounts by official state historians such as Theal (1964:116) and those by contemporaries such as claimed eye-witness Lt Bisset (Bisset, 1875:24-26). The significance of this

1 I'Ons's first commission after reaching the Cape, was for a plaque in the Grahamstown Cathedral of St Michael and St George, commemorating the settler T C White. The fact that he inscribed this sculpture with the words *J Francis, Sc. London. Albany S.* bears testimony to the debt I'Ons felt he owed his teacher.

2 Private conversations with descendant, 1991.

picture will be discussed later.

But why did I'Ons not simply return to England after it had become clear that the Eastern Cape was hostile and politically unstable? That he remained so long on the Frontier and weathered the storms of Frontier turbulence demonstrates his determined nature. One may surmise that, initially, the I'Ons family savings were depleted by their move and they could therefore not afford the passage home. However, around the 1840's, in the "hey-day" of his success, a permanent return may have been possible, yet this never occurred.³ That there were still matters to settle "at home" is clear from the fact that he made at least one trip to England. The 1820 Settlers Memorial Museum holds two photographs taken in London, probably in the 1850's to judge by his age. Galpin Snr, in a letter to Redgrave, records that Frederick made at least one trip "home": "As far as I can remember, my Mother always referred to his trip overseas, the unfortunate time when all his sculptural works (and paintings) were sold up in his absence - by someone who had been left in charge (probably the auctioneer) [sic]" (Galpin, 1959). Perhaps I'Ons's reasons for remaining on the troubled Frontier were purely economic: the military provided him with numerous commissions for portraits of Frontier and Xhosa leaders. These works were the "picture postcards" of his day, but after 1853, when most regiments had vacated the Eastern Cape, these commissions ceased. The bulk of his work then consisted of portraits of worthy - and less worthy - citizens of Albany, riverside scenes intended, for example, as wedding presents, and general scenes of frontier life. Considering the number of paintings I'Ons produced depicting the revelings, joys and weaknesses of Albany "all sorts", we may postulate that his reasons for staying went beyond purely economic ones. Perhaps his romantic imagination was "caught" by the spirit of life as it was on the eastern Frontier? He may have "seen" the possibilities of depicting "established" settlers in portraits *à la* Gainsborough or Frans Hals. Perhaps he saw Hogarthian revellers in the Khoi peoples and draped Elysian goddesses in ragged Xhosa women-folk, while proud Xhosa chiefs recalled Michaelangesque sculptures he had possibly seen in Europe. But wherever I'Ons looked, as the style of his work testifies, he saw through the

Art-Union Lottery!

MR. I'ONS,

ARTIST,

For many years a Resident in Grahamstown, has made arrangements to dispose of the whole of his valuable and well-known

COLLECTION OF PAINTINGS,

BY A GRAND ART-UNION LOTTERY.

The Lottery will consist of 500 Shares, of £1 each

These Paintings comprise the hitherto reserved, and therefore, the Choicest of his Works.
The *resumé* gives the following:—

No. 1—Study of a Peasant Smoking (by Adriaen van Ostade) 2—Baptism of John [Time 3—Grahamstown Pump Scene of Olden 4—Hottentots Dancing before the Band 5—"Quick," as Governor of Barlaria 6—Moses on Mount Sinai [Night 7—Study of a Dutch Yronw by Camille 8—A Carthusian Monk contemplating a Haman Skull 9—Portrait of Timboretto Painting the Portrait of Deceased Daughter 10—The Astronomer 11—Fruit Piece 12—Widow of an Indian Chief 13—Jew Boy at the Royal Exchange	14—Rosani (Kafr Jack) and Family 15—An Irish Cabin 16—The Invalid 17—Piet Abram—a Hottentot Notability 18—Monk contemplating a Human Skull 19—A Copy of No. 1 [master 20—Portrait of Gervartius, Titian's School 21—The Saviour and Mary in the Garden 22—Burghers (Colonial) at a Road-side Inn 23—View of a Castle in Scotland 24—Portrait of Prince Alfred 25—Group of Kafirs 26—Virgin and Child [Academy 27—Portrait of a Student of the Royal 28—The Same—Jew, from Rembrandt.
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The principal Prize, No. 1, by "Adriaen van Ostade,"—probably the most valuable of this Artist's Works in the Colony—is a perfect Gem. The Works of "Ostade" are now rarely to be met with, even among the finest collections, and may be highly estimated. "Grahamstown" in the Olden Time, is a production that will constitute an historical record of a by-gone period, and will progress in interest and value.

Tickets to be had at the Office of this Paper, and at A. E. Gooch & Co.'s.

78. Art Union Lottery advertisement, 1866.

³ Though two advertisements testify to his wanting to "sell out" and leave the Cape, I'Ons never succeeded in doing so (Redgrave and Bradlow, 1958:22).

eyes of a European, and what he depicted, he depicted in European terms. However, the variety in the local inhabitants of Albany would have inspired any dedicated artist and may have given I'Ons reasons enough to stay.

Although after 1853 I'Ons's "hey-day" of military commissions ceased, he was determined to encourage public interest in buying artwork by means of an Art Union lottery, see figure 78. The lucky ticket holders would receive paintings as prizes at the lottery draw. *The Peasant* (not traced) - a work from I'Ons's own collection - was once offered as a prize and a hand-coloured photograph - the early equivalent of today's poster - of *Shepperson's Well*, fig 92, was also once offered to each lucky ticket holder. In this way, I'Ons hoped to increase the availability of artwork to the general public. Unfortunately, this never "took on" in Graham's Town and ceased after the 1860's.

Had I'Ons's fateful decision to leave England been a fruitful one? Would he have been better off had he remained in London under the tutelage of his close friend John Francis? The latter part of I'Ons's life is vague and many questions must remain unanswered. Descendants tell of I'Ons having wandered as far as Zululand on horseback⁴ and at advanced age; he also travelled to the Kimberley diamond mines in the 1870's to fetch two grandsons aged 12 and 15 years, mercilessly overworked by their father, Frederick Henry I'Ons.

Redgrave and Bradlow note (Redgrave and Bradlow, 1958:41) that I'Ons "lived at the Kowie for some months during the late 1870's, painted portraits of one or two well-known personalities, dabbled unenthusiastically in politics and continued to colour in the photographs of his paintings, which *Grocotts Penny Mail* found 'really excellent works of art'". With eye-sight failing, I'Ons relinquished progressively more work over to his talented grand-daughter, Annie I'Ons (later Mrs Walter Galpin), who became an artist in her own right. Finally, in December 1887, *The Grahamstown Journal* announced:

Another old Grahamstown face is gone from our midst, and there is no one out of the very many friends of Mr Frederick I'Ons who was not sincerely grieved to hear that the venerable old gentleman had passed away... Mr I'Ons's artistic works have tended to confer on him a far more than local celebrity, and his productions have always secured their full need of recognition in Colonial collections. One son remains dangerously ill at home, but numerous grandchildren are left to lament their bereavement. No stereotyped press formula can be employed to express the universal sentiment of regret for the loss the town has sustained in Mr I'Ons.

As mentioned above, the eastern frontier with its unfamiliar cultural, economic and socio-political climate would markedly affect the way a European artist expressed his perceptions, and being a British artist on this artistically isolated Frontier proffered both advantages and disadvantages to I'Ons. On the one hand, he was removed from the mainstream of "ambitious" European artists and their concern with Art with a capital "A" and thus, unhindered by accepted artistic trends, he could capture the nature and essence of life in the Eastern Cape with an

4 Douglas Galpin Snr., in a letter to J J Redgrave recalls an anecdote testifying to I'Ons *wanderlust*: "In painting his pictures, he had to get about... he lived on horseback. Also my mother frequently referred to his faithful little Bushman guide, trekker and batsman...and a Bushman keeps going!" (Galpin, 1959).

immediacy and spontaneity for which he was then, and is still today, well known.⁵ Though often criticised for his poor draughtsmanship and sense of proportion, his foremost strength lay in his personal interpretation, or mediation, of the workings of Eastern Cape society. The philosopher and art theorist, Collingwood, in his *Outlines for a Philosophy of Art*, vouches for the validity of such mediation, noting that "without implicit mediation, there can be no immediacy, neither can there be mediation except as resting on, and penetrated by immediacy" (Collingwood, 1927:97).

On the other hand, working on an isolated frontier meant the absence of comparative material by which he could assess his progress. The lack of a supportive artistic community also meant that I'Ons, who once had shown some awareness of "academic" form, progressively lapsed into a style of art which, for the lack of a better term, could be called "colonial primitivism". While primitivism is well known for its propensity to encapsulate simple, spontaneous instances of human life, it is also known for its lack of technical refinement. Thus it is not surprising that he has not enjoyed the regard and esteem of either art historians or critics until recently. Studies of I'Ons up to the present have been approached mainly from a biographical/ historical point of view, and the paucity of art historical studies has led to comments such those by Redgrave and Bradlow that:

I'Ons's paintings reflect little of the man behind them. A quiet, uncontroversial figure he seldom intruded his personality into his own work... one must always remember that he painted in an artistic wilderness..., and further, that he could not afford to defy conventional attitudes (Redgrave and Bradlow,1958:41) ...I'Ons's early landscapes owe their importance purely to their historical content, at a time when there was no other medium of recording events or persons... [I'Ons] did not interpret or express an opinion (Redgrave and Bradlow,1958:42).

That "there was no other medium for recording events or persons" was only true for about a decade after I'Ons's arrival for it is known that photography was reaching Port Elizabeth and Graham's Town towards the end of the 1840's.⁶

I'Ons's intentions may thus be sought in areas other than his merely wishing to "record" the events in the world around him. Perhaps, indeed, I'Ons did not overtly set out to *interpret or express an opinion*, but each time an artist puts a brush to canvas such factors are indubitably present, as we have discussed in chapter I.

In trying to understand I'Ons and his feelings we cannot rely on literary sources, for he left no diary and all his papers were destroyed after his death (Redgrave and Bradlow,1958:16). Apart from a few brief comments in newspapers and the diaries of others, our only *real* primary source

5 *The Graham's Town Journal*, 12 March, 1861: "Our readers who are interested in the progress of art in this city will be gratified to find that Mr I'Ons, so long well known in this colony as a successful artist..."

6 The photographer "Monsieur Leger" arrived in Graham's Town late in 1846 (GTJ: Nov 1846). In Port Elizabeth, W Ring advertised in *Cape Frontier Times* on 11 1 1848, "correct likenesses taken with the daguerroscope". "The photographer Arthur Green moved to Graham's Town in 1854... as a collodian photographer in New St" (George,1981:15). Charles Essex, artist, for instance, took over the photographic studio of J S Atkins in 1857 (Gordon-Brown,1952:25). Francis Dashwood's "unrivalled portraits" on glass or leather being taken in the rear of Aylesbury's accommodation in Bathurst St. (GTJ, 26 10 1861). Oliver Lester (who was the first to advertise the Talbotype process in the Eastern Cape), was also active in the 1860's (Forster-Towne,1983:165).

1852	Com. Gen Maclean			1852	Robt. J. J. J. J. J.		
Mar.	Portrait of J. J. J.	5 0 0		June	Rep. of J. J. J.	7 0	
	By cheque - -		5 0 0		Sketching by J. J. J.	1 10 0	
	By J. J. J.	5			2 Paintings by J. J. J.	12 10 0	
	Case		2 6		with J. J. J.		
	By Cash		5 0 0		Totals on the book	5 0 0	
	By cash				By cash	19 7 0	19 7 0
	By cash						
Mar.	Portrait in oil	8 0 0		June	2 Portraits	12 0 0	
	By cash	2 0 0			Case to J. J.	6 0 0	
	By cash		8 0 0		By a cheque from J. J.		12 0 0
	By cash						
April	Portrait in oil	8 0 0					
May	Portrait in oil	8 0 0					

79. A typical page from I'Ons's order book.

material thus becomes his vast output of paintings from which we may try to glean insights - however speculative - regarding his views and attitudes. He did, however, record his commissions in an order book,⁷ which he began in 1837 and kept up till 1875.

His output was prolific: a descendant has tabulated the variety of genres covered in his order book as follows:

a) European portraits	284
b) Portraits & Sketches of "Native" Scenes	285
c) Landscapes	30
d) Large Prominent Pictures	15
e) Tinted photographs	13 ... Total 627

The order book does not record all his works which must have totalled well over 650. Although his works might, to a limited extent at least, be considered as historical documents⁸ we should keep in mind Collingwood's words: "every work of art as such, as an object of imagination, is a world wholly self-contained, a complex universe... Any given work of art is based upon the entire previous experience of the artist, not only his artistic experience, but his *whole* experience encapsulated into a single imaginative view of reality" (Collingwood, 1924:24,25). As a young man, I'Ons's experiences were probably typical of a person of the British upper-class, but these changed along with his deteriorating circumstances, which, by the end of his life, were close to

7 A descendant, R R Currie, donated this to the Africana Museum. A photocopy is housed in the 1820 Settlers Memorial Museum. The tabulation was prepared by a descendant who wishes not to be named.

8 It is interesting to note that even in I'Ons's time, his work *Grahamstown in the Olden Times [Shepperson's Well]* was regarded as "a production that will constitute an historical record of a by-gone period, and will progress in interest and value" (Art Union advertisement, fig 78, GTJ, 2 7 1866).

those of a pauper.⁹ In between these two opposite poles, lay the spectrum of his total life experience. Thus his worldview could not help but find its way into his African sketches and canvases. By defining his works *purely* as "historical documents", we are, indeed, denying the validity of his experiences as an artist, or even that he possessed any skills as an artist!

To analyse I'Ons's approach to landscape and to establish how he continued, or differed from, British Romantic landscape traditions, we must recall the discussion in chapter III wherein we developed Gilpin's ideas that figures in landscapes were merely *appendages*, as well as Constable and Turner's ideas which added poetry to the Picturesque landscape. Such was the artistic atmosphere which was part of I'Ons's nurturing for, as will now be argued, I'Ons similarly adopted the idiom of the "poetic landscape".



80. I'ons. *Xhosa Chiefs beside a Stream*, undated.

It is of interest to note that I'Ons cannot be called a landscape artist, *as such*, for figures play a prominent part in almost all his views of the land. *Xhosa Chiefs beside a Stream*, undated, fig 80, is a typical example of I'Ons incorporation of figures in a landscape. Since "pure" landscapes by him are rare, we will focus our attention on the other aspects of his landscapes. Firstly, I'Ons painted landscapes based on historical inspiration or events, eg. fig 83; secondly, works that are a combination of landscape with figures, eg. fig 88; and thirdly, views where landscapes become appropriate environments or "backdrops" for his "figures from life", eg. fig 43 in chapter IV. The main characteristics of his landscapes may be generalised as featuring rivers or streams, surrounds of trees, aloes, groups of figures often accompanied by whippet-type dogs and the use of the

9 Galpin Snr's letter to Redgrave 1959: "to demonstrate how poor I'Ons was at one time...in order to attend a very important function, my Mother, as a girl, had to turn his suit inside out and resew it, before he could be made presentable to go".

coulisse (ie. stage-wing scheme), in composition. By way of habit perhaps, where figures appear complementary to landscapes, they are often grouped to the right side of the focal point; where figures are of primary interest they are often arranged in single file.

As discussed above, the Picturesque tradition decreed figures to be of peripheral importance in the composition: as spectators, to "improve" the scenario, as "shepherds" or, better still, gypsies (Andrews, 1989:25). However, in this aspect of his landscapes, I'Ons digresses radically from Picturesque tradition: his figures are very often involved in some action (drinking, gossiping) and are seldom mere spectators in the scene. In the third category outlined above, landscape becomes an appropriate environment for figures but one also senses an affinity with the theatrical stage. I'Ons poses and composes his figures as might a theatrical director, paying attention to grouping, posture, stance, and the directional gazes of his "players". See, for example, the group on the right of *The Ameva Pass on the in Kie [Kei] River*, 1848, fig 81. Perhaps this is not surprising since I'Ons had an interest in the theatre, painting scenery for several productions¹⁰ as well as a proscenium arch for another.¹¹



81. I'Ons. *The Ameva Pass on the Kie [Kei] River*, 1848.

In this theatrical conception and arrangement wherein the picture is a window onto a staged scene, he is following a European tradition dating from the Renaissance, through the Baroque and Rococo to the neo-classical/Romantic periods. I'Ons's theatrical interests are likewise in the tradition of protagonists of dramatic realism such as Giotto (ca. 1276 - 1337), Caravaggio (1573 - 1610), Bernini (1598 - 1680) and Rembrandt (1606 - 69).

¹⁰ The *Graham's Journal* of 29 7 1848 advertises *The Midnight Hour* for which it states that *The different scenes were painted under the superintendence of Mr F I'Ons*". This order book also notes an account to the Theatrical Company for £22 (Redgrave and Bradlow, 1958:16).

¹¹ The Settlers Museum houses a design by I'Ons for the proscenium of a theatrical production.

A striking feature of I'Ons's landscapes - and also indicative of his "theatrical" slant - is his consistent use in composition of the *coulisse*, or stage-wing scheme discussed in chapter III. This he used to full advantage, heightening the effect with ambiances of alternative light and dark areas, typical, for instance, of Baroque chiaroscuro. Good examples can be seen in *Column of Xhosas Crossing a River in a Deep Ravine*, 1839, fig 82; and the afore-mentioned *The Ameva Pass...*, fig 81. In *Column...*, the cliffs act as "natural" *coulisses*, their edges dissecting the composition with strongly accented diagonals, the effect of which is heightened by the alternating dark/light areas in-between the cliff faces. The leader is silhouetted in the foreground, emphasising the well-lit space



82. I'Ons. *Column of Xhosas Crossing a River in a Deep Ravine*, 1839.

opening out into the middleground, the lighting being further emphasised by the dark column of figures on the right. A stream divides the composition into two distinct zones: the dark *coulisse* of the cliff on the left into which the figure is disappearing, is balanced by the dark hordes on the right. The inclusion of a dog is also an I'Ons characteristic.¹² Dogs were not merely accessories in the scene, but often played a rôle in the composition; the running dog in this case becoming a link between the two halves of the image. Rather than being an attempt to portray events realistically, it is clear that here composition is of paramount importance. The rocks, for instance, are generalised "ideas" of rocks, rather than particular ones, while the stepping stones are reminiscent of those in an English stream, being far too regular for the African continent:

12 I'Ons used this device regularly; a figure or a dog often fords a stream by means of stepping stones. I'Ons's fondness for dogs is apparent in many of his pieces. They also appear in interior scenes where their cavorting and playfulness adds to the atmosphere of joviality. This device I'Ons borrowed from Dutch seventeenth-century artists such as Jan Steen. The Africana Museum holds a picture of I'Ons with his beloved dog "Dash".

compare Thomas Baines's depiction of "real" rocks in figure 112 in chapter VI. In "real life" the Xhosas would probably also have "swarmed" across the stream rather than waiting for the "declaiming" warrior to lead them across. This heroic leader might well have stepped straight off the stage!

Nine years later, I'Ons was still adhering faithfully to these same forms in *The Ameva Pass on the Kie (Kei) River*, 1848, fig 81. A stream again divides the composition into two zones: in the distance a miniscule military wagon train enters the water while, more importantly, a group of large and clearly delineated Xhosas hide before a natural rock *coulisse* on the right. As mentioned, great attention has been paid to the grouping of the figures, who are arranged in a tectonic or "closed" mass: ie. the direction of the glances and the posing of their bodies turn in on themselves. However, this mass has been broken by one or two figures looking out, a characteristic of I'Ons's images. As in the case of *Column of Xhosas*, he seems more concerned with the arrangement of the figures than with portraying the historical situation to full advantage. Knowing this to be an historic ambush,¹³ he could, for example, have introduced a sense of tense vigilance amongst the warriors. Instead, they display little interest in their potential victims - one warrior even sleeping in the foreground.

With regard to I'Ons's strengths and weaknesses as an artist, besides a general lack of refinement in his draughtsmanship, a further significant weakness was his practice of regarding successful compositional devices as part of a stylistic repertoire on which he could draw when necessary. This practice contributed to the impression that the physiognomy of the Eastern Cape landscape was not closely observed by him and that he painted "ideas" of things (rocks, trees, aloes, features of landscape, etc.). Such generalisations led to a sharp decline in the quality of his paintings over the years. If we compare a painting which exhibits I'Ons's innate skill, *Xhosa Ambushing Redcoats*, undated, fig 83, with *Sandile and Armed Warriors Resting on a Krans*, also undated, fig 84, we can see how the quality of his work varied even within the bounds of similar themes.

Both paintings are composed according to the *coulisse* scheme and in both, Xhosa figures wait or rest. *Xhosa Ambushing Redcoats*, however, far exceeds *Armed Warriors...* in quality and in skill of execution. In *Xhosa Ambushing...* I'Ons has successfully integrated his figures with their natural environment: not only the rocks, but the people themselves, seem to grow out of the very depths of the earth. The figures in *Xhosa Ambushing...* have a pliancy not found in those of *Sandile and Armed Warriors*, who are placed almost "stick-like" upon the surface of the earth. *Sandile and Armed Warriors...* is a prime example of I'Ons's use of oft-repeated poses: the kneeling man in the foreground; the man leaning with his elbow on a rock; and the group "closed in on itself" in the

13 "In April 1846, one hundred and twenty-five military wagons, set out for Sandile's homestead, with the intention of occupying his country. While the wagons, loaded with baggage and ammunition, were passing through a narrow gorge, one of the middle wagons stuck fast, bringing the whole column to a standstill... The Xhosa, lying hidden in the bush, poured down into the narrow defile. Luckily the only object of the enemy was not destruction of life, but plunder... The office books of this regiment, as well as their hospital and veterinary supplies, were seized by the attackers, many of whom were found the following day, lying alongside the veterinary wagon, their bodies ludicrously distended, having mistaken the horse medicine for liquor" (Redgrave and Bradlow, 1958:28).



83. I'Ons. *Xhosa Ambushing Redcoats*, undated.



84. I'Ons. *Sandile and Armed Warriors Resting on a Krans* [sic], undated.

foreground are identical in both paintings. Fresh observation contributes to the pliancy found in *Xhosa Ambushing Redcoats*, whereas in the second, the poses have stiffened into stereotypes showing that these were probably drawn from his stock of poses. Descendants claim that when I'Ons went on his "sketching outings", he would often set out to make sketches only of poses.¹⁴ These were then incorporated into various scenes at a later stage.

A pertinent question now would be to ask whether we may deduce anything of I'Ons's attitudes or character from the landscapes we have analysed thus far. Part of successful composition is the art of *not* including everything. The above dictum rings particularly true of I'Ons's: what he has *not* shown is, in many cases, more important than what he *has* depicted. Two of the paintings discussed above deal with events in which armed conflict occurred, while the third depicts "armed warriors". I'Ons, having lived through the turbulence of Frontier wars as a member of the Grahamstown Mounted Volunteers, must have witnessed violence on many occasions. However, despite their topics, real violence seems to be virtually non-existent in these portrayals. Apart from *The Death of Hintsa*, fig 85, (dealt with below), the only other example of the depiction of violence that is known to the author consists of some minute figures in the background of what is essentially a portrait. In *Macquoma at the Battle of Burnshill*, undated, (in the William Fehr Collection but not shown here) one minute figure of a black warrior lies injured or dead while three companions flee in the background of the scene. One might expect that an artist such as I'Ons, who lived in "the thick" of a battle-torn Frontier and who was thus confronted with its atrocities on a regular basis, would infuse his images with the same spirit of turbulence and disquiet. But this was not the case. Although he must have witnessed violence, his depictions of related scenes show that the violence is inevitably censored out.



85. I'Ons. *The Death of Hintsa*, undated.

14 Private communication with I'Ons descendant, 1991.

An important painting from the "historical record" viewpoint is I'Ons's rendering of *The Death of Hintsa*, fig 85, the only time he appears ever to have depicted outright violence. Its subject deals with the death of the paramount Chief Hintsa during the Sixth Frontier War of 1834. According to family heresay, I'Ons actually witnessed this event (perhaps in his capacity as a Grahamstown Mounted Volunteer) and recorded it in this painting that he, himself, thought to be one of his best.

Much controversy surrounds the exact details of what some regarded as an infamous murder. The events as they have been passed down tell of Hintsa voluntarily entering the British camp to negotiate with the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, regarding the 50 000 cattle and 1 000 horses he had been ordered to hand over. These were not forthcoming but Hintsa, who had been made a virtual prisoner, proposed that the cattle would be given up if he were to appear in person among his people. A popular account such as Meintjes's records Hintsa being given a strange horse to ride and that the horse presumably bolted. Sir Harry Smith, followed by his retinue, gave chase. Meintjes notes that Harry Smith tried to shoot Hintsa, but his pistols jammed so he struck him on the head with a pistol and pulled the Chief off his horse with a violent yank of his kaross. Hintsa fell to the ground, breaking his jaw, and began to run. George Southey shot the fleeing Hintsa in the calf; Hintsa, with blood streaming, staggered down a wooded bank of the Nqabara stream where he collapsed in the water. At this point Southey then blew off the top of the hapless victim's skull (Meintjes, 1971:97). Theal's version has Hintsa quickly springing up from the ground and then hurling an assegai at Smith (Theal, 1964:116). "In another instant he was running down the side of the hill. Mr George Southey called to him in Kaffir to stop, and as he took no heed, fired and slightly wounded him, though the Chief lost none of his agility after receiving the wound. Southey and another followed down a hill, but Hintsa reached a thicket at the bottom before they did. Here... [Southey] heard behind him a sound caused by a rattle of an assegai against a rock. Turning round, he saw Hintsa almost within arm's length, in the very act of quivering an assegai, and on the impulse of the moment he fired". The contemporary Lt Bisset, who was part of Smith's entourage, gives this account (Bisset, 1875:24-26):

I was myself at this time (May 1835)... appointed as one of Sir Harry Smith's body guards... Hintsa used to ride his own horse, a splendid dark bay... at one point pushed past Sir Harry... when all at once there was a shout, 'Hintsa has bolted!' After about half a mile's race Sir Harry overtook him... the chief made a stab at the General. In self-defence Sir Harry then snapped a pistol at his head. Southey, William Southey, myself, old Driver, Balfour, A D C Oliver and many others were all in this race, but behind. Sir Harry... hurled the chief headlong to the ground... we pursued the chief on foot, I fired two shots at the chief, but he gained ground and disappeared. Southey was the first to come upon Hintsa (he was half in the water)... he had an assegai drawn... and was in the act of throwing... it at Southey, when he drew his gun and blew the chief's brains out. I was the first to reach the dead chief".

Discrepancies such as whether or not Hintsa used his own horse and whether or not Hintsa was shot fairly in an "act of war" blur the truth of these accounts. Bisset, as an official body guard, emphasised that Sir Harry's initial assault on the Chief was made in self-defence. I'Ons's painting

shows the Chief receiving a shot *in the back* from Southey who is shadowed behind a rock to the left of the painting. The fact that I'Ons decreed that this painting was never to leave the confines of his family, suggests also the politically sensitive nature of his account. Maybe his refusal to expose this controversial work to general public scrutiny was a safeguard against the public or governmental outcry that he felt would ensue from a work blatantly contradicting the official government report that Hintsa was killed in self-defence.



86. I'Ons. *Near Fort England*, 1839.

A work which shows I'Ons at his best when he combines poetic landscape with actual people and events, is the delightful piece *Near Fort England*, 1839, fig 86. A band of dancing Khoi women are "spotlighted" on the foreground "stage", with a vast expanse of landscape behind them. Through a dark foreground *coulisse* on the left, members of the Cape Mounted Rifles - a Khoi band - is beginning to make its entrance on the "set". The women laugh and sing, their skirts seemingly to sway to the "oom-pa's" of the band. Raised arms flaunt brightly coloured handkerchiefs and high-stepping feet increase a sense of movement and life. Some of the women's shawls are "caught" at the shoulder, hinting at the toga-like drapes of the Antique world. (The horizontal arrangement of the women also reminds one of a frieze on an Etruscan or Greek vase). In the distance, a group of minute, but nevertheless visible, soldiers surround a wagon on the right, while others unobtrusively "mark out" territory on horseback. Also on the right, the military headquarters of Fort England commands the scene, not unlike British castles with "commanding" views over their rolling estates. A lone tree "centre-stage" marks the spot where twenty years earlier, the Xhosa diviner Nxele ("Makana"), fig 98, had promised his warriors that "the white man's bullets would turn to water".¹⁵

15 The Battle of Grahamstown, 22 April 1819: "After many what they considered as unprovoked (Government) attacks, Ndlambe's Xhosa made frequent [retaliatory] attacks on any colonial targets... 6 000 warriors...[believing Nxele who promised that magic powers would turn the white man's bullets into water]...charged the town... scores of Xhosa were killed with the colonial army's losses of just two men and two horses" (Saunders, ed., 1989:105).

However, there is more to *Near Fort England*, than meets the eye, for on the expansive middleground, where the comings and goings of black peoples are etched into the earth, something is missing: in an area where the homes of the black people have been known to exist from maps of Graham's Town as early as 1824, beehive huts are barely visible in the background. Did I'Ons, with a view to his market, only make the faintest allusion to them, sensing that prevalent attitudes deemed them inappropriate in images such as these? (Compare Thomas Baines's *Fort Selwyn*, fig 118 in chapter VI, where the black township is also strangely absent).

A literary record of a remarkably similar event comes from Harriet Ward who accompanied her husband, Captain John Ward, on one of his military dispatches to Graham's Town.¹⁶ Arriving in March 1843, Harriet wrote (Ward, 1848:36):

On Monday, at six o'clock we started on the last day's march, and reached the hill above Graham's Town, a little before 9 am. Here we were met by crowds of Hottentot women; some of them young, pretty and decidedly graceful. They came bounding on to meet the drums and fifes, and with their red-handkerchief head-dresses, gay coloured clothes, and glittering ornaments, formed a picturesque group, as they danced on in front of the battalions to the great entertainment of the soldiers. At the very top of the hill, the band of the Cape Mounted Rifles awaited our approach; their appearance, in their plumed shakes and scarlet trousers, being very showy...If the dancers did not move with the stateliness of Taglioni, or the airy grace of Cerito, they certainly rivalled them in the activity of their limbs and steadiness of their heads; for they whirled round and round, like the Dervishes in the Arabian Nights.

Ward's description in essence parallels I'Ons's painting and it seems certain that he, too, was present at just such a joyous welcome. The only contradiction might be that I'Ons's dancers with their dainty, toe-pointed steps - Pan pipers from an Etruscan vase - hardly fit the description of whirling Dervishes from the Arabian Nights. But this will be considered in more detail in the next section. It is also of interest to note that earlier works such as *Near Fort England*, or *Canteen Scene*, fig 96, indicate a lighter tonality and a greater sense of movement, seemingly thereby to indicate works where I'Ons was painting for his own pleasure. The contrast with the static and more sombre-toned canvases of his later years, is striking. (See *Portrait of a Hunter*, ca. 1850's, fig 105).

We may recall that Gilpin advocated in his writings on the neoclassical heirarchy of genres that the History painting "like epic poetry, is certainly the grandest production of the art" (Gilpin, 1809:38). I'Ons, too, felt obliged to produce large-scale history-type paintings even though, seen from a European point of view, these frontier events may have seemed somewhat trivial for "grand manner" depiction. Whether I'Ons had ambivalent feelings in this regard, we do not know, but we do have large canvases by him such as *African Chiefs in Council At a Favourite Rendezvous on the Banks of the Kariega. Kreli, Sandilli, Siwani, Anta, Umgoonga-Xoxo and*

16 I'Ons's order book shows that he was acquainted with Captain Ward. In January, 1847, "Capt Ward, 91st", commissioned a scene of "The Battle of Amatola" for which he paid £7 17 6.



87. I'Ons. *African Chiefs in Council at a Favourite Rendezvous on the Banks of the Kariega.* Kreli, Sandilli, Siwani, Anta, Umgoonga-Xono and Damo, the [Xhosa] Army Doctor, ca. 1846.



88. I'Ons. *War Meeting, M'Kosa Tribe*, 1850

Damo, the [Xhosa] Army Doctor (ca. 1846), (1430 x 2370 mm), fig 87; and *War Meeting, M'Kosa Tribe* (1850), (1955 x 2680 mm), fig 88.

In *African Chiefs in Council...*, a typical "closed" group (one figure looking out) sits in council in the foreground, the ever-present canine lying in attendance. Large *coulisses* of painted trees frame the outer extremities of the vast canvas, while the middle plane is taken up by a river into which cows wade to drink. Another little dog standing on a rock becomes a minute, but pivotal, focus of the composition, directing the viewer's gaze farther into the scenery beyond. One gains an

impression that I'Ons attempted to marry the genre of "Nature scenes" with that of portraiture - in which one recognises likenesses of chiefs such as Sandile or Anta. The heroic-looking group of chiefs conducting serious business in a classical/romantic style landscape is well within the European tradition. The large scale also indicates that I'Ons intended this as a History Painting. In *War Meeting...* we also find such indications, in the "staging" of the scene to focus on the chief, and with the large crowd broken up into sub-groups, each arranged more-or-less horizontally in the manner of Poussin or David when wanting to be serious. The foreground is entirely filled with the business at hand: figures in various (recognisable) poses are drawn large and clear, intently focussing on the figure of Sandile delivering his oration. The foreground plane is elevated as if on an high plateau; Africa with all her unspoiled riches lies peacefully on the expansive plateau in the middleground below. The elongation of the limbs of the figures is reminiscent of the Italian Mannerists (ca. 1520's to 1600) who deliberately flouted the canons of proportion, deduced from classical art, which had been revived again during the Renaissance. Such an elongation was intended to heighten the emotional or heroic effect (tallness equals stature) rather than to describe forms accurately. In living on the eastern Frontier, I'Ons was fortunate to have amaXhosa as his primary subjects, for the draperies and poses of both male and female figures afforded him ample opportunities to paint in the classical mould - thereby elevating the status of his work.

A veritable "jewel" amongst I'Ons's works and one in which landscape becomes the background for an interplay of figures based on an historical event is the oil painting *1820 Settlers Camped near the Great Fish River*, dated 1838, fig 89. The fact that the *Great Fish River* was the site of the Settlers' camp was of secondary importance - topographical accuracy was never amongst I'Ons's strengths. Rather, *1820 Settlers Camped...* shows *that* and not *where* or even *how* the Settlers



89. I'Ons. *1820 Settlers Camped near the Great Fish River*, 1838.

camped.¹⁷ This work, depicting the poetic scenario of an outspan of a group of Settlers and their wagoneers, is composed of five small independent, yet cohesive, vignettes set in a typically "English-style" landscape. Unintentionally perhaps, I'Ons reveals the "type casting" of his period regarding male/female rôles and social ranking.

In *1820 Settlers...*, some English ladies are grouped before the opening of their tent drinking tea - their teacups hinting to their genteel "British-ness". Disproportionately smaller in the foreground to the right is the wagon where the male members of the party mull over the progress of the day. In rougher attire and gesticulating more broadly (perhaps implying uncouthness!), the Boer wagon owners appear to the left in the next plane of the composition. They gesticulate towards the figure of a somewhat more elegantly dressed young Englishman (?), frying fish on a grid farther to the left. Perhaps they are discussing the fittingness of sharing their "sopie" with him? Tucked well behind and almost out of sight, a (Khoi?) driver broods over his separate fire. In true Picturesque style, a "shepherd-like" figure stands before the entrance to the green meadow where cattle graze contentedly and where, interestingly, prancing horses belie the hardships of the day's long journey! Whether or not I'Ons also intended this entrance as a symbolic "pathway" into what he seems to suggest was to be a prosperous future, must be left entirely to speculation. The luxuriant trees, the water and the meadow do, however, suggest the "park-like" Zuurveld that Lord Charles Somerset had written about in his letter to the Colonial Secretary:

The Zuurveld is the most beautiful and fertile part of this settlement; it resembles a succession of parks from the Bushman's River to the Great Fish River in which, upon the most verdant carpet, Nature has planted in endless variety. The soil well-adapted to cultivation is peculiarly fitted for cattle and pasturage.

(Letter to Bathurst, Colonial Secretary, 24 4 1817; Theal, 1907:305).

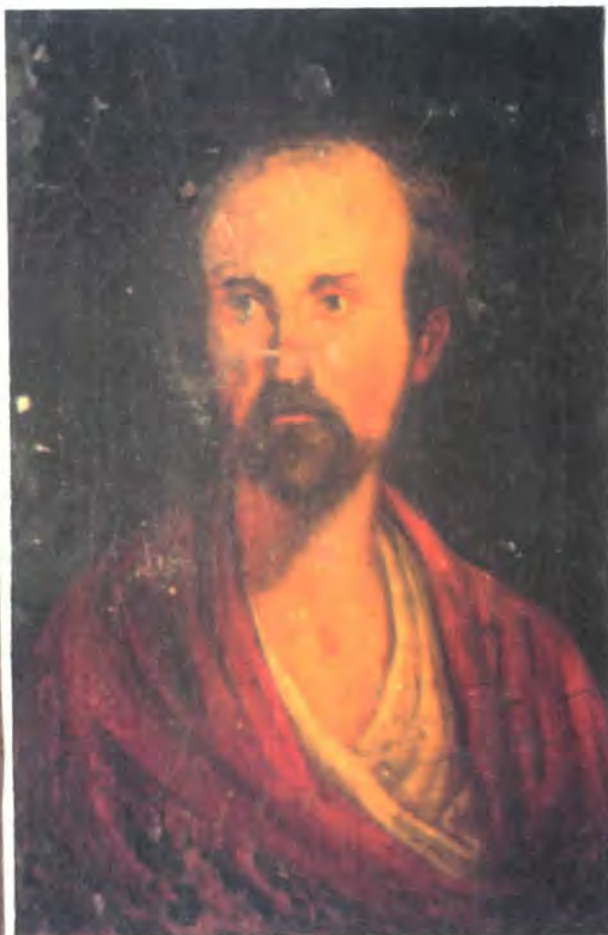
However, closer examination of I'Ons's luxuriant trees reveals them to be closer to trees in Europe than to typically southern African ones - I'Ons had not yet "discovered" Eastern Cape trees. It is striking, however, that the lone Khoi to the left of the composition is in an environment of aloes - a plant which was markedly to typify I'Ons's work throughout his career.¹⁸ His sky is remarkably like Constable's, but his colouring of the trees (burnt umber, browns and ochres) was probably intended to imitate the Old Masters, certainly *not* Constable, who painted them "green like a cabbage" (Andrews, 1989:28).¹⁹

17 Had I'Ons *intended* the painting to be a historical record, he would certainly have supplied more details of settler material culture (objects or foods), for example.

18 See also *Shepperson's Well*, 1835, fig 92, where the *Erythrina Kaffraria* tree ("Kaffir Boom") has also not been accurately observed.

19 The young pre-Raphaelite, Holman Hunt, for example, on showing one of his landscapes to his teacher, was told: *Oh, dear no, certainly not... You haven't any idea of the key in which nature has to be treated; you must not paint foliage green like a cabbage, that'll never do... Constable, who is just lately dead, tried to paint landscape green, but he only proved his wrong-headedness; in fact he had no eye for colour; there now, you see all the trees and grass which an ignorant person would paint green, I've mellowed into soft yellows and rich browns" (Andrews, 1989:28).*

It is ironic that the oil colours used by certain Italian and Dutch masters in the seventeenth century darkened quite quickly, turning greens into browns and yellows. The followers and admirers of these Masters soon came to think that using umbers and browns was the "correct" way to depict trees and the idea quickly became part of the "creed and dogma" of acceptable painting. That said, one must admit that the browns and yellows do fit rather well into the African scene, where dryness and dust are the order of the day and the harsh light "flattens" the colours (see discussion on Burchell in chapter IV).



90. I'Ons. *Venus de Medici*, undated pre-1834. 91. I'Ons. *Count Hugolino*, undated pre-1834.

Surviving from the period before his departure for Africa are a drawing of *Venus de Medici*, fig 90, and his copy, fig 91, of a detail from Sir Joshua Reynold's painting *Count Hugolino and his Children*, in which the Count cuts a truly neo-classical figure in his "toga". Reynolds had taught that antiquity was the most sound intellectual basis for the study of Nature and these drawings testify to I'Ons's desire to put this into practice and reveal that he was practiced in approved traditional artistic forms. From his *Venus* study, it is clear that he was aware, initially at least, of the need for plasticity of form - an essential pre-requisite for any sculptor in classical three-dimensional art. This plasticity was translated into the necessity of creating an illusion of sculptural *relief* by the use of precise contours together with gradations of tone. However he was not always

able to maintain this initial awareness.²⁰

I'Ons was no "academic" in his view of people. He clearly did not see them in terms of "pure forms" cut from cold, hard stone. Upon his arrival on the Frontier, he saw instead the warm, colourful - often humorous - characters in the life around him, who were to be a constant inspiration throughout his career. Scenes such as *Shepperson's Well* [*Grahamstown in 1835*], undated, fig 92; and *Canteen Scene, Eastern Province*, ca. 1858, fig 96, show that I'Ons derived great inspiration from the jollifications of the Black/Khoi peoples. These he "transposed" into scenes reminiscent of Hogarth, the Bruegels, and, in the case of *Canteen Scene...*, the Dutch artist, Adriaen van Ostade. In *Shepperson's Well*, a fat, jovial "Bacchus" ("Old Edwards") sits on his



92. I'Ons. *Shepperson's Well* [in 1835]. Undated.

water-wagon while some "handlanger" fills it. Around him, scenes of playfulness and merriment take on the jovial atmospheres often captured in Dutch genre scenes of van Ostade's ilk. A drunken Khoi is drenched into sobriety by the scantily-clad Khoi woman, a figure reminiscent of a traditional "pieman" watches from the centre foreground, while the cavorting Jan Steen-type dogs add to the unruly atmosphere. An elegantly composed group of stately Xhosa, however, stand watching the scene, while "Hottentots, Fingoes, Malays and Mozambiques" go about their business. An example of his disregard for background accuracy is seen in the flat-topped hill (a feature not present in the vicinity of Grahamstown!) which dominates the skyline. This is purported by a descendant to be the roof-top of a double-storied building I'Ons had originally positioned to the

20 Family legend has it that I'Ons was a skilled sculptor, (Redgrave and Bradlow:6) - an artform which requires a good feeling for plasticity. Apart from the plaque in the Grahamstown Cathedral, no South African sculptures survive as these were confiscated while I'Ons was away from home and sold overseas to repay a debt (Galpin,1962). (see also footnote 1 this chapter),

MR. I'ONS' ART UNION.—We have been favoured with a view of the capital photograph of of Mr. I'Ons' well known picture of "Grahamtown in 1835." It really is a most spirited little sketch of days gone by, and places and scenes now no more. The central figure is the old well which, once upon a time, was a fact in High-street near the junction with Bathurst-street. Around this feature of the past is gathered a motley group of South African all-sorts—Settlers, Kafirs, Hottentots, Fingoes, Malays, Mozambiquees, and who else. There is the jolly looking old Edwards seated on his water barrels like a temperance Bacchus. There is the tipy "coloured fellow" rolling on the ground, neatly a deluge of water which a friendly "coloured female" is pouring upon him. There is the original pie man. There are the inevitable dogs a-fighting. Conspicuously staring you in the face, stands the old store which has been superseded by Commemoration Chapel, and hard by flourishes the old Kafir boom tree, beneath whose shade many a gossip of the olden times told his story to the weary friend whose button he held. Altogether it is a most interesting little bit of reminiscence, well worth having. Mr. I'Ons, it seems, intends presenting a photographed copy of this picture to each holder of a share in his Art Union. Holders of several shares will have as many photographs. This is a new inducement held out to the public to subscribe, and will no doubt have its influence. We understand that the list is still open; but that arrangements will be made to close it and open the lottery as soon as possible.



94. I'Ons. Detail from *Shepperson's Well*, fig 92.



95. I'Ons. Detail from *Canteen Scene*, fig 96.

93. From *The Great Eastern*, Jan 1867.

left. Of particular interest is the small, cloaked figure leaning against the well watching the dousing, who is repeated in the "little old man/child" figure beneath the counter in the *Canteen Scene*. (See details in figs 94 and 95). This repetition of a figure in different paintings was a characteristic feature of I'Ons's work - note also the faces in figure 100.

Comparing I'Ons's *Canteen Scene*... with van Ostade's *Scene Outside the Village Tavern*, fig 97, one realises that one is on "home turf" regarding the sources of I'Ons's mode of representation and indeed, he is known to have owned at least one work by van Ostade (see Art Union advertisement, fig 78). In both compositions, the violinists placed to the left are similar, as are the leaning inn keepers. The posture of the drunken woman bending over her charge in the *Canteen scene* mimics that of the older child leaning over hers, while in each case the vigilant canine shares the floor space with broken shards and other debris. In scenes such as *Canteen Scene*..., it is interesting to note I'Ons's use of stereo-types. The woman on the right, whose children (older-looking than their years) await the completion of her imbibings, is depicted with her blouse slipping off one shoulder - an age-old device suggesting the fallen woman. Mid-centre a Khoi couple dance, but their postures are completely untypical of the "stomping" (heels-down and bottoms-up) posture



96. I'Ons. *Canteen Scene*, ca. 1858.

of the indigenous African dance. The daintily pointed toes (the same 'dancing' pose in figure 86, discussed above) remind one, rather, of a quadrille at the court of Louis XIV! But one can almost forgive I'Ons's European reversion, for had he portrayed the ponderous and earthy qualities of indigenous dances they would not have expressed the sense of "gaiety" he was trying to convey. His skill, however, in capturing the *characters* of the indigenous peoples and their ways was remarked upon in the *Graham's Town Journal* (July, 1858):

In these pictures representing native character, Mr I'Ons is peculiarly happy, and we hope some day to see the work



97. Van Ostade. *Scene Outside the Village Tavern*, undated.

finished as a reminiscence of olden times... Mr I'Ons gives us the best idea from his pencil of the nooks and corners of Kaffirland, of any pictures we have seen, and his knowledge of the natives and their peculiar customs gives him a great advantage, but still we think this is not his forte. Landscape painting is a study of itself, and it is seldom an artist excels in two particular lines... When we compare the cabinet groups of natives in their various and motley customs, in all the attitudes of wild extravagance, so vigorously portrayed by Mr I'Ons, ... we must lament that more of this class does not grace the walls of the exhibition.

Since an artist's attitude towards his subject will determine the quality of his portraiture, it is pertinent to investigate I'Ons's attitude towards the Frontier's politics and its peoples. Such an investigation is greatly hampered by that fact that his work varied considerably in quality and, as a result, strange ambivalences of attitude can be discerned. Portraits of white people and Xhosa chiefs, for example, are generally executed skilfully although, in paintings of specific black people from the African hierarchy, an ambivalence of attitude can be discerned. The regal dignity with which I'Ons posed Nxele ("Makana") in figure 98 (a typical example of many portraits of chiefs that I'Ons executed), suggests I'Ons's regard for status. Nxele is wearing his leopard-skin kaross, a privilege enjoyed solely by Xhosa chiefs, while the direction of Nxele's gaze carefully avoids eye-contact with his viewers, a device often employed by European portraitists to imply a distinction in status between the subject and the viewer as "ordinary mortal". I'Ons's careful characterisation also bespeaks his being well acquainted,²¹ even in empathy, with his subject.

However, at times I'Ons's depictions of black peoples differed from those of his general painted *oeuvre* as Alexander notes that "in a set of four miniatures of Xhosa chiefs completed for Sir George Cathcart in 1853, two are finely painted individualistic portraits revealing qualities of the personalities of Phato, fig 99, and Siyolo, while Maqoma and Sandile are depicted devoid of expression". The latter two, she explains, "were possibly the most demanded portraits in I'Ons's repertoire and one suspects that they were by this stage many times repeated by him; this would account for the portraits being expressively barren" (Alexander, 1990:5). Thus, even in one set of paintings of individuals, I'Ons has given two artistic styles and two type-cast representations. Interestingly, Alexander notes that the miniature of Phato gives an impression of power, whereas literary evidence alludes to a very



98. I'Ons. Nxele "Makana", undated.

21 I'Ons lived for some time at "Bellevue" near Fort England, where Xhosa chiefs would make regular calls on military personnel. In this way, he was able to maintain contact with his subjects.

different character: "Old Pato, with his panther eyes, came up to the door, begging, as usual" (Ward,1848:149).²² As with art patronage throughout time "he who pays the piper calls the tune" and it is clear that Cathcart, in order to boost his image, wanted a representation showing Phato as a proud and powerful adversary - not the pathetic, broken creature he had become. It is clear that historians seeking evidence from pictures such as these must approach them with caution.

While I'Ons at least made some attempt at artistic, "true" representations of the hierarchy his treatments of the "hoi-polloi" as discussed above in figures 92 and 96, show little attempt at individuality - his "type-casting" of them often seriously detracting from the quality of his images. *Xhosa Women Conversing at a Roadside Halt*, fig 100, is another example of such "generalisations" for all their faces seem to be cast from the same mould.

In depicting Africans, he vacillated between portrayals of indigenous peoples as "Noble Savages", fig 98, to the more pejorative image of blacks as drunken layabouts, *Four Men*, fig 43 in chapter IV. These opposing views make it even more difficult to assess whether his attitude towards the blacks remained constant, or whether it varied from subject to subject. Alexander gives an example of this found in an anthology (private collection) which belonged to Helen Gardner,



99. I'Ons. *Portrait of Phato*, 1853.



100. I'Ons. *Xhosa Women Conversing at a Roadside Halt*, undated.

²² Peires notes that ca. 1842, chiefs were losing power over their subjects and some individuals like Kosani took to the fringes of society and, using illegal fire-arms, began living as bandits" (Peires,1981:129-130 in Alexander,1990:20).

governess to Lt T C White's children. She points out that the anthology contains two poems apparently written and illustrated by I'Ons - one of these being a somewhat facetious and sentimental poem ironically juxtaposed with his illustration of a gap-toothed Xhosa, "There is a charm that lurks o'er in beauty's cheek", whereas the other, dated March 20 1835, bears such words as "sunk in every lust/ and customs such as would e'en brutes disgust", yet is accompanied by an innocuous watercolour of a cloaked man carrying a staff and spear (Alexander,1990:7). However, this could have been the gut reaction of a man who had just served through a war with scenes of mutilation and violence still fresh in his mind. As discussed above, his pictures are usually remarkable for their gentleness and expression of belief in the human race.

Since I'Ons derived much inspiration from the bar-room playfulness of the black and Khoi peoples, why are scenes of whites relaxing within their own public or domestic domains relatively rare? It is clear that his Romantic imagination was "caught" by the Breughellesque and Hogarthian elements in black/Khoi bar-room scenes, but perhaps he felt that depicting whites in the same way would lower the image of the "conquerors" - or was he merely taking cognisance of prevalent attitudes of superiority amongst the white settlers and realised that such scenes might not have a market?

With regard to portraits of Europeans, while I'Ons generally depicted blacks in the countryside, whites are often depicted within an interior. But significantly, these interiors are "foreign" in nature - being more seventeenth-century Dutch in character than the typical dwellings of the early Grahamstonians. Take for example, the memorial portraits painted posthumously of two young



101. I'Ons. *Portrait of Edward Dell*, 1861. 102. I'Ons. *Portrait of Michael Hurley*, 1862.

men, ie. the figure of fourteen-year-old Edward, third son of Settler Edward Dell, fig 101, who met his death in a shooting accident and Michael Hurley, a military soldier, fig 102. Both these paintings show very clearly I'Ons's mode of representating Europeans - though adding, in these cases, a strong element of symbolism. The figures are placed in the foremost of two distinct planes and, typical of his depictions of single whites, are positioned to one side of the composition, framed against some background, while the opposite side of the canvas opens into the world "beyond".

(See also figure 105 where the background is rocks.) In these particular pictures, "artificial" barriers created by means of the wall and the archway could also imply the divide between the metaphysical planes of earth and heaven. Two idealised garden scenes (complete with Italianate mountains) appear in the background. In figure 101, a weeping willow symbolically droops over a stream (the Styx?) and a small bunch of forget-me-nots are gathered in the young man's hand, while a young branch "cut off" lies wasting on the wall. In figure 102, the young man's hand rests on a Dutch-style carpeted table, while the candel-stick has its candle "snuffed out". These symbolic devices suggest the existence of a spiritual dimension - which was an aspect more "known" in the case of Europeans. A European artist such as I'Ons, would not consider the spiritual dimension to apply to "heathens" such as

blacks. Artificial settings were also used to lend an air of dignity to the subjects, I'Ons adding devices such as the "important looking" neo-Gothic chair in the portrait of the kindly and self-satisfied looking William Shepherd, fig 103. Such settings suggest wealth, authority and power as befits members of the (white) "ruling" class whereas, by contrast, depicting the African in his ragged attire against the backdrop of an African countryside (to which he had no claim) emphasised the "fact" of the inferior class.

I'Ons's portrait of a tense and introspective-looking Sir George Cathcart, fig 104, reveal I'Ons's skill in depicting not only the varying status of each sitter, but also their character types. The fact that Sir George was known to be a somewhat humourless sort and wont to develop headaches, is suitably expressed in the portrait.

When wanting to add impact (of whatever sort) to the subject, a device used by many artists of the European tradition since Leonardo da Vinci, was chiaroscuro. I'Ons used this to full advantage in *Portrait of a Hunter*, undated, fig 105. The dandy-type hunter (speculated as possibly being the traveller/hunter Roualeyn Gordon Cumming, 1820-66, - referred to by Alexander as "George"



103. I'Ons. *Portrait of William Shepherd*, undated.



104. I'Ons. *Portrait of Sir George Cathcart*, undated.



105. I'Ons. *Portrait of a Hunter*, undated.

Cumming [Alexander, 1990:21]) is dressed in light attire which contrasts strongly with the dark rock projecting as a *coulisse* behind him. The foreground becomes a pathway leading farther into the interior, along which a saddled horse awaits his traveller-master. The attention paid to posture, costume and hairstyle (n'er a misplaced curl mars the faultless turn-out) and the presence of the hunting dogs "of breed" at their masters' side, suggest Cumming to have been a person of status and intellect.²³

However, I'Ons did not confine his attention only to white gentry (whose portraits are mainly the results of commissions). In depictions of the lesser elements of Grahamstown white society, I'Ons again reveals his allegiance to European models. In the duo of paintings *The Settler and The*



106. I'Ons. *The Settler and The Settler Settled*, 1852.



107. Van Ostade. *The Pipe Smoker*.

The Publican.

23 Cumming had studied at Eton before 1839 (Cumming, 1850:vii).

Settler Settled, 1852, fig 106, we are at once reminded of "The Peasant"-type portraits by Dutch artists such as Adriaen van Ostade (1610 - 84). The original model for this may well have hung in I'Ons's home, for an advertisement appearing in the *Graham's Town Journal* (11th July 1866) lists *The Peasant*, as "The principal prize, No 1 by Adriaan van Ostade, probably the most valuable of this artist's works in the colony, is a perfect gem.", (cf. fig 78). Comparing *The Pipe Smoker* and *The Publican*, fig 107, both attributed to Van Ostade, with I'Ons's "tongue-in-cheek" *The Settler and The Settler Settled*, 1852, one is struck by many similarities. I'Ons has introduced items directly reminiscent of Dutch still-lives - pottery and smoking equipment, for instance, being taken almost directly from Dutch seventeenth-century still-life idiom.²⁴ Although this may be considered more of an opportunity to unleash some humour,²⁵ the presence of the rifle across the Settler's shoulder - even during leisure - suggests the atmosphere of readiness with which the Settlers lived daily. Further comparisons may be made between I'Ons's *The Old Oyster Man at the Kowie*, fig 108, and *The Oyster Seller*, fig 109, by the Dutch artist D van Tol. In these depictions, the raised left hands bearing an oyster; pottery appearing in the backgrounds, the tables being set out at the viewer's level, the small buckets and the booth-like background are all remarkably similar.

In summary, our study of the work of Frederick Timpson I'Ons has contradicted earlier claims that his images only have use as historical documents. His differing treatments of similar subjects show that his images actually cannot be studied for historical detail or topographical accuracy. Deducing I'Ons's attitudes towards the peoples of the Frontier has been difficult because the quality of his portraits differs so widely - from carefully executed likenesses (generally of chiefs and white clientéle) to "pot-boilers" (executed quickly to satisfy the needs of the military for "show-and-tell" souvenirs). His circumstances, together with a general lack of refinement in draughtsmanship and proportion, limited his scope for developing the initial promise he showed as a newly-arrived artist. Since he relied heavily on commissions from white military officials and settlers, we should not put too much importance on the depictions of rather glum, self-important whites sitting stiffly in their "Sunday best" in European environments. After all, such a pose was *de rigueur* in Victorian times. But, by portraying them in a Europeanised environment rather than amongst the simpler trappings of Frontier life, I'Ons bestowed on his sitters a greater importance than perhaps their social positions warranted. By contrast, there seems to be a more relaxed manner in portraits of both the black chiefs and the "hoi-polloi", indicating that I'Ons had a certain empathy for these so-called "second-class" citizens of the Frontier.

24 I'Ons's order book records that Mr I Ayliff commissioned "painting of a Dutch vrouw, after Teniers" (April 1871).

25 Though not always successful, I'Ons tried his hand at caricature. On 14th June 1838, the *Graham's Town Journal* advertised that a complete set of *The Aquila Caricatures - The Rise and Progress of a Lieutenant-Governor* [also known as the *Stockenström cartoons*], had just arrived from England. These I'Ons had printed from caricatures belittling the maligned Lt-Gov Andries Stockenström. The caricatures were commissioned by two army officers who had lost part of their property due to Stockenström's Spoor Law policy (Redgrave and Bradlow, 1958:13). A commission of Inquiry involving Stockenström in the death of a youth, in which Stockenström was acquitted, added further fuel to the fire. One set of caricatures is housed in *The Cory Library*, Rhodes University; the other at the Africana Museum. Redgrave and Bradlow comment that "there is a lighter touch and more pleasing humour in some of I'Ons's single cartoons in the Africana Museum" (Redgrave and Bradlow, 1958:12).



108. I'Ons. *The Old Oyster Man at the Kowie*, 1877.



109. Van Tol. *The Oyster Seller*, ca. 1650.

What has become clear is that the work of Frederick I'Ons can be studied for the *feeling* of the times - and that his strength lay in his undoubted ability to capture the innate character and personality of people who inspired him. I'Ons, the dreamer and "theatrical director", transformed the Eastern Cape Frontier and her peoples into romantic metaphors for the people and places in the pictures of Europe. These were the "stuff of which his dreams were made" and thus rightly can I'Ons be called a "Romantic artist on the Frontier".



110. I'Ons, F H. *Photograph of the aged I'Ons, ca. 1876.*

VI

THOMAS BAINES

"TRAVELLER", "RECORDER", "TOPOGRAPHER"
- AND ARTIST

In an age fascinated by travel, science and new discoveries, the artist John Thomas Baines, fig 111, with his deep interests in astronomy, exploration, geology, geography, ethnology and natural history, epitomised the curious nineteenth-century man. Gordon-Brown (1974:118) described the many-sided artist as "one of the great African travellers, whose geographical coverage, variety of subjects and prolific output far exceeded that of any other based in South Africa". Such assessments prompted art historian Marion Arnold to write in her critique of Carruther's book, *Thomas Baines: Eastern Cape Sketches, 1848 - 1852*, "Usually called an explorer-artist, an Africana artist, or a topographical artist... in each of these designations, the term 'artist' is qualified". This infers "greater documentary than artistic value", states Arnold (1990:134), who argues that

"Baines warrants assessment as an artist who travelled, rather than as a traveller who sketched... Not only do many of his works possess an aesthetic merit that is the product of pictorial imagination as well as keen perception... but a consideration of Baines against the background of nineteenth-century imperialism yields insights into the social values embedded in visual representation" (Arnold,1990:135).

Baines's work, in common with that of fellow nineteenth-century Eastern Cape artists, Thomas Bowler (1813 - 1869), William Burchell (1781 - 1869), George Angas (1822 - 1886) and Frederick I'Ons (1802 - 1887), has often been overlooked as art and considered only for its purely documentary or historical value. But since the work of these artists involves the same artistic skills and cognitive processes engaged in the making of any artwork, Africana art should receive recognition as Art in its fullest sense, for according to Collingwood "every work of art... as an object of imagination, is a world wholly self-contained, a complex universe" (Collingwood,1924:24). Arnold observes that, "the artist looks with intent, and however



111. Schroeder. *Portrait of Thomas Baines*, 1875

spontaneously observations are rendered, they are organised according to a mental set which intervenes to direct the selection and structuring of the material" (Arnold,1990:139). "What the artist chooses to depict, the focal significance accorded to forms, and the organisation of space, all contribute to meaning" (idem:141). She ends her critique with a well-directed appeal to art historians "to supplement the literature on Baines (thus far produced mostly by social historians and Africana enthusiasts) as a matter of urgency" (idem:146).

Here the author will discuss only a few of the "more than a thousand"¹ of Baines's works to demonstrate that Africana art, like all art, results from the artistic sensibilities of the artist. For this reason, it can never be entirely free from the ramifications of the artist's personality and worldview, nor be regarded as having solely documentary value. More specific to this inquiry, will be Baines's artistry and how this reflects not only his own vision and values, but also those of his "philosophical and political home - the British Empire" (Carruthers,1990:15). Born in England and "fixed in a mould of [British] Romanticism" (idem:28), Baines lived in South Africa intermittently from 1842, dying there in 1875. He claimed to have interpreted African scenes and lifestyles as "closely as [his] ability would permit" (Baines,1961:1). Although known as a "recorder", "Africana artist", "traveller" and "topographer", it will be argued that Baines's artistry, his meticulous powers of observation and his prolific output warrant that he must also receive recognition as one of the major contributors to nineteenth-century art in South Africa.

Baines kept a journal "for the purpose of recalling to my own mind the incidents necessary to be remembered in painting from the sketches collected in my wayward and devious pilgrimage" (Baines,1961:1). In the following discussion, therefore, we can often let Baines's writings speak on his behalf.

Unfortunately his journal tells nothing of his early childhood.² Also little is known about his own feelings or philosophies of life: Baines, almost stoically, tries to "stick to the point". "The better years of my life having passed in Africa, it is on the scenes witnessed there my memory loves to dwell; and I would fain hope some few at least may share with me a portion of the pleasure I have experienced during my wanderings within and beyond the Colony" (Baines,1961:1).

He was born in King's Lynn in 1820 and his love of open spaces, which is manifested so clearly in his work, must surely have been nurtured around the vast, "watery" haunts of his native Norfolk. Small wonder, too, if he was not inspired by the art and architecture around him such as the ornate cathedral of Ely barely fifty miles from his home town. Would he not have accompanied his father, a master mariner, on some of his voyages around the East Anglian coast, or even farther afield - to Antwerp where he could have seen the monumental canvases of Rubens and his school; to the coast of Holland where he could have absorbed the light, space and air that mirrored his own

1 "Baines was such a prolific artist - his extant pencil, water-colour sketches and oil paintings listed by me totalled nearly four thousand..." (Introduction to Wallis,1976:xiv-xv).

2 He doesn't consider "it necessary to inflict on [the] reader the annals of my early years and infantine peculiarities" (Baines,1961:1). Wallis, however, in his *Thomas Baines: His Life and Explorations in South Africa, Rhodesia and Australia*, appears to have been able to piece together some aspects of Baines's early life; acquired it seems, from private correspondence or interviews with family members in King's Lynn.

dyke-land surroundings?

Mary Ann Baines (née Watson), herself born of a Lynn painter and decorator, taught her son his rudiments, then sent him, aged ten, to Horatio Nelson's Classical and Commercial Academy (Wallis, 1976:1). After a spell as one of "Beloe's bulldogs",³ he was apprenticed at sixteen to William Carr, an ornamental painter in King's Lynn.⁴ He showed a skill for drawing at an early age and also became adept as a craftsman, his grandfather Watson showing him how to make mechanical toys - "an introduction to the mechanical arts that profited him much later" (Wallis, 1976:1).

"From my want of artistic education, my sketches must possess many defects of which at present I am perhaps unconscious", writes Baines seemingly apologetic about the fact that he had never received any formal art training. He was not complacent about his limitations, for he read avidly - the fruits of which were to be felt particularly in his pictorial accounts of battles. In the original manuscript of his journal (omitted by Kennedy for reasons of brevity) he compiled a concise history of South Africa from 1652 to the War of the Axe, which indicated an impartial and reasonably accurate writer of history and "displays Baines... as a widely read man... He gives his sources as marginal notes and it is evident that he had read most of the printed material relating to the Cape available at the time" (Kennedy in Baines, 1961:6).⁵ Some grammatical faults, writes Kennedy "are compensated for by the occasional happy phrase".⁶ When the occasion called for it (and possibly in a bid to add some literary colour to his journal), Baines could tend towards the florid: "The guns of Tilbury pealed forth their thunder and two majestic steamers appeared, towing to the sea the stately yacht from whose main royal mast the silken standard floating proudly indicated that the Sovereign of our country was on board" (Baines, 1961:2). Or again, Cape Town lay "hushed in the calm repose of the early twilight" (idem:5).

Short (5'4") and of average build, Baines possessed a temperate and modest nature: "It is with no little diffidence therefore that I now offer to the public the humble efforts of my pen and pencil...", he writes (idem:1) hoping not to presume too much on his reader's interest. He was as diffident about his achievements: "He would reappear after perilous expeditions as undemonstratively as if returning from a walk"... his kinsmen, it appears, "would literally have to drag information out of him" (Wallis, 1976:2). However, his reticence must not be interpreted as a lack of courage or determination. In August 1849, invited to Fort Peddie to produce a painting of

3 Page (undated:1) quoted a couplet connected with the three leading boys' schools in King's Lynn: "Beloe's bulldogs, Carver's cats, / Wright's young gentlemen take off their hats."

4 Though the task of the ornamental painter was mainly to embellish carriages with floral, coats-of-arms and other designs, a certain amount of skill was needed to execute such tasks successfully. This skill required disciplined control and a keen eye for design.

5 Among the sources quoted are: Moodie's *Record*, Chase's *Natal Papers*, Philip's *Researches*, Barrow, Appleyard's *Kafir Grammar*, the *Christian Watchman*, Thompson, Latrobe, Pringle, and Boyce's *Notes on South African Affairs*.

6 "His spelling was weak; his complete ignorance of syntax, combined with the absence of punctuation, often obscured his exact meaning" (Baines, 1961:xviii).

a Mr Webb's house, he left Grahamstown "hardly knowing whither he was bound". "It was an adventurous trip of a lone individual on an unsettled frontier", writes Bradlow (1977:1). Furthermore his journal indicates a person whose actions were often motivated by his religious convictions. He appears to have found it difficult to talk much about his faith and preferred rather, to demonstrate it by practical application. His wonderment of Nature, for example, he shared with his Cape Town Sunday School class - "some eight or ten intelligent lads who became my companions in many a day's and sometimes a night's adventure among the mountains" (Baines,1961:10). On one such excursion, the class departed from Cape Town for the "veritable Cape of Good Hope" and finally ended up at Simon's Town.⁷

He revelled in the beauty of Nature and the Universe, but he did not always equate it with the things of God. "God, for Baines, was a Victorian God to be worshipped in prayer on the Sabbath" (Carruthers,1990:28) while missionaries sought to "improv[e] the condition of the tribes and wean them from their predatory habits" (Baines,1961:35). Though typically British when he equates missionary success with the extent to which their charges adopted European vestments (Carruthers,1990:34) (cf. discussion in chapter IV), he is, however, critical of his countrymen who "expect too much of the missionary... [they expect] florid accounts of conversions... while the silent good effected by the man who weans the savage, however partially, from his barbarous customs... is lightly accounted of" (Baines,1964:96).

Though Bradlow writes of Baines as "one of the most colourful, fascinating, exciting, lovable characters in all South African history" (Carruthers,1990:19), others have regarded him in a less appreciative light. Explorer Charles John Andersson, for example, "... publically praised Baines for being good at heart, clever and ingenious", but records "... that he was obstinate, moody, mentally unstable, unreliable, lazy and bad mannered (Carruthers,1990:33). "Furthermore, Andersson wrote that 'Baines, is a pig', noting that the artist seldom bathed and wore the same clothing for weeks on end" (Brigitte,1989 in Carruthers,1990:34). However, for all his failings, Baines was sensitive and principled (Bradlow,1977:2). At first he was loathe to paint the shipwreck of the barque *Francis Spaight* in January 1846, for the "wild despairing countenances of the perishing seamen appeared before me plain and palpable as on the morning of the wreck... and it was long before I could reconcile myself to the idea of painting for profit, of making money... of the sufferings of those whose grave was in the deep" (Baines,1961:8). However, at length he produced two pictures and disposed of them, after which this subject became such a favourite that it, and the never failing *Cape Town with Table Bay and Mountain*, kept him in full employment till the outbreak of the Kaffir War (Baines,1961:9).

Having arrived in Cape Town in 1842, Baines had established a reasonable reputation as a marine painter by 1846. The success of scenes such as the shipwreck of the *Francis Spaight* and *Table Bay* induced him to turn to landscapes and commissions soon poured in. Public success, however, meant that Baines had little opportunity to pursue his ultimate goal of wandering and he bewailed that "I but seldom had the opportunity to refresh my imagination and gather new ideas by

7 The National Archives of Zimbabwe presently holds an oil painting of the four travellers arriving at Hout Bay Blockhouse in 1847.

a ramble among the mountains; and no sooner had I struck out something new than half a dozen persons, not a little to my annoyance, demanded 'an exact copy'... A Picture was supposed to be a thing made to the order of the purchaser, and subject when finished to any alteration his caprice suggested; all exercise of the imagination was denied me". If he rebelled against "this thralldom" [enslavement] and refused "to spoil my pictures by the introduction of something glaringly in opposition to the rules of art, but my arguments are commonly met with 'what difference can it make to you if you get your money? If I pay for my picture have I not the right to have it painted as I please?'" . He then adds wryly, "Heaven forbid that there should be truth in Islam; for if, in the world beyond the grave, I be condemned to breathe a portion of my soul into every spiritless production of my pencil, Allah have mercy on the remainder, for little will be left to enter Paradise" (Baines,1961:9).⁸

Fueled by his walks with his Sunday-school class, Baines's yen to wander became insistent: "I was by no means satisfied with painting Kafirs and scenes of savage life at second-hand from the sketches of other persons... The mine was charged, and if it wanted firing, the *Wild Sports* of Captain Harris⁹ and the picturesque sketches brought by Angas from Natal were quite sufficient to perform that office for me" (Baines,1961:10). Talks with G F Angas; with "an old German trader who had already made many journeys into the interior" (Baines,1961:13) and with his artist-friend George Duff¹⁰ who had walked from Algoa Bay to Cape Town, must have caused the sizzling embers to burst into flame. On the 5th February 1848, Baines found himself on board *The Amazon* bound for Algoa Bay and the Eastern Cape - from where his career of wandering, sketching and exploring was to begin.

"A day or two after my arrival [in Graham's Town], I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr W F Liddle of the Commissariat Department", begins Baines's description of his first expedition - a three-month trip he was to make with Liddle to the Orange River. He carefully records his geographical positions, the names of various species of plants and animals as well as verbatim conversations which add a lively appeal to his writings. His wanderings became legion. A year later he set off on a two-month solitary journey through the central and eastern districts of the Eastern Cape. In 1850, he ventured farther afield, spending a year on an expedition to the Vaal River with Joseph McCabe. In June 1851 to January 1852, he was appointed artist to

8 Further evidence of Baines's "faithfulness" being influenced by some concessions to artistic feasibility or public taste, is found in his journal: "One of my earliest patrons ordered me to paint the front, sides and back of his house with 'at least' 12 bullock wagons etc etc [sic]; and another refused his picture, because for the sake of contrast with distant mountains, I had slightly elongated a pole and placed upon it a hawk that did not happen to be there at the time" (Baines,1961:126).

9 *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa* by William Cornwallis Harris, published in 1839, was one of Baines's favourite books. There are copies of Harris's illustrations in Baines's sketch books (Baines,1961:130).

10 It was probably George Duff who influenced Baines to choose the eastern Frontier as the starting point for his wanderings (Hattersley,1969:146). At this time (1848) Graham's Town was the hub of agricultural, socio-economic and some artistic activity, which must have proven attractive enough to a wandering artist. After the death of Baines, Sir Henry Rawlinson, President of the Royal Geographical Society, referred to Baines's motivation for leaving for the Frontier in his Annual address on 22 May 1876, "he left for the nearly unknown regions to the north of the Colony for the purpose of sketching the scenes and incidents of the Caffre War then waging" (Rawlinson in Baines,1877:xix).

the forces during which time he saw action, *inter alia*, with the 74th Highlanders in the Amathole Mountains. In 1853, he returned to England, where he worked for the Royal Geographical Society, transposed several of his sketches into oils and wrote up his journals. In 1855 - 57 he travelled with the Gregory Party to explore Northern Australia. Returning to Africa in 1862, he spent the next two years accompanying the first Livingstone expedition to determine the navigability of the Zambesi and also journeying to Walvis Bay. In England again during 1865, Baines was lured back to Africa and its goldfields from 1867 - 1872. In one expedition he led a party of explorers from Natal through the Transvaal to what is now Zimbabwe. In May 1873, he made his way back to Natal, where he paid a visit to Zululand. In November 1874, he again visited Port Elizabeth, from where he returned to Durban. It was in Berea, stricken by a severe dose of dysentery, that he died on the 8th May 1875.

Clearly in his lifestyle Baines was, true to his time, a "free spirit". "He was free to travel where he chose, to dress and behave as he preferred, and to associate with the people he liked" (Carruthers, 1990:34). He was generally content with his lot which, coupled with his unsettled ways, perhaps explains why he never married. Living in Africa also meant that he was unencumbered by prevailing European artistic trends. "Individual liberty of action was a major component of Romanticism, as was introspection", writes Carruthers (1990:34) and Honour's statement that "... the Romantic use of liberty is not related to defiance or to political liberty, but to freedom from formality" (Honour, 1977:247) can certainly be applied to Baines. Although Baines was "fixed in a mould of Romanticism which extolled individual imagination" (Honour, 1977:18-21 in Carruthers, 1990:34) we shall later discuss some changes of form in his art, which occurred when Baines was more thoroughly initiated into the African climate and lifestyle.

For many centuries the artist has included himself in depicted scenes in one rôle or another, but it was a device favoured particularly by the Romantics, e.g. Goya in a portrait of Charles IV's family, Delacroix in *Liberty at the Barricades* and Caspar David Friedrich in a number of his images. By placing figures in the foreground looking inwards, the Picturesque artist increased the feeling of depth but, by placing himself in the image, he assigned himself a special rôle. In a large majority of his works, (eg. see fig 130), Baines depicts himself seated on the ground, sketching, with a white, wide-brimmed hat shading his bearded face. For example, in *Krantz between Koonap and Fish Rivers, June 21 1848*, fig 112, two travellers pass by as Baines merely watches, neither conversing nor interacting with them in any way.¹¹ This aspect of his art illustrates graphically how, in many of his works, Baines "stands between" the viewer and the world he depicts. In this thesis, the author speculates that Baines's self-portrait emphasises his rôle as a mediator and interpreter, rather than merely as a recorder, of the world around him.

Characteristic of this dual rôle as mediator/recorder is his careful observation of the events and physical features of his surroundings. The "individualistic" rocks in *Krantz...*, show how

¹¹ Baines is seen full-face in depictions where, for example, he was directly involved in the event, such as in visits into black homes, ie. *Sketching in Hut*, 1849; *Chief Wankie Selling Corn by Retail*, 1863. In others such as *Interior of Farm House of Louis Pretorius*, 1848, fig 129; *Bushmen Near Mackay's Neck*, 1848, and *Minstrel Sent by Chief Wankie*, 1862 (neither depicted herein), he is shown in full view, but with his back to the viewer. All works held by the Africana Museum).



112. Baines. *Krantz Between Koonap and Fish Rivers*, 1848.

meticulously Baines observed and recorded, compared to artists, such as Frederick I'Ons whose "regimented" rocks in *Column of Xhosas Crossing a River in a Deep Ravine*, fig 82 in chapter V, are merely "ideas" of rocks. Furthermore, the inclusion of his own images in his works may be intended as visual reminders of scenes he had actually witnessed, as opposed to those painted from sketches or descriptions given by others.

Can Baines's art be assessed as historical documents of South African life and peoples? "Recording" implies noting details of events or phenomena without the recorder's personal interjection. "*Now what I want is facts... Facts alone are wanted in life*", insists Dicken's Mr Gradgrind,¹² typifying the nineteenth-century quest for facts as elucidated by Gombrich: "The belief in unbiassed observation of uninterpreted facts... the belief in induction, the belief that the patient collation of one instance after the other will gradually build up a correct image of nature, provided always that no observation is ever colored by subjective bias" (Gombrich, 1977:320).

Baines was no less the avid fact-finder than the imaginative artist. He possessed an ever-inquiring mind and never waived in careful scrutiny of his non-human subjects. He "recorded details meticulously, whether about the weather, the landscape, geographical directions or items of Xhosa dress. He was concerned to put names to the places and animals he saw, to know the precise

¹² *Hard Times*. Book 1, chapter 1.

course and direction of rivers, and to understand what gave rise to geological formations" (Carruthers:1990:28). While interested in astronomy, cartography, ethnology, geography, and geology, his writings also include detailed ornithological and botanical sketches and descriptions. A watercolour of the Yellow-billed Hornbill (*Tockus flavirostris* Rupp) (*Xanthory-Nochus leucomelas* {light}), fig 113, for example, painted at Great Barmen in 1864, reveals the skill with which Baines captured not only the physiognomy but also the *malapertness* typical of the species.

His interest in the flora and fauna around him, his meticulously detailed descriptions of them and his zeal in collecting specimens resulted in several new species being named after him. The watercolour painted on a glass slide, of the *Welwitschia Mirabilis*, or Nyanka Hamkop Plant, fig 114, at Hyam Kop, Namibia, in May 1861, skilfully captures the sprawling species subsequently termed the *Welwitschia*



113. Baines. *Yellow-billed Hornbill* (*Tockus flavirostris*), 1864.



114. Baines. *Welwitschia bainesii*, 1861.

bainesii. He portrays himself with the plant, suggesting the rôle he played in its discovery. (See notes on illustrations).

With regard to images of flora and fauna Baines attempted to be as accurate as possible, but his images of landscape, battle actions, people and events often betray - however sub-consciously - his own insights and feelings. Consider for instance, *The Last of My Old Steed, Hotspur*, 1849, fig 115, intended as a record of the fact that his horse had died. Baines confronts the cadaver of his horse in a virtually "empty" landscape. The horse lies aesthetically arranged as if in a funereal display (its legs, for example, are raised up at an angle against a small hill, allowing for a more complete view). No vultures hover overhead, nor are there any traces of the horse's last illness



115. Baines. *The Last of My Old Steed, Hotspur*, 1849.

which could detract from the meditative character of the image. Baines stands alone and in full view - thereby suggesting his side of the relationship now past. The barrenness of the image and his deeply contemplative attitude hint not only at his physical, but also his emotional state for, being impecunious and alone, he believed he would have to complete the rest of his journey from Tarkastad to Graham's Town on foot.

A work in which Baines specifically acts as a recorder is the painting *Koobie and Group of Bushmen at Koobie*, 1861, fig 116, painted from life while on the expedition to the Victoria Falls. Not composed with the idea of capturing a "real" moment in the life of a Bushman camp, Baines intended it rather as a "display" of the Bushmen and their accoutrements for the sake of scientific record. His own involvement and artistic manipulation are clear: he emphasises the physical size of the Bushmen by the introduction of the Damara sitting against the tree, facing right; he includes "almost everything I could think of¹³ as proper to the scene and characteristic of the tribe. One

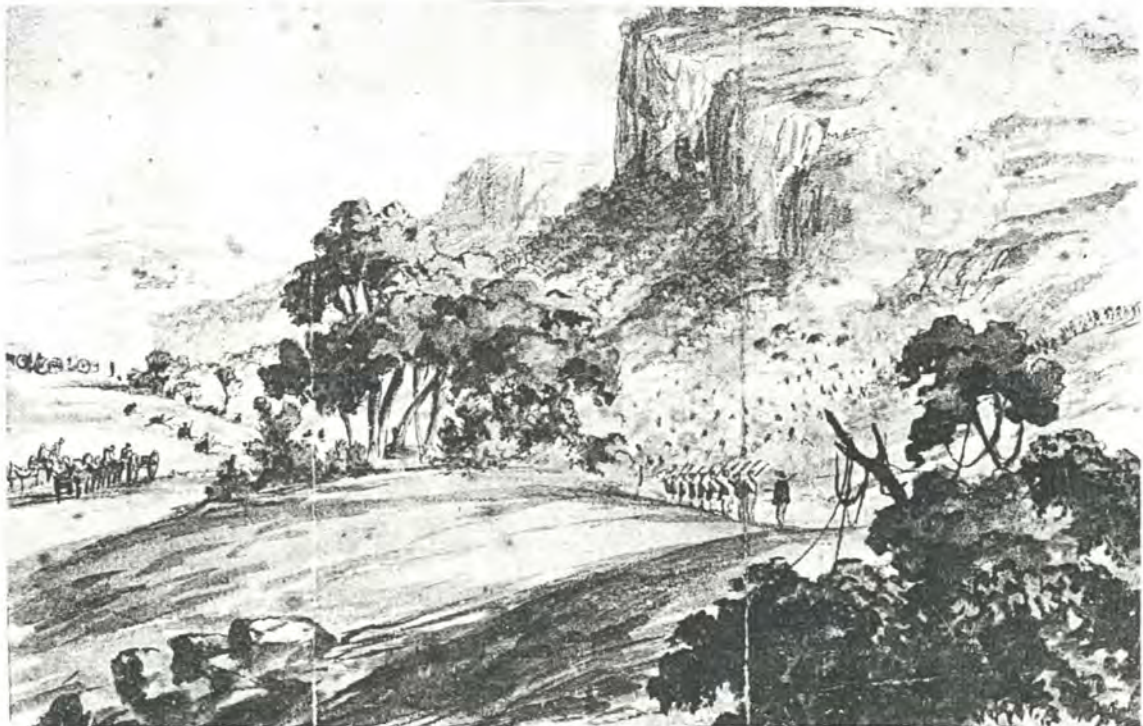
13 Italics author's.



116. Baines. *Koobie and Group of Bushmen at Koobie, 1861.*

man is busy in touching his arrow-points with the entrails of the poison grub; his quiver, bow and various shafts, with other reeds and fire-producing sticks, lie near him... The egg-shells and net for carrying them and the shells of Baobab fruit also used as water-vessels, lie in the foreground, with broke ivory..., edible roots and cocoons of an insect which are also eaten" (Baines, 1864:218-19).

Since the painting fulfills the function of a photograph, one is left wondering why a camera was not used instead. Baines, it appears, was sceptical of the rôle of photography, writing that it sought only "literal fidelity of detail and perfect smoothness of surface [which seems] to be considered the only requisites of a picture..." (Baines, 1961:126). "The daguerrotype", he writes scornfully, "... I



117. Baines. *Attack on Macomo's Stronghold in Fuller's Hoek, 1851.*

was told, would ruin the trade of the artist, its chief merit being that the views it produced could not possibly be spoiled by the introduction of imaginary effects". Thus, despite the advent of photography and its contribution to the "truth" of images, "imaginary effects", or "improvements" unabashedly remained an essential part of much of Baines's work.¹⁴

In order to establish the extent to which Baines may have altered scenes for the above purposes, it would be of interest to compare several depictions of landscapes with views as they appear in reality. Paintings of *Lyndoch - The Farm of Mr Dodds Pringle*, 1849, offered for auction in the Welz catalogue on 4 November 1991, or views of *Table Farm*, would suit this purpose. C J Skead,¹⁵ for example, commented that in *Lyndoch...*, the walls of the farmyard were accurate but the houses and the waterwheel-house were depicted in different positions. Hills depicted in the painting did not match in size, appearing bigger in reality. Similarly, *Table Farm* is depicted in Baines's painting as surrounded by hilly countryside. Although Skead had walked from every possible angle, he found the countryside flat, not hilly. Hence, he suggests, the name of *Table Farm*, which resembles a table-top. The buildings also bear little relation to where they are in reality. It seems that "Baines painted the essential, but left backgrounds to be sketched in later".



118. Baines. *Fort Selwyn*, 1850.

Another example is *Fort Selwyn*, 1850, fig 118, wherein a glimpse of the Fort is shown on the right while a panoramic view of Graham's Town nestles below. Of special concern to our inquiry is the accuracy of such a record. The town is shown as lying immediately below the fort when, as is clear from figure 119, it cannot be seen from the position behind the fort as Baines has suggested. Walking to a position in front of the fort, or standing on the fort's wall, enables the view of the town, fig 120, to be seen much as Baines depicted it. However, one has to admit that Baines has

14 In Baines's letter to his brother and fellow artist, Henry, in Lynn he writes: "when you copy these pictures, you will have to be attentive to a few little incidents which I will point out to you... in the... *Attack on Macomo's Stronghold in Fuller's Hoek*, [27 10 1851], fig 117, on the Monday the 27th October - if you think that it will improve the view you can remove the clump of trees in the foreground a little to the left" (Wallis, 1976:37).

15 Dr C J Skead, historian; private conversation October 1991.



119. *Cosser. View of Grahamstown from behind Fort Selwyn, 1992.*

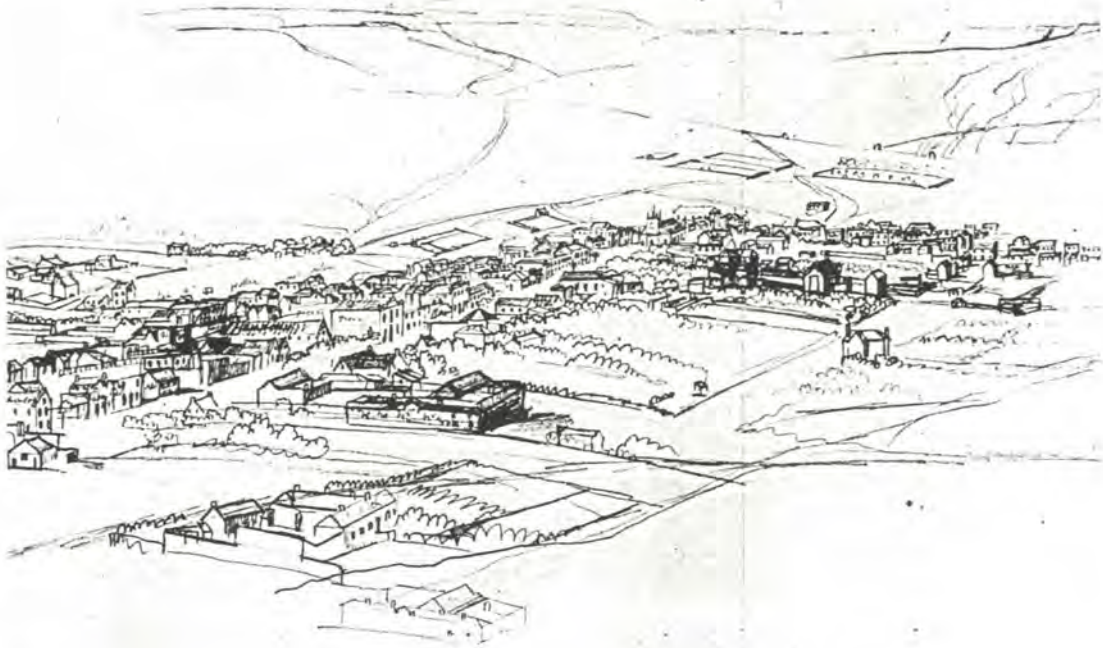


120. *Cosser. View of Grahamstown from the front of Fort Selwyn, 1992.*

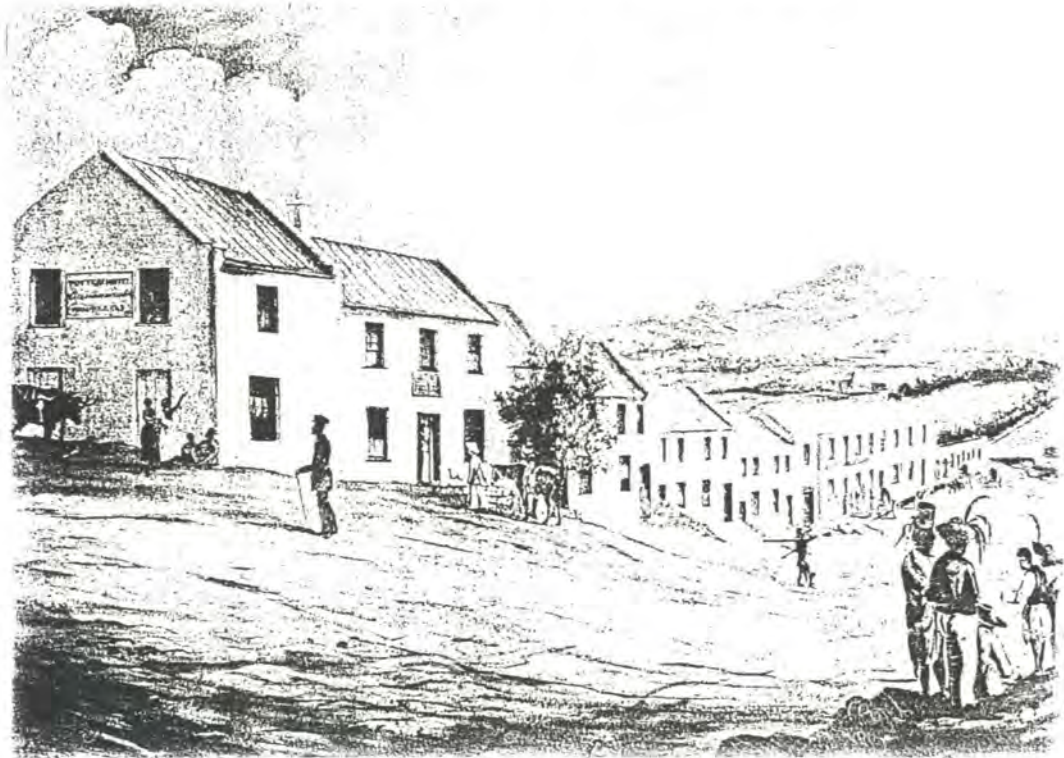
recorded both the Fort and the town accurately although from different points of view. In particular, he has captured the atmosphere of the site in a single pleasing composition - something a photographer, limited to the truth of his images, cannot do.

It is of interest to note that Baines's sketch of Graham's Town, fig 121, is very likely to have been the preliminary sketch for figure 118.

Comparing *Potter's Inn*, ca. 1849, fig 122, where Baines usually boarded in Grahamstown, with the photograph of the building next door to the Inn, *Hotel owned by H Peach* taken in the late 1860's, fig 123, one sees that Baines could be accurate in his portrayals of buildings.



121. Baines. *Graham's Town*, ca. 1848, pencil sketch.



122. Baines. *Potter's Inn*, ca. 1849.

But even town scenes with their distinct buildings and landmarks were not always immune from "updating" and other artistic manipulations. Comparing *High Street, Graham's Town*, ca. 1849, fig 124, with figure 125, a lithograph of the same subject, we note that Baines has included the well (although it was apparently closed in 1844 before he arrived in Grahamstown) on the far left near



123. Photographer unknown. *Hotel owned by H Peach, ca. 1860's.*

the end of the street in the former but not the latter.¹⁶ The builders' scaffolding appearing on the right of both images marks the Commemoration Church shown in the process of being built. It is of interest to note that the buildings are depicted in both figures from seemingly contradictory perspectives. The painting employs a high, or bird's eye, viewpoint, yet the tops of the buildings on



124. Baines. *High Street, Graham's Town, ca. 1849.*

16 cf. l'Ons's *Shepperson's Well*, fig 92 in chapter V. The foundation stone of Wesley Church was laid in April 1845. The church took 5½ years to complete, being dedicated in 1850.

the left follow a projection more in keeping with a lower viewpoint - an aspect we would expect to find in the lithograph. The heights of the right-hand buildings are also contradictory when compared with the height of St George's church. The hill in the background does not have the same shape which is not accounted for in the lithograph by the slight shift in viewpoint to the right. Perhaps, for artistic reasons, Baines liked a high viewpoint when he wanted to include more detail. This would also explain the use of two viewpoints for *Fort Selwyn* - examples of Baines's "imaginative manipulations".

More extreme examples of these imaginative manipulations may be found in his paintings based on G C Dawney¹⁷ and T E Buckley's hunting photographs in their album. *South African*



125. Lithograph from Baines's sketch. *High Street, Graham's Town*, ca 1850.



126. Photograph from which *South African Bullock Wagons* was taken, 1874.

17 Guy Cuthbert Dawney, the twenty-four-year old son of Viscount Downe, who had sailed out in 1870 with the Rhodes brothers (Wallis, 1976:212).



127. Baines. *South African Bullock Wagons*, 1874.

Bullock Wagons, 1873, fig 126, is photographically uninteresting and uninformative, yet Baines's version of the same scene, fig 127, reflects a very different image. It may be argued that Baines's treatment of this subject was foremostly aimed at pleasing his patron - leaving him little alternative but to enliven the drab scene. He thus reverts to old formulae that he knew well: lush vegetation, exotic trees and more colourfully marked bullocks transform the drab scene into a veritable Paradise. In order to avoid rigid horizontals as seen in the photograph for *S A Bullock Wagons*, Baines again has employed the high viewpoint device.

But while claiming to be faithful to the character of the country, it seems clear that Baines, true to his time, is reluctant to interpret such a scene for its own sake, on its own terms. Writing about the Romantic insistence for the Picturesque, John Barrell explains that the contemplation of landscape involved "reconstructing the landscape in the imagination, according to the principles of composition that had to be learned, and were indeed learned so thoroughly that in the later eighteenth century it became impossible for anyone with an aesthetic interest in landscape to look at the countryside without applying them, whether he knew what he was doing or not" (Barrell, 1990:6). Thus landscape was not *perceived* in Romantic terms, but also *conceived* in terms of its relative potential for fulfilling the requirements of the Picturesque. "Applied to landscape the term *Picturesque* referred to its fitness to make a picture; applied to pictures, the term referred to the fidelity with which they copied the Picturesque landscape. If the highest praise for Nature was to say that it looked like a painting, the highest praise for a painting was to say that it resembled a painterly picture...[The] 'nature' exhibited by Picturesque artists relied on a purely pictorial code that covered not only the subject matter but its treatment as well" (Bermingham, 1986:57).

For more than twenty years after his arrival in 1842, Baines continued to adhere rigorously to formulations for the Picturesque landscape (see discussion in chapter III). He composed landscapes according to the three-planed scheme, (foreground plane, middleground plane; a third strip-like background leading into the distance beyond), diagonals (possibly roadways, rivers) introduce each plane in consecutively repeated parallels. Characteristic, too, of this period, is the marked use of chiaroscuro - strong contrasts of light and dark areas alternate rhythmically with each other - while his hues are in keeping with the "Old Master" imitators of his time - dark browns, ochres and golden tones predominating in his palette. A significant diversion from Claude Lorrain's picturesque scheme is the absence of coulisses or "stage wings" at the sides of his compositions. Instead, Baines prefers a view from a height, overlooking vast tracts of open land.¹⁸ In this, he follows the dictum inherited from the eighteenth-century that the painter's viewpoint had to be from rising ground (Barrell, 1990:11).¹⁹

Vastness, air and space characterised his landscapes throughout his career. Nurtured, as we have noted above, in the wide wetlands of Norfolk, it is natural to imagine that these surroundings influenced Baines's approach to landscapes. Perhaps they also enabled him to identify with the vast, open plains of Africa, and, coupled with his love of wandering, contributed to his extended sojourns on the African continent.

It is interesting to note that, by contrast, Frederick I'Ons was raised in the enclosed streets of London. Although he received some formal art training, he kept strictly to the coulisse form. He thus tended to produce views showing ravines, forests, and other "enclosed" scenes where the "ideal" form could be applied, rather than record the vastness of the continent directly. Dare we speculate that the very different boyhood environments of these two artists directly determined the very different styles in which they painted the scenery of the Eastern Cape?

Although Baines may primarily be considered a landscapist, the focus of much of his work is people and the actions of people in an appropriate environment. His vigorous pencil not only captures the movements of his figures, but interprets the character of the events in a lively way. By the time these sketches have been transposed into oils, however, much of Baines's spontaneity has been lost. In chapter V, we showed that Frederick I'Ons placed figures into non-specific environments; Baines, by contrast, positioned figures in carefully observed environments. A typical Baines landscape has about half the picture surface given over to a skilful balance between a description of the nature of the land itself and the actions and/or depictions of the lifestyles of people while the remaining half usually portrays a magnificently observed sky. When many an artist would fill in fore- or middleground areas with general washes of colour or streaks of oil, Baines, the geographer, usually detailed the nature of the ground's surface. The fore- or middleground may be shown as cracked or stony, or may include some specific indication of the type of vegetation found in the region, fig 128.

18 Perhaps his most famous group of pictures in this mould are his "bird's eye" views of the Victoria Falls, detailing the river, the chasms into which it plunges and the zigzag of the huge gorges through which the Zambesi flows towards the sea.

19 I am grateful to Mrs Valerie Letcher for drawing my attention to this.



128. Baines. *Kaffirs having made their Fortunes Leaving the Colony*, 1848.

As regards his human subjects, Baines seems to recognise no "distinction between Jew and Greek".²⁰ Although in his journal he sometimes makes comments, no hint of his attitude towards different races is revealed by the size, frequency or location of their images within his compositions, in marked contrast to the work of other artists (as discussed in chapter IV). "His attitude towards the Xhosa was contradictory" writes Carruthers (1990:34), "he accepted their hospitality, [Baines, 1961:136-7] and came to like and respect certain individuals". "Although he was culturally chauvanistic, in some ways he seems to have emulated, even enjoyed, as he himself wrote, 'the wild liberty of savage life'" (Carruthers, 1990:111). "But towards the people as a whole he displayed the prejudices of his time. He was scornful and derogatory of their superstitions and sometimes cruel ways, considering the Xhosa to be as destitute of religious ideas as can possibly be" (idem, 1990:46); "he disapproved of their lack of European clothing and ignorance of a Christian God" (idem, 1990:34). On the other hand, when, for example, a Gonugqwebe man asked him if he loved Kaffirs and he replied "Yes, and all men besides", he appeared to be tolerant of black people (Bradlow, 1977:1). Many images are extant in which he depicts his interactions with them, e.g. sharing a meal, or discussing a barter. Blacks are then not merely spectators but often feature centrally, being shown actively involved in an activity appropriate to their lifestyle, e.g. stamping maize, or herding cattle. His figures seem unaware of their being captured onto canvas; I'Ons, by contrast, composed his elegant groups relative to the viewer, "freezing" their activity for the viewer's benefit.

Baines displays similar chauvanistic attitudes towards fellow whites. In general, the Colonial Dutch were regarded by the English as "very hospitable, ... but a boisterous and unpolished class of

20 (Romans 10:12).



129. Baines. *Interior of the Farm of Louis Pretorius*, 1848.

people.... the women are of goodly size" (Thompson, 1827:104). In turn, the Dutch not infrequently referred to their white counterparts as "die d... Engelsman" and considered them incapable of a full day's labour - like de Heer Ros who stipulated in his advertisement for farm hands "...Geen Engelsman, die zou dood gaan na drie dagen".²¹ In *Interior of the Farm of Louis Pretorius*, 1848, fig 129, Baines depicts the crude home of "Mynheer Pretorius and his... comely and corpulent dame". It is striking that Mrs Pretorius's face is a typical stubby, wide-eyebrowed "Baines close-up" face - similar features being applied to male or female, black²² or white. (There is, however rather a sly expression on the face of the servant who appears to be extracting something out of the bag of the unsuspecting visitor). Though his rendering of human anatomy is often ill-observed, Baines claimed at various instances in his journal to have captured likenesses with "tolerable success". He rarely distinguishes peoples' character-types and seems more concerned with their actions and surroundings, rather than with their actual physiognomies. It is thus not surprising that the label of "portraitist" has not been applied to Baines.

Baines's artistic strength indubitably lies with his ability to capture people, together with the sights and scenes of social life, whether civilian or military, the ceremonious or the everyday. His concern with people in general and their various lifestyles opens a biased, but nevertheless important, window on the past. A telling glimpse of genteel colonial life is the painting *Cradock Place*, 1873, fig 130, the home of the Resident Magistrate, Mr John Centlivres Chase.

21 "No Englishman - after three days he would be dead". *De Afrikaanse Voorstander*, 3 5 1849. [SAPL].

22 In black portraiture, two contrasting facial types appear most often: a broad countenance with stubby features; secondly, long, pointed features reminiscent, for example, of I'Ons's renderings of Sandille.



130. Baines. *Cradock Place*, 1873.

Baines visited there in 1873 and 1874, when he made several sketches for Chase's daughters (Hillebrand, 1992). He recorded that the "Orchards, despite the drought, were flourishing, the golden orange gleamed from among the dark foliage, the tall bamboo waved its feathery top, and the avenues of splendid date palm, from imported seed, imparted an Eastern character to the lower walks, nor was the interior of the dwelling destitute of attraction. The choicest engravings decorated the walls, 'fricadeles' [sic] and other Colonial delicacies graced the table, and the leg of a 'giant ant-eater' was thoroughly anatomised as if it had been of veal or pork" (Baines, 1964:305). Baines's rendering of Cradock Place is in keeping with the elegant character of his subject. Chase, himself a "Sunday" painter, describes the lifestyle Baines captured so well in his painting: "...those delightful relaxations, pic-nics, particularly adapted to the delicious climate of the colony, under the most magnificent of skies, and amidst its untamed and luxuriant scenery, are frequently enjoyed, when childhood and age, growth and maturity, congregate for the purpose of recreation under the cool covert of some ancient fig or yellow-wood tree, on the banks of a sparkling rivulet, where mirth, music, dance and song are prolonged through the livelong day, and continued to a late hour beneath a dome-spangled chaste, but not cold, moon, whose light rivals in brightness the brilliant god of morn" (Chase, 1843).

Generally considered occasions for informality, "pic-nics" were an occasion for dressing up as far as the Chase ladies were concerned. Sunday-best bonnets, lace, crinolines and elegant glassware accompany the no-doubt equally elegant repast. A file of servant-waiters and waitresses appear in the slight gully a little to their right. Chase, surrounded by members of his family, is depicted in a

smoking cap and white jacket. He is undeniably the "king of his castle" (helped in no small degree by the "castellated" tower - a former mill - in the background). Three prettily dressed children, one holding a small bouquet of flowers, are grouped with their pedigreed dog in the foreground plane.

Though welcomed as a visitor, Baines places himself between the two groups, again suggesting his rôle as an observer and his position as "outside" the groups. The plain-clothed governess similarly sits a small distance away, ever sober and watchful, social convention forbidding that she become too involved with the main group. Almost unseen, a "scruffy" dog rummages amongst the brush next to her: it would perhaps have been unseemly to place him next to the elegant little children! A sense of ease and harmony reigns in the picture, helped by the smooth, evenly-spaced planes. The heads of the Chase family echo the knob-like aloes surrounding them, a device similarly helping the sense of rhythm in the picture. Horizontality is counter-balanced by the tower while the three tallest aloes mark the beginning and end of the foreground plane. Although the dark, stormy sky looming in the background lends itself to some philosophical interpretation, it is more likely that Baines was just indulging in some typically picturesque Eastern Cape skies. Baines would probably not have sustained the artistic interest he invested in the landscape had the sky merely been interspersed with some more "common" clouds. Alternatively, the rain-soaked clouds looming darkly help to off-set some of the sparkling lights found in the picture itself thus increasing their brilliance.

Attempting to identify the family members in the painting, the author corresponded with a descendant, Gordon Chase, through whom it was established that in 1873, Chase was 78 years old, his wife about 72, and his nine children alive at the time, ranging in age from 52 years down to 28. "It is therefore unlikely that the children depicted here are his; they are more likely his grandchildren. The dog I recognise from a photograph I have, taken at Cradock Place at about this time", wrote Mr Chase.²³ Chase's miller ground the corn on the estate until the miller was killed; the mill thereafter fell into disrepair. The homestead and the mill's remains - shown as a castellated tower on the left in figure 130 - were lost when it became part of a suburb of Port Elizabeth (Hillebrand, 1992).

Cradock Place is of further interest as an example of Baines's dramatic change in palette from, for example, *Fort Selwyn*, fig 118. When one observes the contours along the aloes and the people in figure 130, one still finds contrasting bands of light juxtaposed with darker colours. However, they are much subtler in nature and tonal contrast than the chiaroscuro in figure 118. The author speculates that this, as well as a considerable lightening of his tonal values, might be attributed to the period when, between the years 1854 and 1862, Baines visited Australia and also sojourned for some time in "South West Africa" [Namibia]. His travels to these countries, where the light is constant, even and strong, possibly influenced him to reconsider the appropriateness of his European nurturing in "Old Master" tones. The succulent pearly lights, juxtaposed with the browns and ochres of the Old Masters, he perhaps realised, were certainly no vehicles for depicting the dry, dusty pinks and fawns of these brighter regions. In *Cradock Place*, for instance, Baines's

²³ Gordon Chase, Claremont, communication with author, July 1992.

tonality is more appropriate to the brightness of an Eastern Cape afternoon. Lighter blues and greens intermingled with tiny "blob-like" specks of cremes, whites and reds, along with small, Van Gogh-like brush marks (particularly in the grass in the foreground) remind one of a type of jewel-like Impressionism.²⁴ One is reminded, however, of some of Constable's landscapes, where "sparkle" was achieved with flecks of impasto called "Constable's snow".

Another reason for the change in his tonality might be the rise of chromolithography in the 1860's when the many possibilities of the coloured print were being discovered and explored.²⁵ A well informed artist such as Baines would have come into contact with new developments in colour-printing techniques and perhaps have been influenced by them. However, one must not overlook the fact that as most people mature, they gain confidence in their own methods and styles. An intelligent man like Baines was surely no exception and perhaps this maturity is being revealed by his breaking away from some of the "Old" European forms in which he had been nurtured?²⁶ Whether the reason was a broadening experience, the advent of chromolithography, increasing maturity, or perhaps an amalgamation of all three, there can be little doubt that his approach underwent a fundamental change in the latter 1860's.

We may recall from our discussion of Romanticism in chapter III that the idyllic landscapes of Claude Lorraine did not aim at topographical exactitude but rather tried to "evoke the poetic essence of a countryside filled with echoes of antiquity" (Janson,1980:441). Baines's description of *Fingo*



131. Baines. *Fingo Village, Fort Beaufort, 1848.*

24 Impressionism had not yet begun, as around 1855 Monet, Renoir and Sisley were in their teens; Manet, Pissarro and Degas merely in their early twenties. I am grateful to Anne Collins for her comments on these points.

25 I am grateful to Mr Stephan Welz for this suggestion (July,1992).

26 I am grateful to Marion Arnold for her suggestion and discussions on this point (July,1992).

Village, 1848, fig 131, (Wallis:30) resounds with such echoes and clearly reflects Baines's written description: "fine figures,... and graceful drapery of these people... forcibly reminding [him] of the *statues of antiquity*"²⁷ (Baines,1961:39-40). In *Fingo Village*, tall, graceful Fingo women, draped in classical toga-like attire, appear before their huts. One figure stretches out her arm in an equally graceful gesture, while others are grouped around her in elegant, but nevertheless natural, poses.

The History Piece was an important genre amongst the repertoire of artists even on the Frontier where it was considered the *tour de force* of "good art". Baines, too, when wishing to paint "something of a *rather superior character*", for his own satisfaction and interest, opted for a History subject. Evidence that he applied himself with seriousness and dedication to this, appears in his writing: "I selected... the defeat of the Kafirs by the 7th Dragoon Guards and Colonial forces at the Gwanga River and having collected all the sketches and information I could obtain, prevailed upon a young friend to stand in the various positions I required". He describes his attempts to use this young black man as a model who "refused to appear in other than full Parisian costume, was the most spiritless savage imaginable, and it was not until I took the weapon in my own hand and aimed the deadly thrust at his breast that he could be brought to see the propriety of appearing at all concerned in defending himself from the assault" (Baines,1961:10). Such an anecdote tells, somewhat amusingly, of the artist's frustrations in achieving some level of visual accuracy in his work. The result of this effort is the painting *The Battle of Stocks Kraal*, dated 28 June 1847, fig 132 (Baines,1961:10).



132. Baines. *The Battle of Stocks Kraal*, 1847.

27 Italics are the author's.

In his use of chiaroscuro and the typical rhythmic light-and-dark patterns highlighting the fighting figures, one is reminded of the character of Gros's *The Battle of Eylau*, fig 19 in chapter III. The silhouetted, Poussin-like tree which frames the left of the composition similarly leaves no doubt as to the origin of Baines's approach to the History Painting. The work of Géricault was also a major influence on him. A family anecdote describes how, as a young man, Baines had read about the loss of an Indiaman at sea by fire and had wished to paint the episode. "Having never seen anything of its kind, he made a model, complete with sails, running and standing gear, guns and the rest, crammed her hold with combustibles, and set her ablaze" (Wallis,1976:2). Géricault had similarly built models of rafts and studied corpses in a mortuary when planning his *The Raft of the 'Medusa'*.²⁸

Baines was not only influenced by Géricault's example in the building of models for his paintings; he was also influenced by the latter's form and subject matter and even his very compositions. Baines's History Piece, *The Battle of Blaauwkrantz, 1838, 185?*, fig 133, - a painting depicting a Zulu attack on a group of Voortrekkers in February 1838 - finds its direct precursor in Géricault's *The Raft of the 'Medusa'*, 1818 - 19, fig 20 in chapter III.

Just as *The Raft...* depicts the dramatic moment the shipwrecked survivors spotted the rescue ship; *The Battle...* depicts the dramatic moment of surprise attack on the unlaagered wagons. The



133. Baines. *The Battle of Blaauwkrantz, 1838, ca. 1854*

28 Géricault exhibited *The Raft...* in England on a travelling exhibition, but this occurred in 1820 - 22 (Murray,1967:124) when Baines was two years old. Géricault's influence is confirmed by Harmsen (1958:198) when she writes: "That Baines was an exponent of Géricault and Delacroix, is seen in his bold, energetic application of paint, his dramatic light effects and intense colours, and his involvement in the adventurous and animated scenes which he depicted in a dynamic style of painting".

mother (looking remarkably like Mrs Pretorius, fig 129) is seen instructing her gun-toting child to fetch ammunition: appropriate confusion pervades the swirling mass of action in the foreground. Identical in both paintings is the pyramidal shape which begins in the left bottom corner of *The Raft...*, surges with the forward-movement of the raft to the right where it climaxes in the tall negro waving his shirt, while in *The Battle...*, a similar shape begins with the Zulus in the bottom left corner, surges with the crowd and swells to a climax with the tall wagon appearing almost to topple into the ravine. Unlike Baines's usual manner of depicting figures evenly clustered over the surface of the land- or townscape, figures in *The Battle...*, form part of one swirling mass. Certain poses in both paintings are strikingly similar: the extended left arm of the figure pointing to the oncoming ship is found again in the extended arm of the Voortrekker mother; the naked corpse on the raft lies at virtually the same angle and in the same position in the composition as the assegaied Voortrekker; the left farthestmost figure on the raft is similar to the Zulu struck by a bullet in the left of Baines's painting; the body slung over the edge of the raft in the bottom right corner is, in essence, repeated in the infant slung over the post near the wagon wheel. Both paintings exhibit careful observation of drapery; in the sails of the one, and in the wagon flaps of the other. A high mountain looms threateningly in the third plane of Baines's painting, mirroring the background shape which lies beyond the sail of the *The Raft...* In both paintings the fore- and middleground have been integrated into a single entity, though for Baines this would be natural in terms of the form of military paintings of the 1850's (see discussion in chapter IV). It is the author's contention that Baines, being adventurous by nature, could have at some time travelled to the Louvre and seen the work of Géricault and Delacroix or, at the very least, seen a reproduction of *The Raft...*, perhaps in the *Illustrated London News* which periodically carried lithographed versions of artworks. The striking resemblance between the two suggests that Baines must have had either a copy of *The Raft* or at least copious notes or sketches of it when painting *The Battle...* As efforts to ascertain whether any notes or sketches regarding this are still extant have proved fruitless,²⁹ the supposition must remain just that. Considering the strong European influences exhibited in the painting which differs radically from Baines's usual style, it is not surprising to read, when turning it over, that it was executed in "Lynn, in 185?"! (Probably between the years 1853 - 55 when Baines was temporarily in England.)

While in composition *The Battle...* leans heavily on Géricault, in content it has much to tell us about Baines's search for truth. Almost unnoticed, but nevertheless important, is the detail of the infant's body slung across the post near the wagon wheel. Though at face value such a detail may seem to be merely a device to manipulate the viewer's emotions, it exhibits Baines's regard for historical accuracy, for Theal (1964:365) records that infants had their brains dashed out against the wheels of the wagons. Lastly of interest is the theme itself, which pre-empted the later pictorial expressions of Afrikaner Nationalism such as those of W H Coetzer and Pierneef.³⁰ These artists sought to monumentalise moral qualities such as courage and determination which were considered

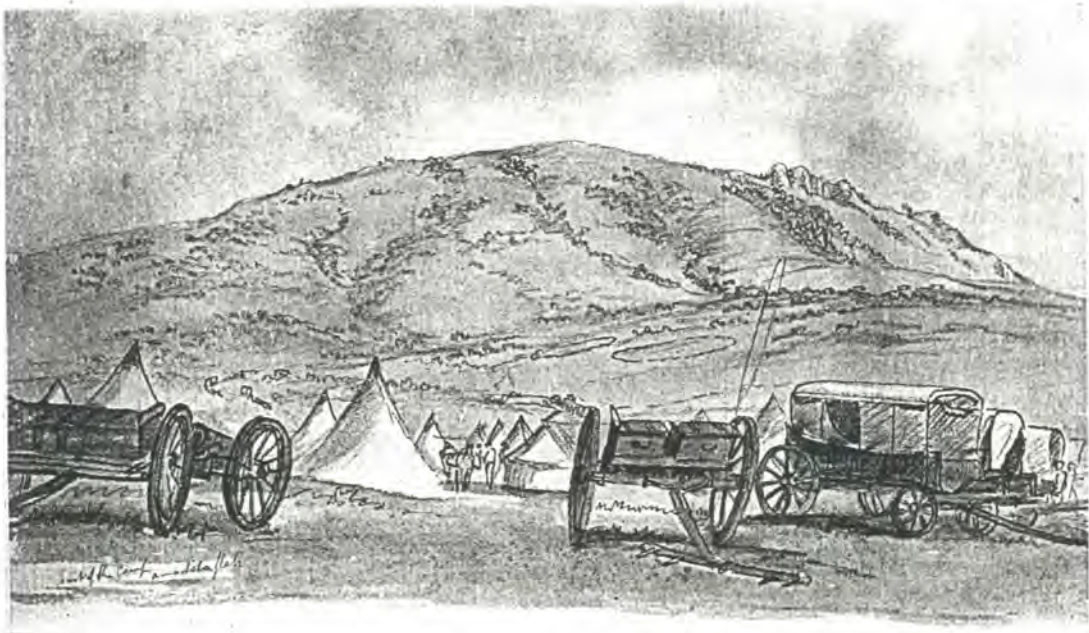
29 Private communication with Borough of King's Lynn Museum (July, 1992).

30 I am grateful to Denver Webb for pointing this out.

to be inherent in the hard-pressed Afrikaner Volk. Baines captures the essence of these qualities in *The Battle...*

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, Baines has been called an "Africana artist", "war artist" and "recorder". The appellation of "topographer" has also been used to describe the many-sided artist, for example: "Baines's paintings... record the majestic and varied topography of the Eastern Cape" (Carruthers,1990:28). Arnold, on the other hand, disagrees, "The topographer is trained to produce a detailed and accurate recording of a locality; description is the primary objective. Baines was not a topographer. Although stimulated by what he observed, every sketch and drawing indicates the delight he took in transforming rather than merely describing perceptual information" (Arnold,1990:137). Carruthers further notes that the basic geomorphology of the [Eastern Cape] region has not changed during the last century, but that economic activities of the increased regional population and more intensive agriculture have altered the vegetation considerably (Carruthers,1990:49). Her suggestion that "measurement of the extent of this change can be calculated by a comparative study of Baines's work and present conditions" (idem:49) calls for an on-site examination of the locations depicted by Baines in his sketches and paintings. The author consequently visited the Amathole mountains, in the company of historian Denver Webb of the Historical Monuments Board of the Ciskei. Webb, who has actually been using Baines's sketches and watercolours to help pinpoint the sites of camps and engagements in the Eighth Frontier War (1851 - 53) showed the author several sites; viz. the site where the 74th Highlanders camped near the Kwezana stream before setting off for their actions in the Amatholes, fig 134; the Tyhume Valley and Amathole basin, figs 136, 138, and 139; the Hogsback and Zincuka or Wolf River areas, fig 140.

On Tuesday, 24 June 1851, a large patrol consisting of some 2 000 men drawn from the artillery, infantry and irregular forces of the 74th Highlanders and 91st Regiment left Fort Hare at Alice and arrived at the Kwezana stream camp site. Although an exacting study of environmental



134. Baines. *Campsite on the Kwezana Stream, 1851.*

changes since the 1850's lies beyond the scope of our inquiry, some works, like figure 134, provide insight not only into topography, but also into settlement in this region for the two circular shapes on the hillside are Xhosa cattle kraals formed by aloes planted in a circular formation. Inspection of



135. Willie. Photograph from site of *Campsite on Kwezane stream*, 1992.

figure 135 shows that these have now all but disappeared except for a dark ridge formed by a few remaining aloes. Other works, e.g. figs 136 and 138 - 140, provide excellent case-studies for some reflections on Baines's capabilities as a topographer and war artist:³¹ figures 136, 138, 139 and 140 depicting the 74th Highlanders' attack on the Xhosas in the Amatholes in June 1851.

While not only an aesthetically pleasing painting, *74th Highlanders and Port Elizabeth Fingo Levy Storming the Position of the Rebel Hottentots in the Amatolas 26 6 1851*, fig 136, reveals Baines's concern for topographical, as well as historical, accuracy. The Hogs Back and Iron Ridge, also variously referred to at the time as Victoria Heights, Seven Kloof Mountain and the Little Amatola (Webb, 1991:3), appear somewhat as they do in reality although comparison with figure 137 shows that Baines compressed the scene laterally to achieve more pleasing proportions. No longer the "dreamy, distant" mountain ranges of Frontier paintings of the 1820's to 1840's, the great Amathole range looms large and important in the third plane. A waterfall - still flowing today - cascades down between the deep crevices of the mountain. *74th Highlanders...*, contains both fore- and middleground planes of equal width though in the typical fashion of military paintings of the 1850's, most of the activity occurs towards the front of the image (cf. chapter IV). Regulars and irregulars appear in the foreground, some of whom are setting a hut alight (Webb, 1991:9) - a common practice in the Frontier wars. A group of soldiers appear in the middleground while the 74th are skirmishing up the hillside to the Zincuka ridge (idem). Of particular interest is that, while the topography is accurate (although compressed), the several events recorded in the scene were

31 Baines served as a war artist during the Eighth Frontier War under Major General Somerset from 22 June 1851, to 18 January 1852. According to the Dictionary of South African Bibliography, he is considered the first official war artist in South Africa.



136. Baines. *74th Highlanders and Port Elizabeth Fingo Levy Storming the Position of the Rebel Hottentots in the Amatolas, 26 6 1851, 1851?*



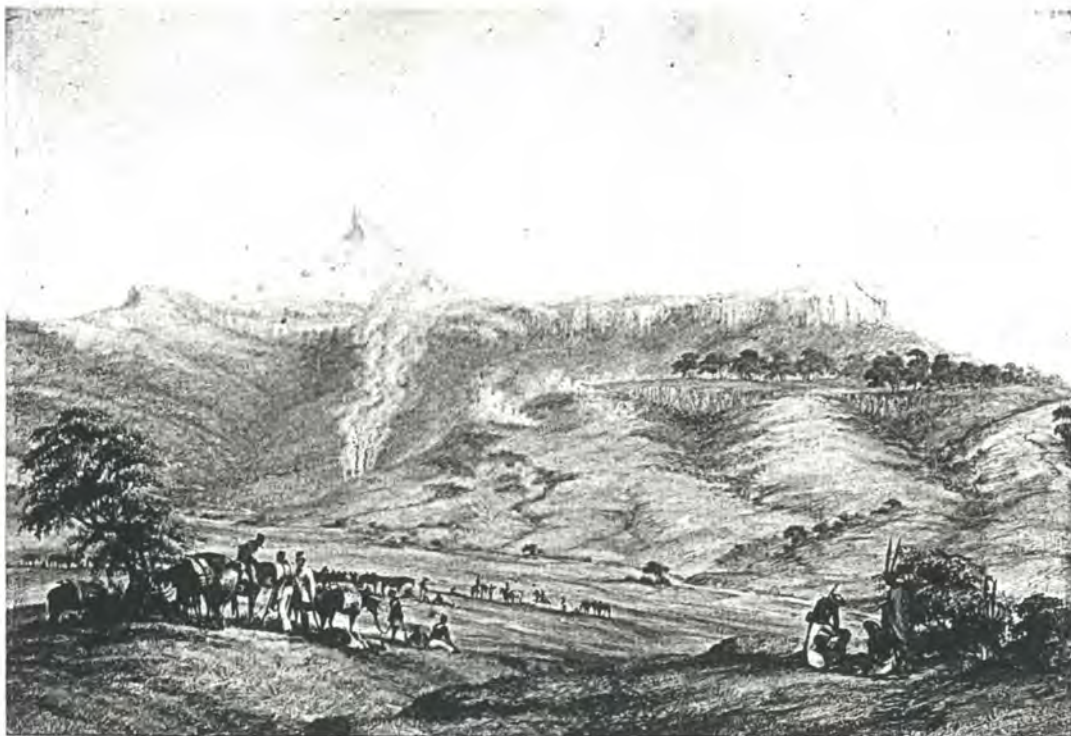
137. Cossar. Photograph of *Amathole Basin*, 1992.

actually separated in time (*idem*). The inclusion of several episodes taking place in one rationally constructed, illusionistic space dates from the Italian Quattrocento - Baines drawing on yet another European tradition.

Baines painted four versions of this scene, amongst these being *Attack on the Amatolas 26th June 1851*, fig 138, and the unnamed figure 139. Though in form and subject matter these paintings are similar, the view in *Attack...*, is taken, as Baines describes, a little to the right of the former. Missing from *Attack...*, is the coulisse formed by the large bush on the left of *74th Highlanders....* Both paintings sport figures looking inwards and one figure pointing towards the middle plane leading the viewer towards the action. Of interest in the second painting, is the Fingo with "chieftain" headgear on the right, whom the artist has incorporated more as an "aesthetic element" rather than actually depicting him in combat. Here we recall Arnold's statement regarding



138. Baines. *The Attack on the Amatolas*, 1851.



139. Baines. Similar view to *The Attack*, with slight variations in trees and grouping, 1851.

topographical accuracy versus Baines's "delight in transforming" views. While the words *storming* and *attack* used in the titles of the paintings imply military action in progress, the sense of leisure and tranquility pervading these scenes make it hard to imagine them as centres of mortal combat!

We are reminded of the lack of action in I'Ons's "military" scenes discussed in chapter V. Figures 138 and 139 display a similar sense of tranquility, although they differ somewhat in "staffage" and in figure 138, a lack of vegetation. Similar comparisons may be drawn between Baines's depiction of the Wolf River Valley in figure 140 and the photograph of the valley, fig 141.

Perhaps seduced by the picturesque scenery of the Amatholes, Baines, the official "war" artist, had become artistically euphoric and one wonders what the reactions of his superiors to these tranquil scenes might have been. Perhaps in this case, they might well have shaken their heads! However, he had not entirely forgotten his commission to depict the action of war as can be seen in



140. Baines. *The Wolf River Valley*, 1851.



141. Cossar. Photograph of *Wolf River Valley*, 1992.

figures 65 and 66 in chapter IV.

The Attack..., fig 138, was the scene where Baines not only experienced two bullets flying past his head while he tried to sketch but also, for the first time, "raised [his] weapon against "a fellow creature". "Of my own feelings... I shall say nothing", Baines writes characteristically; we know, however, that the experience left him somewhat distraught: "the power of sight seemed gone from me, and a hazy indistinctness floated before my eyes". His shot fell short, though "in good line", according to his mess-mate, Mr Hoole (Baines,1964:197). It was significant that Baines would shoot at a person. "I would rather lose my own life than take that of a fellow creature" he had said (Bradlow,1977:2) and though it may be *all fair in love and war*, the experience had gone much "against his grain". This becomes all the more significant when one compares his attitude towards hunting animals to that of hunting the rebel Khoi. Bradlow writes that "Baines never killed animals which the artist described as 'the only indisputable aborigines of this land', unless it was necessary to feed the expedition... His attitudes to game were nearer to those of twentieth-century conservationists than a nineteenth-century killer". He reiterates that Baines referred to the Vaal River as "the classic ground of the late adventurer-traveller Captain Harris" and that Baines had asked feelingly, "where now, alas, are the unbounded herds portrayed by his equally spirited pen and pencil?" (Bradlow,1977:2).

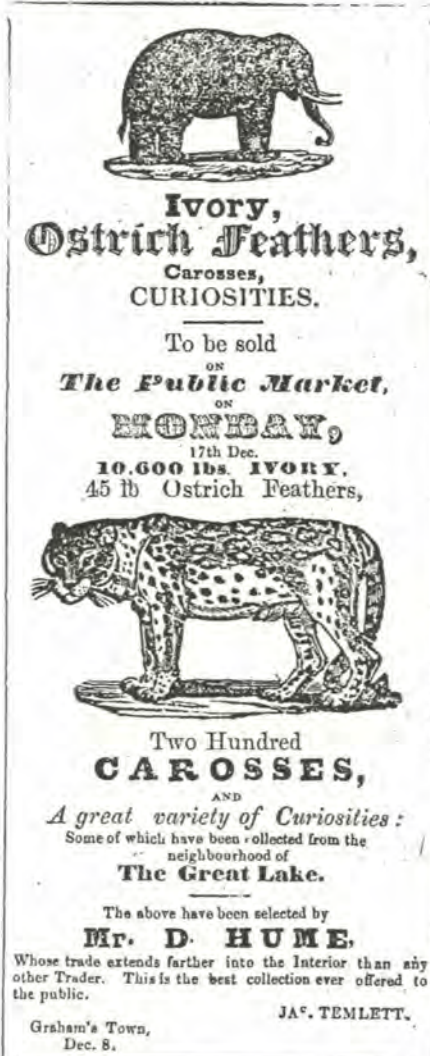
However, a study of Baines's journal reveals not a few contradictions in his attitudes. We should take note, for example, of his conversation with an "old German trader" who had asked what Baines would make of an elephant, should they encounter one. "Shoot him, if I can", Baines had quickly rejoined, "and, if not, sketch him" (Baines,1961:14). With regard to true-blood Victorian attitudes to hunting, it appears that Baines was no different from his breech-loading brothers. "The pleasure that Baines anticipated most during his travels in southern Africa was the opportunity to hunt the wild animals which were then still abundant" writes Carruthers (1990:87). "He had been



142. Baines. *Mr Hume's Wagons*, 1850.

inspired by the writings of William Cornwallis Harris (already discussed in chapter IV) and George Frederick Angas and he eagerly awaited the 'mortal combat with the noble animals'" (Baines, 1961:1). With regard to conserving wildlife, it cannot be expected that Baines would be any different to others of his age who looked to Africa as the playground of the hunter. Had he fostered truly conservative attitudes, for example, he would have left the lioness lying asleep on a sandy shore (Wallis, 1976:176), or the alligator (Diemont, 1977:171), rather than firing at them, while on one occasion he and his group fired at a herd of hippopotami of which six were killed (Wallis, 1976:178). Examples of such killings abound amongst his sketches and in his journals. "The economy of the interior of southern Africa still relied on the by-products of the hunt, and increased trading activities, together with a burgeoning number of available firearms, meant that the systematic destruction of wild life was well under way in Baines's time" writes Carruthers (1990:87).

Though modern-day conservationists may regard *Mr Hume's Wagons*, 1850, fig 142, as a record of the sacriligious bartering of animal carcasses and by-products, Baines had certainly not intended it as such. It illustrates, graphically and unemotionally the attitudes described above. The tusks of at least fifty elephants, the hides of crocodiles and of innumerable leopards lie in the Market place, ready for inspection (cf with fig 143). Two "genteel" family groups appear in the foreground. Men of the business class, with top hats and jackets, line the edges of the middleground, while the traders appear in short jackets and straw hats (Strutt, 1975). The smaller man in white jacket mopping his brow just to the right of centre is the entrepreneur David Hume himself, who typically spent up to four months at a time in the interior collecting his wares. It is of interest to note that the lithographer of figure 144 up-dated the fashions of the women and children in his version of this painting, which appeared in *The Illustrated London News* in 1866 - a caveat to historians who would deduce too much from lithographs! Notice, too, how the church and the hills have been brought closer, the proportions of the church altered to give a higher tower and the hills made more imposing!



**Ivory,
Ostrich Feathers,
Carosses,
CURIOSITIES.**

To be sold
ON
The Public Market,
ON
MONDAY,
17th Dec.
10.600 lbs. IVORY,
45 lb Ostrich Feathers,

**Two Hundred
CAROSSES,**
AND
A great variety of Curiosities:
Some of which have been collected from the
neighbourhood of
The Great Lake.

The above have been selected by
Mr. D. HUME.
Whose trade extends farther into the Interior than any
other Trader. This is the best collection ever offered to
the public.

Graham's Town,
Dec. 8.

JA. TEMLETT.

143. Advertisement for sale of Mr Hume's wares, Graham's Town Journal, 8 Dec. 1850.



144. *Mr Hume's Wagons*, Illustrated London News lithograph, 1866.

Baines's latter life after leaving the Eastern Cape was highlighted by his travels to Australia, the Zambesi and South West Africa [Namibia]. He returned to England twice, where he consolidated his research in lectures given to the public and to the Geographical Society of which he was voted an Honorary Life Member in 1874. He was assisted by his friend in London, Mr Robert White, and his mother, who were undaunting in their efforts to bring his work to the attention of publishers and public alike (Wallis, 1976:152). A report in the *Graham's Town Journal* on the 10 July 1852³² stated:

"It is very satisfactory to know that they have attracted the attention of the highest personage in the Realm,... and that... Her Majesty the Queen has been much gratified by an inspection of the works in question. We have only to add to this, that lithograph copies are about to be published in London by the eminent house of Ackermann and Co. It is with peculiar satisfaction we state that these works of art have attracted the attention at home of which, on several accounts, we consider them deserving. It will be known to many of our readers that these pictures have been painted by the artist from sketches taken by himself along this frontier; that they embrace views of some of the romantic scenery to be found in this country as correct delineations of its fereae naturae and aboriginal inhabitants... Several of his pictures are spirited representations of [his war-time efforts], while for fidelity of landscape, artistic skill in the grouping, and attention to those minute details that give a life-like character to a pictorial work, they are entitled to high commendation".

Such appraisals may well have gratified our struggling artist, whose latter life was dogged by continual hardships and disappointments. A party organised to search for the missing David

32 Further reports on Baines can be found in the *Graham's Town Journal* dated GTJ 22 5 1852; 10 7 1852 and 7 8 1852.

Livingstone did not include Baines - a search for which he was amply qualified. A relationship with the daughter of a military Captain of Berkshire, Miss Emily Burslem, who had seemed a likely candidate for marriage, never culminated at the altar (Wallis, 1976:155); likewise some small mining ventures about which Baines had written that he was "seeking the opening of the northern gold-fields as a public benefit rather than his own interest" (idem:222) failed to achieve success. Thus the writer of the preface to Baines's book *The Gold Regions of S E Africa*, 1877, refers in the beginning to Baines "as an artist, a geographer and an explorer"... but later to "poor Baines" (Baines, 1877:vii) - words which are echoed in the cartographer Henry Hall's memoir appearing in the same volume (idem:xi).³³

"It is remarkable that, in a story so full of frustrations, the final impression is not one of failure," Wallis concludes in his biography (1976:224). "If [Baines] missed his ends, he enjoyed himself by the way". "And", he continues, "if the consummation of a venture eluded him, there was the comfort of knowing that he had done his redoubtable best". We cannot disagree. Baines's work showed that he was "true" to himself, his age and his nation, - if not always as "faithful" to his subject as he proclaimed. "I must either be justly proud of my success or not ashamed of my failure", Baines had said (Wallis, 1976:224). Certainly he had no cause for shame. He had revelled in the beauty of Nature, in God and the Universe. He had served his fellow man, the Crown and, though most menially, himself.

Though we must be critical of Wallis's statement that "it would be idle to impugn Baines's work for defects of imagination, inspiration or style", nevertheless we must applaud his far-sighted conclusion that "it would be idle to damn Baines's pictures with the faint praise of being 'historical'" (Wallis, 1976:224). Our study has shown that in many ways Baines's work surpassed the limitations of being mere "historical records". His artistic perceptions led him to adjust scenery according to his own artistic sensibilities and the traditions in which he had been nurtured. We have seen that he was not averse to adjusting the topography of the land or introducing trees or rocks in order to enhance the artistic quality of a picture. His art reflected the complexities of a many-faceted society. It spoke of people in a land that to each was "home" - if not by birth, then by adoption. It reflected his nurturing and his leanings towards the British Picturesque to which he first adhered, though later he developed a more personal style. He claimed to have interpreted the sights and events as closely as his ability permitted, yet, we have found, even within the bounds of such a goodly promise lie the pitfalls of personal vision and vantage. Any claims, therefore, to Baines's total reliability as a recorder, military artist and topographer, must be approached with caution. However, in his claim to have captured the *character* of the land (Baines, 1961:1), he amply succeeded for, like any true artist, he did not merely *record*, but *interpreted*, the world according to his own vision.

33 Though at various times in his life, Baines had received public approbation for his work, he as never to see his ventures bear fruit financially. Somewhat ironically, two days after his death on 8 May 1875, the *Graham's Town Journal* reported that "1002 copies of SA Goldfields have been subscribed for Port Elizabeth" (GTJ 10 5 1875). Today, Baines's oils may fetch up to R250 000 each.

VII

CONCLUSION: HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS OR ARTWORKS?

We have seen how the worldview of an artist is reflected in his sketches and paintings - influencing his choice of subject-matter and the composition of his artworks and we have discussed how his worldview encapsulates the worldview of the cultural group of which he is a part as well as his own ideas and nurturing. However, the aesthetic requirements dictated by the group as to what constitutes an "acceptable" picture still further modify his approach to his subject-matter and his compositional format. In this investigation, we have studied a wide cross-section of the pictorial work of Eastern Cape artists in an attempt to identify from their images aspects of the artists' worldview and hence the attitudes and perceptions of the time when each artwork was created.

Following Lewis-Williams, we have discussed the central rôle that rock art played in Bushman culture and how, through these images, the shaman communicated their "other-worldly" experiences in trance dance. Their artworks were metaphors for hallucinatory experiences which included the sensations of flying, being under water and dying - experiences which reflected their perceptions of the world as seen with the physical eye as well as the "inner eye" of the spirit. While art did not play such a central role in the culture of the European travellers and settlers, our inquiry has attempted to show how the images of the Eastern Cape artists reflected the attitudes and perceptions that developed amongst the inhabitants of the eastern Frontier.

Early travellers to this region had tinged their accounts of the people and places they visited with their own personal (Romantic) feelings and learned social attitudes and responses. Since many of them were writers with European readers in mind, such recounts were often high-lighted with dramatic appeal or presented in forms acceptable to their European audiences. Half-naked "savages" often had decidedly Caucasian features, while their rulers sported golden crowns and sceptres. British settlers likewise tended to interpret the people and places of their adopted homeland from their own rose-tinted Romantic and Euro-centric perspectives. However, initial perceptions of the indigenous peoples changed after settlement got under way and closer contact with Africa and her peoples led to a reappraisal of the new land. The Romantic conception of an "Edenic Africa" inhabited by "noble savages" and "innocents", was replaced by more realistic perceptions which ranged from stately chiefs and industrious peasants to wayside squabblers and drunken layabouts. However, some newcomers tended to let the pendulum swing too far, and could only see the lesser qualities of the "other". Artists of that time often reflected this by depicting drunks and loafers or by cyphering indigenous peoples and their dwellings out of their compositions.

The Edenic landscape similarly gave way to more realistic interpretations, becoming more prosaic though still tinged with characteristics of the Romantic idiom. As the colonists progressively ordered their environment according to their own cultural-specific attitudes and ideas,

so images of landscape reflected the social and perceptual changes of the period. The three-plane model inherited from the British Picturesque landscape tradition, sporting dark *coulisses* or stage-wings leading the eye farther into the depth of the image, underwent subtle, yet significant, changes. From the period of settlement up to about 1853, the initial dark "strip-like" foreground, which typically contained some vegetation and small groups of spectators and which overlooked a wide middle plane showing settlement or figures (often diminutively drawn), gradually altered in depth. A third plane with vast hills and distant mountains which, the author proposes, initially suggested the untamed hinterland awaiting settlement, became of less significance. In the years 1853 - 1875, the widened foreground plane often merged with the middle plane to form a single entity, seemingly obviating the need for the "introductory barrier" common in the earlier years. Human figures were then often drawn larger and more confidently with more "business" occurring in the foreground plane itself, while the background plane became of less consequence suggesting a land now "tamed" and secure. Such devices, the author contends, subtly underline the new-found confidence of the colonists in their ability to subjugate and control the African hinterland.

It would be interesting to pursue these ideas further by studying the art associated with the colonists in North America and in Australia, two other vast countries associated with similar immigrant settlements. Questions arise as to whether those artworks reveal similar features and changes regarding landscape compositions and whether the relative size or locations of figures similarly suggest changes concomitant with varying socio-political scenarios in the community. Did such changes occur precisely at the same (absolute) time in all lands, or at different times determined by the local stage of colonisation? Unfortunately, the limitations of this study necessitate that such questions must remain unanswered here.

The images of the two foremost nineteenth-century Eastern Cape artists, Thomas Baines and Frederick I'Ons, although originating from a common Romantic heritage, show individuality in approach. Baines's compositions reveal that he enjoyed wide open spaces - a love, the author speculates, that may well have originated in the wide and watery world of his youth. By contrast, I'Ons's images have a more "closed-in" quality, perhaps the result of his upbringing in the more built-up outskirts of London?

While I'Ons was less skilled and innovative than Baines, he nevertheless succeeded in capturing the essence of Frontier life. In I'Ons's work, Eastern Cape people and places became romantic metaphors for those in the pictures of Europe - his art often betraying his reliance on the "Old Masters" of the seventeenth-century. In this regard, he was little different to other artists of his time who looked to the classical world as the archetype of a "higher and nobler" form of art and considered the emulation of seventeenth-century Dutch artists to be equally important. Whereas Baines attempted to depict landscapes as accurately as possible, I'Ons was no landscape painter, preferring to use landscape as "backdrops" for his "actor-figures". In his pictures, the hills surrounding Grahamstown often appear Italianate and foreign while people resemble players in rôles à la Hogarth, or the peasants of "Peasant Peter" Breugel and Adriaen van Ostade. The need to earn a living clearly stunted the initial artistic promise shown by his pre-immigration works but the fact that he persevered as a painter on an artistically sterile Frontier, shows his tenacity and

determination. His oft-repeated "pot-boiler" representations of river and wayside scenes and Xhosa personalities betray a need for closer knowledge and observation of Nature. In such images, his palette takes on a darker timbre, his forms becoming stultified and lifeless. Though his images suggest that he perceived the Khoi as "drunks and layabouts", his affection for them was evidenced by a livelier touch and an accompanying lighter palette mirroring the light-hearted moments he often chose to depict. Portraits of Xhosa chiefs, by contrast, showed that he was well acquainted with their physiognomies and characters, while portraits of whites showed a similar detailing of personality-types though the subjects were usually depicted in the formal portrait idioms of Europe.

In many ways, Baines epitomised the ever-curious nineteenth-century man; his artistry not only reflects his own vision and values, but also those of his "philosophical and political home - the British Empire" (Carruthers, 1990:15). Crucial to the understanding of Baines's work, is the recognition that his images did not merely *record* the people and scenery around him, but often reveal his rôle as a "silent" observer of the world. The author suggests that Baines's practice of placing himself in many of his own depictions with his back to the viewer, as if to view the scene together with the viewer, was a device not merely to lead the eye inwards but to signify his rôle as mediator and interpreter of the world presented.

Though his journal testifies to Baines's love of people, it is strange that his close observation of Nature did not apply to images of people who are, whether negroid or Caucasian, often rendered clumsily and without character. He depicts himself at ease in the company of black people, though his journal reveals that he was culturally chauvanistic regarding both the "savage" tribes and the Dutch. In many instances he, too, shows his reliance on the Picturesque formula and his pre-1860's works show the nineteenth-century penchant for "Old Master" tones. However, we find the maturer Baines adjusting his palette in closer keeping with the strong, even light of the African sun, when his colours take on a "sparkle" absent in the earlier days. Characteristic of his time, he emulated the "Old Master" approach to History Paintings, taking his cue from the French seventeenth-century painters rather than the Dutch. Accurate historical details in his History pieces testify to his being well read while his use of human and technical models point to a concern for visual accuracy as well.

Baines was not only skilful in his observations of animal and plant life, but succeeded in evoking the *atmosphere* of a scene or a region. He claimed to have captured the character of the land as closely as his ability permitted, yet he invariably interpreted scenery in terms more typical of the Romantic artist than the topographer. For instance, in his compositions commissioned to record the events and scenery of the Eighth Frontier war in 1851, we noted that military action takes a secondary place, showing that Baines, the artist, was rather more interested in the scenic beauty of his surroundings than in the action at hand. Although reasonably accurate in his topographical studies, the author has shown, by a comparison of some of his scenes with modern photographs, that Baines was not averse to adjusting aspects of scenery or townscapes to suit aesthetic considerations.

Although Thomas Baines attempted to remain faithful to the facts, our study of his works reveal that he was firstly an artist. This has vindicated the plea by Arnold that he warrants assessment as

an artist who travelled, rather than as a traveller who sketched (Arnold, 1990:135). That Baines was not merely a "topographer" or "recorder" is further evidenced by his scorn of the camera, writing that it sought only "literal fidelity" and smoothness of surface, thus disregarding the attractive "Picturesque irregularities" discussed earlier. It surely follows that any artist who claims to be more than a draughtsman must necessarily adjust the scene before him in order to create a pleasing picture, and we have seen many examples of this in the foregoing pages. We are thus left with the fact that the scope of Africana art reaches farther than the notion that it is merely a collection of historical documents or records of the past. Africana art, in common with other artforms, arises from the artistic sensibilities of the artist. For this reason, it can never be entirely free from the ramifications of the artist's personality and worldview.

What of the value of Africana art as historical documents?

Our investigation has shown that one cannot place too much significance on details recorded in pictures. In the case of Baines, his personal feelings and his rôle as mediator and interpreter render his recounts, and those of others like him, unreliable when extracting historical information. Since different artists have very different approaches to picture composition, it is essential that the historian knows the style of the artist whose work he is analysing before deriving any conclusions. We may recall that Baines remained faithful to features in the landscape, but compressed them to create a pleasing picture, while I'Ons was wont to generalise his landscapes into a strict Picturesque form as backdrops for his figures.

Furthermore, we have seen how figures are often generalisations and arranged in poses to suggest (to Euro-centric eyes) a particular emotion, rather than being rendered accurately. I'Ons was an exponent of this device, often depicting Khoi dancers in poses reminiscent of a dainty mazurka or quadrille - which evoke, for Europeans, the feeling of gaiety and dance - rather than faithfully recording their traditional dance postures - which would have appeared somewhat ponderous and earthy to European eyes. Similarly Klopper (1989), in her study of the traveller Angas's illustrations of Zulu costume, has pointed out that Angas, although apparently meticulous in his attention to detail, was inclined to alter significant aspects of the costumes to fit the Classical poses in which he chose to depict his subjects. We have also warned that historical details gleaned from lithographs must be treated with even more caution, for the lithographer was inclined to introduce his own interpretation into a scene of which he generally had no personal experience.

In the light of this study, the author suggests that the rôle of Africana art as a source of historical detail be reconsidered and caution be exercised in extracting information from artworks of the Eastern Cape artists. That is not to deny that they do contain a wealth of information about the people and times in which they were produced, but to sound a note of caution that the background to the artwork and the style of the artist must first be carefully appraised. The author believes that the artworks must be treated firstly as works of Art and, as such, studied for what they can reveal about the attitudes of the artists, their audience and the society in which they moved. It is the author's fervent hope that more attention will be devoted towards this aspect of Africana artworks in the future.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter I

- 1 Duccio: *Madonna with Child*, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, Siena. ca. 1300.
- 2 *Ancient Carvings on Rocks - Many are Partially Buried Beneath the Ground, and Could not be Copied*, taken in 1866. Published in Anderson, A, 1888: *Twenty-five Years in a Waggon in South Africa*, London, Chapman and Hall.
- 3 Women clapping, white-clothed figures and crouched man/animal transfigurations. From panel on farm: Glen Thorn, Tylden area, between Cathcart and Queenstown. Acknowledgment and thanks: Mr and Mrs Fitze. Author's tracing off photograph taken by M F Way-Jones.
- 4 *Rock painting of complex hallucinatory elements. North-eastern Cape*. Figure 8 in Lewis-Williams, 1988: opp p19.
- 5 Medicine men who have fallen to their knees in trance and whose departing spirits are represented by lines emanating from the tops of their heads. (A) from Balloch, Barkly East, (B) from Cullen's Wood, Barkly East. Fig 21 in Lewis-Williams, 1983.
- 6 *Shaman figure*, from the north-eastern Cape. Published in Lewis-Williams, 1988:14.
- 7 Flying figure above an Eland. Appears on farm: "Stanley" Adelaide district. Personal communication and acknowledgment: Mr and Mrs J Harebottle. Photograph: M Cosser.
- 8 *Brakfontein panel*, from the western Winterberg. Published in Hall, S, 1986:46, and used by Oliver-Evans, 1985:37. The panel measures 1,35 metres.
- 9 Medicine men bleeding from the nose in trance attempting to control a rain animal. Colours: black, red and white. De Rust, Eastern Cape. Illustration 18 in Lewis-Williams, 1983.
- 10 *Rock painting of a rain-animal and shamanistic figures*. Eastern Orange Free State. Plate 5 in Lewis-Williams, 1988. Copied by T A Dowson with additions from G W Stow's copy (Stow and Bleek, 1930:plate 58). Preserved on slab in the National Museum, Bloemfontein.
- 11 Eared snake and eland with trance dots. From panel on farm: Glen Thorn, Tylden area, between Cathcart and Queenstown. Acknowledgment and thanks: Mr and Mrs Fitze. Author's tracing off photograph taken by M F Way-Jones.
- 12 Close-up of man and horse - the man wears a British soldier's uniform, his cap lies at his feet. Fig 84 in Lewis-Williams, 1983.

Chapter II

- 13 *The Eastern Cape Frontier Area in the 1830's*. Map drawn by Oakley West, Cartographic Unit, Department of Geography, Rhodes University.
- 14 "Re-drawn map of the easternmost parts of the original map by C D Wentzel of Ensign Beutler's expedition of 1752. Dates have been added and also the scale in English miles derived from modern figures and not from those used by Wentzel for the length of a degree of latitude. The original scale is in 15 Dutch miles in length, but is here drawn for 10 miles only, to save space...the dates are those of arrival at the...camps" (Forbes, 1957:map 1).

Chapter III

- 15 Poussin: *Landscape with the Burial of Phocion*, 1648. Oil on Canvas. 70.5 x 47". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (Janson,1970:441).
- 16 Lorrain: *A Pastoral*, ca. 1650. Copper engraving. 40.6 x 54 cm. Yale University Art Gallery. (Janson,1970:441).
- 17 David: *Oath of the Horatii*, 1785. Oil on canvas. 130 x 168". (330 x 427 cm). The Louvre, Paris.
- 18 Gros: *Napoleon at Arcole*, 1796. Oil on canvas. 29.5 x 23". Louvre Paris. (Janson,1970:473).
- 19 Gros: *Napoleon on the Battlefield of Eylau*, 1808. Oil on canvas. 533 x 800 cm. The Louvre, Paris. (Honour,1979:36).
- 20a Géricault: *The Raft of the 'Medusa'*, 1818-19. Oil on canvas. 491 x 716 cm. The Louvre, Paris. (Janson,1970:481).
- 20b Delacroix: *The Massacre of Chios*, 1822-24. Oil on canvas. 422 x 353 cm. The Louvre, Paris. (Janson,190:482).
- 21 Gilpin: *A Non-Picturesque Mountain Landscape*. From his *Three Essays* 1792, plates from 1808 edition. Victoria and Albert Museum. (Andrews,1989:32).
- 22 Gilpin: *A Picturesque Mountain Landscape*. As for figure 21 above.
- 23 Gilpin: *Landscape Composition*, undated. British Museum. (Fig 7, Andrews,1989).
- 24 Daumier: *The Third Class Carriage*, ca. 1862. Etching. 26 x 35.5". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Fig 724, Janson,1970:483).
- 25 Le Nain: *The Peasant Family*, ca. 1640. 44.5 x 62.5". The Louvre, Paris. (Fig 652, Janson,1970:439).
- 26 Breugel: *Peasant Wedding*, ca. 1565. Oil on canvas. 45 x 65". Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. (Colourplate 49, Janson,1970: opp p379).
- 27 Goya: *The Dream of Reason brings Forth Monsters*. From his first set of etchings, *Los Caprichos*, begun ca. 1796, and offered for sale in 1799. (Referred to in Lynton,1965:15).

Chapter IV

- 28 *Tabula Nova Partis Africae* a woodcut from Sebastian Munster's *Geography and Cosmography*, 1544. which was a supplement to Ptolemy's *Geography* and formed the geographical text-book most used by the learned world of the latter part of the 16th century. It is the earliest map of Africa generally available. Print in possession of the author.
- 29 *Hußpferd* (Hippotamus), 1772-76, plate xiv, from Anders Sparrman *Travels in the Cape 1772-76*. The illustration bears the inscription *After a drawing shown by Herr Dr und Prof J R Torftor*.
- 30 *Allago* (Algoa Bay, now Port Elizabeth), woodcut by H Burgkmair (1508), reproduced in Devisse and Mollat, 1979, plate 258. (Fig 1 in van-Wyk Smith,1990).
- 31 Frontispiece of Le Vaillant: *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique par Le Cap de Bonne Espérance*, 1798. (See also entry for fig 32 below).

- 32 *Dangerous Attack of a Tyger*, a frontispiece of his 1790 version of *Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa*. The frontispiece of vol. 1 of the French version, was sold in 1960 by Charles J Sawyer of Rare Africana Books, London for £550. Le Vaillant's collection of 165 watercolours was purchased by the SA Government from Sotheby's in London in 1963 and is now housed in the Library of Parliament's Mendelssohn collection.
- 33 *Narina* ["flower"], *Jeune Gonaquoise*, appears in Le Vaillant, 1798. (See also entry for fig 32 above)
- 34 *Hottentots Drawn from the Life*, [sic] by Le Vaillant, appearing in John Chapman's travelogue, 1868.
- 35 *Prospects of Prosperity or Good Bottoms going into Business*, cartoon drawn by George Loftus, published in December 1810 by Walker and Co, Cornhill. Referred to in *Africana Notes and News* vi, pp55-57.
- 36 The corpse of a Bushman, pickled and shipped to Berlin, drawn by C Müller, lithographed by Neumeister lithographers. Copy SM. Caption handwritten by P W Lucas, 1837, reads:
The original - a Bushman - The corpse was preserved in a cask of strong pickle and sent to Berlin, when unpacked, this drawing was made.
- 37 *Hottentot Fishermen at the Cape*, appears in Peter Kolbe's *Capute Bonae Spei Hodierum* (1719). Kolbe (1657-1725), was a German scientist and writer on the Cape. His book was published in four languages.
- 38 *Africanische Landschafft*, ca. 1772, from Anders Sparrman's *Travels in the Cape* 1772-76.
- 39 *Gezicht Van Een Kaffersche Woonplaats*, 1803, fig 12, a lithograph drawn by De Chevalier Howen and J Smies, part of set of prints known as "Alberti prints". KGVI. Photo: G Corsane.
- 40 *Meeting of Kaffir Chiefs with Col Janssens*, by W B E Paravicini di Capelli, (*aide-de-camp* to the Colonel), 1803. KGVI. Photo: G Corsane.
- 41 *Booshuana Women Manufacturing Earthenware*, 1805, aquatint by Samuel Daniell, English painter, engraver and traveller. His work *African Scenery and Animals*, engraved by him contains 30 coloured aquatint plates, including this figure. Copy AM. Photo: G Corsane.
- 42 *Peter Simple's Foreign Adventure, No.2*, ca. 1819, collection of cartoons by Seymour, published by G S Tregear, London. SM.
- 43 *F T I'Ons: Four Men*, undated. Oil on board. SM. Photo: G Corsane.
- 44 From Mansell collections, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, published in Lewis and Foy, 1971:57.
- 45 G F Angas's wood-engraving from *Kaffirs Illustrated*, 1849. AM.
- 46 Daniell's aquatint *Scene in Sitsikamma [Tsitsikama]*, 1805. Watercolour and pencil. Reproduced in Gordon-Brown, 1975, opp. p71.
- 47 *Run with the 7th Dragoon Foxhounds*, Major Sir Harry Darrell, Bart. From a series of 4 triple-tinted views lithographed by Day and Son, Brighton, 1852. SM. Photo: John Keulder, Grahamstown.
- 48 Burchell: *A Natural Obelisk in the Country of the Bushmen*, plate 1 in *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa* 1822, vol 2.
- 49 John Centlivres Chase: *View of Graham's Town when the British Emigrants arrived*, 1820. Watercolour. SM.

- 50 *View of Graham's Town*, 1822. Artist unknown. Oil. SM. Photo: Hepburn & Jeanes, Grahamstown.
- 51 J F Foley, pen-and-ink drawing *Graham's Town from the South Side*, 1823. published in Gordon-Brown, 1975, p158. AM.
- 52 Watercolour by [Lt] "Charley and Ellen" (McCombie?) - a military couple stationed in Graham's Town with the Royal African Corps in South Africa from 1808-22. SM. Photo: Duncan Greaves, Foto-first, Grahamstown.
- 53 J F Comfield: *A View of Port Elizabeth, Algoa Bay taken from the Burying Ground, Decem.^{br}, 1823*. Lithographed by R Middleton. Copy SM.
- 54 W J Huggins: *Graham's Town, Albany Metropolis of the Eastern Division of the Cape of Good Hope*, 25 1833. Published in Gordon-Brown, 1975, opp p87. Copy SM.
- 55 Thornley Smith: *Graham's Town from the East*, ca. 1844. Tinted lithograph by W Monkhouse. SM.
- 56 Rev James Backhouse's view of the mission station, Makwatling, dated 1844, from his *Travels*. Published in Gordon-Brown, 1975:20.
- 57 Thornley Smith's drawing of Salem, dated 1848. The Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
- 58 Lithographed version of fig 57. The Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
- 59 Thomas Baines: *Sidbury*, 1849. Oil. William Fehr Collection.
- 60 Cartoon by L Cloete, 1855. Handwritten caption reads: *A Sketch representing a few of the "agremens [sic] incidental to the romantic life of a Sth. African "Pioneer of Civilisation", the Ferae shewing a decided objection to their domains being intruded on, surveyor: becoming grand centre of attraction stands a fair chance of being chawed [sic] up."* SM.
- 61 *Koonap Heights - 74th Highlanders escorting Supplies from Graham's Town*, 1852, lithographed by G Parr.
- 62 Henkel: *The Landing of the British German Legion at East London*, 1857. East London Museum.
- 63 Lithograph of *Conference at Block Drift, Kaffir Land, Jan. 30 1846 - Between Lt-Gov Col Hare and the Kaffir Chief Sandilla before commencement of the Hostilities*, by Henry Martens. Photo: G Corsane.
- 64 Sir Harry Darrell, Bart, (commanding 7th Dragoon Guards) sketched four lithographs for his book *China, India and the Cape of Good Hope and Vicinity* (1852). One was *Interview Between Col Hare, Lt-Governor, and the Caffer Chiefs at Block Drift*, 1846. KGV1. Photo: G Corsane.
- 65 Thomas Baines produced the original sketch for *Attack of the Kaffirs on the Troops under the Command of Lt-Col Fordyce of the 74th Highlanders, 8 September 1851*, which was reworked by Henry Martens and lithographed by Ackermann. SM.
- 66 *The 74th Regt and Beaufort Fingoes attaced [sic] by Macomo's Kaffirs in the Kroomie Forest, Sept 8th, 1851*. Baines's version of *The Attack...* (cf fig 65.) The Brenthurst Library. *Appears in Diemont*, 1975:151. Photo: G Corsane.
- 67 Lithograph *Macomo's Den, Waterkloof*, 1864, original watercolour by W Bowler. KGV1. Photo: G Corsane.

- 68 *Peffer's Kop, near Alice*, 1864, original watercolour by W Bowler. KGVI. Photo: G Corsane.
- 69 Lt Lumley Graham and Lt Hugh Robinson's lithograph: *Scene on Patrol in the Amatolas* (one of 13) appears in their book *Scenes in Kaffirland and Incidents in the Kaffir War of 1851-2-3*, London, 1854.
- 70 *View of the Keiskamma Hoek*, Lumley Graham, 1852. Same source as for fig 69. Photo: G Corsane.
- 71 Schiffman: *View of Graham's Town*, 1862. Lithograph. SM.
- 72 Oliver Lester: *View of Graham's Town*, 1863. Oil. Loaned by Lester family. SM. Photo: G Corsane.
- 73 Charles Jay: *Opening of First Parliament in Graham's Town*, 1864. Oil. SM. Photo: G Corsane.
- 74 J Burnett Stocks: *View of Graham's Town*, 1877. Oil. SM.
- 75 *A Waltz with a Hippotamus*, appears in Cummings: *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa*, 1850.
- 76 *Drawing a Snake*, appears in Cummings: *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa*, 1850.
- 77 *The Elephant's Head*, Bissett, 1875, opp p250.

Chapter V

- 78 *Graham's Town Journal*, advertisement for Art Union Lottery, June 1866.
- 79 A page in I'Ons's order book in possession of descendant R R Currie.
- 80 F T I'Ons: *Xhosa Chiefs beside a Stream*, undated. Oil on canvas. 190 x 300 mm. On loan: Ms J Louw. SM.
- 81 F T I'Ons: *The Ameva Pass on the Kie (Kei) River*, 1848. Oil on board. 300 x 372 mm. Signed and dated (br) "1848". Mr and Mrs O H Rissik (Alexander, 1990:14). Photo: R Cosser.
- 82 F T I'Ons: *Column of Xhosas Crossing a River in a Deep Ravine*, 1839. Oil. 43,5 x 61,5 cm. AM.
- 83 F T I'Ons: *Xhosa Ambushing Redcoats*, undated, signed. 52 x 63 cm. Presented for auction: Stephen Welz & Co catalogue 23 3 1987.
- 84 F T I'Ons: *Sandile and Armed Warriors resting on a Krans*. Oil on card. 25,5 x 34,5 cm, signed, AM.
- 85 F T I'Ons: *The Death of Hintza* undated. Oil on canvas. In possession of a descendant.
- 86 F T I'Ons: *Near Fort England*, 1839, signed. Dated. Oil on canvas. 70 x 89 cm. SM. Photo: G Corsane.
- 87 F T I'Ons: *African Chiefs in Council At a Favourite Rendevous on the Banks of the Kariega, Kreli, Sandilli, Siwani, Anta, Umgoonga-Xoxo and Damo, the Kaffir Army Doctor*, ca 1846. Oil on canvas. 143 x 237 cm. Inscribed on back: "F.I'Ons". Ex-coll Mrs S Reid and Mrs P Close. SM. "[Descendant] Colleen Yamey remembers her grandfather saying that this

painting represented a meeting before the 'War of the Axe' in 1846. The fifth name 'Umgoonga' may be a misspelling of 'Dondo', Sarhili's terrier. The meeting of such a group of chiefs at the Kariega is less than likely in 1846, and the scene was probably constructed from I'Ons's imagination in the studio. Anta was Sandile's brother; Siwana was Siyolo's brother" (Alexander,1990:16).

In a letter printed in *Grocotts Penny Mail*, dated 1 5 1911, Mr J Wellbeloved of Rosettenville, JHB, writes that "I saw the picture during the whole time of its execution by the late Mr I'Ons Snr. Mr I'Ons was my father's immediate next-door-neighbour, near Fort England and I was frequently in his studio... the Meeting took place near Fort Hare, now known as Sandile's Kop, now the last resting place of Rev James Stewart..." At the time of his writing Mr Wellbeloved said that the picture was in London in the house of Mr C Maynard (formerly a merchant of Grahamstown) who had bought it for £300. The picture is also said to have been "abandoned" at some stage in the docks in Cape Town, rescued, and brought to Grahamstown. By 1920 the painting was in possession of Mr W H Galpin in Fitzroy St. In 1921 it was hanging in the Art Gallery, Grahamstown. from whence it came under the custodianship of the Municipality and finally to the SM.

- 88 F T I'Ons: *War Meeting, M'Kosa Tribe*, "signed and dated 1850. Oil on canvas. 195,5 x 268 cm. Prov: ex-coll Sir Frederick Blaine, ex-coll J Locke, ex coll Mr Georghegan, Grahamstown; ex-coll Mr Madder. Presented by Sir Frederick Blaine to Port Elizabeth Municipality, 1912". (Alexander,1990:14). KGVI. In 1866 the painting was exhibited in the Grahamstown Library, the *Graham's Town Journal* reporting: "...the Gaika and Amakosa chiefs are holding the council which took place previous to the war in 1846, and the redoubtable chief (Sandile) is seen in the centre delivering an address with the gesticulations and energy he knew so well to exercise" (Redgrave and Bradlow,1958:25).
- 89 F T I'Ons: *1820 Settlers Camped on the Great Fish River*, 1839. Oil on canvas. 99,5 x 128 cm. Wm. Fehr Collection.
- 90 F T I'Ons: *Venus de Medicis*, signed (br) on pedestal. Pencil. 27,5 x 18 cm, AM. Prov: Ex-coll M G Fitch Esq; ex-coll E L H Croft (Alexander,1990:27). Photo: R Cosser.
- 91 F T I'Ons: *Portrait of Ugolino*, copy of a detail of Sir Joshua Reynold's painting *Count Hugolino and his children*, unsigned. Oil on canvas. 20,3 x 15,2 cm. Inscription on back: "F. I'Ons" and "Ugolino". Inscr. on frame: "A copy of Sir Joshua Reynolds Painting of the Count Ugolino by F.T I'Ons". Prov. Presented by Miss F L I'Ons. AM. Photo: R Cosser.
- 92 F T I'Ons: *Shepperson's Well ["Grahamstown in 1835"]*, private collection. Coloured photograph in SM. The well, known also as "The Old Well" was opened in 1828 and believed to have been closed in 1844. "Now that the reservoirs are unable to furnish the inhabitants of the city with an adequate water supply the older inhabitants refer to the spring from which the town was supplied with water before it boasted of a corporation.... There are some who wish to re-open the well; the water would no doubt be most acceptable; but the congregating of the natives and others around it, were it opened, would be an annoyance to business houses in the vicinity ... We are assured of this by a photograph taken by Mr [F H] I'Ons from an old oil painting of his, and which represent an old waterman Edwards sitting on a barrel of water in a cart, in fair proportions more like some devotee of Bacchus than a member of the Temperance Society whilst the cart is surrounded by a number of natives squabbling and fighting for buckets of water. *Such a scene would hardly suit the Eastern metropolis of the present day.*" "The Great Eastern", January 1867.
- 93 Report in "The Great Eastern", Jan 1867.
- 94 F T I'Ons: detail of figure in *Shepperson's Well*, fig 92.
- 95 F T I'Ons: detail of figure in *Canteen Scene*, fig 96.
- 96 F T I'Ons: *Canteen Scene, Eastern Province*, signed and inscribed "South Africa". Oil on board. 32 x 38 cm. A copy of this painting by W H Langschmidt (1805-66) is housed in the William Fehr Collection, Cape Town.

- 97 Adriaen van Ostade (1610-84): *Scene Outside Village Tavern*, undated.
- 98 F T I'Ons: *Portrait of Nxele* ("Makana"), signed, undated. Oil on board. 33 x 21 cm. Ex-coll Miss Josie Wood, Grahamstown. SM.
- 99 F T I'Ons: *Portrait of Phato*, 1853. One of a set of four small portraits commissioned by Sir George Cathcart (including also Sandile, Siyolo and "Maccomo"). Oil on metal. 13,8 x 11,8 cm (oval format). Signature and inscription attached to back: "Pato 1846", and on the frame backing: "General The Hon^{ble} Sir George Cathcart". Commissioned by Cathcart in 1853. In coll. Mrs H L Schaary (Alexander, 1990:17).
- 100 F T I'Ons: *Xhosa Women Conversing at a Roadside Halt*, undated, signed (br). Oil on wood. 26,0 x 36,2 cm. Mr R A Ross, Port Elizabeth. Though generally not a topographer, the road on which I'Ons has depicted the women can be identified as the "Old Bay Road", entering Howieson's Poort, near Grahamstown. The same road is depicted in "Wool Wagons on Old Bay Road" in possession of SM.
- 101 F T I'Ons: *Portrait of Edward Hunt Dell*, third son of Edward Hunt Dell, Settler; undated, unsigned. Oil on board. SM. Ex coll Mrs D Aldworth. Young Edward's gun accidentally went off while he was out with friends, shooting birds near Sugarloaf Hill, Grahamstown. He died on 15 10 1860 aged 14 years and 2 months. An entry in the Order Book on 10 10 1861 reads "Mr E Dell, portrait of his son, £10 10 00".
- 102 F T I'Ons: *Portrait of Michael Hurley*, in uniform of the First Volunteer Corps found at Cradock; killed 27 10 1861 aged 25 years at Klipkraal. 32,5 x 24 cm, signed, undated. Oil on board. SM. Hurley married the daughter of Henry Amos of Stone's Hill, Grahamstown. After his death, his widow married John Syms Willcox, watchmaker, Grahamstown. (SM files). A commission in the Order Book on January 1862 is for a portrait for Mrs Hurley, "Copy in oil from a Photograph of the Late Mr H".
- 103 F T I'Ons: *Portrait of William Shepherd*, ("One of original members of First Municipal Board of Grahamstown, elected 20 5 1837"), undated, unsigned. 38 x 32 cm, SM. Order book: "July 1853, Wm Shepherd, portrait in oil, £6." After February 1856 another portrait of "the late Mr Shepherd", £6.2.4
- 104 F T I'Ons: *Portrait of Sir George Cathcart*. Oil on canvas. 76,5 x 64 cm. Ex-coll. George Wood Esq. Jnr, Grahamstown. Account of the Settlers Jubilee Art Exhibition on which this work was exhibited, in *Graham's Town Journal*, 30 5 1870. SM.
- 105 F T I'Ons: *Portrait of a Hunter*, unsigned, undated. Oil on canvas. 75 x 62,7 cm, Ex coll. F R Thorold, possession R A Ross, Port Elizabeth. Mr Robin Fryde suggests this to a portrait of the young hunter/traveller, Roualeyn Gordon Cumming (1820-66), (Alexander, 1990:21 refers to "George" Cumming). An article in the *Illustrated London News*, 26 6 1852, describes Cumming as "upwards of six feet in height, admirably proportioned for strength and agility... with a countenance that would be feminine but for his thick moustache and the latent fire in the calm piercing eyes". Photo: D Greaves, Fotofirst, Grahamstown.
- 106 F T I'Ons: *The Settler and The Settler Settled*; both 37 x 30,5 cm, signed, 1852. Oil on board. SM. Ex coll Miss Josie Wood, ex coll Clairmont-Woodcombe, 1951.
- 107 Adriaen van Ostade (attributed): (a) *The Pipe Smoker* and (b) *The Publican*. Oil on panel. Each 21,5 x 17 cm. Ex coll Late Ester Newman. Offered for auction Stephen Welz & Co., Cape Town, 8 7 1985.
- 108 F T I'Ons: *The Old Oyster Man at the Kowie*, 32,8 x 38,7 cm, (oval format), signed and dated "1877" on back. Prov: Ex-coll G L Galpin, E W Galpin, W H Galpin. Mrs J E Hoole, Grahamstown.

- 109 D van Tol (1635-76): *The Oyster Seller*. 30,5 x 27 cm. Appears in catalogue of Flemish and Dutch paintings included in *Max Michaelis Gift to the Union of South Africa*, 1913, London, Clower & Son.
- 110 Photograph taken by Frederick Henry I'Ons of his father at an advanced age. Copy SM.

Chapter VI

- 111 William Howard Schroeder: *Portrait of Thomas Baines*, Lithograph from the journal *The Zingari*, 25 6 1875. "Shroeder was a regular contributor towards portraits and caricatures to this weekly journal... this portrait would not appear to have been made from life." (Wallis,1976:iv).
- 112 T Baines: *Krantz between Koonap and Fish Rivers, June 21 1848*, signed "T Baines, Graham's Town", and dated. Oil. AM.
- 113 T Baines: A watercolour of the Yellow-billed Hornbill (*Tockus flavirostris* Rupp) (*Xanthory-Nochus leucomelas* (light)). Sketched at Great Barmen 25 7 1864 (Wallis,1976:xix).
- 114 T Baines: *The Welwitschia Mirabilis*, or Nyanka Hamkop Plant of Hyam kop, Namibia, Watercolour sketched on a glass slide, May 1861 (Wallis,1976:xviii).
- 115 T Baines: *The Last of My Old Steed, Hotspur*, 7 October, 1849. signed* "T Baines, Grahamstown". Oil. 18" x 25". AM. Inscription on stretcher: "The end of my old steed Hotspur, in the Tarka, 130 miles from home - South Eastern end of the Great Table Mountain".
- 116 T Baines: *Koobie and Group of Bushmen at Koobie*, 1861. Oil. 18" x 26". AM. "Inscription on back of canvas: 'Koobie and Group of Bushmen at Koobie the outspan is in 21 2 20 / 21.7.3 Koobie Water in 21.8.30 / 21.7.15 T Baines Koobie Novr 12 1861 Painted on the spot from life'. Baines writes in his *Exploration* pp 218-119, that Koobie - the place - was named after the father of Koobie - the Bushman. He describes the picture in detail...Reproduced in *Lantern*, Vol 2, March 1953, p367 (Africana Museum Catalogue, Vol 1). Further descriptions follow in *Explorations*, 1864:218-19.
- 117 T Baines: *Attack on Macomo's Stronghold in Fuller's Hoek*, [27 10 1851]. An oil painting, probably the one painted by Henry Baines after this watercolour, is owned by Mr Robert Levitt of Durban. A description of the action at Fuller's Hoek is found in Kennedy (1964:241-3).
- 118 T Baines: *Fort Selwyn*, 1850. Oil on canvas. SM. In March 1835, during the Sixth Frontier War, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape Colony ordered, plans to be drawn for a fortified barrack on the Drostdy Ground in Graham's Town. To protect the approaches to the town, he ordered that a redoubt be built on Gunfire hill, from where it would dominate the surrounding ravines. Plans were completed for approval in July 1835. The Fort was completed in June 1836. The Fort was occupied by the the Royal Artillery from 1836-62, after which most of the garrison was withdrawn from Graham's Town. In 1845 a semaphore mast was erected as part of a telegraph system which connected Graham's Town with Fort Beaufort and Fort Peddie. Until September 1870, a nine o'clock gun was fired every morning, allegedly to remind the civil servants that they should be at work. The Fort was used again during the Boer War 1899-1902, then fell into disrepair. It was declared a National Monument in 1836, and restored in the 1970's. [SM files].
- 119 Photograph of Fort Selwyn, taken by R Cosser from a position close to that used by Baines in fig 118.
- 120 Photograph from the wall of Fort Selwyn of Grahamstown as it appears today. Photograph: R C Cosser.

- 121 This sketch is very likely the pencil sketch for Baines's painting of *Fort Selwyn*. Brenthurst Collection.
- 122 T Baines: *Potter's Inn*, ca. 1849. Location of original oil unknown; photograph of the painting in possession of SM.
- 123 *Hotel [owned] by H Peach*, photograph: Frank v d Riet collection held at SM. Also appears in *Grahamstown in Early Photographs*, 1974, p81, Cape Town, David Philip publishers.
- 124 T Baines: *High Street, Graham's Town*, ca. 1849. Oil on canvas. SM, on loan from E P Guardian Loan and Investment Company.
- 125 *High Street, Graham's Town*, ca. 1850, lithographed version of fig 124 prepared for Godlonton and Irving: *Narrative of the Kaffir War*, Graham's Town.
- 126 Photograph found in T E Buckley's hunting album now in the SM from which the painting, fig 127, was produced, 1874.
- 127 T Baines: *South African Bullock Wagons*, 1874, painting done by Baines after the photograph, fig 126. A photograph of this painting is also in T E Buckley's album. SM.
- 128 T Baines: *Kaffirs having made their Fortunes Leaving the Colony*, 1848. Oil. AM.
- 129 T Baines: *Interior of the Farm of Louis Pretorius*, 1848. Oil on canvas. 47 x 64,5 cm. Signed "T Baines Graham's Town Oct^r 9 1848". AM.
- 130 T Baines: *Cradock Place*, 1873. Oil on canvas. Depicts the residence of John Centlivres Chase. Situated a few kilometres from Port Elizabeth, it is now part of the suburb Algoa Park. It was bought by Frederick Korsten in 1812 and the house was built soon after this. Korsten made it his headquarters before the arrival of the 1820 Settlers. In 1820 there had been a proposed sale, which did not take place. At that time, the estate was advertised with two windmills, a tannery and a blacksmith shop and many other facilities including the orchards. Korsten died in 1839, and it was taken over by his son-in-law, Mr John C Chase, an 1820 Settler and well-known author who also became the district Magistrate. (M Hillebrand, Exhibition notes, *East Cape Landscapes*, 1992 Festival of the Arts Exhibition, Grahamstown). Photo: D Greaves, Fotofirst, Grahamstown.
- 131 T Baines: *Fingo Village*, 1848. "This sketch was the preliminary drawing for the finished oil now in the AM, and for the lithograph, *Fort Beaufort and Council of Kaffirs*, in the album entitled *Scenery and Events in South Africa*" (Wallis, 1976:30). A description of Baines's visit is recorded in his journal (Baines, 1961:39-40).
- 132 T Baines: *The Battle of Stocks Kraal*, 1847, 36" x 56". Oil. Signed "T Baines 28 June 1847". National Archives of Zimbabwe. The Battle of the Gwangqa occurred on the 28th May 1846, when Fort Peddie was attacked by some eight thousand black warriors; an attack which was rebuffed by cannon and new-fangled Congreve rockets. Although the garrison was saved, it was now desperately short of ammunition and supplies. Sir Peregrine Maitland, in an attempt to procure supplies for the stricken Fort, organised a wagon train under Col Somerset's command. On the 31st May 1846, the train passed the Fish River at Committee's Drift and, in the jungle beyond, was again attacked by warriors. After eleven hours of fighting, the wagons arrived battered but intact at Fort Peddie. Somerset, concerned that his wagons should return safely, organised a diversion. During the night of 7th June 1846, a strong party of military were sent from Fort Peddie to stage an attack on the kraal of Stokwe, the Amambalu chieftain, near the Gwang[q]a rivulet. Setting out at dawn Somerset's force came upon some hundreds of warriors squatting around their fires. They were on their way to attack a wagon-train. Lt. Bisset, who had been appointed to reconnoitre the situation ahead, galloped back and reported that some five or six hundred blacks were just beyond, in an open country where cavalry could act to advantage. With a loud hurrah, the whole body of military then attacked, "sending the warriors scampering for the safety of the nearby forests" (Milton, 1983:164). Over 200 Xhosa bodies were counted the next morning,

and almost as many perished from wounds received. "It had been against all rules of black warfare for a large body of warriors to cross an open country in broad daylight, but their successes had led them to disregard such rules. They never did so again, for what they had learned at the Gwang(q)a, needed no repetition" (Theal, 1964:15-16).

- 133 T Baines: *The Battle of Blaauwkrantz 1838*, possibly painted between 1853-55. 25" x 30,3". Oil. AM. Inscriptions on the labels of the 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. T Baines". - "This picture does n... belong to the Phil... and Hobones collection Jan 1894". Signed "T Baines. Lynn...185...".
The attack occurred on the afternoon after Dingaan's fateful attack on Retief and his men on 14 February 1838. In a spate of similar attacks, 41 men, 56 women, 185 children and 250 coloured servants lost their lives. Two children, Johanna van der Merwe and Catherina Prinsloo, aged about 10 and 12, escaped. Though each had received 19 and 21 stab wounds respectively, they were found still living (Theal, 1964:365).
- 134 T Baines: *Campsite at the Kwezana Stream*, 1851. Watercolour in Brenthurst Collection. Also published in Diemont, 1975:133.
- 135 Photograph taken from a position close to that used by Baines for fig 134. 1992. Photo: E J Willie.
- 136 T Baines: *74th Highlanders and Port Elizabeth Fingo Levy storming the position of the Rebel Hottentots in the Amatolas 26 6 1851*. Oil. 18.5 x 26". Inscription on stretcher: "Hogsback - Amatola River - The 74th Highlanders Port Elizabeth fingo levey storming the position of the Rebel Hottentots and Port Elizabe...ing the position of the Rebels in the Amatolas June 16 [sic] 1851". Another inscription is now unreadable but ending "this is where the first shot was fired". Baines describes the scenery in his journal:
Thursday, June 26th, ...It was the brow of the rocky steep, covered with bush, overlooking the spacious basin of the Amatolas with steep hills, clad with almost impenetrable forests and crowned with huge perpendicular faces of rock, thrown - except where the yet invisible sun began to throw its brilliant sparkling lights upon their projecting parts - into the deepest shadow beyond. At the head of the valley, a little to our left, rose the Hogs Back, or great Amatola peak, the precipices of which poured down a succession of beautiful cascades, looking, as the first beams of morning fell, like threads of silver intersecting the dark foliage, and forming a beautiful clear stream, which traversing the whole length of the valley, joined the Keiskamma at the bend on which Fort Cox is situated. Turning a little more to the right, the General, who had now arrived, remarked that the camp we had just left would form a beautiful picture; and I was debating with myself whether to stay behind and sketch it, when a magnificent prospect down the valley, as far as Fort Cox and the Keiskamma, opened on our view" (Baines, 1964:197).
"The War of Mlanjeni - or the Frontier War of 1850-53, also referred to as the Eighth Frontier War and, recently, the Riverman's War, broke out in December 1850 (Peires in Webb, 1991). As one of a series of conflicts in the Xhosa people's "hundred years' war" or the "wars of dispossession", its origins lay in the attempts of the British government to extend colonial authority over the areas between the Kei and Keiskamma rivers. More specifically, the conflict stemmed from Xhosa grievances concerning territorial losses and curbs on the power of their chiefs following the creation of British Kaffraria in 1847, friction between the Ngqika and the military settlers in the Tyhume Valley, Sir Harry Smith's tactless deposing of Chief Sandile, the subsequent outlawing of Sandile and Anta, and the prophecies of Mlanjeni.... The fighting occurred in the early part of the war and took place in the Tyhume valley, Amathole basin, Hogsback and Zingcuka or Wolf River areas" (Webb, 1991:2). "The Battle for the Amatholes occurred on Tuesday 24 June 1851 when a large patrol, consisting of some 2 000 men drawn from the artillery, infantry and irregular forces, left Fort Hare at Alice. The bulk of the force consisted of troops from the 74th Regiment (under command of Lt-Col John Fordyce) and the 91st Regiment (under the command of Lt-Col Wm. Sutton), with Maj-Gen Henry Somerset in overall command (Eiverson in Webb, 1991). They marched from Fort Hare in an easterly direction, towards a peak now known as Iron Ridge, but variously referred to at the time as the Victoria Heights, Seven Kloof Mountain and the Little Amatola. The 74th had recently arrived on the frontier

and had just completed a 250 mile march from Port Elizabeth....[On the morning of the 24th] Baines went off to sketch the camp. From his vantage he saw some of the Mfengu auxiliaries exchanging shots with the Xhosa on the slopes of the Victoria Heights, but without effect on either side... On Thursday 26 June the British left the camp... the rest marched up to the neck which connects the Victoria Heights with the Hogsback, reaching the top just as day was breaking (King in Webb,1991). The force halted in a long line facing the Amathole basin and a small patrol was sent to reconnoitre the Victoria Heights on their right flank. Meeting determined resistance from the Xhosa, the patrol had to be assisted by two companies of the 91st and three companies of the Levies. While these engaged the Xhosa on the right the rest of the force turned its attention to the Xhosa and Khoi who occupied the Zingcuka Ridge.." (Webb,1991:3). Photo: G Corsane.

- 137 Photograph of the *Amathole Basin* taken in 1992 from approximately the same position as Baines made his paintings, figs 136, 138 and 139. Photo: R Cosser.
- 138 T Baines: *Attack on the Amatolas 26th June 1851*, 45 x 63 cm. Oil. Offered for auction Stephen Welz & Co. catalogue 13 April 1992. Provenance: Anthony Clarke, Clarke's Bookshop, catalogue no. 6, 1962; Welz auction 6 July 1987.
- 139 T Baines: Another version of this painting is in the collection of Mr H F Oppenheimer, and is reproduced in Marius and Joy Diemont, *The Brenthurst Baines*, Johannesburg, 1975, p141. The fourth version of the same *Attack* is reproduced as plate 31 in Le Cordeur & Saunders, *The War of the Axe - 1847*, Brenthurst, 1981.
- 140 *T Baines: The Wolf River Valley*, 1851. Watercolour. Brenthurst Collection.
- 141 Photograph of the *Wolf River Valley*, taken in 1992 from approximately the same site as Baines's painting, fig 140. Photo: R Cosser.
- 142 T Baines: *Mr Hume's Wagons*, Dec 17 1849. (See advertisement selling goods) GTJ ca. 15 2 1861. Dr A J Clements in a newspaper article on David Hume [SM files] claims the figures in the foreground to be Robert Moffat and his family. He writes that it was largely due to the quantity of goods brought by Hume, that Graham's Town became established as a trading centre for the interior. In 1827, when acting Governor-General Bourke granted trading licenses for Europeans to trade, Hume was one of the first to apply. He travelled across Botswana and the North West Transvaal.
- 143 Advertisement for sale of Mr Hume's goods. *Graham's Town Journal*, 8 December 1850.
- 144 Lithographed version of fig 142 appearing in *The Illustrated News*, 21 April 1866.

Final note on works by Thomas Baines:

Of the 20 oil paintings (some of which were donated by Baines himself) and 6 lithographs of S A scenery, owned formerly by the Museum of the Borough of King's Lynn, the Museum now holds only 4 oil paintings, various sketches and "a few personal papers" (Museum staffs' communication with author, July 1992). Amongst this collection of oil paintings are those illustrating events which occurred during the Frontier Wars; C T Page (see bibliography) mentions two in particular: *Maj-Gen Somerset's Division on the March* and *The Camp of the Second Division on Blinkwater Heights*. A painting of John Baines's ship *Glory*, executed by Thomas's brother, Henry, also hangs in the Museum. The other works by Thomas Baines were donated to the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

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DICTIONARY OF EASTERN CAPE ARTISTS

1800 - 1900.

The following list has been compiled from a wide range of primary and secondary sources but the author lays no claim to its completeness. (It is hoped that readers will contribute to a more complete listing by contacting the author).

Names have been extracted from:

- * *Pictorial Africana*, Gordon-Brown, A A Balkema, Cape Town, 1975;
- * catalogues of collections pertaining to the:
 - Africana Museum, Johannesburg;
 - King George VI Gallery, Port Elizabeth;
 - East London Museum, East London;
 - 1820 Settlers Memorial Museum, Grahamstown; and
 - William Fehr Collection, at the Castle in Cape Town.
- * travelogues, journals, and various documents held at the:
 - Africana Museum, Johannesburg;
 - State Archives, Cape Town;
 - South African Public Library, Cape Town;
 - 1820 Settlers Memorial Museum, Grahamstown; and
 - Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

The listed artists were selected because they:

- were born, lived or worked in the Eastern Cape;
- visited the Eastern Cape for at least some weeks;
- appear in catalogues of exhibitions held in Grahamstown or Port Elizabeth; or
- included Eastern Cape people, events or scenery as their subjects.

One or two examples of each artist's work is given, with references to other possible sources of information.

AM	=	Africana Museum
ANN	=	Africana Notes and News
arr	=	arrived
CA	=	Cape Archives Depot, Cape Town
ca	=	circa
CGH	=	Cape of Good Hope
Cmdt	=	Commandant
CMR	=	Cape Mounted Rifles
CT	=	Cape Town
DSAB	=	Dictionary of South African Biographies
EC	=	Eastern Cape
EL	=	East London
ELM	=	East London Museum
Ft Bft	=	Fort Beaufort
Gord-Br	=	Gordon-Brown, 1975
GTJ	=	The Graham's Town Journal
Gtn	=	Graham's Town
ILN	=	The Illustrated London News
info	=	information
JHB	=	Johannesburg
JPL	=	Johannesburg Public Library
KGVI	=	King George VI Art Gallery
KWT	=	King Williams Town
nr	=	near
p	=	page
PE	=	Port Elizabeth
Pmb	=	Pietermaritzburg
portr	=	portrait
ptg	=	painting
publ	=	published
QB	=	Quarterly Bulletin
Rgt	=	Regiment
R	=	river
rep	=	report
repr	=	reproduction
ret	=	returned
SAPL	=	South African Public Library
SM	=	1820 Settlers Memorial Museum
v	=	volume
Tvl	=	Transvaal
VRS	=	Van Riebeeck Series
Wm Fehr	=	The William Fehr Collection

- Adams, Thomas Price** 1779 - 1843
1820 Settler with Bailies' Party. Formerly a wine merchant, became attorney Gtn; wrote verse including "A Eulogy on Dr A Cowie", which is believed to be the first item ever printed in Gtn 1830.
Artist of: 15th Dragoons, SM.
- Ainslie, William, Senior** (Dates unknown)
Baines in journal VRS no 42 mentions A's rich watercolour drawings. "Siennas and umbers rather too predominant". A's house burned down, work probably destroyed.
- Alberti, Maj Ludwig** 1758 - 1812
Officer of Dutch Waldeck Rgt accompanied Gen Janssens to SA in 1802; later he was landdrost, Cmdt of Ft Frederick, Algoa Bay. Wrote "De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust", publ A'dam. Alberti believed to be artist.
Artist of: View of Fort Frederick and Algoa Bay, Alberti's book 1810
: Interview of Gov Janssens and Chief Gaika, Kat R 1803, Alberti's book.
- Alexander, Capt-Gen Sir James Edward** 1803 - 1885
Lithographer; illustrated "Narrative of a voyage... and of a campaign in Kaffirland".
Artist of: Pencil sketch Salem ca 1870, Cory Library.
: On means of defending farm houses; 7 woodcuts, GTJ suppl 20 8 1835.
- Anderson, W J** (Dates unknown)
Engraved illustr.
Artist of: watercolours, Cape, E Cape scenes.
: Ft Armstrong, ILN 15 3 1851 v22.
- Angas, George French** 1822 - 1886
Traveller, zoologist, artist. Several books to his credit. Visited E Cape; see quote Baines' journal vl, p20-1. Full-length portrait of Angas in "Kaffirs Illustrated". Influenced Baines.
Artist of: The Kaffirs Illustrated 1849.
: Angas pictures, Cory Library.
- Armytage, Capt Godfrey** (Dates unknown)
Officer of 6th Rgt of Foot, Royal 1st Warwickshires. Made 2 sketches near spot on Kei River where 5 British officers were killed by Xhosas in Nov 1847. ANN 3 1954 v11 p49. More info SM file.
Artist of: Picture of his house in KWT.
- Ashton, J R** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Sketches of Frontier Police 1877-8, SM.
- Atherstone, William Guybon** 1814 - 1898
Medic, geologist, explorer. First to operate under anaesthetic in E Cape. First to identify Eureka diamond Gtn. Brother Dr John's sketch of Gtn 1832 in Cory Library. W G's notebooks, sketches in SM.
Artist of: Early sketch of Gtn, SM.
- Austen,** (Dates unknown)
Bensusan, A D gave talk to PE Camera Club 1966 where he quotes A as photographer & painter. Arr CT 1876. Went to Kimb fields, ret Gtn. Equipped wagon travel-photography. Left SA settled USA. Info in thesis: B George.

- Austin, Edward J** (Dates unknown)
 In Wm Fehr Collection catalogue page 78.
Artist of: Watercolours, Wm Fehr.
 : Ox Wagon crossing river by Moonlight, Wm Fehr.
- Austin, William** (Dates unknown)
 Untraced, but probably historical painter mentioned in Benezit as working in London mid 19C. Doubtful visited SA, but drawings reproduced in ILN 1860-62.
Artist of: Print: Landscape of Fort Beaufort 1862, SM.
 : Print: Grahamstown 1862, SM.
- B, K** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Watercolour of James Hoole (Settler), SM.
- B, C J** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Portrait of Charles Hugh Huntley (municipal fig.),
 1874, SM.
- Backhouse, Rev James** 1794 - 1864
 "Narrative" well illustrated by JB. Accompanied GW Walker on travels in SA & Mauritius & Australia, 1838-40. Published diaries of Rev JB at SM. Examples of his published etchings at AM, JPL.
Artist of: A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius & SA, 1844,
 copy at SM.
- Bailie, Lt John** (Dates unknown)
 An enterprising Settler and party leader, notorious for an incident involving a murder - imprisoned for this. Very fine drawing now owned by P Bailie of farm "Bal Craig" Gtn. Drawing shows much skill and some training.
Artist of: Self portrait, pencil, Settlers Museum
 : Drawing of 2 horses and cart, pencil, white pastel, in pvt collection of P Bailie.
- Bain, Andrew Geddes** 1798 - 1864
 Road builder. (Bain's Kloof, Mitchell's & Katberg Passes). Soldier, geologist. Wrote humorous verse "Kaatje Kekkelbek". Arr SA 1814.
Artist of: Amakosa (Mashona), SM.
 : 3 sketches of tribal figures, AM, reprod. VRS v30.
- Baines, (John) Thomas** 27 11 1820 - 10 05 1875
 Artist, explorer, naturalist, Baines was one of greatest African travellers, his geographical coverage, variety of subject and prolific output far exceeded any other artist based in SA. SM & AM and National Archives of Zimbabwe holds works.
Artist of: "Thomas Baines of King's Lynn", JPR Wallis, 1941, SM.
 : Thomas Baines' African Journal, VRS vs.42 and 45,
 (most major libraries).
- Banister, Charles** (Dates unknown)
 A note "to Mrs Palmer" accompanies works below..
Artist of: Drawing "Horse Cavalry eradicating Caffres" 1876, SM.
 : "A mounted Hoss Volunteer eradicating poor Blackman", SM.
- Barber, Thomas** 1768 - 1843
Artist of: Portrait of Mary Atherstone (Mrs E Damant), oil, SM.

- Barber, Thomas** 1798 - 1826
Son of Thomas Barber of Nottingham b 1768, d 1843.
- Barber, Elizabeth** 5 01 1818 - 9 09 1899
Settler, botanist, poet and artist, Elizabeth Barber contributed greatly to botanical knowledge; a new genus of plant "Barberetta", and orchid "Leparis bowkerii" named after her. Botanical, chem., geol. notes held at SM.
Artist of: Book: "Wanderings in SA by Sea and Land", 1879,
: "The Erythrina Tree" - a book of Barber's poems.
- Barber, Mrs M L** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Original plan of Grahamstown and outposts ca 1843, SM.
- Barber, Charles J** (Dates unknown)
Cartoonist for the Zingari 1871, and "Observer" (PE) 1876-8.
Artist of: Volumes of pen-and-ink sketches, PE library.
: 4 Frontier sketches, SM.
- Barber, J(?)** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Portrait of Edwin Atherstone, SM.
- Barker, A(rthur?)** early 1800 - ?
One of these drawings is reproduced in A Makin's "Settlers of Salem"
More info. Quarterly Bulletin v13, p73-6.
Artist of: Sketch book containing rough drawings ca 1822, SM.
- Barlow,** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Gonaquas Hottentot, SM.
- Barrett, John Henry** (Dates unknown)
Forecastle of the Norham Castle SS, 11 February 1895.
Artist of: 2 Views of EL sketched from deck of steamer, 1895, ELM.
: 2 Views of PE sketched from deck of steamer, ELM.
- Battenhausen, George Otto** (Dates unknown)
Otto Battenhausen possibly worked as a photographer in Port Elizabeth from 1883 - 1902. He presented work to PE public library in 1913.
Artist of: Warehouses in Algoa Bay 1886, KGVI.
- Beasley, Hilton** (Dates unknown)
Advertised Lithographs in "Grocott's Daily Mail" 15 11 1881.
No examples.
Artist of: "9 Lithographic Views", Grahamstown.
- Beck, Andrew William** ca 1820 - 8 1 1901
Beck married Martha Lewis in Gtn 5 6 1847 and had 11 children. Was a clerk in the magistrate's office and town clerk in 1850's. Went to Bloemfontein ca 1863. Watercolours in possession of Mrs M Wilson, Parkhurst. First Eastern Cape-born artist?
Artist of: 9 watercolours of Khoi, Zulu, Xhosa, oxwagons, Pvt colln.
- Bell, Maj Charles Harland** 1830 - 2 7 1881
Officer of Cape Mounted Rifles transferred from 63rd Foot, 1848.
Father of W H S Bell. Saw skirmish at Boomplaats. Sold out of

regiment as major 1862. Magistrate at Leribe 1871. Info. ANN v4, Diary AM.

Artist of: 3 Watercolours Frontier War 1850-2, AM.
: Pencil sketch of Interior ca 1830, SM.

Bell, Charles Davidsn

1813 - 1882

Perhaps most versatile artist to work in SA. Surveyor and artist, he accompanied exped. Central Africa 1834-36. SM holds watercolour of View of Great Fish R. Gord-Br lists 13 works & ANN v11,14,15. **Artist of:** Illustrations for Chapman's Travels, 1868.

: From sketch of Outspan, SM.

Bendelack, Charles

ca 1820 - ?

Drawings reproduced in "The Cape Journals of Archdeacon Merriman" (VRS v37 1956) Photo of sketch at SM.

Artist of: 2 drawings of Archdeacon Merriman's house & garden, Gtn.

Bevington, W G

1881 - 1953

A deaf artist. Trained at Gtn school of Art. Won scholarships to Royal College London. A versatile artist, his repertoire consists of landscapes, portraits and decorations.

Artist of: The Glean: Coming Tide, also Yellowwoods, SM.

: Various portraits of Bowker family, SM.

Bisset, Charles

1816 - 1900

Son of Lt Alexander, became farmer in EC. Made watercolours (ca 1835) some held at AM, more examples at SM.

Artist of: Native woman with wood on head, SM.

: Reproduction of "Man throwing a Spear", 1835, VRS v 27, 1946, p110.

Black, Asst Surg William Thomas

9 5 1824 - 22 3 1909

Article reprinted as: "The Fish River Bush, SA & its Wild Animals, Edinburgh 1901. This is illustrated with 5 of his sketches; originals in SAL. See ANN, 23, Dec 1979, p324, further biography.

Artist of: Article: Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal, 1853.

: 10 watercolours. Chechaba Valley, Fish R, Chumie, etc.

SAPL.

Boddington, Henry John

1811 - 1865

Made illustrations from Col E E Napier's own sketches, for Napier's book "Excursions in SA", London, 1850.

Artist of: EC illustrations in above book.

Bole, D

(Dates unknown)

Artist of: The Temple of Thespis, PE (The Theatre Royal), 1889, KGVI.

Booty, W F S

(Dates unknown)

Artist of: Gonubie in 1885, 1905 (watercolours), ELM.

: View from the sea of the Buffalo R mouth with ship, ELM.

Bourchier, Lt Eustace Fane

ca 1820 - ?

Served on the Eastern Frontier ca 1844-50.

Artist of: Watercolour of Fort Brown (isometric sketch), SM.

- Bowker, Thomas Holden** 1808 - 1885
 May have been first entomological student among the 1820 Settlers.
Artist of: Sketch book on entomology, 80 sketches 1832, SM.
 : Notebook on hunting trip 1847, SM.
- Bowker, Mrs Julia Eliza** (Dates unknown)
 Born McGowan, married settler Thomas Bowker son of Miles Bowker in 1854. More notes in ANN v14 p32.
Artist of: Sketchbook covering voyage to Dbn & CT in Melrose, SM.
 : Sketch of Tharfield farm, Gtn 1881; grave of Miles, SM.
- Bowker, Mrs Anna Maria** 1782 - ?
 Married Miles Bowker, head of Bowker's party from Wiltshire in 1800.
 Notes on Miles Bowker DSAB v2.
Artist of: Bromide copy of sketch re: farmhouse Mitford Hill, SM.
 : Sketchbook: 8 sketches, SM.
- Bowler, Thomas William** 1812 - 1869
 See F R Bradlow "Thomas Bowler, his Life & Work" CT 1967.
 T B arr CT 1833. Visited Natal ca 1844, UK 1854-5, EC 1861-2, Mauritius 1866 & 1868.
Artist of: "Bowler Prints" lithogr views of CT, EC, 1843-1867,
 : Numerous oils in Wm Fehr, some in KGV1.
- Boyce, Rev William B** 1804 - 1889
 A well-known Wesleyan missionary, settled in the EC in 1820's.
 Wrote first "Kaffir Grammar" 1834.
Artist of: Small sketch of native figures has been recorded.
 : Notes of SA affairs..from 1834-8..ref..conditions,
 Boyce book 1838: SM.
- Brooke, Lt Robert Wilmot** (Dates unknown)
 Joined army 1845, served with 60th Rifles, including EC during the Frontier War 1851-3. Probably artist of watercolour offered in Sawyer's Catalogue no. 234, item 12.
Artist of: "Fuller's Hoek: Macomo's Den", 1852. Watercolour, AM.
- Brown, John Roland** 1850 - 1923
 "Dummy Brown", deaf-and-dumb artist, trained under T M Lindsay ca 1864-67 and later in Liverpool where he was assistant master for 30 years. Returned to Gtn on retirement ca 1902. Artist of English tradition. Also Grahamstown bowling club scene, ELM.
Artist of: One-man exhibition ca 1916 Gtn; 2 watercolours of Gtn. SM.
 : East London beach, SM.
- Brown, Mrs J E** (Dates unknown)
 Picture below framed in an old window frame from the lighthouse in Port Alfred.
Artist of: Small oil painting of Port Alfred, SM.
- Bruce, Edward** ? - after 1875
 Once secretary of Albany Museum. Married daughter of Settler Richard Ralph. Died of TB soon after 1875.
Artist of: Three watercolours of crowned hawk eagle, 1875, SM.
 : 6 watercolours: 1 CT & 5 EC: Settlers Jubilee Exhibit,
 rep: GTJ 5 1870.

- Buckley, G** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Portraits of Mr and Mrs Samuel Cawood, 1863 & 1864, SM.
: Portraits of John Ayliff; Mrs Benj Shepperson 1861, SM.
- Burke, St G** (Dates unknown)
Member of the Royal Engineers, was probably stationed in Gtn.
Artist of: Three watercolours of EC at Art Exhib. Gtn 1870.
- Butler, Capt Henry** ca 1810 - ?
Officer of 27th Inniskilling Rgt in SA 1835-1939. Transferred early 1841 to 59th 2nd Nottinghamshire as Capt., retired 1850. 5 volumes of original sketches in AM. More info ANN v15, v28 no 6.
Artist of: SA sketches "Illustrative of Wild Life... on Frontier".
: Watercolours of Fort Beaufort, & Double Drift, AM.
- Butler, James** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Cape Railways, Grahamstown station May 1879, SM.
- Carey, Maj-Gen, George Jackson CB** 1822 - 1872
Arr Cape 1845-47. Joined CMR. Served New Zealand & Austr. Acting Gov. of Victoria 1866. His sketches used in paintings of subjects by H Martens. Also made sketch for "Battle of Gwanga" SM.
Artist of: Sketch for ptg: Conference Blockdrift Hare & Sandille, SM.
: SA Army crossing Great Orange River Basuto War 1852, SM.
- Carlisle, Mary Helen** 1869 - 17 3 1925
Grand-daughter of settler Frederick Carlisle. Studied & worked in USA and UK. Exhibited from 1891 at Royal Academy, Paris. Work in Nat. Portr Gall, London. First "garden" painter fashionable 1900's UK & USA. Further notes re Carlisle in SM.
Artist of: Eucalyptus Avenue 1923, SM.
- Charles + Ellen (McCombie?)** (Dates unknown)
see McCombie
- Chase, John Centlivres** 1795 - 1877
Civil servant, author & politician. Bust of Chase in SM. Cory's "Rise of SA" London 1921-30 v4 p386 illustrates a watercolour by Chase, but suggesting the work of C D Bell.
Artist of: View of Grahamstown 1820, SM.
: Map of Eastern Frontier 1838, SM.
- Churchward, H** (Dates unknown)
Signature appears on work below, together with Elliot, A.
Artist of: Buffalo River Mouth 1860, watercolour, ELM.
- Clifford, Sir Henry Hugh** 12 9 1826 - 12 4 1883
Third son of Hugh 7th Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. 21 8 1850 1st Battalion left for Cape, ret. Dec. 1850. Again ret. to Cape, did not leave PE until 10 11 1853. Next sent to Crimea, Hong Kong, and UK. Sent to SA again - Zulu War. Notes ANN 1957 v12 p7.
Artist of: watercolours.
- Cloete, L** ? - 1873?
Untraced, but possibly connected with Laurens Graham Cloete, surveyor. Cartoon of Queenstown bearing inscription: "representing a few of the agremens incidental to the romantic life of a SA 'Pioneer of Civilization'"

the Ferae shewing objection to domain being intruded", SM. ANN v11 p111.
 Artist of: Drawing of Queenstown 1855, SM.

- Cock, Edith Africana** 1880 - 1960
 Daughter of settler descendant Cornelius Cock. Died unmarried.
 Cartoons re. Jameson, Rhodes etc 1903 at SM.
 Artist of: Pencil sketch of Driekoppen Inn Rondebosch mid 19C, SM.
 : Album of sketches by E Cock & A Nangle, SM.
- Comfield, John F** 1799 - ?
 Schoolmaster, arrived as settler in Wm Smith's party. He left PE in 1824 to become a master at the English Grammar school in CT. Could also be "Cornfield".
 Artist of: Sketchbook of 10 watercolours, Wm Fehr.
 : Litho: PE a view taken from the burying ground 1823, SM.
- Cooper, Richard S** (Dates unknown)
 Scenic artist and decorator who advertised in PE directory 1875.
 Artist of: Watercolour of Fort Beaufort 1866.
- Corbett,** (Dates unknown)
 Soldier in 2nd Battalion, 13th Rgt, in SA 1859-1863.
 Artist of: Mural of "Battle of the Nile" on Koonap Inn wall, transferred to SM.
- Corbould, A Chantry** (Dates unknown)
 Engraver who worked for ILN and "The Graphic". Probably visited SA.
 Artist of: Watercolour of PE Town Hall & Market Sq, PE Museum.
- Cotterill, Mrs Joseph** (Dates unknown)
 Wife of rector of St Bartholomew's Church, Gtn.
 Artist of: Watercolours of coast scenes and flowers, Gtn exhibition, May 1870.
- Cowen, Charles** 1828 - 1914
 Journalist and author. Also edited "The Zingari" CT.
 Artist of: and edited "SA Dominion" 1875-76.
 : contained "Railway Terminus, PE & Inside PE Station.
- Cowie, Emma** (Dates unknown)
 Artist of: Brookstead van Diemen's Land 1835, watercolour, ELM.
 : Cookefield van Diemen's Land 31 7 1837, watercolour, ELM.
- Cowie/Howie, WG?** (Dates unknown)
 Artist of: Pencil drawing Lighthouse & Donkin Monument PE 1872, SM.
- Crealock, Maj-Gen John North** 1837 - 1895
 Joined 95th Rgt of Foot 1854, arr CT 1878 as military secretary. After operations against Sandili and Zulu War, ret England July 1879. Made numerous sketches, materials in saddlebag. Info ANN v18; ILN; also biogr edt. Hummel, VRS 1989, no 19.
 Artist of: Drawings of Cape & Natal in "The Road to Ulundi" 1969, Book: Univ of Natal, Pmb.
 : Scene in Gov.'s garden; Sir George Grey & Pets 1857, illustration p140 Gord-Br.

- Croonenbergh, Rev Father C SJ** (Dates unknown)
 Belgian priest of Soc of Jesus and member of 1st Catholic mission to Matabeleland, 1879. Mentioned in Tabler's "Pioneers of Rhodesia". Lodged at St Aiden's College in Gtn pending departure to M'land.
Artist of: Sketch of Penrock nr Modderfonteyn 1885 in scrapbook, SM.
 : Lobengula reviewing a dance before missionaries, AM.
- Crouch, Edward Heath** 1856 - 1916
 Ironmonger and hardware merchant. Member of the Village Management Board of Cambridge (where he lived) and the Divisional Council for EL 1905.
Artist of: Wreck of the SS Quanza 1872 (oil), ELM.
 : Orient Beach 1907 (oil), ELM.
- Cumming, Mrs** ca 1830/40 - ?
 Untraced, possibly wife of George Cumming? Or of Guybon Cumming b 1836 (m Martha Emma Berry b PE 1843) Or Grace Ann Cumming b Tarr d 15 6 1921 Fort Beaufort. Full description work GTJ 5 1875.
Artist of: "A beautiful [biblical] drawing in window of Mr Hay",
 Rep in GTJ 18 5 1875.
- Currie, Mrs Vado** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Watercolour of grave of settler Miles Bowker, Tharfield, nr Gtn, SM.
- Dalziel, Alex** (Dates unknown)
 Also taught drawing. Said to have exhibited engravings on wood in Cape Town, 1871.
Artist of: Advert Lithographs, & engravings on wood and metal, "EP Magazine", PE 1861.
- Daniell, Samuel** 1775 - 1811/12
 Painter & traveller, he arr CT 1800, accompanied expedition to Bechuanaland 1801-2. Famous folio "African scenes and Animals" was published in 1804-5, "Military Station," is 1 of 30 engravings. AM holds work.
Artist of: Engraving: The Military Station at Algoa Bay, KGVI.
- Darrell, Maj Sir Harry, Bart** 1814 - 1853
 Served with the 7th Dragoon Guards. Wounded during the Battle of the Gwanga 1846, died in Sardinia on hunting exped. Two sketches, attributed to Darrell, in Wm Fehr collection.
Artist of: Some litho's: "China, India, CGH & Vicinity", published Brighton 1852. VRS v22.
 : 4 Litho's, amongst which: "Charge of Gwanga", "Interview Col Hare", SM.
- Dashwood, Francis Lewin** 13 2 1821 - 16 3 1898
 Arrived Gtn 1858 to join Mr Vickers in a newspaper venture which failed. Worked as photographer in Gtn and CT ca 1860-1. Also ran a sweet shop in Gtn as did artist Charles Jay.
Artist of: "FD's Political Sketches", SM.
 : Watercolour of Gradwell's Mill, George St, SM.
- Daws, George E** (Dates unknown)
 Studied drawing, sculpture and music before arr SA 1873.
 GTJ 26 11 1877 & 28 11 1877 reports giving drawing lessons, violin

recital. Departure for England 1878 and 1898. Ret Gtn 1929.
Artist of: View of Grahamstown, High Street, Watercolour, 1877, SM.

De Meillon, Henry Clifford ? - ca 1856
 Was discharged at CT April 1823 from MS Leven (ill health). De Meill. in Cape Almanac 1831 as drawing master. Left W Cape after 1832, employed in commissariat Ft Bft, Gtn and PE where he was listed in 1856.
Artist of: Lithographs in "SA Almanac & Directory" 1832-5.
 : Execution of Mutineers of Cape Corps Gtn 1838.

Dell, (Dates unknown)
 Untraced. Dell family files at SM reveal no further information on artist Dell.
Artist of: Watercolour barque entering Table Bay, exhibition 1851.

Denyssen, S (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Sketches in poetry album of Miss M A Denyssen, SM.

Di Cappelli, W B Paravicini 1778 - 1848
 Watercolourist, artillery Capt during Batavian republic. Accompanied Gen Janssens 1803 to 1806 on his travels to EC. Drawing was made known through the published works of Maj Ludwig Alberti (1758-1812) VRS v46.
Artist of: Reize in de Binnen-landen van Zuid Afrika, KGVI.
 : (Attr.) View of Ft Frederik Algoa Bay 1803, KGVI.

Dickes, William ? - 1892
 He was a colour printer & licensee of George Baxter for his process of printing in oil.
Artist of: Engraving Trinity Church KWT 1853 in book by
 Rev Fleming: "Kaffraria".

Dicks, Hannah Margaret (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Bushy Park 24 8 1884, PE Museum, KGVI.

Dinsdale, George (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Lithos of scenes of PE sent to UK by Rufane Donkin, KGVI.

Dixon, A P (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Portrait of first Mrs F A Saunders, 1887, SM.
 : Full-length portrait of first Mrs F A Saunders, 1884, SM.

Dold, H T (Dates unknown)
 Genealogical files of settlers Dold at SM do not reveal identity of H T.
Artist of: Van Staaden's (Retief's?) Mill 1842, SM.
 : View of Grahamstown 1842, SM.

Donkin, Maj-Gen Sir Rufane Shaw 1773 - 1841
 Acting gov of Cape 1820-21. Played important part in arrangements for the settlers. After wife Elizabeth's death in 1818, remarried in 1832. Was for some years Member of Parliament.
Artist of: 4 drawings on stone. Lithogr by Hullmandel ca 1821, KGVI.
 : View of Algoa Bay from Lady Donkin's Pyramid, KGVI.

- Duff, George** ca 1820 - ?
 Taught drawing PE, walked to CT 1846. Adventures related in "Sam Sly's Journal" 1848. Influenced Baines to see EC. GTJ 3 8 1848 rep his pilgrimage of 500 miles: insights into inhabitants. ANN v15, VRS v42.
Artist of: In "The Kaffir, Hottentot & Frontier Farmer", Merriman's book 1853.
 : Folio sketches of EC inhabitants, for auction: Weltz Catalogue Nov 1989.
- Dunn, Admiral Montague B** (Dates unknown)
 Arr PE 1882 on visit to daughter Mrs and Capt. Gibbs. Spent March - May 1882 in Gtn. Recorded scenes in Gtn with photographic detail. Ann v18 pl6-18.
Artist of: 9 watercolour sketches of scenes in Gtn 1882, SM.
- Earle, Emily** 1840 's - ?
 Art student at S Kensington, came to Gtn 1868 with invalid brother. Taught drawing at Miss Davies' School for Girls, Greystone. After death of brother ret to Engl. Later painted china for Minton of London.
Artist of: Eggshell china cup & saucer painted by Miss Earle, SM.
 : Painted panels S Kensington museum.
- Eliot, Sir Whatley** 1841 - 1927
 Distinguished civil engineer, pupil of Sir John Cook, consulting engineer for the harbour works at EL. Selected Eliot as resident engineer during construction 1880 - 1885. Was knighted in 1907.
Artist of: Collection of watercolours: views of EL at AM.
- Elliot, A** (Dates unknown)
 Signature appears on work below together with H Churchward's.
Artist of: Buffalo River Mouth 1860. Watercolour, ELM.
- Emanuel, Frank Lewis** 1865 - ?
 An English artist, member of Royal Soc of Marine artists. President of the Graphic Art Soc. Exhibited at RA from 1888. Visited SA ca 1895-99.
Artist of: Eight views of PE 1899, KGVI.
- Erith, James Thomas**
 Leader of Erith's Party. Involved in argument with authorities re land given for settlement. House burnt down in Aug 1822, 10 years later was awarded compensation 500 pounds. Cf. unpublished thesis Woods, JP: "Case of James Erith" Rhodes University.
Artist of: Watercolours of burning farm at Waai Plaats, Cory Library.
- Essex, Charles** 1823 - 1867
 Artist & sculptor. Arr CT 1839-40, ret UK. Ret CT 1854. During 1857 photographic business Gtn formerly belonging to JS Atkins. Ret CT. ANN v5 1948. SM holds family information: epilepsy prevented him from furthering career.
Artist of: Pastels of Hon Wm Cock; of Mrs Cock nee Toy 1857, SM.
 : Sculptured medallion of Dr Alex Melvin, SM.

- Everett, F F** (Dates unknown)
Retired civil servant of Somerset Street, Gtn.
Artist of: Watercolours: Red House 1910 & Cradock Rd 1927, SM.
: The Pavillion Port Alfred 1904, SM.
- Fanshawe, Col S** (Dates unknown)
Of Royal Engineers, described as Commandant, exhibited in
Grahamstown May 1870. Further notes: ANN Sept. 1957 v12 p7.
Artist of: watercolours.
- Fenning, Capt Samuel Watson** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Watercolours of EC and of mission stations,
Wm Fehr collection.
- Ferguson, Margaret** (Dates unknown)
Untraced.
Artist of: Watercolours of EC 1858 (Gord-Br p157).
- Fitzroy, F M** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: First Settler at Cape, SM.
- Flanagan, Timothy** (Dates unknown)
Further portraits of sons James F and Arthur F at SM.
Artist of: Self Portrait, SM.
- Fleming, Rev Francis Patrick** 1823 - 1895
"Drift of the Great Kei R, Kafirland" 1853 and "Kaffirs following up
a Spoor" 1850, both watercolours at ELM.
Artist of: Book: "Kaffraria & its inhabitants" London 1853.
: EL & Mouth of Buffalo R (nr KWT) 1851. Watercolour, ELM.
- Foley, Capt Henry** (Dates unknown)
At the Cape 1821 - 1825, and 1828. Ensign in the 6th Rgt Royal 1st
Warwickshire. Copy of map of Frontier area, 1823, in Geog. Dept.
Rhodes University, Gtn.
Artist of: Hermanus Kraal 1823; Gtn 1823 (Windmill), SM.
: Sketch book of EC, ca 1846, AM.
- Ford, John Henry** (Dates unknown)
Map of Quenn's Road shows fine craftsmanship. Said to have been
artist as well.
Artist of: Survey map of Queen's Road - between GTN + Ft Bft, SM.
- Ford, James Edward** 1770 - 1839
Miniature painter, wood stapler, independent settler. Sub-head of
Bailies' Party. Arr CT ca 1825, in almanac 1826-40 as miniature
painter.
Artist of: Watercolour of Table Mountain seen by Gord-Br.
: Portrait of J G S Waving, in Waving's book "Tienjarige
Militaire Loopbaan door hem zelve beschreven",
Dordrecht, 1830.
- Ford, George Henry** 1809 - ?
Son of JE Ford, arr with settlers. Ability in drawing natural
history. Accomp. Dr Andrew Smith expedition into the interior 1834-6.
Artist of: Original drawings, University of Witwatersrand.
: Sketches for "Illustrations of Zoology of SA etc" 1849,
Book by Andrew Smith.

- Fuller, F A** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Portrait of Sir Thomas E Fuller, SM.
- Galpin, Thomas Carter** 1819 - ?
 Father of Henry Carter who was a watch-maker and builder of first camera obscura (Gtn) in South Africa, grandfather of Walter Henry. Thomas C G was a professional artist.
Artist of: Pencil drawings, SM.
- Galpin, Walter Henry** 24 12 1852 - 1934
 Son of Henry Carter G. Married Annie I'Ons grand-daughter of Frederick. Served in 9th Frontier War 1877-9. With First City Volunteers in Basutoland War 1880, Rand Pioneer. Sketches of Mafeteng, Crows Nest, and encampment Kalabani, Lerothodis.
Artist of: 16 sketches of Basuto War 1880-1, Mafeteng etc, SM.
 : Pencil drawings, SM.
- Galpin/I'Ons, Mrs Annie** (Dates unknown)
 Painted in watercolours on silk mainly due to allergy. Outdoor scenes, plants, birds. In some cases, work said to be superior to famous grandfather, Frederick Timpson I'Ons. Married Walter Galpin.
Artist of: Several scenes in style of grandfather, F T I'Ons, SM, pvt colls.
- Gauci, William** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Print: Entrance to Kowie River, publ Engelman & Co, SM.
- George, John William** 1837 - 17 8 1908
 Arr in SA 1859 and became the first art Master in GTN. Contributed to Settlers' Jubilee Art Exhibition GTN 1870. Moved to Kimberley where he made watercolours of diamond fields. Moved to JHB in 1887. AM; Wm Fehr hold works. ANN vs. 12 and 19.
Artist of: Watercolours "Krantz" 1892; plants John Wood's home, SM.
 : Watercolours of Forest; Gtn 1870, SM.
- Gerds, F** (Dates unknown)
 Presumably publisher of print inscription: "Sold by F Gerds, 1847".
Artist of: Print of Port Elizabeth, PE Museum.
- Gilbert, George** (Dates unknown)
 1824 settler. Following publication of Alexander's notes on "Defence of Farm Houses", GG submitted practical and improved plans to the Governor who published these in GTJ. GG was later Town Councillor and brewer in Gtn. More info. VRS 42 p107.
Artist of: Plans for fortification of farm houses, GTJ 10 9 1835.
- Godfrey, Lt Arthur William** ca 1825 - 1854
 Of the Rifle Brigade, served in SA 3 1852-11 1853. Was wounded at Mundell's Krantz 4 1852. ANN v15 p195.
Artist of: Collection over 100 EC & Frontier War. Watercolours, AM.
- Goodrich, Capt Thomas White** (Dates unknown)
 Arr Cape 1851 as Lt 12th East Suffolk. Transferred to CMR on Frontier until 1858. Transferred to 4th Light Dragoons. Retired 1859. ANN v10, 15, 16 and 20.
Artist of: 2 original paintings, AM and SM.
 : Oil: Sir George Cathcart with group officers, 1857, SM.

- Graham, Lt Lumley** (Dates unknown)
 Together with Lt Hugh Robinson served in SA 1851 as officers of the 43rd Rgt Monmouthshire. Rgt left for India 1853. Graham later colonel, wrote book with Robinson. Sketch books of both officers still probably extant. ANN v12 p316-7.
Artist of: and writer: "Scenes in Kaffirland & Incidents of War 1851-3", London 1854.
 : The Hogsback and Gaika's Kop, etc. in above book.
- Grant, Lt-Col James Murray** 1836 - 5 6 1921
 In 1856 came out with 85th Bucks Vols. 1872 Inspector Frontier Armed & Mounted Police. Became Mounted Rifleman in 1878. Made several watercolours of Frontier and illustrated B William's book: "Records of the CMR". His diary 1872 - 1920 at Cory Library.
Artist of: Watercolours Tyldens Krantz; Views of Port St John's; view of Port Alfred. All previously at SM, but returned to descendants.
- Gray, Rev J Samuel** (Dates unknown)
 Anglican minister of Cradock 1850-5, after which he returned to England.
Artist of: Sketch in Hattersley's "Victorian Lady at the Cape" CT 1951.
- Groves, ARCA Charles Sidney** 1878 - ?
 Studied at the Royal College, London. Arr SA where he was appointed assistant to Prof J W Armstrong at Gtn School of Art. Began teaching at CT School of Art 1910. Produced stained glass pictures, illuminations, watercolours.
Artist of: Watercolour: Early Morning 1915, SM.
- Guise, Lt William Vernon** (Dates unknown)
 Of the 75th Rgt, he was on the Eastern Frontier ca 1838, when he hunted with Capt H Butler.
Artist of: Sketches of EC scenes, Wm Fehr.
 : Reproduction of "Fort Willshire 1838", Gord-Br p170.
- Gush, Richard** 1789 - 29 9 1858
 Carpenter by trade, became preacher, peacemaker and philanthropist in Salem community. Family information at SM.
Artist of: Self Portrait, SM.
 : Portrait Rev J Ayliff, at Settlers Jubilee Exhibition, GTJ 30 5 1870.
- Hall, Henry** (Dates unknown)
 Cartographer. Diary at Cory Library deals with Ft Bft April - June 1846.
Artist of: Diary containing notes, drawings and sketch Fish R.
- Hancock, James** (Dates unknown)
 Hancock was first ceramicist in EC.
Artist of: Notebook kept by Hancock, SM.
- Harkness, Annabella H** (Dates unknown)
 Annabella Harriette James became wife of Capt J G Harkness, later Maj-Gen of 5th Rgt Northumberland Fusileers. Rgt stationed on Eastern Frontier 1863-67. ANN v15 p63-6.
Artist of: 57 watercolours of SA scenes, AM.

- Harries, Walford Arbouin** 1831 - 1881
The son of William Matthew Harries, a prominent business man, arr PE 1830. He practiced as an attorney in PE.
Artist of: Cradock Place 1870, KGVI.
- Harris, J** (Dates unknown)
Engraver for paintings by H Martens 1852-4. 5 plates coloured by hand, published by R Ackermann.
Artist of: Conference at Block Drift 1846, SM.
: SA Army crossing Gt Orange River Basuto War 1852, SM.
- Heavyside, John Rev** (Dates unknown)
Painting below depicts west bank of Buffalo River, showing Anglican church with spire (spire was never built).
Artist of: Painting of KWT ca 1860, Kaffrarian Mus, KWT.
- Henchman, K A** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Mouth of the Buffalo River ca 1900. Watercolour, ELM.
: Wreck on Orient Beach. Watercolour, ELM.
- Henkel, Caesar Carl H** ca 1841 - after 1900
Clerk of Baron Stutterheim with German settlement 1857-8. Became Conservator of Forests of Transkeian Territories 1889-98. Author of book "The Native or Transkeian Territories", Hamburg 1903. SM holds oil of Wildlife, 1875.
Artist of: Landing of the German Legion, 1857, ELM.
: Arrival... Sir George Grey... meeting German Settlers, ELM.
- Hill, F J** 1834 - ?
Artist of: Sketch of Martello Tower in S of England, SM.
- Hillman, Frank** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Oil of train crossing the Blaauwkrantz bridge 1906, SM.
- Hockey, Emily Wilton** 1853 - ?
Daughter of Settler William Hockey. Emily may be one of first artists to work as an "indigenous" white East Cape artist. Her renderings of EC landscapes were void of any "English traditions".
Artist of: Album containing sketches of EC landscape scenes, SM.
: Watercolours of Port Alfred, PA Municipality.
- Hockly, Elizabeth** (Dates unknown)
Watercolour reproduced in Hockly: "Story of the 1820 Settlers".
Artist of: Watercolour of woman wearing black dress, white cap, SM.
- Hodges, R W** (Dates unknown)
Produced pen-and-ink sketches. Also of the Yellow House, first to be built in Gtn 1813, SM.
Artist of: Wellbeloved's residence; Old Fort 1815, SM.
- Holland, Sarah** ca 1837 - ?
Arr in SA to be married to Joseph R Holland PE 1857. In 1880 Joseph formed firm Holland & Vardy. Many of sketches intended to be visual record to be sent home, some inscribed with special messages to parents.
Artist of: Cadles, near Van Stadens; PE 1858; PE Bldgs & Harbour, KGVI.

- Howen, Chevalier Otto** 1808 - 1834
Fought with Dutch in Napoleonic wars. Married Cmdt de Mist's daughter in 1809. Responsible for prints in conjunction with J Smies.
Artist of: Interview of Gov Janssens with Gaika Chief 1803, SM.
: "View of Kaffir Village with natives dancing", SM.
- Howie, W G (Wet Cowie?)** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Pencil drawing: Lighthouse & Donkin Monument PE 1872, SM.
- Hudson, Samuel Eusebius** 1764 - 1828
Accomp. Lady Barnard and husband to Cape as personal steward. Clerk in CT until 1812, went to England, ret in 1814. Spent some years in EC and Uitenhage, a sketch of PE 1823 in CA. Made copies of old Masters for sale. QB v8 p4.
Artist of: Notes on several subjects incl. art techniques, CA.
: MSS 1798-1800; 1800-07;1814-28, CA.
- Huggins, William John** 1781 - 1845
Marine painter to George IV and William IV. Served in East India Co. Painted many ships for the company. Exhibited at the Royal Academy 1820 - 45.
Artist of: Gtn, Albany, the Metropolis of E Division CGH 1833, SM.
: The Chapman, KGVI.
- Hughes, G** (Dates unknown)
Untraced
Artist of: Portraits Godlonton 1861; Wood; Mrs Wood; Knowles, SM.
- Hughes, F C** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Watercolour: Home of Rest, Stone's Hill 1908, SM.
- I'Ons, Miss Edith Ethel** ca 1880 - ?
ANN v9 1951: in coll. Spargo Clark of Keiskamma Hoek; Edith and sisters taught by grandfather FT I'Ons. The sisters did not paint continually; they sold a number of their pictures in the Eastern Cape.
Artist of: watercolour: winding rd. 2 hills, and aloes, pvt coll.
- I'Ons, Frederick Timpson** 1802 - 18 12 1887
Versatile artist: portraitist, genre, cartoonist and ethnographic painter. Also painted stage scenery. First professional artist in EC. No art training except some sculpture lessons. Grand-daughter Annie who m Walter Galpin, was also artist.
Artist of: 23 and 5 works respectively at SM and KGVI.
: Copy of order book for commissions, SM.
- I'Ons, Frederick Henry** 1838 - ?
Worked mainly as a photographer, but known to have possessed some artistic skill. Went to the diamond fields in 1870's. Was critically ill in UK when father was dying in 1887. Owned photography studios near Fort England, Gtn.
Artist of: Coloured photograph of father F T I'Ons's work, SM.
- I'Ons, Frances L** (Dates unknown)
Sister of Annie, Jessie, Edith I'Ons - "Fanny" also painted water-colours but not as prolifically as Annie or Frederick. ANN v9 1951.
Artist of: Scenes similar to famous grandfather, F T I'Ons, pvt colls

- Jay, Charles** 1841 - ?
 Was a shopkeeper & tobacconist, made several pic. of Kaffir War interest. Family file at SM: "Leslie Jay has nice selection of wood work done by our grandmother, Mary Jay". At Settlers' Jubilee Art Exhibition 5 1870, exhibited: Sir Cathcart & Staff.
Artist of: Battle of Umzintzani 1878, Watercolours in sketchbook, SM.
 : Opening of Parliament 1864, SM.
- Jervois, Lt Wm Francis D** 10 9 1821 - 1897
 Royal Engineer. Builder of forts; (Trumpeters' Drift, Ft Brown). Worked with A G Bain. Diary in possession of John Jervois in Colchester, UK, mentions sketches made in EC. Copy of diary & of ptg: Wm Jervois, Gtn.
Artist of: Painting of Drakensberg, in possess. John or son Matthew J.
- Kay, Stephen** (Dates unknown)
 Wrote: Travels and Researches in Caffraria, 1833. Publ Mason, London.
Artist of: Graham's Town, Albany, 1833, Kay's book, SM.
 : Mount Coke Mission Station, 1833 engr by J McGahey, Kay's book, SM.
- Kensit, W** (Dates unknown)
 A Gtn resident who exhibited at local exhibition May 1870, mostly of overseas topics including Madeira.
- King, Capt W Ross** (Dates unknown)
 Book: "Campaigning in Kaffirland or Scenes and Adventures in the Kaffir War of 1851-2". Friend of Thomas Baines. Further info "The Coelancanth", v8 no 21 1970.
Artist of: Sketches in own book.
- Lacey, S** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: View of Kowie River Abany, SM.
 : Brookhouse's Poort Albany, SM.
- Langschmidt, Wilhelm Heinr Franz Ludwig** 1805 - 1866
 Arr SA ca 1840's. He lived in CT till 1851, retired Elgin. Described as portr painter, lithograper and retail dealer. Exhibited CT art exhibition 1852. L's copy below almost exact copy of I'Ons's ptg, shows regard for I'Ons's work.
Artist of: Copy of I'Ons's "Canteen Scene", Wm Fehr.
 : Own house, Long St. Cape Town, Wm Fehr.
- Lawford, Isabel** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Kowie River Port Alfred,
 : Old Military Stables; Buckley's Corner, Gtn, SM.
- Lester, Oliver** 1833 - 1892
 Arr PE 1854, was photographer and portrait painter. Said to be first British photographer to establish himself in SA. 1855 moved to Gtn where he was house- and sign painter. In 1867 he was listed as an art master at St Andrews Grammar school.
Artist of: View of Gtn ca 1863; EL Harbour 1864, SM and ELM respec.
 : View of PE from the hill behind the cemetery, KGVI.
- Limner,** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Pen-and-ink sketches of Parliament Gtn 1864, SM.

- Lodder, Maj-Gen William Wynne** (Dates unknown)
Two sketches dated "Fort Beaufort 1861" and one signed W W L, initials of above of the 59th Rgt which served in SA 1859-61.
Artist of: 3 sketches tribesmen (wash), AM.
- Lucas, H?** (Dates unknown)
Art master at Diocesan School for Girls, Gtn.
Artist of: Dassie Krantz Mountain 1909, SM.
: African women near Grahamstown, SM.
- Lucas, Thomas John** (Dates unknown)
SA 1848-62. Joined CMR Oct 1848, served Eastern Frontier ca 1862. His book "Pen & Pencil Reminiscences" unequalled in field of SA military prints. Cartoons such as "Our Doctor, burning to distinguish himself", show his humour and competency.
Artist of: Several cartoons of military experiences, AM.
: "Pen & Pencil Reminiscences of a Campaign in SA", Book, London, 1861.
- Mackie, Frederick** (Dates unknown)
At the Cape 1855, apparently as lay missionary of the Soc of Friends. Spent some months at Cape in 1855 accompanying Robert Lindsey who redrew some of Mackie's sketches for "Robert & Sarah Lindsey's Travels" 1886.
Artist of: View from inside back of a wagon on road to Gtn, above book, London 1886.
- Mammoszer, Helena Gertruda** 1808 - after 1883
Daughter of Carolina Bosse, married tanner Johan Michael ca 1830 who returned to CT 1852. First child b in Uitenhage 1 4 1831. One of first non-British painters in EC?
Artist of: Uitenhage sketches, location unknown (Gord-Br p125).
: CT flower paintings, idem.
- Mandy, Stephen** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Portrait, SM.
- Martens, Henry** 1828 - 1854
Made paintings from sketches of Capt G J Carey and T Baines. At times worked with Ackermann. Prints engraved by J Harris.
Artist of: Attack of Kaffirs on troops under Fordyce of 74th Rgt, prints SM.
: Conference: Block Drift between Hare & Sandille 1846, prints SM.
- Mayer, H** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Portrait of Gen Sir Rufane Donkin, SM.
- McCombie?, Lt Charles + Ellen** (Dates unknown)
British Lt. + wife, surname unknown but author found Lt Charles McC. of Royal African Corps present Gtn 1822; (Public Records Office, London). Works also signed: "Charley". Further works: Landing Place Algoa Bay ca 1822; Barrack in Bush near Fort Beaufort 1822; Gtn from Milner St 1822, SM.
Artists of: View of Grahamstown 1822, SM.
: Coloured photograph of "Fish River" 1822, SM.

- McKay, George** (Dates unknown)
 Was the Superintendent of the EL Harbour works in the early 1870's.
Artist of: First Creek, Buffalo R, 1887, ELM.
 : Bat's Cave 1889 (attributed to McKay), ELM.
- Meyer, Z** (Dates unknown)
 A fort was built by the EL Volunteer Engineer Corps nr Tyitaba & Kei River junction, named after Baron von Linsingen who came out with the German Legion in 1856.
Artist of: "Attack on Fort Linsingen during Kaffir War 1877-8", SM.
- Michell, Charles C** 1793 - 1851
 Artillery officer, road engineer, architect and watercolour artist, engraver on copper. Constructed roads, passes; designed St John's Bathurst & St Paul's Rondebosch. Watercolours at Wm Fehr and AM show lively sense of humour. Retired 1848.
Artist of: State of Cradock Pass 1840; Affair Buffalo Heights, SM.
- Middleton, Richard** (Dates unknown)
 Schoolmaster, dancing-teacher and first lithographer at the Cape, ca 1824. Illustration 62 appears in Human & Rousseau", SA Heritage.
Artist of: Landscape in PE, illustration 62 in above book.
- Monkhouse, W** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Lithograph of Gtn from the East. Albany ca 1842, SM.
- Moore, Edward Charles** 1883 - 1946
 A landscape artist, referred to at exhibition in Johannesburg as the "Transvaal Volschenk". Later settled in Cape Town.
Artist of: High St Grahamstown; The Dusty Rd, Karroo, SM.
 : Grahamstown Road; Interior of old Museum, ELM.
- Muller, C L** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Drawing of a Bushman 1837, preserved in pickle,
 Litho AM, Copy at SM.
- N, M P** (Dates unknown)
 Untraced miniature dated 22 12 1850.
Artist of: "Kaffir Meeting at Civil Commissioners house Ft Cox", SM.
- Nelson, Ada** (Dates unknown)
 On committee of 1921 Settlers Jubilee along with Prof Armstrong, of Rhodes College Art School. Painted actively late 1880's.
Artist of: Still-life of father Lt-Col A E Nelson's military gear, SM.
- Nelson, Agnes** (Dates unknown)
 Daughter of Lt-Col Alfred E Nelson, and sister of Ada. The Nelson family lived in Grahamstown.
Artist of: Oil painting of Proteas, SM.
 : Oil painting of Ox-wagon, SM.
- Neumeister, H** (Dates unknown)
 Drawing for litho below by Muller (q.v.), notes by P W Lucas.
Artist of: Litho: Bushman preserved in pickle, sent to Berlin, copy SM.
- North, Miss Marianne** 1830 - 1890
 Artist & botanist, visited SA between 1882 & 83 because "all continents of world had some sort of representation in my gallery

except SA, & I resolved to begin painting there without loss of time". Marianne North Gallery at Kew, UK.

Artist of: View from Dr Becker's verandah over Kowie R 1883, Kew Gardens, UK.

: "A Vision of Eden, the Life & Work of Marianne North",
Book: Webb & Bower, 1893.

Palmer, Alice E (Dates unknown)

Pencil sketches.

Artist of: Port of East London. Cape of Good Hope. 1866, ELM.

Parr, G (Dates unknown)

Lithographer worked presumably for Pelham & Richardson and made 2 illustrations for Godlonton and Irving's "Narrative of the Kaffir War" 1851.

Artist of: Litho of villages of Shilo & Whittlesea, SM.

: Koonap Heights. Photo of litho, SM.

Parrott, Miss H (Dates unknown)

Watercolours exhibited in Home Curiosities Exhibition, CT, Jan. 1956. The description suggested date of 1826. ANN v12 p258.

Artist of: Six watercolours of flowers.

Philips, Charlotte 1776 - 1859

Born Arboin; earls, viscounts & admiral amongst her in-laws. In "Philips 1820 Settler", Pmb 1960, p244, her husband Thomas refers to her sketching their cottage, Glendower.

Artist of: "Paroquet named Jackal" appears in Bryer & Hunt: p42.

: View of Grahamstown (ca 1824?), SM.

Philips, Thomas 1776 - 1859

Prominent settler & writer. Books include: "Lectures on the History & Principals of Painting". London, 1833, SAPL.

Artist of: "Scenes & occurrences in Albany & Caffer-land" in book.

: Entrance to the Kowie River, London 1827, idem.

Piers, A (Dates unknown)

Artist of: Barville Park (depiction of the fortified Settler farm near Gtn), SM.

Piers, H W H C 1813 - 1887

Prolific watercolourist. Joined the Cape Civil service as Magistrate of Paarl in 1839. An early visitor to Port Elizabeth. ANN v27 no 2.

Artist of: Watercolour sketch of Grahamstown, 1839, SM.

: Landing Place PE 1840, KGV1.

Pigot, Miss Catherine ca 1803 - ?

The sketch was supposedly done by Catherine in 1822. Her sister, Sophie, became Mrs Donald Moodie, kept a journal of shipboard experiences and settling, held at SM.

Artist of: Sketch: Maj Pigot & Donald Moodie, interior of home, "SA Heritage" p15.

Piper, Lt-Col Robert Sloper ca 1819 - ?

Piper made journey with Lt Jervois (q.v.). No examples traced.

Artist of: Sketches of Grahamstown on way from Natal to Cape, rep: GTJ 28 1 1846.

- Portman, Lodewyk G** 1772 - 1813
Lithographer of prints consisting of 1) View of village 2) Horde of Kaffirs 3) Interview of Gov Janssens & Gaika 4) View Ft Frederick & Algoa Bay. 1-3 drawings by Chevalier Howen & J Smies; 4 by W B E Paravicini di Capelli.
- Prior, Melton** 1845 - 1910
War artist for "The Illustrated London News" from 1868. He served in the 9th Frontier War 1877-8; Zulu War 1879; TVL War 1880-1, the SA War 1899-1902, and the Matabele Rebellion 1896 and sketched episodes of the Jameson Raid 1896. The first work below bears the inscription: "The Exodus from Pretoria British Colonists on the 'Trek'".
Artist of: "Exodus from Pretoria 1881", pencil drawing, AM.
: "Correspondents carts... prevented from crossing Sand R", AM.
- Purser, William** (Dates unknown)
Illustrated "African Sketches" by Thomas Pringle, London 1835. Purser also exhibited at the RA 1805-39 and was a landscape painter.
Artist of: Entrance to Kowie River in "Christian Keepsake", 1836.
: Pass of the Gt Fish R in "Christian Keepsake & Missionary Annual" 1835.
- Rabone, William Henry** 1824 - 1902
According to N A Blanckenberg in "Official Guide to Graaff Reinet" pp195, 199, arrived Graaff Reinet from UK in Nov. 1853. Was master printer.
Artist of: woodblocks sheep, goats and bulls (advertisements).
: "Sale Angora Rams at Graaff Reinet on Church Sq", repr. ILN 12 9 1857.
- Rabone, Mrs Harriet** (Dates unknown)
Sister to Charles Essex, made portraits after arrival in Nov. 1853, according to N A Blanckenberg in "Official Guide to Graaff Reinet" (C A Els:195).
Artist of: Portraits (3) in above book.
- Ramage, J** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: 4 of EC illustrations in "Narrative of the Kaffir War" 1851, Book publ by Godlonton & Irving.
- Redwood, E J** (Dates unknown)
The first title is a litho published by J Wheeler & Son; the second a litho published by J Kelly.
Artist of: The disastrous gale, Algoa Bay, 1 9 1902.
: The disastrous S E gale at PE Algoa Bay 30 8 1888.
Both prints PE Museum; on loan to KGVII.
- Ricards, Rt Rev James David DD** 1828 - 1893
Murray: "SA Reminiscences". Catholic Bishop of Grahamstown.
Artist of: Painted theatrical scenery according to R W Murray's book.
- Robinson, Lt Hugh** (Dates unknown)
Was officer in 43rd Monmouthshire Rgt with Lt Lumley Graham. Served SA 1851 until dep. for India Dec 1851. Their sketchbooks probably still extant. ANN v12 pp316-7. Cf also Forster-Towne, 1983. Robinson illustrated letters home to family.
Artist of: The Hogsback and Gaika's Kop, amongst others, in book.
: "Scenes in Kaffirland & Incidents during Kaffir War 1851-3", Book, 1854.

- Rocke, Capt R H** (Dates unknown)
 Capt Rocke was a member of the 2nd (Queen's Royal) Regiment of Foot.
 He served on the Eastern Frontier between 1852 and 1860.
 Artist of: Cooper's Kloof, PE, 1856, KGV1.
- Rooper, Maj Edward** ? - 1854
 Served on the Eastern Frontier with the Rifle Brigade 1846-50 and
 1852-3. He died at sea from wounds received in the Battle of
 Inkerman. Was acting magistrate at EL in 1848. He is mentioned in
 Baines' journal as influencing Baines.
 Artist of: Numerous watercolours in SA ca 1852 - 53, AM.
- Ross, F** (Dates unknown)
 A member of the crew of HMS Levin on surveying expedition to
 E African coast. Probably landed at Cape 1823 due to ill-health.
 He appears to have remained at the Cape. Cf also B & R Reynolds:
 "Gtn from Cottage to Villa" pp25-26.
 Artist of: Panorama of Gtn 30 11 1825 reproduced QB v22 opp. p76.
 : Numerous watercolours, some of the EC in 1830's in diary
 SAPL.
- Sanders, Lt N J** ? - 1830
 Royal African Corps served on Frontier 1819. Son: A C Sanders born
 1828. Further notes in SM accession book.
 Artist of: Watercolour of capture of a French privateer 1814-15, SM.
- Scanlan, Surg-Maj Fitzgerald Edward** (Dates unknown)
 Served in SA 1864-68 with 10th Rgt, North Lincoln. He & Capt S H K
 Wilson made sketches for Bisset's book, latter gave Scanlan wrong
 initial "G". Scanlan wrote "A-Z, Being 26 notes on a Soldier's
 Trumpet" - 26 coloured plates, 1876.
 Artist of: Sketches for Bisset: "Sport & War in Africa", London 1875.
- Schaller, Adolphus** 1822 - 1874
 First recorded as master of Gov Sch in Bathurst 1849-57. Later
 auctioneer in village, also agent in magistrate's court Kowie West.
 QB v19 p82-3.
 Artist of: Three copies of prints known, AM & SAPL.
 : St Paul's Church Rondebosch, ca 1849, Litho publ
 Day and Son, London.
- Schiffman, Frederick** (Dates unknown)
 Large and rare litho published by F Schiffman Gtn, and Day & Son
 London 1 11 1862. Dedicated to Prince Alfred.
 Artist of: Gtn, taken from... Oatlands. Res of Sir Walter Currie, SM.
- Schroeder, William Howard** 2 4 1852 - 4 8 1892
 Known as "Cynicus". Charles Cowen editor of Zingari first published
 14 11 1870, says Schroeder first full-time SA born artist. E Bradlow:
 "I'Ons" book: Schroeder visited I'Ons in Gtn and produced a portrait
 of him.
 Artist of: Publications in Zingari, Knobkerrie, Lantern.
- Schumacher, Johannes** (Dates unknown)
 Book: "Akwarelle van Johannes Schumacher" ed Hallema, Stols, The
 Hague, Balkema 1951. Schumacher accompanied Hendrik Swellengrebel
 on expedition Oct 1776 to Zuurveld to establish economic potential

of the Eastern Cape. Illustrations in Lantern vXX.

Artist of: View of the Zuurveld, in vicinity Bushman's R, in above book.

Scrivenor,**(Dates unknown)**

ANN vol 12 Sept. 1957 p261.

Artist of: Exhibitor at PE Art Exhibition 1861.

Simpson, William Henry**1843 - ca 1913**

Appointed 1881 art master at Gtn Sch Art (to 1903). Watercolours of English & SA scenes exhibited in PE in 1885. More info ANN v13 p94. Exhibited Queen's Jubilee Exhibition 1887-8.

Artist of: Highlands near Grahamstown 1898, SM.

: Lower Albany 1901, SM.

Slater, Thomas**1777 - 1845**

An 1820 Settler of Salem; father of John Francis Slater. Family of Miss Linda Slater of Grahamstown (1992) owns pic. of PE 1829; also outdoor scene.

Artist of: Sketches of EC, PE Museum.

: Painting of PE 1829, Pvt coll Slater, Gtn.

Slater, John Francis**1817 - 1876**

1820 settler, son of Thomas Slater of Salem. A large oil on canvas reported by the SA Nat Gallery of Rodesand Pass, signed J F Slater. Known to have dabbled mostly in watercolours.

Artist of: Rodesand Pass 1864, SA Nat Gallery.

: Photo of painting Rodesand Pass, SM.

Smidt, A D**(Dates unknown)**

Artist of: Watercolour of Fort Cox 1865, Parliamentary Libr.

: Print of above, SM.

Smies, Jacob**1764 - 1833**

Joint artist of first of 3 "Alberti prints", SM. Smies was known for his Rowlandish-type caricatures.

Artist of: "View of Kaffir village with natives dancing";

: "Horde of Kaffirs on a Journey";

: "Interview of Gov Janssens with Kaffir Chief Gaika".

Smith, E**(Dates unknown)**

Artist of: View from South End ca 1900, KGVI.

Smith, William**(Dates unknown)**

1820 Settler and surveyor. Further family history at SM.

Artist of: Self portrait, SM.

: Sketched map of Kaffir Drift Post 1828, SM.

Spinks, Thomas**(Dates unknown)**

British Landscape painter. Exhibited 1872-80 at the Royal Academy and Royal Society of British artists. Painted Welsh scenes see "Dictionary of Victorian Painters", C Wood, Suffolk Baron Publishing Co, 1971.

Artist of: Landscape of the Eastern Cape 1888, SM.

: River Landscape: figures picnicing under a tree (cf Wood).

Stewart, RSA James**1791 - 1863**

Arr SA 1834, influenced by Thos Pringle. 1835 taught art and made portraits in Somerset East. Later acquired property at Kaga, became J

of P. Elected MLA Victoria E 1854. Moved to Alice. Mentioned in Baines' Journ. VRS 42; further notes Gord-Br.

Artist of: Photo of engrav 2 women reading, sewing in bower, SM.

Stiles, Master**(Dates unknown)**

He is untraced but is possibly connected with Thomas Stiles, an 1820 settler living in Gtn at that time (1858).

Artist of: 2 Landscapes at Fine Art Exhib Gtn 7 1858,

Stocker, Lt Ives**(Dates unknown)**

Commanded the Royal Engineers at Cape ca 1816-19. Retired as Captain on full pay in 1836 ANN v10 p24.

Artist of: Map: "Land ceded by Kaffirs to British". Ink + watercolour
Pub Records Office, London.

Stocks, William Burnett**1851 - 1920**

In 1907 he was a crockery and china dealer and picture framer in High St. Gtn. Secretary of first committee of the Gtn Fine Art Association founded in 1901.

Artist of: Shipwreck, EL. Possbily barque FINGO 2 1 1875, ELM.

: large oil of Gtn dated 1887; Pistols & coffee for Two, SM.

Stow, George William**1822 - 1882**

EP Herald 26 7 1861 mentions Stow portrait. Biography: "The Life + Work of G W S, SA Geologist and Ethnologist" (R B Young). Stow also known for copies of prehistoric paintings. ANN v12 p264 1957.

Artist of: Landscapes in watercolours, in biography.

: Portrait of Stow's ancestor 1686, rec in "The Life".

Stretch, Charles Lennox**1797 - 1882**

Soldier and Native Commissioner, served in the EC with 39th regiment, 1818-20. Became a land surveyor, resident agent with the Gaikas & later a member of the Legislative Council.

Artist of: 3 pencil drawings of the Zuurbergen 1823, AM; DSAB v2.

Sutton, Mrs Francis**1823 - 1883**

Third daughter of Sir Henry Somerset. Married 15 8 1849 William Sutton: they remained in SA as he was commanding officer of the CMR until 1859. Album also contains sketches by Somerset sisters: Maria Caroline and Elizabeth Harriet. See AM catalogue.

Artist of: Entrance to the Buffalo River 1847 (pencil sketch), ELM.

: Album of sketches; incl sketch Fort Cox & Oatlands, AM.

Swain, Edward**1847 - 1902**

Arr at the Cape Nov 1878, where he worked in watercolours and oils. On his return to UK he exhibited at the RA then turned to etching, then photography. Swain made etchings of his SA sketches.

Artist of: A sketch of the Katberg, SAPL.

Synnot, Capt Walter**(Dates unknown)**

The Army list gives synot as a half-pay Irish officer who brought out a party of 25 1820 Settlers from Wicklow who were settled at Clanwilliam. Synnot became Deputy Landdrost 30 11 1821 and when his settlement eventually broke up, went to PE 1825.

Artist of: Watercolour of farm: Disselsfontein, Clanwilliam, Wm Fehr.

- Templer, Capt/Col John George E** (Dates unknown)
 Templer, originally from Lyndredge, S Devon, was Lt commissioned in 74th Highland Rgt in Nov 1876. Rgt united with 71st Highland Light Infantry on 1 7 1888. Perhaps received honorary title when retired 1896. Watercolours owned by W Sweetnam, Gtn, 1992.
Artist of: Landscape; figure and sea in background ca 1820's;
 : Watercolours of cottage, aquaduct, seascape, sailing ship; in private ownership.
- Thompson, George** 1796 - ?
 Merchant, traveller, was at the Cape 1818-59. Engraver acknowledges uncoloured aquatints in book to Thompson. Gives an account of EC, the Settlers, Boers and other peoples, as well as flora and fauna. Thompson's book appeared in 2 vols.
Artist of: Book: Travels & Adventures in SA, London 1827, SM.
 : View of Graham's Town 1824 in book.
- Thornley Smith, Rev** (Dates unknown)
 Author 3 books, one of which: "SA Delineated", London 1850, contains 6 steel engravings after his sketches. eg. tinted litho by W Monkhouse; tinted or coloured litho, published by Harry Davies.
Artist of: 2 prints of sketches Gtn from the East, rep GTJ Feb 1849.
 : Wesleyan Mission Premises; designed Commemoration Church Gtn; also mission church Farmersfield, nr Gtn
- Thwaites, Emily** (Dates unknown)
 Drawings recommended to be sent to the Indian and Colonial Exhibitn.
Artist of: Drawings of flowers & fishes, 1885 PE Fine Arts Exhibitn.
- Turvey, Edward Ford** 1781 - 1845
 London linen draper arr in EC age 39 in Turvey's Party. Advertised GTJ 16 5 1839 giving lessons at residence in African St. Met A Bain. Andrew Steedman mentions E T vl, p292. Accompanied Alex. Cowie & Benj Green on ill-fated expedition to Delagoa Bay.
Artist of: Drawing of Fort Willshire engraved in Steedman's "Travels" book London 1833,
 : Sketch of village at Theopolis Mission Stn, E Morse Jones: Lower Albany Chronicle.
- Van Der Berg, C** (Dates unknown)
 Untraced. Dutch/boer artist?
Artist of: Landing of 1820 Settlers in Algoa Bay, Wm Fehr.
- Vian, T B** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: EL Landscape 1902; Tents on beachfront, ELM.
 : EL Harbour 1870, ELM. (All watercolours.)
- von Ronow, Count** (Dates unknown)
 Inscribed: "Kindly given by Donald McDougall 1 July 1856".
Artist of: View of the West Bank EL. Harbour from Signal Hill, ELM.
- Waldron, F W** (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Kowie River Mouth, SM.
 : Pier at Port Alfred 1882. Watercolour, SM.
- Ward, Capt John** (Dates unknown)
 The husband of Harriet Ward; was stationed in the EC with 91st Rgt Argyll & served in the Frontier War. Also stationed at St Helena

with 66th Rgt, made drawings of Napoleon during life & after death.
Cf. Chaplin's "St Helena Who's Who".

Artist of: Illustrations of wife's book: 5 Years in Kaffirland, 1848

Wehdemann, Clemenz Heinrich.

1762 - 1835

Arr Cape 1795, gave drawing lessons. Later commissioned in the Waldeck Battl. until 1806. From 1810 collected botanical specimens in Plettenberg Bay area. Taught for a time in Gtn. Mentioned in Thompson's "Travels"; also QB v16.

Artist of: 4 albums of botanical drawings, see DSAB v2.

Welchman, John T

(Dates unknown)

Grahamstown architect. More information at SM.

Artist of: Drawing of church at Oatlands, Gtn 1870, Art Exhibn, 1870.

: Designed Grahamstown City Hall.

White, Mrs Mary Ellen

(Dates unknown)

Mrs T C White, daughter of Bertram Bowker, 1820 Settler. Niece of Mary Elizabeth Barber, botanical artist.

Artist of: Watercolour of a protea 1861, SM.

: 9 watercolours of local flowers and birds, 1861, SM.

White, Mrs

(Dates unknown)

Probably wife of Samuel White, waggonmaker of Gtn? (ANN v12 1957), or is Mary Ellen White, daughter of Bertram Bowker.

Artist of: Birds and flowers PE Art Exhibition 1861.

White, W

(Dates unknown)

Artist of: Exhibitor at PE Exhibition 1861.

White, Robert

(Dates unknown)

For some years partner with Robert Godlonton in firm printers and proprietors of GTJ. See Gord-Br. chapter 7.

Artist of: Wood engraving of coat-of-arms Ichabod Island,

Sam Sly's Journal 1854.

Wild, Abraham

(Dates unknown)

Painted yellowwood panel taken from his house "The Bleek House", removed to SM. Displays English foxhunt yet shows some African features. Family information at SM.

Artist of: The Fox Hunt - "English" scene on wall of house, SM.

Wilkie, David

1785 - 1841

A narrative and genre painter. James Stewart RSA engraved painting by Wilkie. Artist much emulated in England.

Artist of: The Pedlar, SM.

Williams, T

(Dates unknown)

ELM holds watercolour: S S Orient 1902.

Artist of: British barque "Waterman" crossing Kowie bar 1885, SM.

: Tantallon Castle (wrecked off Robben Island) 1882, ELM.

Wilmot, Robert

(Dates unknown)

Orig journal of travels in Cape, 1856, In Wits Univ Library. Book based on above: "A Cape Traveller's Diary 1856" intro. by P Lewsen + A D Donker publ. 1984, includes illustrations of Forts Koonap, Brown, Fordyce, Armstrong, Cox and Peddie; and views Kat River valley, Post

- Unknown J, (Dates unknown)
Below painted in oil.
Artist of: Shipwrecks on beach at PE after great gale 30 8 1888, ELM
- Unknown K, (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Ship, S S Tartar, built 1883. Watercolour 1889, ELM.
- Unknown L, (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Bedford, 1825. Watercolour, ELM.
- Unknown M, (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Litho of Algoa Bay and Port Elizabeth 1830, KGVI.
- Unknown N, (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Izeli Post & Amathole Mountains, 1856. Watercolour, ELM.
- Unknown O, (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Mission station 1823. Pencil, ELM.
- Unknown P, (Dates unknown)
Work below Inscribed: Emigrant barque/Gilbert Henderson; HMS/Eurydice;
wreck of HMS/Thunderbolt; HMS/President Baakens River & View of the
Anchorage at/Port Elizabeth/ 3rd Feb 1847.
Artist of: Baakens River & View of the Anchorage at PE, 3 1847, KGVI.
- Unknown Q, (Dates unknown)
Work below has recto: explanatory labels (pencil); and verso: Port
Elizabeth - Algoa Bay - 1845.
Artist of: Mouth of the Baakens River 1845. Watercolour, KGVI.
- Unknown R, (Dates unknown)
Officer of the 21 Light Dragoons, engaged in expedition under Lt-Col
Graham. A collection is extant of "Portraits of Savage Tribes etc".
QB v13 p116-8.
Artist of: Savage Tribes inhabiting Boundaries of CGH 1812,
Pub: Orme, London 1822.
- Unknown S, (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Harbour EL, mouth, 1857. Watercolour, ELM.
- Unknown T, (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Harbour EL and Currie Street 1870. Oil, ELM.
- Unknown U, (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Harbour EL. Wooden Bridge over first creek Buff R, 1879.
Oil, ELM.
- Unknown V, (Dates unknown)
Artist of: Harbour EL 1894. Oil, ELM.

CHRONOLOGY - (JOHN) THOMAS BAINES

- 1820 Born in King's Lynn, son of John, master of the ship *Glory*, and Mary Ann, née Watson.
- 1836 Apprenticed to a local "ornamental painter", William Carr.
- 1838 ca. Sailed on sea trip with father, then master of *Sally*.
- 1842 Sailed, as a steerage passenger, on the *Olivia* for Cape Town.
- 1842-45 Worked in Cape Town as an "ornamental painter" under Richardson and Youngman, coachmakers.
- 1845 Adopted painting as a career, advertising himself as a "marine painter, 140 Long Street" in the *Cape of Good Hope Almanac*, 1847 and 1848.
- 1848 Sailed to Algoa Bay, landing on 19th February. On March 15th left with Mr W F Liddle on his first journey into the interior, returning in August.
- 1848-49 Spent in Grahamstown and district. From August to October made a solitary journey into the Eastern Cape and border. Returned to Potter's Inn, Grahamstown.
- 1850 February. Expedition to the Vaal River with Joseph McCabe.
- 1851 22 June to 18 January 1852. As a war artist in the field with Major-General Somerset during the Eighth Frontier War. He sketched, and at times took part, in the action in the Amatolas, Blinkwater, and the Waterkloof.
- 1851 November. Present at the action with rebel Khoi in the Waterkloof when Col Fordyce was killed.
- 1852 After January. In Grahamstown, and a few weeks in Port Elizabeth.
- 1853-55 From May was in King's Lynn, England, where he painted pictures from his South African sketches.
- 1856 Accompanied an expedition of exploration to Northern Australia, as artist, returning to England in the late Autumn of 1857.
- 1857 Granted the Freedom of the Borough of King's Lynn and elected Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in the UK.
- 1858-59 Accompanied Livingstone on an expedition to the Zambesi.
- 1859 December. Ill in Port Elizabeth.
- 1860-61 Recuperating in Cape Town. He painted pictures of Table Bay and built a boat for a Victoria Falls expedition.
- 1861-62 Left Table Bay 21 March 1861, arriving in Walvis Bay and from there began his inland journey. Expedition to the Victoria Falls and sojourn in South-West Africa [Namibia].
- 1865 On 15th May he set sail for England in the Union mail-steamer *Roman*.

- 1865-66** In England, where he had a studio in a spare room at the Royal Geographical Society's Rooms in Whitehall Place. In August 1866 he was in Nottingham at the British Association reading papers on the Limpopo and the Zambesi.
- 1865** Published his drawing of African scenery and his explorations in South-Eastern Africa.
- 1867** Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, then Durban which finally became his headquarters. During the next few years, Baines travelled to the Goldfields and to Lobengula's country.
- 1871** Discovered the genera *Welwitschia* nearly simultaneously with the first discoverer, Dr Welwitsch; also discovered the beetle *Bolbotritus Bainesi* on banks of Mungone River.
- 1873** Geographical Council presented him with gold watch in recognition for his geographical services (Page pamphlet). He never received it personally since he did not return to England again. After his death it was presented to his sister, Emma Elliott (Wallis, 1976:219).
- 1875** 8th May. Death from dysentery at the house of his cousin, James Watson, of Durban. Buried West Street Cemetery, Durban.