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BRITISH IMAGINATION, COLONIAL IDEOLOGY AND THE
REPRESENTATION OF LANDSCAPE SPACE IN NINETEENTH-
CENTURY SOUTHERN AFRICA

Volume II
BRITISH IMAGINATION, CLASSICAL HEDONISM AND THE REPRESENTATION OF MACABRE SPIRIT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AFRICAN FICTION

John Medbury

In the manner of his master, Sir John Hegarty of Dargie, in Thomas Hardy

Cambridge University Press
BRITISH IMAGINATION, COLONIAL IDEOLOGY AND THE
REPRESENTATION OF LANDSCAPE SPACE IN NINETEENTH-
CENTURY SOUTHERN AFRICA

2 Volumes

VOLUME II

John McAleer

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402. -, *Thomas Baines: His Art in Rhodesia from the Originals in the Central African Archives* [Salisbury, Rhodesia: Central African Archives, 1956].


413. Wilder, Frederick L., *English Sporting Prints* [Thames & Hudson, 1974].


421. Youngs, Tim, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900*
   [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994].
(ii) Periodical Titles

The following periodicals have been consulted in the course of my research.

1. Africana Notes and News.
2. Alumnus.
3. Annual Register.
5. Art Journal.
6. The Atheneum.
7. The British Art Journal.
12. The Connoisseur.
13. Conradiana.
15. Critical Quarterly.
17. Economic History Review.
18. Ecumene.
21. Fortnightly Review.
22. Gazette des Beaux-Arts.
24. The Graphic.
25. The Historical Journal.
27. Imago Mundi.
28. Isis.
31. Journal of Historical Geography.
32. Journal of Post-Graduate Research.
34. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
35. Journal of Travel and Natural History.
38. Landscape Research.
39. Leisure Hour.
41. Modern Language Quarterly.
43. The National Geographic Magazine.
45. The Photo-Historian.
50. The Sporting Review.
51. The Studio.
52. The Times.
54. Victorian Studies.
55. Walker's Quarterly.
56. Westminster Review.
The following is a list of specific periodical articles that I have found particularly useful and pertinent to my research.

Abbreviations used in the Bibliography:

**AB** : Art Bulletin.

**ANN** : Africana Notes and News.

**EA** : English in Africa.

**JAH** : Journal of African History.

**JBS** : Journal of British Studies.

**JICH** : Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History.


56. ~, “Caspar David Friedrich’s Der Watzmann: German Romantic Landscape Painting and Historical Geology” in AB, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Sep. 1984), pp. 452-64.


3. Conferences

There follows a list of conferences where many of the ideas presented in this thesis were first formed, expounded or questioned. They are arranged in chronological order with the title of the conference followed by the organising body, the date and location of the conference. I have presented papers which draws on, and expands on the research contained in this study. I have included the titles of these papers following the relevant conference details. I would also like to acknowledge the help and contribution of the Hugh Lane Peoples' College students and the students of my various “Landscape Painting” lectures who have likewise been subjected to my colonial landscape interests ands whose prescient and insightful comments have contributed in no small measure to this thesis.


- *Postgraduate Research Seminars*, School of History of Art, 12 February 2003, University of St Andrew’s, Scotland.
  “Some Remarks on the Art of Travel in Sub-Saharan Africa.”

- *Affecting Passions...*, School of English, 2-5 May 2003, University of Cambridge.

- *The XXVI Irish Conference of Historians: Culture, place and identity*, held under the auspices of the Academy for Irish Cultural Heritages and the School of History and International Affairs, University of Ulster, 22-25 May 2003, Magee College, Londonderry.
  “Elysian Fields: Hunting and Identity in the Empire.”

- “*The Book as Artefact*”: An Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Conference, Department of History of Art and Department of Modern History in conjunction with Marsh’s Library, 20-21 February 2004, Marsh’s Library, Dublin.
“Captain Henry Butler’s *South African Sketches*: Victorian Vanity Publishing.”

- *Centenary History Conference*, Department of History, University of Stellenbosch in conjunction with the Historical Association of South Africa (HASA), 5-7 April 2004, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.
  “Captain Henry Butler’s *South African Sketches* and the Lure of Africa.”

  “Colonial Landscape Painting and the Retrieval of Beauty.”

- *(Re)Discovering Aesthetics*, Department of Philosophy and Department of Art History, 9-11 July 2004, University College Cork.
  “The Sublime Aesthetic and Nineteenth-Century Representations of the Victoria Falls.”
  (Winner of Student Bursary Prize).


  “Victorian ‘Vanity Publishing’ and Nineteenth-Century Travel Literature.”
4. Websites

The websites are arranged according chronologically, starting with the sites accessed first. The name of the institution, the date first accessed and the internet address for the webpage are listed.

- Trinity College Library, October 2001.  
  <http://www.tcd.ie/Library/>

  <http://www.bl.uk/>

  <http://www.rgs.org/>

  <http://www.museums.org.za/iziko/>

  <http://www.brenthurst.org.za/>

  <http://www.nlsa.ac.za/>

- Deon Viljoen Fine Art, March 2002.  
  <http://www.deonviljoen.com/>

  <http://www.fernwoodpress.co.za/>

  <http://www.michaelstevenson.com/>
   <http://www.nmm.ac.uk/>

• Victoria Falls: First Photographs, August 2002.
   <http://www.hoole.easynet.co.uk/index.html>

• National Library of Ireland, September 2002.
   < http://www.nli.ie/>

   < http://www.nls.uk/>

• Abebooks, June 2003.
   < http://www.abebooks.co.uk/>

• Books of Zimbabwe Online, December 2003.
   <http://www.booksofzimbabwe.com/store3/erol.html#1x0&&>

• Bridgeman Art Library, June 2004
   <http://www.bridgeman.co.uk/>

• Tasmania Art Gallery and Museum, June 2004.

• British Empire and Commonwealth Museum, August 2004.
   < http://www.empiremuseum.co.uk/index.htm>

• George Monbiot, “Class War on the Hoof” Tuesday September 14, 2004.
   Guardian Unlimited.
   < http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,,1303783,00.html>
APPENDIX 1: MAPS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA


Countries:
1. Republic of South Africa.
2. Lesotho.
3. Swaziland.
4. Namibia.
5. Botswana.
7. Mozambique.
8. Madagascar.
9. Malawi.
11. Angola.

Physical Features:
- a. Drakensberg Mountains.
- b. Great Karoo.
- c. River Orange (also Groot or Gariep River).
- d. River Vaal.
- e. River Limpopo.
- f. River Zambezi.
- g. Lake Ngami.
- h. Lake Nyasa.
- i. Victoria Falls.

Cities:
- i. Cape Town.
- ii. Port Elizabeth.
- iii. Durban.
iv. Pretoria.
v. Johannesburg.
vi. Harare (formerly Salisbury).
vii. Bulawayo (formerly Gubulawayo).
viii. Maputo (formerly Lourenço Marques).
ix. Windhoek.
x. Morija.
Map 2: Southern Africa (ca. 1860)

Line X shows the extent of British expansion by ca. 1830.

Geographical Areas:
1. Cape Colony.
2. British Kaffraria (Ciskei).
3. Transkei.
4. Basutoland.
5. Zululand.
6. Orange Free State.
7. Transvaal.
8. Bechuanaland.
10. Damaraland.
11. Matabeleland.
12. Mashonaland.

Physical Features:
- a. River Orange.
- b. River Vaal.
- c. River Limpopo.
- d. River Zambezi.
- e. River Shire.
- f. River Luango.
- g. River Chobe.
- h. River Botletle.
- i. Lake Ngami.
- j. River Swartkop.
- k. Okavango Swamp.

m. Victoria Falls.


o. Delagoa Bay.

p. Algoa Bay.

q. False Bay.

r. Table Bay.

s. Walvis Bay.
Map 2: Southern Africa (ca. 1860)
Map 3: Southern Africa – Settlements (ca. 1860)

1. Cape Town.
2. Port Elizabeth.
3. Durban.
4. Pietermaritzburg.
5. Bloemfontein.
10. Shosong.
11. Otjimbingue.
12. Tati.
15. Tete.
16. Senna.
17. Shupanga.
18. Quillimane.
Map 3: Southern Africa – Settlements (ca. 1860)
Map 4: Cape Of Good Hope Colony (ca. 1860)

Settlements:
1. Clanwilliam.
2. Cape Town.
3. Simonstown.
4. The Paarl.
5. Stellenbosch.
6. Caledon.
7. Swellendam.
8. Beaufort West.
9. George.
12. Port Elizabeth.
15. Cradock.
17. Bathurst.
18. Fort Beaufort.
19. King William’s Town.

Physical Features:
- a. Oliphants River.
- c. Table Bay.
- d. Cape of Good Hope.
- e. False Bay.
- f. Hottentots Holland Mountains.
g. Swartberg Mountains.
h. Algoa Bay.
i. Sundays River.
j. Bushmans River.
k. Cowie River.
l. Fish River.
m. Keiskemma River.
n. Kei River.
o. Vaal River.
p. Stormberg Mountains.

Missionary Settlements:
   i. Genadendal.
   ii. Bethelsdorp.
   iii. Theopolis.
   iv. Philipton.
   v. Mount Coke.
   vi. Burn's Hill.
Map 4: Cape Of Good Hope Colony (ca. 1860)
Map 5: Cape of Good Hope Peninsula (ca. 1860)

Settlements:
1. Cape Town.
2. Wynberg.
3. Fish Hoek Bay.
4. Simonstown.
5. Stellenbosch.

Physical Features:

a. Salt River.
b. Robben Island.
c. Devil’s Peak.
d. Table Mountain.
e. Lion’s Head.
f. Twelve Apostles.
g. Constantia Nek.
h. Table Bay.
i. Hout Bay.
j. Chapman’s Bay.
k. Cape Maclear.
l. Cape of Good Hope.
m. Cape Point.
n. Simon’s Bay.
o. Gordon’s Bay.
p. Cape Hangklip.
Map 5: Cape of Good Hope Peninsula (ca. 1860)
**Map 6: South Central Africa (ca. 1900)**

**Geographical Areas:**

1. Union of South Africa.
2. Bechuanaland Protectorate.
4. Northern Rhodesia.
5. Barotseland.
7. Portuguese East Africa.

**Physical Features:**

a. River Limpopo.
b. Okavango Swamp.
c. Lake Ngami.
d. River Chobe.
e. Victoria Falls.
f. River Zambezi.
g. Lake Nyasa.

**Settlements:**

i. Kolobeng.
ii. Bulawayo.
iii. Fort Salisbury.
iv. Lusaka.
Map 6: South Central Africa (ca. 1900)
APPENDIX 2 : BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES

Sir James Edward Alexander (1803-85):
James Alexander was born in Scotland and joined the East India Company in 1820. He was active in many military campaigns, including the Burmese War (1824) and the Persian War against Russia. In 1835 he was in South Africa as aide-de-camp to Sir Benjamin D'Urban and fought in the Kaffir War of 1835. In terms of exploration he is remembered for his travels along the West coast of the Cape Colony and into present-day Namibia where he gave his name to Alexander Bay, later to become the scene of famous diamond discoveries. He subsequently served in Canada, New Zealand and the Crimea, becoming a General in 1881. He died in England.

Charles John Andersson (1827-69):
Charles John Andersson was born in Sweden to a Swedish mother and a Welsh Quaker father – Llewellyn Lloyd. He adopted his mother’s name and studied zoology in the University of Lund. In order to sell a collection of birds, animals and skins he went to the United Kingdom in 1849 where he met Francis Galton (q.v.). The two travelled to Damaraland together in 1850. The ensuing years were spent exploring the area of Ovamboland, the Kalahari Desert and Namaqualand. He worked as a trader, elephant hunter and a collector of scientific specimens as well as mapping previously unknown areas.

George French Angas (1822-86):
George French Angas was an explorer, artist and zoologist born in Durham, England. He was the son of one of the founders of South Australia. After studying anatomical drawing and lithography in London he travelled to Malta and Sicily. He published the illustrated journal of his travels in 1842. The following year he went to Australia. Angas reached South Africa in 1846 and prepared a large number of drawings that were subsequently published in 1849. Returning to Australia he became the director of the Sydney Museum in 1851. He returned to England in 1873, publishing a book of poems in 1874. Angas
periodically exhibited his work at the Royal Academy and the Royal Society of British Artists from 1843 until 1874.

**James Backhouse (1794-1868):**
James Backhouse was a Quaker missionary born at Darlington. He became a minister in 1824 and went to the Southern Hemisphere for two years in 1838 with George Washington Walker.

**Thomas Baines (1822-75):**
Thomas Baines was born at King's Lynn, the son of a sea captain. He was apprenticed to a coach-builder as a painter of coats of arms. He continued to work at this occupation after his arrival in Cape Town in 1842. He stayed in Cape Town for several years, becoming a professional artist at the persuasion of friends. He left for Grahamstown on the Eastern frontier in 1848 to take up a post as a war artist. He wandered and explored for the rest of his life. He went to North Australia in 1854 and was awarded the freedom of the Borough of King’s Lynn in 1857. Baines was appointed storekeeper and artist on David Livingstone’s (q.v.) expedition up the Zambezi River in 1858. He visited the Victoria Falls in 1862 and the Matabele chief, Lobengula (q.v.) in 1868 as part of a gold-prospecting team. He died at Durban.

**Samuel White Baker (1821-93):**
Samuel White Baker was born to a wealthy merchant who had made his money in the West Indies. Baker was brought up in Enfield and then Gloucester. He was sent to Frankfurt, Germany for eighteen months. On his return in 1843, he and his brother John married, two sisters – the sisters of the local vicar. The two couples then decamped to manage the Baker estates in Mauritius. This was followed by a stint in Ceylon. Samuel and his wife returned to England in 1855. Following the death of his wife, Henrietta, in childbirth, Samuel sought sponsorship for an expedition to Africa. In 1860, the Royal Geographical Society sanctioned a mission to explore the tributaries of the Nile in Eastern Abyssinia. On his way to Africa, Samuel encountered his future second wife, a
young Hungarian, Florence van Sass. The couple returned to England with acclaim in 1865 after four years of adventures in Africa. Samuel received a knighthood in 1866.

**Lady Anne Barnard (1750-1825):**
The eldest daughter of the Earl of Balcarres, Anne Barnard was born in Scotland. She acquired literary immortality by virtue of her authorship of “Auld Robin Gray.” Written while she was Lady Anne Lindsay, her authorship was only revealed to her friend, Sir Walter Scott in 1823. In 1793, she married Andrew Barnard, son of the Bishop of Limerick. He was appointed Colonial Secretary in the new British administration of the Cape of Good Hope Colony in 1797. She only resided at Cape Town until he was recalled in 1802. Nevertheless, her diaries and letters describing daily life in the colony provide an invaluable record of the first British administration in the Cape Colony.

**John Barrow (1764-1848):**
John Barrow was born at Dragley Park and attended school at Ulverston. After working in an iron foundry at Liverpool and on a whaler in the North Atlantic Ocean, Barrow became private tutor to Thomas Staunton in 1784. Through the influence of Staunton’s father, Barrow was appointed secretary to George, Lord Macartney (q.v.), the first British ambassador to the Emperor of China in 1792. He subsequently accompanied him to the Cape in 1797 and was sent on combined diplomatic and reconnaissance missions into the interior. He visited the countries of the Kaffirs, the Hottentots and the Boers on these travels. He observed the reinstallation of a deposed landdrost in Graaf-Reinet, and then continued to the Bantu-speaking tribes beyond the borders of the colony in an effort to reconcile them and the frontier farmers as well as to obtain information regarding the topography of the Eastern region. He conducted the first census of the Colony and in 1801 was a member of the mission sent to buy cattle for the Booshuana people of present Botswana. It was on this mission that he penetrated as far as Lattakoo, near present Kuruman, the furthest point of penetration by a European to that date. He returned to England in 1803. Between 1804 and 1845 he was secretary to the Admiralty, being created a baronet in 1835. He was a founder member of the Royal Geographical Society in 1830.
Henry Beaufoy (d. 1795):
Henry Beaufoy was a Whig MP who was schooled at the dissenting Warrington Academy. He was prominent in the struggle to remove the Test and Corporation Acts.

Thomas Bowler (1812-69):
Thomas Bowler was born in Tring, Hertfordshire and grew up in the Vale of Aylesbury. Rather like Constable, the scenes of his childhood profoundly influenced his work, only 800 examples of which survive. There are a very few oils, perhaps 15, extant and his reputation rests mainly on the widespread dissemination of his prints and lithographs. He arrived at the Cape in 1834 as servant to Thomas Maclear (q.v.), the Astronomer Royal. By 1840 he had set up as a professional painter and art teacher, following the methods of J.D. Harding (q.v.) in his teaching.

William John Burchell (1782-1863):
William John Burchell was born in Fulham. He joined the East India Company in 1805 as "schoolmaster and acting botanist" in St Helena until 1810. In that year he left for the Cape Colony. He came to the notice of Governor Janssens and was authorized to explore the interior of the sub-continent. Leaving Cape Town in June 1811, he began travelling towards Bechuanaland (Botswana). Remaining in South Africa until 1815, he gathered a vast amount of scientific information, specimens and drawings. Amongst his collection he could number over 80 different species of animal and 265 different birds as well as over 500 sketches of various objects and scenes of interest. From 1825 until 1829 he explored the interior of Brazil. He received an honorary doctorate from Oxford in 1834. Burchell exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1805 until 1820.

Edmund Burke (1729-97):
Edmund Burke was educated at Trinity College, Dublin and went to London to study for the Bar in 1750. His Philosophical Enquiry influenced Kant and Lessing but the subject had already been taken up by Richardson and Addison. However, Burke's lively and vigorous style and his wide range of interests established the Sublime as a key aesthetic
category of the eighteenth century. He insists on the immediacy of our aesthetic responses but also investigates a wider range of emotional and affective states.

**Captain Henry Butler (1805-81):**

Henry Butler was born in Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny and was a member of the prominent family headed by the Viscount Mountgarrett. He entered Trinity College, Dublin in 1823 and in 1827 was commissioned in the 27th Regiment also known as the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. He was promoted from ensign to lieutenant in 1832 and was made captain of the 59th Regiment in 1841. He retired from the army in 1850.

**Reverend John Campbell (1766-?):**

Born in Edinburgh, this philanthropist and businessman was a founder member of the Religious Tract Society of Scotland, an organizer of the Sunday School movement and a campaigner against slavery. In 1802 he became the minister of an independent chapel in London where he founded the Bible Society and became involved in the London Missionary Society. He was asked by the Directors of the London Missionary Society to visit South Africa in order to assess their missions there. In 1819, he performed a similar task accompanied by Dr John Philip (q.v.).

**James Chapman (1831-72):**

Born in England, James Chapman arrived in Natal in 1841. At the age of 18, he was working as chief clerk in the native affairs office in Natal. But, at the end of 1849 he trekked inland from Pietermaritzburg to become a storekeeper at Pochefstroom. He continued his explorations in his spare time he hunted and collected specimen of fauna. In 1851 he came within seventy miles of the Victoria Falls. He travelled in North Bechuanaland and Upper Zambezia in 1853. In 1860, Chapman, trekked overland to Walvis Bay and settled in South-West Africa, opening a cattle breeding establishment at Otjimbingue. Meeting Thomas Baines (q.v.), the two planned a trip from Walvis Bay to Zambezia which would include a trip to the Victoria Falls. Thus, they would traverse Africa from West to East. They left on this expedition in early 1861, Chapman arriving back at Walvis Bay in January 1864. Chapman died at Kimberley.
Sir Alfred Whaley Cole (1823-96):
Born and educated in London, this judge and writer was called to the bar in 1850. Cole came to the Cape in 1856, practicing law there and being elected to Parliament four times. He became a judge in 1880, retiring in 1891. This childhood friend of Charles Dickens was the editor of "Cape Monthly Magazine" for several years.

Roualeyn Gordon Cumming (1820-66):
R. G. Cumming, born in 1820, was the younger son of Sir William Gordon Cumming, Bart., Laird of Altyne and Gordonstoun in Morayshire. Having been sent to Eton at the age of just nine, Cumming was appointed a coronet in the Madras Cavalry of the Honourable East India Company in 1838. He served in India for just two years. Following a period in the Royal Veteran Newfoundland Company, Cumming eventually joined the Cape Mounted Rifles in 1843. He made four hunting trips to the interior, killing elephants and lions whilst penetrating beyond the Limpopo River. His hunting exploits led to publication in 1850 of the successful Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa with Notices of the Native Tribes and Anecdotes of the Chase of the Lion, Elephant, Hippopotamus, Giraffe, Rhinoceros, etc., in two volumes by John Murray. Many of his hunting trophies from around the world were on display at the Great Exhibition the next year. In 1858, he set up a museum at Fort Augustus.

Samuel Daniell (ca. 1775-1811):
Brother of William (q.v.) and nephew of Thomas (q.v.), Samuel Daniell studied under Medland. He travelled to Bechuanaland (Botswana) in 1801 as secretary and draughtsman to the Bechuanaland Mission. Here he collected material for his two-part African Scenery and Animals (1804-5). He settled in Ceylon in 1806 and published Picturesque Illustration of Ceylon in 1808. He died of a fever contracted in the swamps there in 1811. His work was seen at the Royal Academy exhibition from 1792 to 1812.
Thomas Daniell RA (1749-1840):

Born in Kingston-upon-Thames, Thomas Daniell was the son of an innkeeper. Apprenticed to a coach painter, Daniell was soon studying under Thomas Catton RA and he entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1773. He was working as a landscapist until 1785 when he left for India. Travelling with his nephew, William Daniell (q.v.), Thomas worked in Calcutta until 1789. They then toured Northern India for two years. In 1792, the Daniells made a similar tour of Southern India and Ceylon, returning to Bombay in 1793 and subsequently leaving for England. Daniell spent much of his remaining career working up and publishing the material collected on this Indian sojourn. His drawings and watercolours are careful topographies and are more like tints. He was elected ARA in 1796, becoming a full member of the Royal Academy in 1799. Between 1795 and 1808, the uncle and nephew published the monumental six aquatint volumes of **Oriental Scenery** which contained 144 coloured plates in total. Daniell exhibited 125 landscapes at the Royal Academy between 1773 and 1830. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Asiatic Society. He died at Kensington.

William Daniell RA (1769-1837):

William Daniell trained with his uncle Thomas Daniell (q.v.) with whom he subsequently travelled to India. He concentrated on topographical drawings and watercolours specializing in Indian scenery as well as Scottish and English views. His talent in aquatinting and engraving meant that he engraved most of the prints for his uncle and his family's work from 1808. William Daniell's greatest success was his **Voyage round Great Britain** published in 1814-25. He was elected ARA in 1807 and RA in 1822. As well as exhibiting at the Royal Academy, he also showed his work at the British Institution from 1807.

Dingaan (d. 1843):

Zulu king and half-brother of Tshaka. In 1828, along with his brother (Umhlangana) and a servant (Umbopa), he killed Tshaka and acquired the kingdom. At first he presented an amicable front to the handful of Europeans who had settled at Port Natal. In 1830, he sent a mission to Cape Town with gifts for the incumbent governor, Sir Lowry Cole.
However, Cole’s refusal to accept these offerings caused offense. Nevertheless, Dingaan allowed Captain Allen Gardiner (q.v.) to establish himself as chief over refugee natives in Natal and to begin mission work. He also allowed several American missionaries to work in his territories. However, in 1838 he treacherously murdered Pieter Retief and a party of his followers after having made an agreement with them. He subsequently sacked the European settlement at present-day Durban. However, after his defeat at the Battle of Blood River he became a fugitive. He fled to what is now Swaziland where he was assassinated.

Sir Charles D'Oyly (1781-1845):
Born in Calcutta, Charles D'Oyly was sent to England in 1785. He saw Cape Town for the first time in 1797 whilst outward bound for service with the East India Company. He was appointed Assistant Registrar to the Court of Appeal in India (1798), rising to become the Senior Member of the Marine Board of Customs, Salt and Opium. D'Oyly studied drawing under the artist George Chinnery in Dacca where he sketched Anglo-Indian life and society. He returned to England in 1838 for health reasons. However, he employed his talents as a gifted artist in depicting Cape daily life during his stay there on his homeward voyage. D'Oyly exhibited work at the Royal Academy in 1815. He died at Livorno in 1845.

Captain James Frederic Elton (1840-77):
James Frederick Elton joined the army at a young age. He took part in the Indian Mutiny campaign and was decorated for his active service in the relief of Delhi and Lucknow. He was appointed aide-de-camp to General Lord Strathnaim. He went to China in 1860 and was involved in the Sack of Peking. He was subsequently promoted to the rank of Captain. After spending some time in Mexico with the French staff of the Emperor Maximilian, he arrived in Natal in 1868 to report on gold and diamond occurrences. Settling here, he was a member of the Legislative and Executive Council. He explored the course of the Limpopo River in the Transvaal in 1875, became British consul in Mozambique and helped to suppress the slave trade. After further treks in search of a trade route to Lake Nyasa, he died of fever.
Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911):
Galton was born in Birmingham into leading Quaker family and was a first cousin of Charles Darwin. He travelled firstly in the Middle East, touring Syria, Egypt and the Sudan. In 1850 he went to Damaraland with Charles Andersson (q.v.) following the advice of the Governor, Sir Harry Smith to avoid the Bechuanaland route to Lake Ngami. He helped the Damaras to fend off raiding Namaquas. He decided to search for Lake Omanbonde and the Ovambo people. Galton later achieved distinction as a finger-print pioneer, a meteorologist and a eugenist.

Captain Allen Francis Gardiner (1794-1851):
Allen Gardiner was born in Oxfordshire and entered the Navy in 1808. He fought in the Napoleonic Wars and achieved the rank of commander. However, he took discharge in order to set up the first mission station in Natal. He reached Cape Town in 1834 and proceeded overland to Port Natal. He tried to win Dingaan (q.v.) and his Zulu subjects over to Christianity. He was instrumental in the founding of the settlement of D’Urban. However, discouraged by his lack of success amongst the Zulus he withdrew to South America.

Robert Godlonton (1794-1884):
Born in England, Godlonton qualified as a printer and became a settler on the Eastern frontier in 1820. He acted as a magistrate’s clerk but in 1834 he joined the Grahamstown Journal, raising it to great influence. He was one of the original representatives in the first Cape Colony Parliament of 1854.

Right Reverend Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan (1809-72):
The first Anglican bishop of Cape Town, Gray was born near Sunderland and educated at Oxford before being ordained at Wells in 1834. He was appointed to Cape Town which had previously been part of the Diocese of Calcutta. Gray buoyed the Church of England in South Africa, founding many ecclesiastical institutions including the Diocesan College at Cape Town. In 1853, he appointed Metropolitan of South Africa and oversaw the
contentious Bishop Colenso debacle which resulted in the founding of the Church of the Province of South Africa. Gray also suggested the launch of a Universities Mission to Central Africa.

Mrs. Robert Gray:
The wife of Bishop Robert she was an accomplished amateur artist, illustrating her husband's Three Months' Visitation. She is also believed to have designed churches in the Cape Colony during his episcopacy.

James Duffield Harding (1797-1863):
Born in Deptford, Harding studied with Samuel Prout and Charles Pye, the engraver. He exhibited at the RA in 1810. Harding was an excellent engraver and worked with Hullmandel. He produced folios of engravings for the works of artists such as Bonington, Roberts and Stanfield. Harding visited the Rhine, Normandy and Italy in the 1820’s, 1830’s and 1840’s and produced illustrated books of travel. He also issued copy-books for amateur artists. He subsequently became John Ruskin’s drawing master, by whom he was highly regarded. He exhibited work at the RA, the British Institution, and the Old Watercolour Society.

Captain (later Major Sir) William Cornwallis Harris (1807-48):
William Cornwallis Harris was born at Wittersham, the younger son of a Kentish squire. He joined the service of the Honourable East India Company in 1825 as a Second Lieutenant in the Bombay Engineers. In 1835, after rapid promotion through the ranks, he was invalided to the Cape. He spent two years in Southern Africa, hunting with Richard Williamson of the Bombay Civil Service, of whom he makes little mention in his accounts. He returned to India in December 1837. Harris was appointed Superintendent Engineer for the Southern Provinces in 1840. In 1841, he was selected to conduct a commercial mission to Abyssinia. For this he received his knighthood in 1844. He died at Poona, India at the age of just forty-one.
Henry Hartley (1815-76):
Born in England, Hartley came to the Eastern Cape with the 1820s settlers. As a hunter in the 1840s he made his way beyond the Limpopo. There he won the friendship of the chief Moselekatse (q.v.) and found some of the first known gold deposits in Rhodesia in the 1860s. He died on his farm in the Transvaal.

William Hodges (1744-1797):
William Hodges began as an apprentice to William Shipley, founder of the Society of Arts. He also trained under Richard Wilson and may have met Joseph Wright while painting scenes for a theatre in Derby, implying that he was influenced by the intense interest in science shared by this artist. Best known for his landscapes of Australasia, made when official draughtsman to Cook’s Second Voyage (1772-75), and landscapes of India, made on the invitation of Warren Hastings (1778-84).

Dr Emil Holub (1847-1902):
Born in Holitz, Bohemia, Holub studied medicine and had established a practice in Kimberley by 1872. He undertook three journeys to the Transvaal and Rhodesia. In 1883 he returned to Africa from a four-year sojourn in Austria with plans to cross the entire continent from South Africa to the Sudan. Although this journey was scuppered by political unrest, his various writings are an important record of the interior of Southern Africa. His ethnological collection, numbering some thirty thousand specimens was exhibited in Austria in 1892 and was subsequently deposited in Vienna on Holub’s death.

John Kirk (1832-1922):
John Kirk trained as a medical doctor and served in the Crimea. He joined Livingstone’s expedition as a physician and naturalist. He became Consul-General at Zanzibar in 1873.

Reverend Christian Ignatius Latrobe (1758-1836):
Born in England, this Moravian became known as a hymn composer. He was sent to South Africa in 1815 to inspect the settlements of the Moravians at Genadendal and elsewhere.
Francois Le Vaillant (1753-1824):
Born in Paramaribo in Dutch Guinea of French parentage, Le Vaillant was educated at Metz. He travelled in the Cape Colony from 1781 to 1784, visiting the Karoo, Namaqualand, the Kalahari Desert and the Eastern Province. The account of his travels is replete with exaggerations and inventions. Despite, or perhaps because of this, it acquired great popularity and was translated into many languages. His Birds of Africa was a notable contribution to early South African ornithology. He spent his remaining years at Sezanne, 60 miles east of Paris, working on his books and illustrating his travels.

Dr Martin Karl Heinrich Lichtenstein (1780-1857):
Born in Hamburg, Lichtenstein became medical officer to the Batavian Governor of the Cape Colony, General Janssens, in 1801. Arriving in 1802, he travelled to the Eastern frontier. In 1805, he was sent to Bechuanaland as a Government Commissioner. He returned to Germany in 1806 after the return of the Colony to Britain.

David Livingstone (1813-1873):
David Livingstone (1813-1873) was born in Blantyre, Scotland and began working in a cotton mill at the age of ten. Through self-education he managed to qualify as a medical doctor. He joined the London Missionary Society in 1838, intending to go to China, but ending up in South Africa in 1840 where he set up at Kuruman. In 1849 he accompanied Oswell (q.v.) to Lake Ngami. In 1851 he and Oswell reached the Chobe and discovered the Zambezi at Sesheke. He was the first European to see the Victoria Falls in 1855. After this he worked in Central Africa, being appointed British Consul at Quelimane in 1858 and discovering Lake Nyasa.

Lobengula (1836-94):
King of the Matabele and son of Moselekatze (q.v.) by an inferior wife. Lobengula succeeded his father in 1868 and set up his capital at Gbulawayo. Following a visit by Moffat (q.v.) he entered into a treaty in 1886 giving certain rights to the British authorities. This was followed in 1888 by the famous grant of concession to C.D. Rudd.
He tried to reassert his authority over the Mashonas which led to the Matabele War in 1893. This resulted in his defeat and his flight from his kraal. He died in the bush near the Zambezi River.

**George, 1st Earl Macartney (1737-1806):**
Born in Lissanore, Co. Antrim, Macartney became the first regular civilian governor of the Cape Colony in 1796. He established the Post Office at the Cape. His aide-de-camp was John Barrow (q.v.). He remained at the Cape for only two years.

**Reverend John Mackenzie (1835-99):**
Born in Morayshire and educated at Elgin, Mackenzie joined the London Missionary Society in 1854. He was sent to South Africa in 1858 but suffered the indignity of having his station at Kuruman destroyed by Boers. He trekked through Bechuanaland in 1860 reaching the Zambezi River. He visited Moselekatze (q.v.) in 1863. He became an advocate of British occupation of the interior of the sub-continent and was offered the post of Commissioner for South Bechuanaland in 1879. His LMS commitments debarred him from accepting this position. However, he eventually took up the post in 1884.

**Sir Thomas Maclear (1794-1879):**
Born in Newtownstewart in Co. Tyrone, Maclear did medical and astronomical work until 1833 when he was appointed His Majesty’s Astronomer at the Cape of Good Hope. Amongst his achievements were the re-measurement of the Arc of the Meridian (1834-47), the preparation of a Cape catalogue of stars and valuable research on local magnetism, tides and meteorology. He went blind in 1876 and died in Cape Town.

**Sydney Mendelssohn (1861-1917):**
Mendelssohn was the son of the local rabbi in Bristol. He came to Kimberley in the late 1870’s and made his fortune working with the New Vaal River Diamond Company. He began compiling the finest private collection of books relating to the sub-continent. His South African Bibliography was a two-volume work published to coincide with the
establishment of the Union in 1911. This work gave details of over 9,000 books, starting with the earliest Portuguese accounts and continuing well into the twentieth century.

**Joseph McCabe (d. 1865):**
He left the Cape Colony for the Transvaal in 1850. He became one of the first white men to traverse the Kalahari Desert. McCabe became a trader in Matabeleland and subsequently settled in Bechuanaland in 1860. Apart from various hunting achievements he was a pioneer collector of botanical specimens, many of which he sent back to Kew Gardens.

**John Guille Millais (1865-1931):**
The fourth and youngest son of the artist John Everett Millais was born in London and educated at Marlborough College and Cambridge. He served with the Somerset Light Infantry for three years (1883-6). He subsequently joined the Seaforth Highlanders in 1886 and spent much time travelling in search of big game, as subjects for his brush. He was a Fellow of the Zoological Society. Much of his art was exhibited at the Fine Arts Society.

**Robert Moffatt (1795-1883):**
Robert Moffatt was born in East Lothian, Scotland. He was a gardener by trade and occupation but joined the London Missionary Society in 1816 and was sent to Namaqualand in 1817. He settled at Lattakoo in 1820, at Griqua Town in 1824 and finally at Kuruman in 1825. He completed a translation of the New Testament into Sechuana in 1830 and set up the first missionary station in Matabeleland in 1858. His daughter, Mary, married David Livingstone (q.v.).

**Edward Mohr (1826-76):**
In 1868, Mohr left Germany on an expedition to South Africa financed by the geographer Dr August Petermann. Reaching Durban in February 1869, he continued inland to Pietermaritzburg where he met Thomas Baines (q.v.). Mohr subsequently crossed the
Orange Free State on his way to the Transvaal. He passed through Matabeleland and arrived at the Victoria Falls on 20th June 1870.

Moselekatze (d. 1868):
Moselekatze was born in Zululand and became the first king of the Matabele. He had risen to the status of general under Tshaka (q.v.) but a quarrel in 1824 led him to flee across the Drakensburg Mountains with several thousand followers. He established his headquarters in the Transvaal and proceeded to wipe out most of the tribes between the Orange and Vaal Rivers. Following his defeat at the hands of the Voortrekkers, he moved across the Limpopo and subdued the Mashona.

Frank Oates (1840-75):
Oates was born in Leeds and studied at Oxford, developing a particular interest in ornithology and natural history. He travelled in Central and North America but arrived in Durban in May 1873. On his way to the Zambezi River he passed through the Transvaal, Tati and Gubulawayo but did not reach the Victoria Falls until December 1874. Having made extensive observations and collected many specimens he died of fever near the Tati River.

William Cotton Oswell (1818-93):
William Cotton Oswell was born at Leytonstone in Essex and educated at Dr Arnold’s Rugby. He is said to be the original of “Young Brooke,” the character made famous in Tom Brown’s Schooldays. He served for seven years in the East India Company on its Madras establishment. He departed for the Cape on medical advice in 1844. Upon arrival he set out on a hunting trip to the interior with Mungo Murray. He hunted and explored along the Limpopo River in 1846. Oswell returned to South Africa, after brief periods in India and England, in 1848. He left for the interior in early 1849 in search of the Great Lake which subsequently turned out to be Lake Ngami.
Captain William Paterson (1755-1810):
Paterson travelled in the Cape Colony from 1777 until 1779. He undertook four excursions into the interior. He accompanied Jacob Gordon on the expedition that discovered and named the Orange River. Paterson also explored the Eastern province.

Captain Robert Perceval (1765-1826):
Robert Perceval was born in England and was a relation of the politician, Spencer Perceval. He was a captain in the 18th Infantry Regiment which occupied the Cape in 1795. Under General Craig, Perceval led the attack on Muizenburg and was the first officer to reach Cape Town. His book is based on a two-years' stay and gives pen pictures of everyday life at the Cape at the end of the eighteenth century. He was subsequently deployed to Ceylon about which he also wrote a book.

Reverend Dr John Philips (1775-1851):
Born in Scotland, Philips was appointed the Superintendent General of the London Missionary Society at the Cape. He played a leading role in the movement which led to the emancipation of the slaves in the Cape Colony in 1834.

Joseph Holden Pott (1759-1847):
Joseph Holden Pott was archdeacon of London. His essay was published anonymously and designed to win respect for landscape painting as a genre. It also aimed to promote a distinctively English school of this genre.

Thomas Pringle (1784-1834):
Thomas Pringle was the first South African poet in English. Born in Blaiklaw, Scotland, he entered Edinburgh University in 1806 and subsequently became the editor of Blackwood's Magazine. He emigrated to Glenlyden in the Eastern Cape in 1820 but returned to Cape Town in 1822 to take up a position in the Government Library. In 1824 he became the editor of the South African Journal. He published his African Sketches in 1834 and was also a signatory to the Act of Emancipation in the same year. However, he dies a day after the publication of the later of advanced tuberculosis. His remains were
brought back to South Africa from London in 1970 and reinterred on the Pringle farm at Eldon in the Eastern Cape.

**John Francis Rigaud (1742-1810):**
John Francis Rigaud was a French artist who after a period of training in Italy settled in England in 1771. He painted for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and for Macklin's Poets' Gallery. He is renowned for his portraits of fellow artist such as “Joseph Nollekens” (1772) and “Sir William Chambers, Joseph Wilton and Sir Joshua Reynolds” (1782).

**Henry Salt (1780-1827):**
Born at Lichfield, Salt took lessons with Glover, Farrington and Hopper. He accompanied Lord Mountnorris to India in 1802, acting as secretary and draughtsman to the mission. He returned to Europe via Egypt and Ethiopia in 1806. He was subsequently sent on diplomatic missions to Ethiopia in 1811, became Consul-General in Egypt in 1815 and died at Alexandria in 1827.

**Olive Emily Albertina Schreiner (1855-1920):**
Olive Schreiner was born in the Wittenbergen Mountains, near present-day Lesotho, the daughter of a German missionary father and an English mother. Her early itinerant life was spent on the Kimberley diamond diggings and as a governess on isolated Karoo farms. She sailed for England in 1881 in search of publishers. She used the *nom-de-plume* Ralph Iron for her best-known work, *The Story of an African Farm*, published in 1883. Returning to South Africa in 1889, she became friendly with people like Havelock Ellis and Cecil Rhodes. She fell out with the latter after the Jameson Raid and worked for the Boer cause during the South African Wars. Her last years were spent in England although she died at Wynberg.

**Sechele (d. 1863):**
Chief of the Bakwena in Bechuanaland. He defied Moselekatze (q.v.) and the Matabele by allowing Livingstone (q.v.) to preach the Christian Gospel in 1843. He developed leprosy in 1860.
Frederick Courtenay Selous (1851-1916):

Selous was born in London and educated at Rugby. After travels in France and Germany he decided against the medical career set out for him. In 1871 he set sail for Africa, landing at Port Elizabeth. He made his way for Kimberley and then into Matabeleland. He visited Lobengula (q.v.) in 1872 and hunted and traded for ivory. In 1874 he saw the Victoria Falls. His first book, A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa was a success in the United Kingdom arousing great interest in big-game hunting. Returning to South Africa in late 1881, he began acquiring specimens and intended to settle as an ostrich farmer. However, in 1889, he met Cecil Rhodes in connection with the establishment of a Chartered Company. Selous acted as a guide for the 1890 expedition into what became Rhodesia, gaining acclaim and renown but no monetary reward. He fought in the Matabele War and then returned to England. Selous was killed in action in East Africa during the Great War.

Robert Semple (1766-1816):

Semple was born in the United States but came to England where he was employed by several important business houses. He travelled to the Cape in 1795. He is recorded as signing a memorandum in the capacity of an official in Civil Department at the Cape of Good Hope, promising to defend the colony in case of attack. Returning to England, he published a book which includes vivid accounts of life at the Cape. He became an agent for the Hudson Bay Company in Canada in 1815.

Reverend Barnabas Shaw (1788-1857):

Shaw was born into a farming family near Hull. In April 1816 he was sent by the Methodists to the Cape. In defiance of the government, he held Wesleyan services for the soldiers and citizens of Cape Town. He worked in Namaqualand and then returned to Cape Town to work among the "Coloureds."
Reverend William Shaw (1799-1872):
Born in England, William Shaw accompanied a band of 1820 settlers to the Eastern province. He shared the frontier hardships of these people, proving a capable and formidable spokesperson on their behalf. He gave evidence at the 1835 Parliamentary inquiry in London in their defence. He contributed greatly to the organization of the Methodist Church in South Africa. Retiring to England in 1856, he was elected chairman of the British Methodist Conference in 1865.

Sir Andrew Smith (1797-1872):
Smith was born in Scotland and joined the army as a surgeon. In 1820, he arrived at the Cape and immediately began encouraging local scientific research. He founded the South African Museum in 1825. After being sent as a government delegate to the Eastern frontier, he became interested in exploration. He travelled on behalf of the “Association for the Exploration of Central South Africa” in 1833 passing through the Transvaal and into Matabeleland.

Pauline Smith (1884-1959):
Pauline Smith was the daughter of the former district surgeon of the Oudtshoon area. Consequently she grew up on the Little Karoo which became a favourite setting for many of her books and short stories.

Andreas Sparrman (1747-1820):
Sparrman studied medicine at Uppsala University. He secured a post as tutor to the son of the Sub-Governor of the Cape of Good Hope through his friendship with Captain Ekeberg of the Royal Swedish East India Company. He arrived in South Africa in 1772 and was granted leave by Governor van Plettenberg to practise medicine. However, he had gone no farther afield than the Paarl when he was invited by Captain James Cook to join the HMS Resolution’s staff as assistant naturalist. After circumnavigating the Antarctic continent he travelled extensively in South Africa in 1775 and 1776.
Pieter Jan Truter (fl. 1801):
Pieter Jan Truter was an early traveller in the Western Cape. He led a party across the Orange River in 1801 and eastwards into the Kalahari Desert, hoping to find a supply of cattle. His was the first party of Europeans to reach the site of Kuruman. They went on to Lattakoo, and homeward via the course of the Orange River.

Tshaka (also Chaka; Shaka) (1787-1828):
Founder and king of the Zulu nation.

Captain James Kingston Tuckey (1776-1816):
Captain Tuckey was born in Cork and served in India. In 1802 he was given the task of founding a colony at Port Philip, New South Wales. He died while returning to the lower reaches of the Congo.

Dr Johannes Theodorus Vanderkemp (1747-1812):
Vanderkemp was born in Rotterdam and served in the Army until his discharge in 1780. He moved to England where he experienced a spiritual conversion. In 1799, the London Missionary Society sent him to the Cape where he set up a mission station called Bethelsdorp near present-day Port Elizabeth.

John Webber (1752-1798):
John Webber was the son of a Swiss sculptor, employed on Cook’s Third Voyage which set out to discover a Northern passage between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

Joseph Wolf RI (1820-1899):
Born near Koblenz, Wolf studied lithography at Darmstadt and then attended the Antwerp Academy. He travelled to England in 1848 under the patronage of the Duke of Westminster. He exhibited work at the RA, the British Institution and the Royal Institution of Painters in Watercolours.
APPENDIX 3: MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL RELATING TO
CAPTAIN HENRY BUTLER'S SOUTH AFRICAN SKETCHES (1841)
HELD AT TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY, DUBLIN IN BOX OLS X-2-171

The following are the various documents, letters and accounts relating to the publication of Butler’s book. In total the archival holdings relating to Butler amounts to sixty-two items. Those documents such as number 13 and numbers 40 to 61, which are not directly related to Butler’s book have been omitted. The sequence of numbering derives from the library’s listing of the material.

1. Pencil sketch of a gnu on the verso of a leaf of a diary.

2. Pencil and pen and ink sketches of natives, birds and landscapes on a leaf of a diary.

3. Pencil sketch of clothed torso.

4. Pencil sketches of human figures and facial features.

4a. Pencil sketches of draped figures.

5. Pencil sketch of two figures with pack animals on the verso of an inventory.

6. Pen and ink sketches of birds on a fragment of a diary leaf.

7. Pencil sketch of seated human figure.

8. Pen and ink sketches of native figures on a fragment of a diary leaf.

10. Pencil sketches of naked native figures.

11. Pencil sketches of naked native figures.

12. Pencil sketches of native figures and heads on a fragment of a diary leaf.

14. Map in pen and ink of South African landscape including the Kat River and Beaufort with a pencil description on the verso.

15. Pencil sketches of landscapes [around Winterburg?].

16. Pen and ink sketch of figures in a landscape with inscription “Winterburg 18 Feby.” Pencil sketches and list on verso.

18. Pencil sketch of a landscape in a vertical format with notes in pen and ink on the verso.

19. Pencil sketches of landscapes and figures on both sides of orange paper.

20. Pen and ink sketches of landscape with various figures executed on fine tissue paper.

21. Pencil and pen and ink sketch of landscape with houses, trees and figures executed on yellow paper. Pencil sketch on verso with mountainous landscape and conifer-like trees, including notes “dark shadow” and “snow.”

22. Pencil sketch of landscape scene with low-lying buildings executed on yellow paper.
23. Memorandum for Lieutenant Butler from Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson.

Page 1:
“Mem. made from observation of Sir Charles Doily's mode of working in body colours.

It may be generally stated that the systems in the same as in Scene painting only on a smaller and more delicate scale.

Observation
Flake white is liable to change colour, + therefore Hume's permanent white should be lubricated which is a preparation of Baytes' - see Parks' Chemical Catechism page 109 - 12th edition.

The base in flakes white, with a little gum and water.
Sky - clean and [...]iant - smalt.
Clouds - neutral Tint.
    Indian Red.
    Light part [...].
Distant - mountains.
    Neutral Tint.
    Indian Red.

Indian Morgue in Foreground (Run into each other).
    Neutral Tint
    Terra de Sienna
    Indian Red"
    [...]
   Terra de Sienna.
   Neutral Tint.

Boat: Terra de Sienna
   Seppia

The foreground is worked up with these last colours.
Sir Charles’ mode of running the tints into each other gives a beautiful effect.
It will be seen that the number of colours used is very few.
The flake white is principally used in the distance and middle grounds, and to bring out any strong or partial lights.
There was [sic] no pencil outlines.

Signed R. Thomson (1/3/1836).”

Page 4:

24. Fragment of an unsigned letter to Butler (undated, ca. 1840).

"Dear Butler,

Herewith I send you Lord Farnham’s letter to Ackerman. He was very kind + expressed much interest in your works. By the way he has got a Mr. Seussr + perhaps if he was to pay the transfer [?] of freight from the Cape you might be able to have some of the antelope horns + if you go there you can also [make contacts?].

Farnham is a confident elephant stalker [-] he remembering your quotation and is to take [your] whereabouts in a few days.

You may add the name of Farnham to your list. One is almost […] to anticipate with pleasure a visit to the Wets Indies. James Mangan [?] is now on his voyages there with the [?] Lord. I thought there he had arranged with one of his Captains who did not sympathise [sic] with you as to the Climate. For James [seeks] promotion but it has not taken place + he does not know the cause…. […] hear of your progress as we are very much […].

I think you in very […]. Of course you will not print it […]. You have […] with Akerman [lest] on enquiry you should be induced to place your work in others[’] hands.

I will write to Vst Belmore […] and will make your approach and asking to let me know your address in London when you arrive there.

It occurs to me that before you call upon Akerman [sic] with your work it might be advisable to see one or two others just to put yourself in possession of what the others would do by which means you will know how to deal with them as this is your first essay in authorship you must learn the trade + by hard experience if you do not look out.”
25. Letter from Ackerman to Butler (dated 22\textsuperscript{nd} March 1841).

“Sir,

I beg to inform you of the expenses of printing a Riam note sign

“480 prospectuses”

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96 Strand Mar 22\textsuperscript{nd} 41.

To Capn. Butler.”
26. Three printed trade prospectuses.

"To be published by Ackermann & Co., 96 Strand, London
The work will be published in Imperial Quarto, and contain Sixteen highly-coloured plates and Fifteen Etchings, from Drawings taken on Spot during a Series of Excursions to the Bontebok Flats, and Other Hunting Grounds, beyond the North East Border of the Cape Colony: with Notes and Observations descriptive of the Scene, the Game and the Mode of Hunting.
Price £1 11s 6d neatly bound."

27. Fragment of a letter (date, author and recipient unknown).

"....lose no time in answering you upon one of the subjects of your inquiring namely the South African Sketches whereof I will take a copy with much pleasure; My mother also will take a copy with much pleasure, and I have no doubt that by your canvassing him Mackenzie [?] will take a copy also. He with his lady and bairns is at present beyond my reach at Lemington [Cheltenham crossed out]; if however you are extremely anxious to give him into Butler a long list you may put down ------ for a copy also, and I will amongst my friends at Craig-Miltown, […] or Abbey, I will…."
28. 1-page account from Cox to Butler.

<table>
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<th>Capt. H. Butler</th>
<th>With</th>
<th>Messrs Cox &amp; Co.</th>
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Aug 7 Draft to Ackermann 80 0/-

......"
29. 1-page account from Ackermann to Butler (dated 10th July 1841).

To Printing South African Sketches Imp.

Quarto.

2 Sheets No. 500 Composition. 9 15/0
Corrections and remarks upon recomposing. 10/-
500 prospectuses for the printing. 12/-
4 Riams of Letterpress paper. 8 8/-
1 Riam Note paper prospectuses. 9/-
8 Lithographic stones. 10 0/-
Drawing 18 Chalk Subjects. 28 7/-
Ditto 8 Pen +Ink. 15 15/-
Providing graining and writing titles. 5 10/-
Reserving materials for and transferring. 2 10/-
Hot pressing. 1 15/-
Printing 250 Sets : 8 Stones. 18 0/-
Colouring 250 Sets : 10 Subjects. 100 0/-
Paper for 250 Copies, 4 to Sample. 14 0/-
Interleaving paper ditto ditto 2Rms 3Qrtos 4cf. 4 4/-
Binding 250 copies. 28 2/6

247 17/6
30. 4-page account (dated 13th July 1841 to 27th August 1842).

Page 1:

"1841

July 13: 1 […] Lithographic Manual {retd. See Credits} 6/-
1 Card Lithographic Pens 3/6
1 Sheet transfer paper /6
1 do. tracing do. /6
1 Etching Needle 1/-
2 Cases […] Crayons {@7/-} 14/-
1 Sketch Book in Case 8vo Impr. 7/6

Aug 11: 1 Box Ackermann & Co […] Crayons 1 4/-
2 Swift Chalks 1/-

Aug 18: 2 Stamps

To Printing South African Sketches

Impr. 4to. 2 Sheets No. 500 9 15/-
Corrections remarking…reimposing 10/-
500 prospectuses for do. printing 12/-
4 Riams letterpress…paper 8 8/-
1 do. Notepaper for prospectuses 9/-
8 Lithographic Stones 10 0/-
Drawing 18 Chalk Subjects 28 7/-
Ditto 8 pen & ink Ditto 15 15/-
Proving Graining & Writing titles 5 10/-
Reproving Materials for & transferring &tc. 2 10/-
Hotpressing 1 15/-
Printing 250 Sets 8 Stones @ 18/- hundred 18 0/-
Colouring 250 Sets 16 Subjects 100 0/-
Paper for 250 Copies, 4to Impr. 14 0/-
Interleaving paper Do. Do. 4 4/-
Binding 250 Copies @ 2/3 28 2/6

247 17/6

Over 250 16/6

Page 2:
"Balance 250 16/6

July 30: [...] packing paper to Af. S. 14/-
23 [...] Cards 3/10
Packing Case 7/-
Shipping [...] Costage 2/6
Booking parcels &tc. 2/2

1 9/6

Aug 1: To packing Cases for Cape. Capt. Dunford 7/-
Wire to Do. 5/6
2 qvs packing papers 4/-

16/6


2 7/6.

Nov 17: To New Sporting Magazine & Postage 3/-

1842

Jany 17: To printing 250 Sets S. African Scenery [sic]
8 Stones @ 18/- per 100 paper to 250 Sets Do. Colouring 100 Sets 16 Subjects Interleaving paper Binding 100 Copies

18 0/- 14 0/- 40 0/- 1 13/8 11 5/-

84 18/8

July 11: Postage from Grenada 1-
Case to Tobago 2/6
Shipping Expenses Freight etc. 10-
13/6

341 5/2

Page 3:
“Balance transferred 341 5/2

1841

Aug 7: By Cash on Acct. 80 0/-

Sep 20: By Do. Do. 100 0/-
By Disct on £180 for ready money 9 0/-

Dec 16: By the Lithographic Stones of your Work Sold to Mr. Hankart 4 6/-

1842

Nov 18: By 25 Copies of your Work Sold at Sale Price

{39 7/6} less discount 40 per cent {15 15/-} 23 12/6

483
By 14 Copies Sold at trade price {22 1/-}
less discount 35 per cent {7 14/-} 14 6/8

1841
Apl 5: By Cash Lord and Lady Belmore and Viscount Corry
{4 14/6}

July 17: By ditto Lord Farnham {1 11/6}

Nov 3: By ditto Venning Esq. {1 11/6}

Nov 9: By ditto Laraffe Esq. {1 11/6}

Nov 15: By ditto Hibbard Esq. {1 11/6}

Nov 16: By ditto Maxwell Esq. {1 11/6}

Nov 19: By ditto Latham Esq. {1 11/6}

1842
Aug 27: By ditto Tennant Esq. {1 11/6} 15 15/-

Aug 27: By 1 Copy [...] Lithographic [Manual] retd. 6/- 247 6/2

£ 93 19/-”

Page 4:
“Abstract of Stock Account.
By first edition 250
By second edition 100
350

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<td>Ltd. Chs. Beauclerk</td>
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<td>Dec. 10:</td>
<td>Col. Cox upon Canada</td>
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<td>Dr. Courtenay 75th Reg.</td>
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<td>Major Selwyn</td>
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<td>To: Roberts Esq.</td>
<td>Yourself at St Alban's Place</td>
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<tr>
<td>1842, Feby 24:</td>
<td>Major Dutton</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 14:</td>
<td>The Hon. Rev'd Douglas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yourself at Tobago</td>
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Copies delivered since last statement: 26
On hand copies: 62
Sold, correct to Acct.: 39

350"

Bewkston Lodge,
Hungerford,
July 25th/41.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter this morning received, I beg to inform you that I understand from my son that he [his emphasis] had subscribed for 2 copies of “South African Sketches” and that he had requested both might be sent here. I received one copy yesterday, and shall be much obliged by your causing the other to be forwarded to me, such having been my son’s wish. One copy he intended as a present to me and the other he requested for his Aunt + I can forward it to her when I receive it from the Publishers.

Allow me before concluding this to express my admiration of the work, which is both well worthy a place on every Drawing-room Table.

I am Sir
Your [...] Servant
Charles B. Coxe.”

32. Letter [fragment] from John Dewar, Scotland to Butler (dated 27th July 1841).

“My dear Butler,

I will undertake the collection of the proceeds of your work, at least of those copies which I forward on, but you have not named to me their price and Mr. S. Dewar tells me that only seven [his emphasis] have arrived whereas you mentioned eight in your first note to me. Sorry to trouble you for a reply when [...] their two friends.

Yours very truly
John Dewar.

Johnston is at Abra if you have any thing to write to him.”


Abra, 28 July 41.

My Dear Butler,

I write with just one word to you for I have not time for more.
All your arrangements for this work are right. 2 to go to Mr. King's - 8 to Mr. Dewar, 2 to the Depot. For all these you shall have the coin On the 1st Sept. G calling for it on my account from Mr. [ ] Cox, or should unforseen [...] But of this I am happy to say their seems no problem and consequently [...].
I shall be in Galway 1st Octr.

[...]

M.C. Johnstone.”
34. Account from Ackermann to Butler (dated August 1841).

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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Description</th>
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<td>252 7/6</td>
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<td>7 7/9</td>
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<td>Lord &amp; Lady Belmore and Vt. Corry</td>
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<td>Lord Farnham</td>
<td>1 11/6</td>
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<td>93 13/9</td>
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<td>158 13/9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

With Ackermann and Sons’ compliments."
My dear Butler,

Lady Pembroke and Lady Clanwilliam have both subscribed & paid the amount to Ackermann for a copy each of your book.

Sir Joseph Corby has also promised me that he will do the same. I will do what I can to get you more subscribers.

Yours truly

Lrd Vesey."
"My dear Butler,

Your letter of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} April only reached me yesterday and that dated in January not until I saw your gazette into the 59\textsuperscript{th}. Therefore not knowing what you movement might have been as I concluded for you both it was imperfect I did not wish to send you another that might be tracking over the wind to find you I sincerely congratulate you on your promotion and I expect to see you back in the 27\textsuperscript{th} who seem to anticipate that such will be the case.

I am delighted to find that ere this year your spirited and beautiful sketches of our African sports will have left your hands and I should be most anxious to have them arrived in the land of their birth. I know and how it is you have received some year or more ago a list of subscribers which I now send and as regards collecting and transmitting the money, let me hear from you in the mean time if I can collect any I will do so and remit it to you.

... 

The list amounts to 36 some at home as you will know by the names but I shall endeavour to get more and when they arrive I have no doubt I shall succeed.

...

Ever yours most sincerely,

Selwyn."
37. Letter from G.A Ackermann to Butler (dated 15\textsuperscript{th} November 1841).

“Sir,

We sent your work to 21 Portman Sq. but Mr. De La Morte was not known there. I wrote a note to him care of Lord [...] since then Mr. De La Morte has had your book and paid us for it. He resides at 27 George St., Portman Sq. The Directory gave the same address as you sent us.

Mr. Hibbard has paid, likewise Mr. Venning. I returned £1 10/6 to Mrs. H. Greg’s brother who called about the mistake, + it will save you trouble.

The advertisements were:


They will average about 5/- per paper.

Sir,

Your[s]

Akermann

To Captn Butler p.t.o.”

Page 2:

“At page 244 Oct. no. New Sporting Magazine which I shall send you is a notice of your work: it is very short, but states that the sketches are very characteristic + truthful.

This notice escaped my search when the magazine was published.”
38. Letter from G.A. Ackermann to Butler (dated 27th November 1841).

“Sir,

Mrs. Newenham purchased a copy of your sketches at my brother’s in Regent St. + has paid you, consequently they apply to me for the amounts. This Lady also had copy from us which she returned: may I hand the amounts to my Brother as it was one of the Copies I sold to him.

Latham Esq. has paid us £1 11/6 for your Sketches.

Sir,

Your servant,

G. Akermann

Strand Nov 27/41.”


62. 3 Catalogues of exhibitions of Butler’s work

Page 1:

“Adzars invite you to an exhibition of Sketches by Henry Butler at Falkner Greirson & Co. Ltd., 4 Molesworth Place, Dublin 2 on Monday 6th August, 4 - 10.30. Wine.

7th - 11th August 10am - 6pm.”
Henry Butler (1805-81) born at Kilmurray, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny. He was a member of the prominent Butler family headed by the Viscount Mountgarrett. Entered TCD in 1823 but did not apparently graduate and in 1827 was commissioned in the 27th or Enniskillen Regiment of Foot and later served in South Africa. His drawings done there form the basis of his “South African Sketches” published in London in 1841. Returned to his estate in Kilkenny upon retirement.

These sketches were done in Ireland, England and the Channel Islands.

Butler’s only published work is a handsome folio with 16 coloured plates. Interesting book combining lithographed line-drawings with more elaborate coloured lithographs. The copy shown here is accompanied by original prospectuses, printing bills, letters from subscribers and a few rough sketches of figures and animals.”

Lot 53: South African Sketches. London 1841. With manuscripts relating to publication and a number of original sketches.

£ 500.”
The list of illustrations is arranged differently according to whether the work is a unique work or a reproduction in a published text.

Unique works are arranged in the following manner:
Plate number followed by artist, title (date; medium; dimensions) and location.
All measurements are in centimetres (height by width).
Illustrations that have been published are arranged in the following manner:
Plate number followed by engraver (if known), artist, title (medium) and the particulars of the publication where the illustration is found.

Plate 1: Thomas Baines, “View of Pretoria” (1872; oil on canvas; 47 x 63), MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg.


Plate 3: (after) James Tuckey, “Slate Hills, near Giddee” (engraving) in Capt. James Kingston Tuckey, Narrative of an Expedition to Explore the River Zaire, usually called the Congo, in South Africa, in 1816, under the direction of Capt. J.K. Tuckey, RN [London, 1818], Plate 4.

Plate 4: Sir Charles D’Oyly, “View of Table Bay and Table Mountain, Cape of Good Hope” (1832; pen and ink on paper), Cape Archives, Cape Town.

Plate 5: Sir Charles D’Oyly, “View from the Summit of Protea Hill looking South” (1832; pen and ink on paper), Cape Archives, Cape Town.

Plate 6: Sir Charles D’Oyly, “View from the Summit of Protea Hill looking North embracing Hanglip and the Hottentot Holland Mountains and the Village of Wynberg” (1832; pen and ink on paper), Cape Archives, Cape Town.
Plate 7: “Plan of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition” in Frank Cundall (ed.), *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* [London, 1886], p. 3.


Plate 11: Sir Charles D’Oyly, “Front View of Protea” (1832; pen and ink on paper), Cape Archives, Cape Town.

Plate 12: Thomas Baines, “Kebrabasa Rapids, Zambezi River” (1859; oil on canvas; 46 x 65.7), Royal Geographical Society, London.

Plate 13: Captain Henry Butler, “Landscape Drawing” (c. 1837; pen and ink on paper; approx. 10 x 10), Trinity College Dublin Library.

Plate 14: Thomas Baines, “Improof or Elandsberg” (1851; pencil and watercolour on paper; 19.4 x 26), The Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg.

Plate 15: William Westall, “Cape of Good Hope: View north-west from Fish Hoek Bay” (c. 1801; pencil on paper; 26 x 17.8), formerly Royal Commonwealth Society, London.

Plate 17: Thomas Bowler, “The Royal Observatory from Salt River” (1854; watercolour on paper; 22.9 x 40.6), MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg.


Plate 19: Thomas Bowler, “Wynberg Village and Green” (1850; watercolour on paper; 24.1 x 34.3), MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg.

Plate 20: (S. Lacey, after) Rev. Thornley Smith, “View on the Cowie River, Lower Albany” in Rev. Thornley Smith, South Africa Delineated; or, the Tribes and Missions, and of the British Colonies of the Cape and Port Natal [London, 1850], Plate 3.


Plate 22: Thomas Gainsborough, “Mr. & Mrs. Robert Andrews” (1748-9; oil on canvas; 69.8 x 119.4), National Gallery, London.

Plate 23: Thomas Bowler, “The Mount Nelson as it was in the 1850’s” (c. 1854; watercolour on paper; 41.3 x 65.4), William Fehr Collection, Cape Town.

Plate 25: (William Daniell, after) Samuel Daniell, “Residence of a Hoarde of Caffers” (engraving) in Samuel and William Daniell, Sketches Representing the Native Tribes, Animals, and Scenery of Southern Africa from drawings made by the late Mr. Samuel Daniell, engraved by William Daniell [London, 1820], Plate 22.

Plate 26: (William Daniell, after) Samuel Daniell, “Haarte Beeste Fontein” (engraving) in Samuel and William Daniell, Sketches Representing the Native Tribes, Animals, and Scenery of Southern Africa from drawings made by the late Mr. Samuel Daniell, engraved by William Daniell [London, 1820], Plate 39.


Plate 29: William Westall, “Cape of Good Hope: View south-east from above Wynberg” (c. 1801; pencil and wash on paper; 26 x 17.8), formerly Royal Commonwealth Society, London.

Plate 30: Sir Charles D’Oyly, “View of the Erst River from Stellenbosche [sic] at the back of the Drotsy [sic] House” (1832; pen and ink on paper), Cape Archives, Cape Town.

Plate 31: Captain Henry Butler, “Landscape Drawing” (c. 1837; pen and ink on paper; approx. 12 x 15), Trinity College Dublin Library.

Plate 32: Joseph Mallord William Turner, “Caernarvon Castle” (1799; oil on canvas; approx. 22 x 26), the Turner Bequest, British Museum, London.
Plate 33: Sir Charles D’Oyly, “Nearer View of the Drakenstein Waterfall from the Outspan” (1832; pen and ink on paper), Cape Archives, Cape Town.


Plate 38: (W.L. Walton, after) Thomas Bowler, “View of Cape Town from Table Bay” (lithograph) in Thomas Bowler, Pictorial Album of Cape Town, with Views of Simon’s Town, Port Elizabeth and Graham’s Town from original Drawings by Thomas Bowler, with historical letterpress by W.R. Thomson [Cape Town, 1866], folding plate.

Plate 39: Sir Charles D’Oyly, “View of the Lion’s Head from the Summit of the Kloof” (1832; pen and ink on paper), Cape Archives, Cape Town.

Plate 40: Sir Charles D’Oyly, “View of Camp’s Bay from the Summit of the Kloof” (1832; pen and ink on paper), Cape Archives, Cape Town.

Plate 41: Thomas Baines, “A Walk up the Devil’s Mountain” (1842-46; watercolour on paper; 8.9 x 10.8), MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg.
Plate 42: Thomas Baines, “The ‘Spray Cloud’ of the Victoria Falls” (1863; oil on canvas; 42 x 62), First National Bank Group Art Collection, South Africa.

Plate 43: Thomas Baines, “Eastern Portion of the Victoria Falls” (1863; oil on canvas; 45.8 x 66.7), MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg.

Plate 44: Thomas Baines, “Devil’s Cataract” (1862; oil on canvas; 66 x 45.7), National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare.

Plate 45: John Francis Rigaud, “Portrait of Georg and Johann Reinhold Forster” (1780; oil on canvas; approx. 100 x 100), Vaduz, Liechtenstein.

Plate 46: Henry Wyndham Phillips, “Captain Speke and Captain Grant with Timbo, a young native from the Upper Nile” (1864; oil on canvas), Private Collection.

Plate 47: William Hodges, “View of Cape Town from Table Bay” (1772; oil on canvas), National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.


Plate 49: Thomas Baines, “Shipping in Table Bay: Calm” (c. 1845; oil on canvas; 56 x 81), Private Collection.

Plate 50: Thomas Baines, “South-West Angle of Lake Ngami” (1861; oil on canvas; 48 x 65), MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg.

Plate 51: Thomas Bowler, “Lighthouse, Green Point” (1851; watercolour on paper; 11.4 x 20.3), MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg.

Plate 52: (J. Needham, after) Thomas Bowler, “Burn’s Hill Missionary Station” (lithograph) in Thomas Bowler, The Kafir Wars and the British Settlers in South

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Plate 54: Thomas Baines, “The Welwitschia Mirabilis” (1867; oil on canvas; 46.2 x 66.3), Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

Plate 55: George Stubbs, “Zebra” (c. 1762-3; oil on canvas; 102.9 x 127.6), Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale University.


Plate 57: Captain William Cornwallis Harris, “The Quagga” (coloured lithograph) in Captain William Cornwallis Harris, Portraits of the Game and Wild Animals of Southern Africa Delineated from Life in Their Native Haunts [London, 1840], Plate 2.


Plate 61: Thomas Baines, “A Lake in Zululand” (1874; oil on canvas; approx. 45 x 65), Private Collection.
Plate 62: John Glover, “A View of the Artist’s House and Garden, Mills’ Plains” (1834-5; oil on canvas; 76 x 114.4), Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide.


Plate 65: Sir Charles D’Oyly (after Lt. F. Knyvett), “View of Gnadenthal the Moravian Missionary Establishment” (1831; pen and wash on paper), Cape Archives, Cape Town.


Plate 67: (after) Rev. Thornley Smith, “Somerset, South Africa” (engraving) in Rev. Thornley Smith, South Africa Delineated; or, the Tribes and Missions, and of the British Colonies of the Cape and Port Natal [London, 1850], Frontispiece.


Plate 70: (after) Thomas Bowler, “Cape Town from the Tamboers Kloof, Lion’s Head” (lithograph) in Thomas Bowler, *Four Views of Cape Town* [London, 1844], Plate 4.

Plate 71: “Panoramic View with Table Mountain, Cape Town” (black & white photograph) in *Photographs of South Africa* [Cape Town, 1894], Plate 6.

Plate 72: Thomas Baines, “Bathurst” (1849; oil on paper mounted on canvas; 45 x 63.5), MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg.

Plate 73: “Anglican Cathedral at Grahamstown” (black & white photograph) in *Photographs of South Africa* [Cape Town, 1894], Plate 37.

Plate 74: Thomas Baines, “The Discovery of Gold” (1874; oil on canvas; 65.4 x 50.8), National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare.

Plate 75: John Glover, “Hobart Town, taken from the garden where I lived” (1832; oil on canvas; 74 x 150), Dixson Galleries, Sydney.

Plate 76: Thomas Bowler, “Train crossing the bridge over the Berg River bound for Wellington with the Fransch Hoek and Drakenstein Mountains in the distance, 1866” (c. 1866; watercolour on paper; 30.5 x 51.4), William Fehr Collection, Cape Town.

Plate 77: “Bridge over the Buffalo River, King William’s Town” (black & white photograph) in *Photographs of South Africa* [Cape Town, 1894], Plate 42.


Plate 83: “Panoramic View, Port Elizabeth” (black & white photograph) in Photographs of South Africa [Cape Town, 1894], Plate 32.


Plate 85: (W.L. Walton, after) Thomas Bowler, “St. George’s Cathedral from Wale Street” (lithograph) in Pictorial Album of Cape Town, with Views of Simon’s Town, Port Elizabeth and Graham’s Town from original Drawings by Thomas Bowler, with historical letterpress by W.R.Thomson [Cape Town, 1866], Plate 3.

Plate 86: “Main Street, Port Elizabeth” (black & white photograph) in Photographs of South Africa [Cape Town, 1894], Plate 33.

Plate 87: “Adderley Street, Cape Town” (black & white photograph) in Photographs of South Africa [Cape Town, 1894], Plate 2.

Plate 89: “Commissioner Street, Johannesburg” (black & white photograph) in The Art Photo Publishing Company, Scenes and Life in the Transvaal [Johannesburg, 1897], Plate 2.


Plate 91: Captain William Cornwallis Harris, “Driving in an Eland” (coloured lithograph) in Captain William Cornwallis Harris, The Wild Sports of Southern Africa: Being the Narrative of an Expedition from the Cape of Good Hope, through the territories of the Chief Moselekatse, to the Tropic of Capricorn [London, 1841], Plate 11.

Plate 92: Diego Velázquez, “Don Baltasar Carlos at the Riding School” (c. 1636; oil on canvas; 144 x 96.5), His Grace the Duke of Westminster, London.

Plate 93: Sir Anthony Van Dyck, “Equestrian Portrait of Charles I” (1638; oil on canvas; 367 x 292.1), National Gallery, London.


Plate 95: “Life on the Veldt” in Photographs of South Africa [Cape Town, 1894], Plate 51.


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Plate 66: George Baxter, "Mission Premises at Kuruman"
Plate 67: (after) Rev. Thornley Smith, “Somerset, South Africa”
Plate 69: (after) Mrs. Robert Gray, "New Haven"
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Plate 77: "Bridge over the Buffalo River, King William's Town"
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Plate 82: (R.M. Bryson, after) Thomas Bowler, “Market Square, Port Elizabeth”
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