

Catherine Ruth Elliott Weinberg

African Agency in the Archive:

The South Africa Collections at the British Museum to 1961

VOLUME II

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas
School of Art, Media and American Studies
University of East Anglia

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Figures

Credits: all images are by the author unless otherwise stated. *Images marked with an asterisk are by the author and © Trustees of the British Museum (all other British Museum (BM) images are prefixed with 'BM' and are © Trustees of the British Museum).

Further information about specific BM objects (e.g. dimensions) can be found at [britishmuseum.org](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx) — see 'collection online' https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx (last accessed 20/01/2019).



Fig. 1 King Moshoeshoe I (c.1786—1870) photographed in 1860 (image: Thompson 1975: xvii)

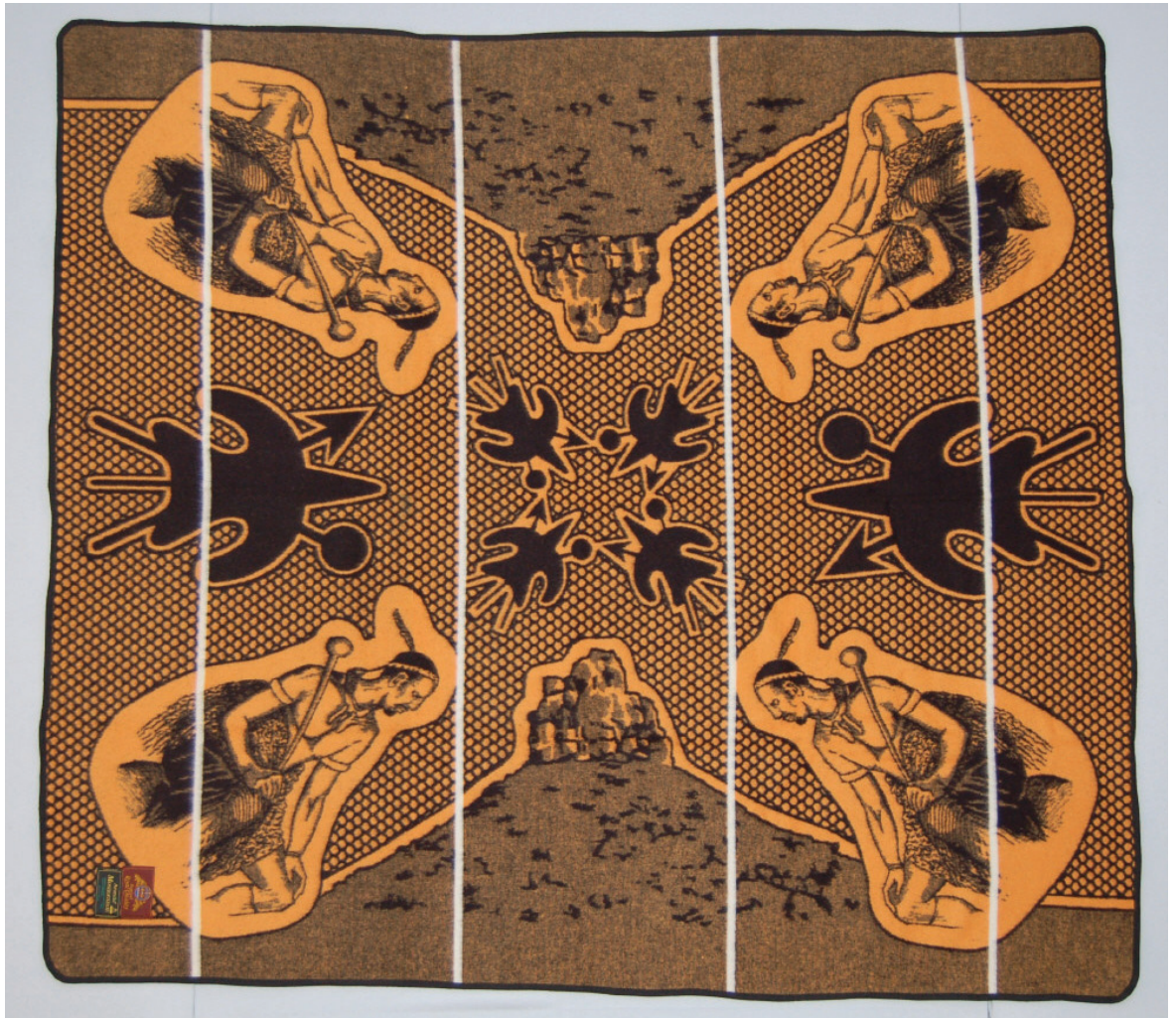


Fig. 2 2013,2009.1* 'Moshoeshoe' wearing blanket by Aranda, SA, c.2012 collected by the author during fieldwork (2013). The depiction of Moshoeshoe is taken from an engraving dating to 1833 by PEMS missionary, Eugène Casalis (1812–1891). Other motifs include the Basotho shield (cf. Fig. 5, Af.538) and Mount Qiloane near Thaba Bosiu

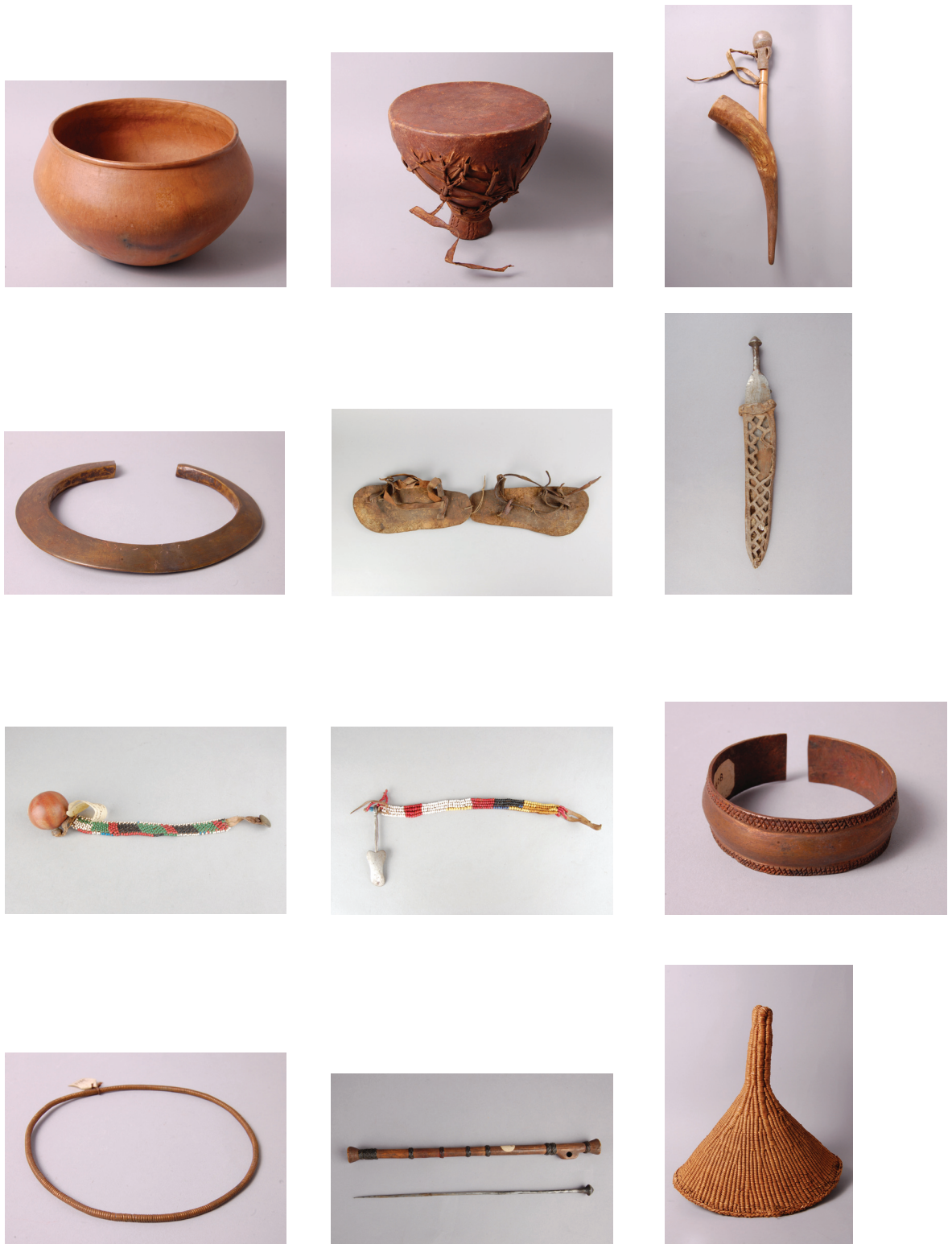


Fig. 3 Some of Moshoeshoe's presentation objects for the 1862 International Exhibition:
 (L-R) Af.476* vessel; Af.1006* drum; Af.1007.a-c* *dagga* pipe; Af.1009* neck-ornament;
 Af.1010.a-b* sandals; Af.3094.a-b* knife and sheath; Af.3100.a-b* snuff-container;
 Af.3189* nose-scraper; Af.3308* armlet; Af.3312* leg-ornament; Af.3316.a-b* needle and
 sheath; Af.4157* hat

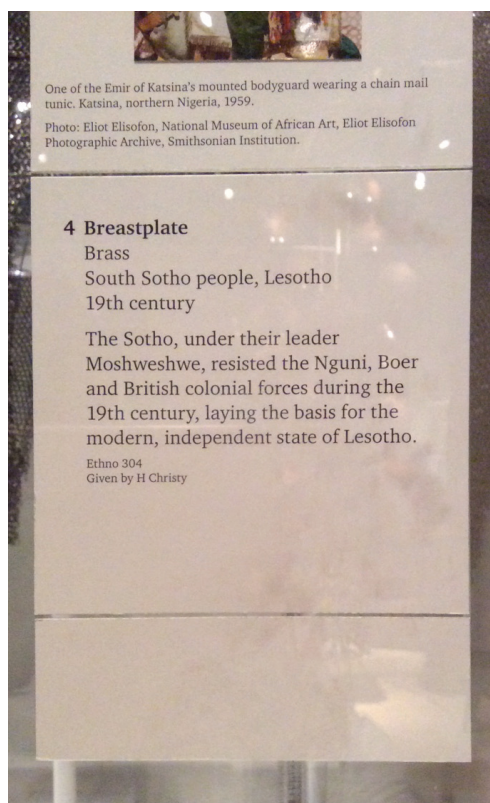


Fig. 4 Af.304* breast-plate on long-term display, SAG, Room 25, BM

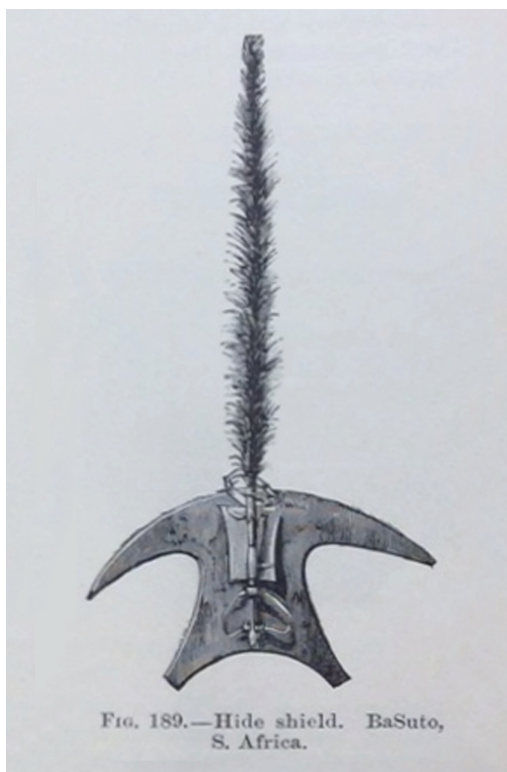
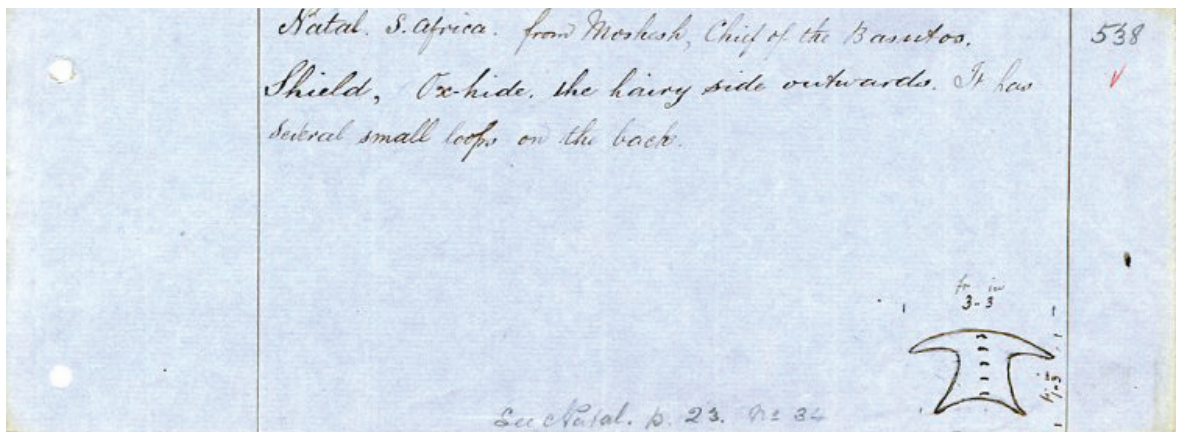


Fig. 5 Af.538* shield (L-R) (front and back); registration slip; as illustrated in BM (1910: 215)



Fig. 6 Map of South Africa, Lesotho and eSwatini/Swaziland indicating key places as well as locations mentioned in the main case studies



Fig. 7 BM façade (detail): the Museum as archive — ‘archive has neither status nor power without an architectural dimension, which encompasses the physical space of the site of the building, its motifs and columns, the arrangement of the rooms, the organisation of the “files”, the labyrinth of corridors’ (Mbembe 2002: 19)

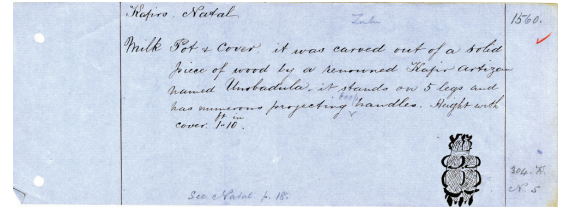
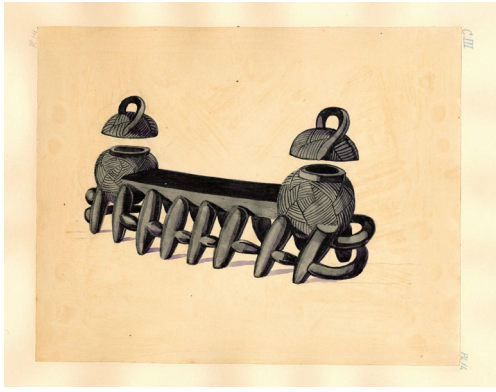


Fig. 8 Unobadula's carvings?: (L-R) Af.1181[a-c] as sketched for Henry Christy by Miss L.L. Hawkins (BM Am2006, Drg.72); registration slip for Af.1560[a-b]; Af.4876 and Af.4875 vessels (image Mike Row © Trustees of the British Museum); Af.1979, 01.2800 chair (image: Mike Row © Trustees of the British Museum); 'The International Exhibition: View in the Natal Court' (*ILN* 05/07/1862: 21), note lidded-vessel, possibly Af.1560 (image: courtesy of Senate House Library, London)



Fig. 9 'Unobadula, the wood-carver'? from a series of photographic portraits by Dr R.J. Mann (image: courtesy of Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, acc. no. a74-006)

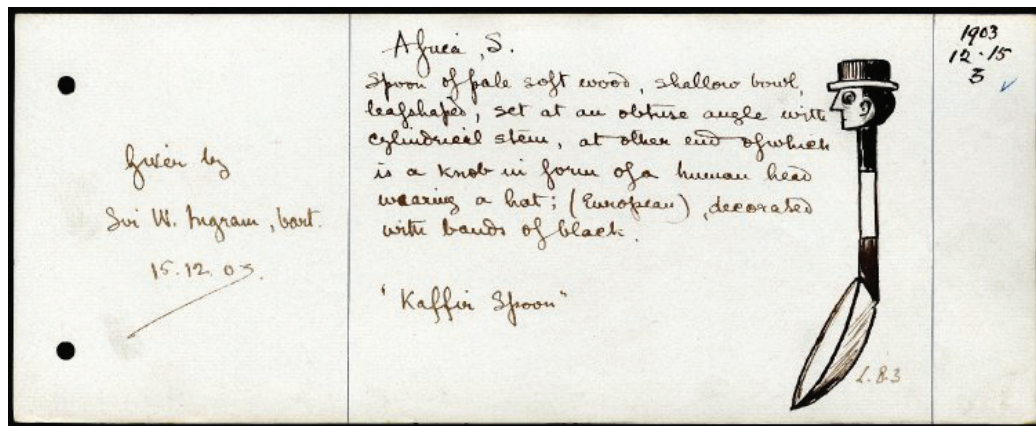


Fig. 10 Muhlati's? spoon: (L-R) Af1903,1215.3* (front and side); registration slip



Fig. 11 Made by Hlunuzaan/Mhlophekazi?: Af1939,36.1* male bust; Af1939,36.2* female bust; Af1939,36.3* male figure; Af1939,36.4* female figure; Af1939,36.5.a-b* lidded-bowl; Af1939,36.6.a-b* thumb piano and resonator; accessions register entry

Cheyne Collection



Mhlophekazi (the fictional Umslopogaas) with his axe.

Mhlophekazi (the fictional Umslopogaas) as an old man.



Cheyne Collection

Fig. 12 Mhlophekazi (d.1897), the inspiration for Rider Haggard's fictional character, Umslopogaas (image: Haggard 2001: 114)



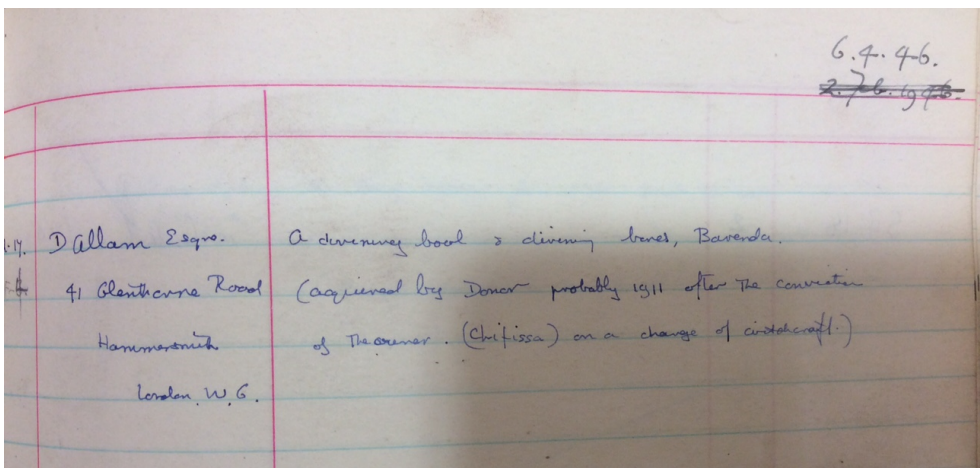
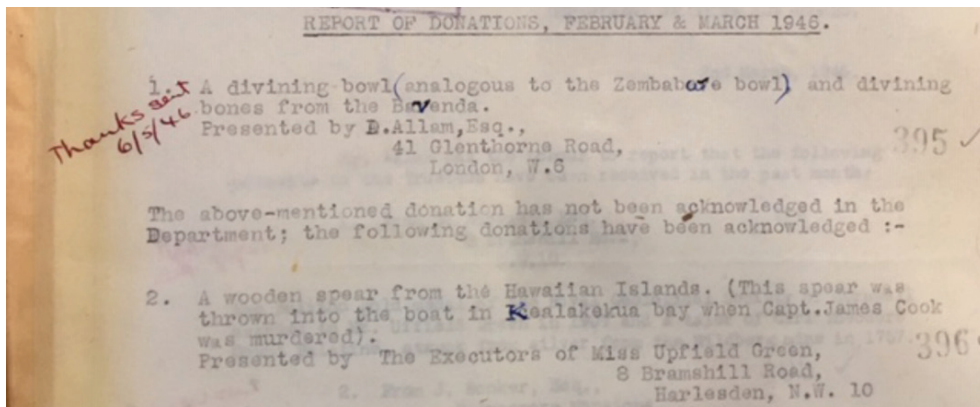
Fig. 13 Lidded-pot, KwaZulu-Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg (acc. no. 2628B) (cf. Fig. 11, Af1939,36.5.a-b*)



Fig. 14 'Baboon Master' maternity figure staff: Af1954,+23.1337* (detail and full-length)



Fig. 15 Fantastic South Sotho creatures: Af1931,0716.6* 'Tokolosi'; Af1931,0716.5* crocodile; crocodile, Ditsong National Museum of Cultural History, Pretoria (acc. no. ET. 35/235)



280



Fig. 17 'Portering': *I Start for the Mutwalumi*, 1844-1853 watercolour by Major Robert Jones Garden (image: courtesy of Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, acc. no. WCP 932). Note African men at right who may well have helped Garden gather objects that would later come to the BM via Kew (Elliott 2011; Elliott Weinberg 2016)



Fig. 18 *Inkatha rings*, KwaZulu-Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg (acc. nos 2781A and 2781B)



Fig. 19 Af,B80.3* (front and back) a large collection of 'Fingo, Basuto & Tembu' beadwork that the BM rejected, which was assembled by Mrs B.K. Bartlett '[d]uring several years residence in & travelling about South Africa'. A letter from Mrs Bartlett's letter, which formerly enclosed the photograph, is with BEP while the photograph is housed in the Pictorial Collection, ALRC



Fig. 20 Examples of BM labels, the bottom label is an example of a label added by the author during the course of fieldwork

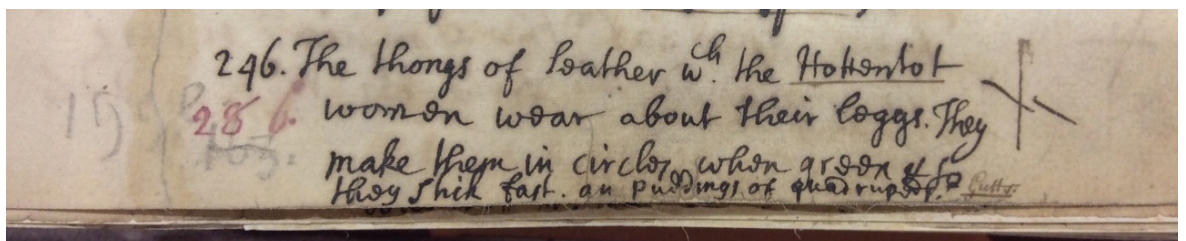
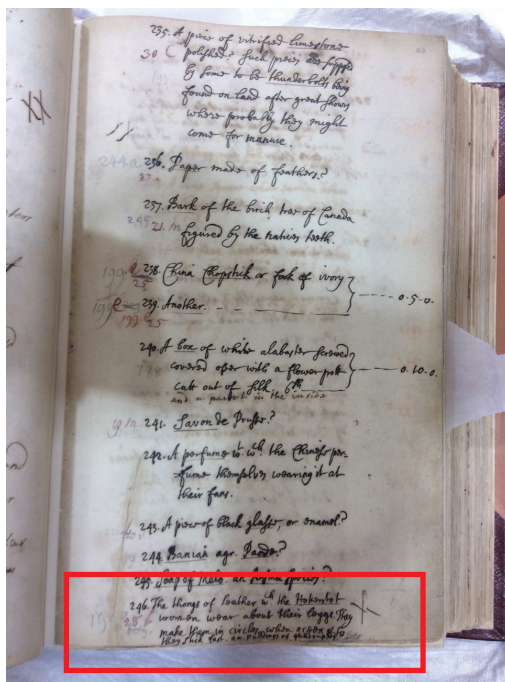


Fig. 21 1753 Sloane bequeath leg-ornament: Af,SLMisc.246* leg-ornament; Sir Hans Sloane's 'Miscellanies' catalogue, ALRC (page and detail of item 246)



Fig. 22 Famous 'Zulu' figure: (L-R) Af1954,+23.3567* figure; 1970s BM postcard (front and back) describing the figure as 'Zulu' (ALRC Pictorial Collection no number). More recent scholarship suggests a Tsonga attribution



Fig. 23 Hintsa's arm-ornament: (L-R) Af1936, 1218.19* and 20* arm-ornaments; the first is said to have belonged to 'Kreli', King Sarili kaHintsa (c.1810—1892) who is described as being pictured in Af,B82.4*, a photograph, which, like the arm-ornaments, was also presented by Lady Cunynghame



Fig. 24 Sandile's staff?: (L-R) Af1936,1218.4* (two details) staff, said to have belonged to 'Sandilli' (see inscription); photograph of Chief Mgolombane Sandile (1820–1878) (image: 'Cape Colony Archives Depot', Wikipedia https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mgolombane_Sandile_-_Xhosa_Chief.jpg, last accessed 20/08/2018). Note similarity between the staff Sandile is holding and the BM's example



Fig. 25 Cetshwayo's staff?: Af1950,18.1* staff, said to have been '[t]aken from the hand of [Cetshwayo kaMpande (c.1826—1884)]' (see Fig. 42)

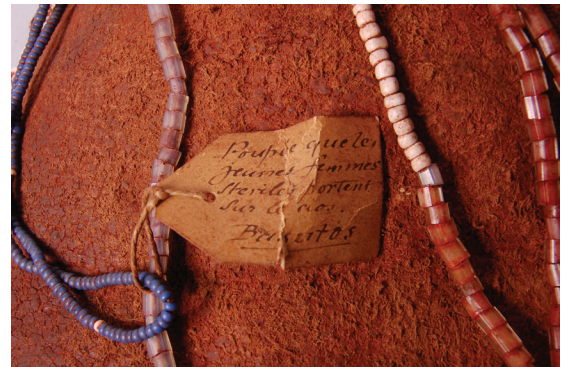


Fig. 26 Child figures with pre-Museum labels: (L-R) Af.6143* and Af.6144*

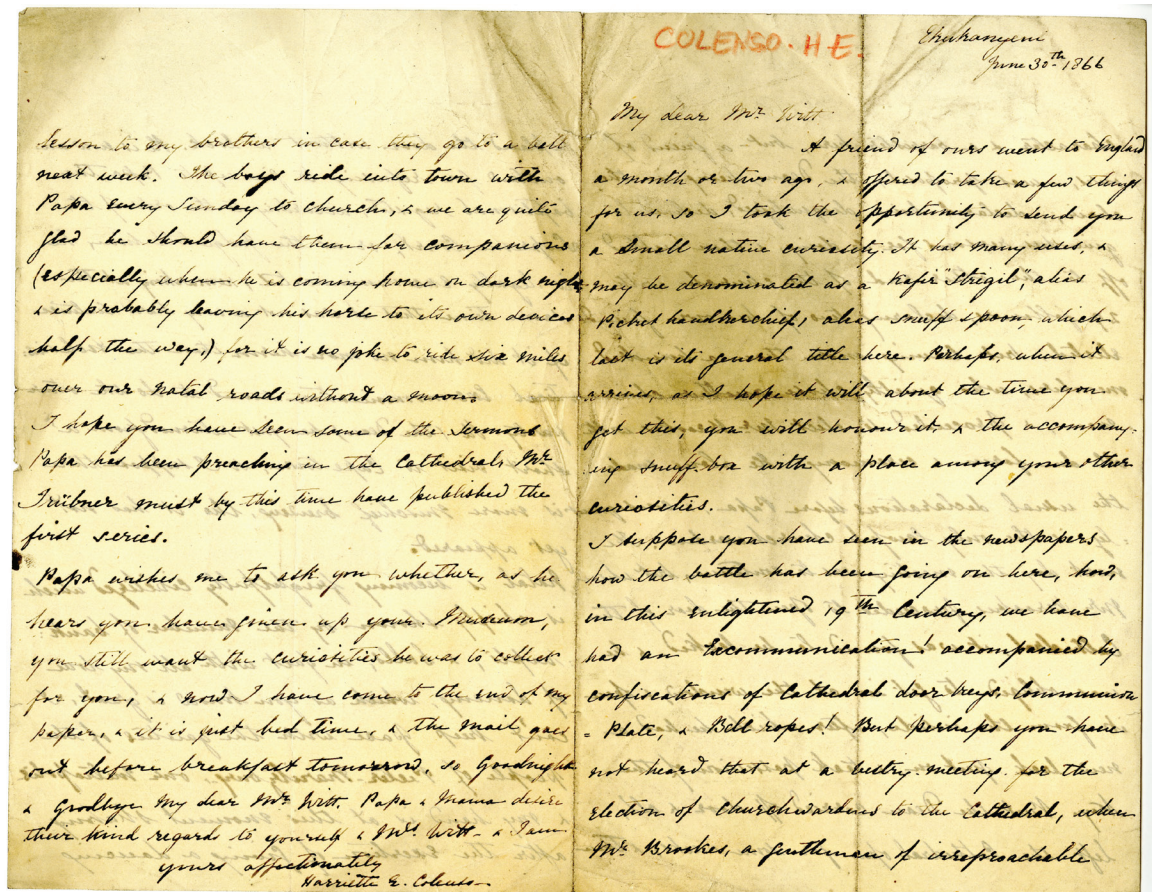


Fig. 27 From Miss Harriette E. Colenso: (L-R) letter (one side) (CC 176, Miss H.E. Colenso to Mr Witt, 30/06/1866); Af.3327* snuff-spoon; Af.3369* snuff-container/ear-ornament



Fig. 28 Af,+5308.a* (front and back detail) male figure



Fig. 29 Af1930,0120.24* girl's initiation dress '[f]rom Kimberley Museum'



Fig. 30 Af1960,20.127* bag, previously exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851 and given to the BM by Kew



Fig. 31 BM 1913,0331.155 print depicting the 1862 International Exhibition building; Natal Court at the 1862 International Exhibition (*ILN* 05/07/1862: 21) (image: courtesy of Senate House Library, London)



Fig. 32 Paris International Exposition, 1867: (L-R) Af.4591.a-b* woman's cloak (shown inside out); Af.4589* woman's head-dress; Af.4656* tooth necklace

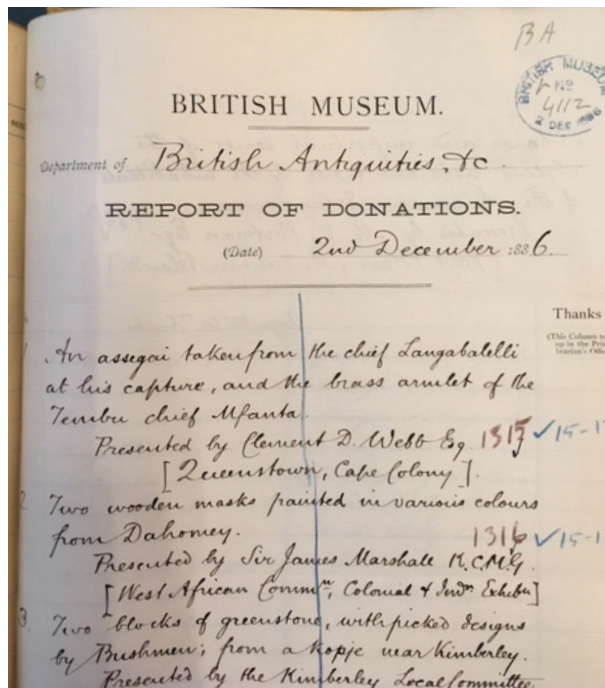


Fig. 33 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886: (L-R) report of two items donated by Clem D. Webb in 1886, *Book of Presents* (image: Peter Williams); Af1886,1125.9* 'Abakweta Dress' (part of); 'Abakweta men'* (ALRC Pictorial Collection no number) photograph probably from Clem D. Webb; Af,B84.31*; Af,B82.1* (the last two photographs presented by Lady Cunynghame)

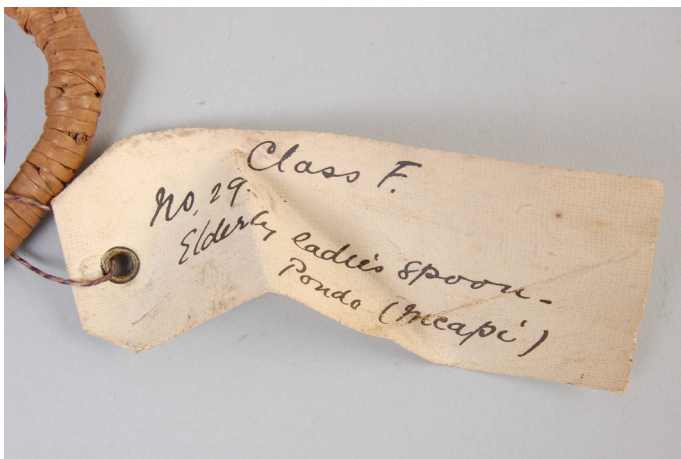


Fig. 34 Purchased at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886: Af1905,-.74* beer-skimmer; Clem D. Webb's pre-Museum label

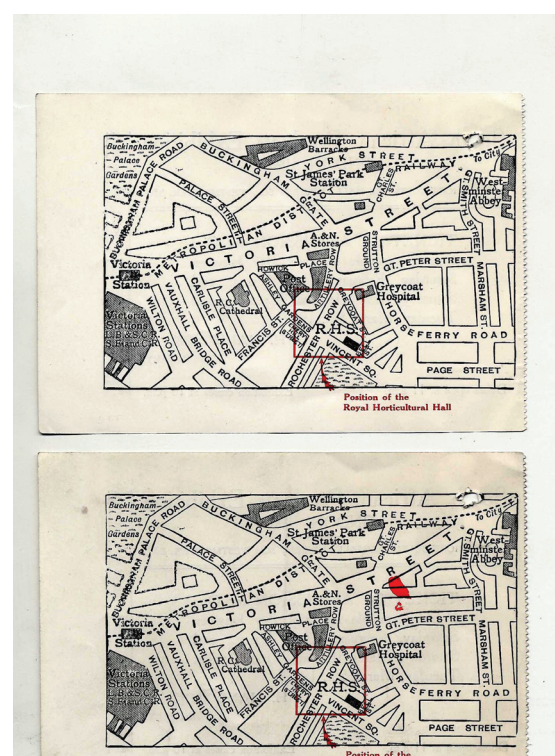
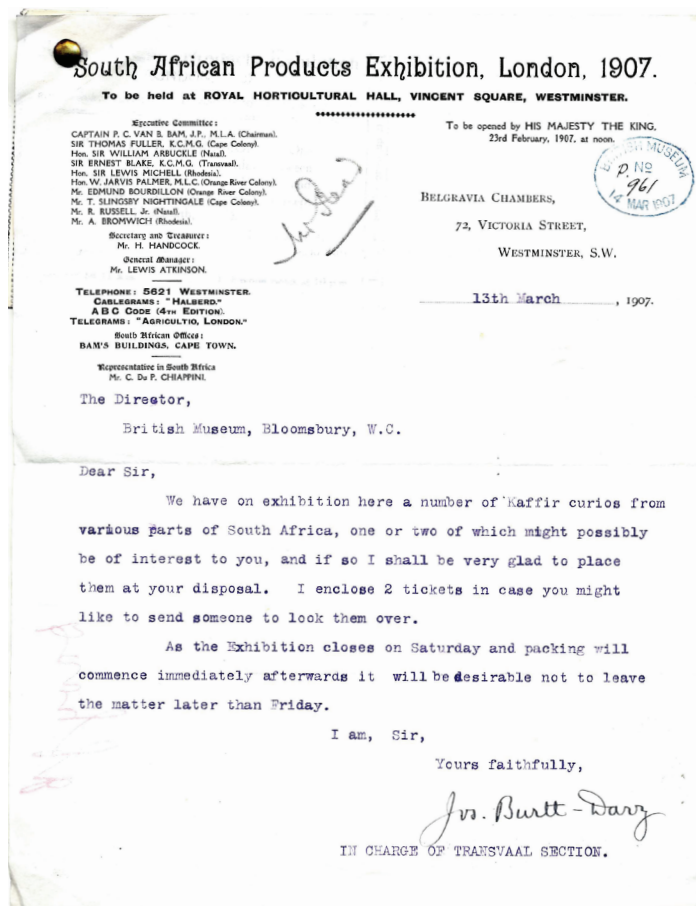


Fig. 35 South African Products Exhibition, 1907: letter (BEP letter from J. Burt-Davy, 13/03/1907) with two possibly unused entry tickets (front and back)

3.3.24 info. 11.11.24

Certain sections I have already approached, notably Tanganyika, which, as an ex-German colony, was very poorly represented in our collection, & I have met with a very generous response. I should be greatly to appreciate the courtesy of an interview with one of your representatives, if you will give me an appointment next week, so that I may know what, if any, of the material is "disposable".

The funds at my disposal are considerably reduced since the war, but I am quite prepared to apply a considerable proportion to the supplementation of those portions of our collection which represent the arts & crafts of the natives of British Colonies. And I have been so far fortunate in collecting a number of important gifts.

Hoping for a reply at your earliest convenience, I remain,

Yours faithfully,
 G. T. A. Joyce
 Deputy-Keeper.

South Africa. 13.2.24.

The Chairman of Committee, South Africa, British Empire Exhibition, Wembley.

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of 10.7.24. I am glad to hear that you are interested in the collection of the British Museum, & are therefore not available for this purpose. But there may be others which might continue to perform, at the British Museum, the good work which they are doing at Wembley. It is not very much that we should want; our South African collections, many of which date from fairly early times, are reasonably representative; but naturally, we should like to fill gaps where they occur. The present Exhibition affords me an unusual opportunity of attempting to supplement deficiencies in the National Museum, & of course I am trying to take advantage of it.

to show you round. I think you will find our collection very representative one with quite a number of rare specimens.

Yours faithfully,
 C. L. Harries
 Sp. Native Affairs Section

Harries. L.

BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION.
 SOUTH AFRICAN PAVILION.
 WEMBLEY.
 LONDON.

11th June 1924.

SEE SOUTH AFRICA AT WEMBLEY

Capt. T. A. Joyce
 Dept. of Ethnology.
 British Museum.
 London W.1.

Dear Sir.

Mr Robert Kerr of the Royal Scottish Museum who here the other day, it was a great pleasure to be able to show him the collection of ethnological objects we have here. I am not aware that you have visited our Pavilion. If not, please ask for me when you do. I should like

Fig. 36 'See South Africa at Wembley' (British Empire Exhibition, 1924): examples of correspondence — letter (GC T.A. Joyce to [Chairman of Committee, SA, British Empire Exhibition], 10/06/1924); letter (GC C.L. Harries to T.A. Joyce, 11/06/1924)

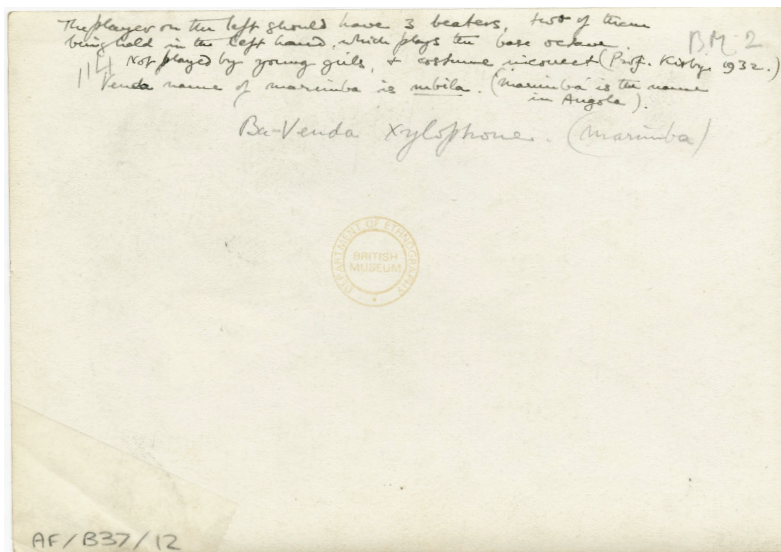


Fig. 37 Af,B37.12* (front and back) photograph of a Venda xylophone player by A.M. Duggan-Cronin c.1928; cf. Af,B32.1* Venda xylophone players photographed in 1906 (from the collection of F.J. Newnham)



Fig. 38 Af,B80.6* photograph of figures Af,+.6190 and Af,+.6191.a; the pair as illustrated in Distant (1892: 114)



Fig. 39 From Bethnal Green Museum (given by Mrs Newberry): (L-R) Af1953,14.1-4* garments



Fig. 40 The Wolseley Collection: (L-R) Af1917,1103.1-3* headrests; Af1917,1103.4.a-b* lidded vessel; Af1917,1103.5-8* milk-pails; Af1917,1103.9* vessel (with later acquired Lozi lid and without); Af1917,1103.10* meat-platter (two views); examples of pre-Museum inscriptions, partly erased



Fig. 41 Garnet Joseph Wolseley, 1st Viscount Wolseley (1833–1913) by Paul A. Besnard, 1880 (National Portrait Gallery acc. no. 1789) (image: © National Portrait Gallery, London). Note burning Zulu homestead in background, to right; monument to Wolseley at Horse Guards Parade, London



Fig. 42 King Cetshwayo kaMpande (c.1826–1884) photographed by Alexander Bassano, 1882 (National Portrait Gallery acc. no. x96403) (image: © National Portrait Gallery, London)



Fig. 43 Cetshwayo's treasures: 'Cetewayo's Milk-Pails, Dish, and Pillows' (How 1893: 180); Wolseley residence interior in 1905 and 1907, Hampton Court Palace (Brighton & Hove City Libraries, Wolseley Collections)

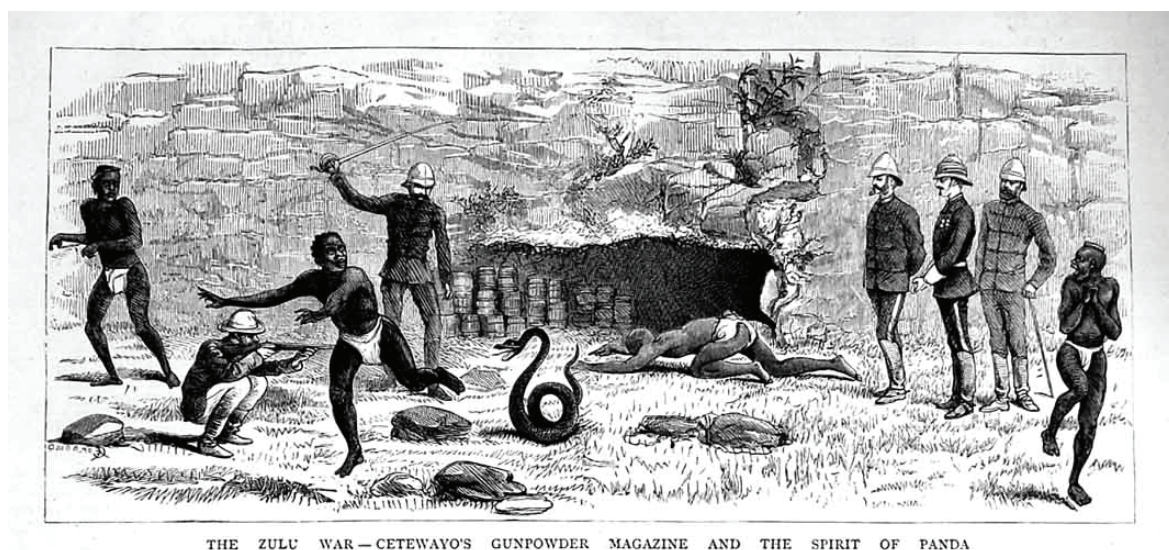
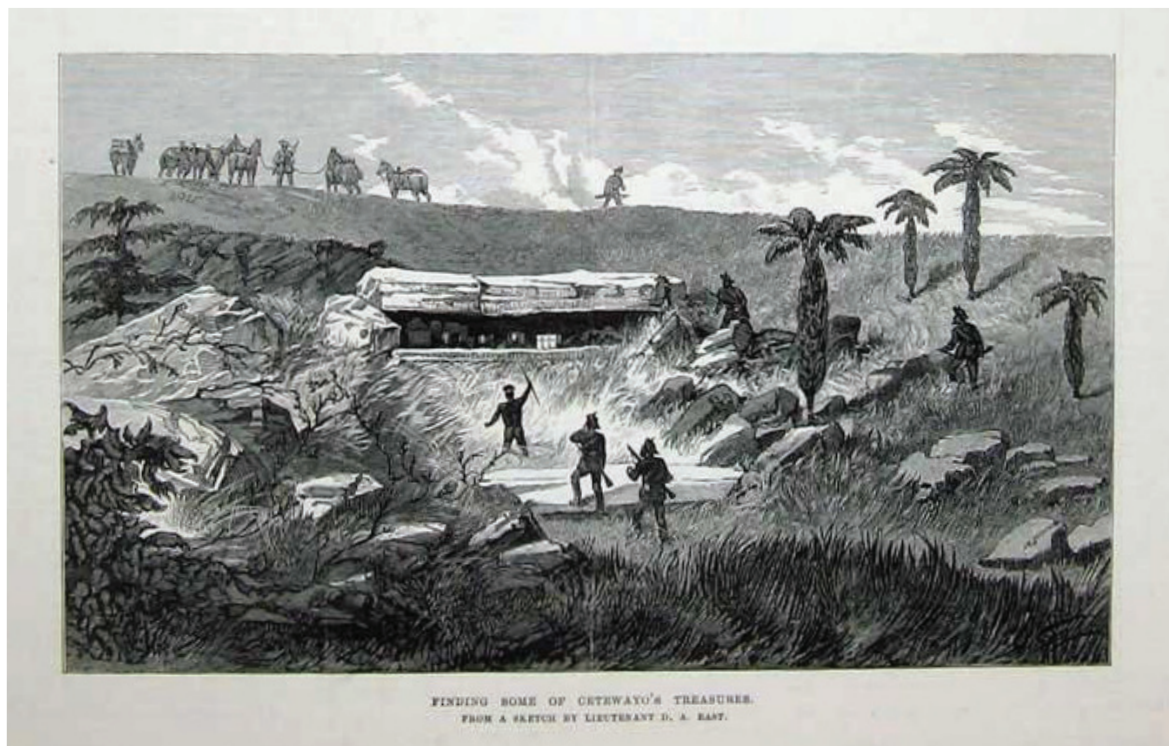


Fig. 44 Treasure hunting: 'Finding Some of Cetewayo's Treasures' (*ILN* 11/10/1879: 328); 'Cetewayo's Gunpowder Magazine' (*Graphic* 11/10/1879: 365)

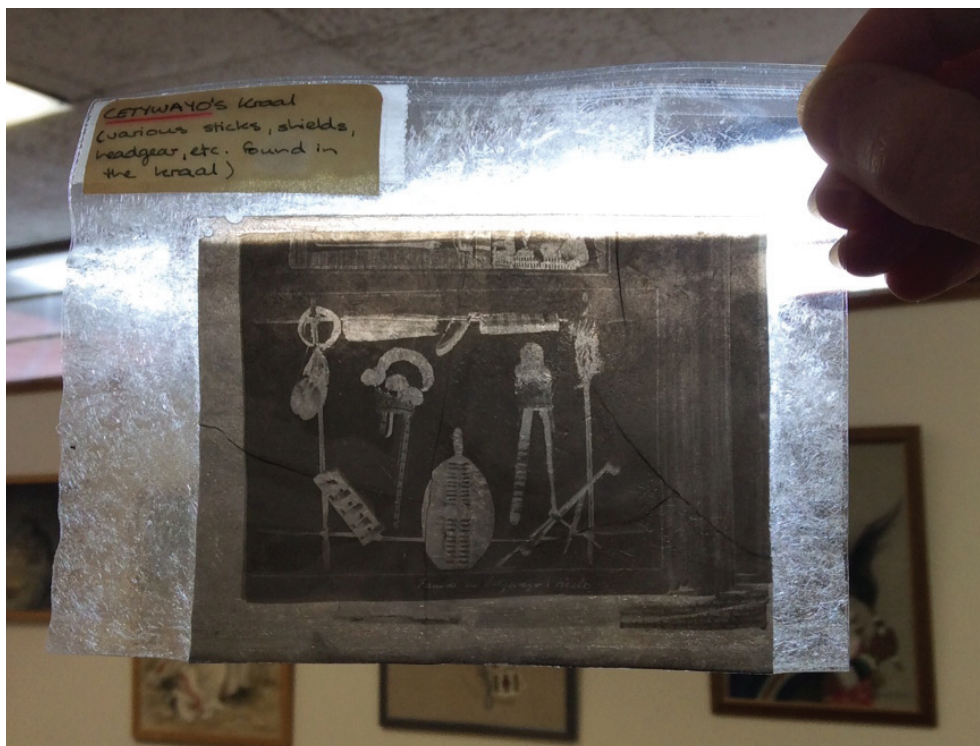
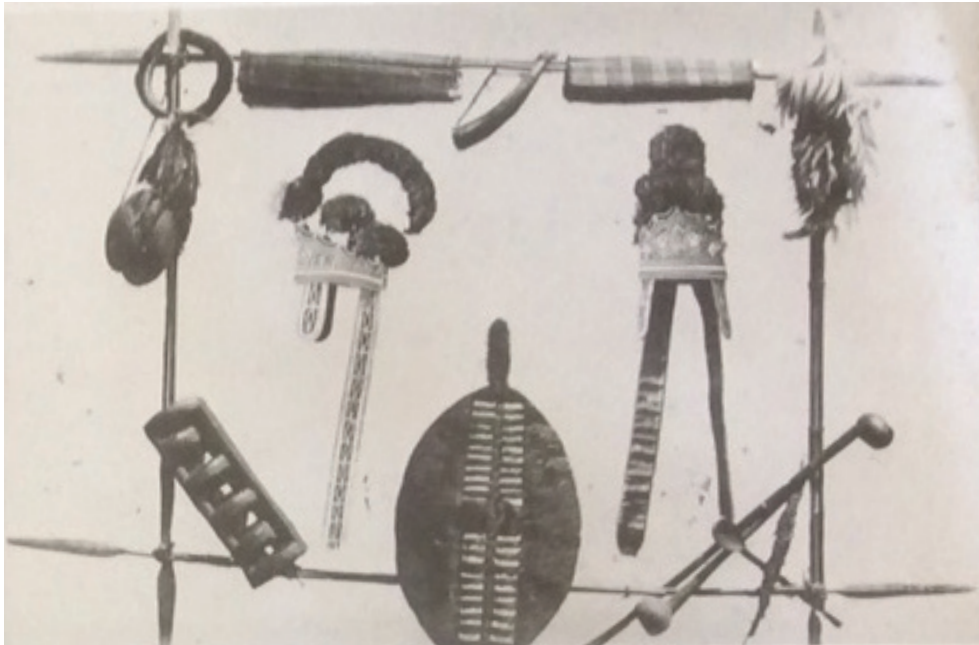


Fig. 45 Cetshwayo's crown etc.: photograph captioned 'Cetshwayo's Crown...the crown with which Cetshwayo was crowned King of the Zulus by Sir Theophilus Shepstone in August 1873. The other items shown are articles from the King's household' (image: courtesy of Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, acc. no. C66/046); negative apparently showing the same photograph as C66/046 and inscribed in image 'Found in Cetywayo's Kraal [?]' (image: courtesy of Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, no acc. no.)

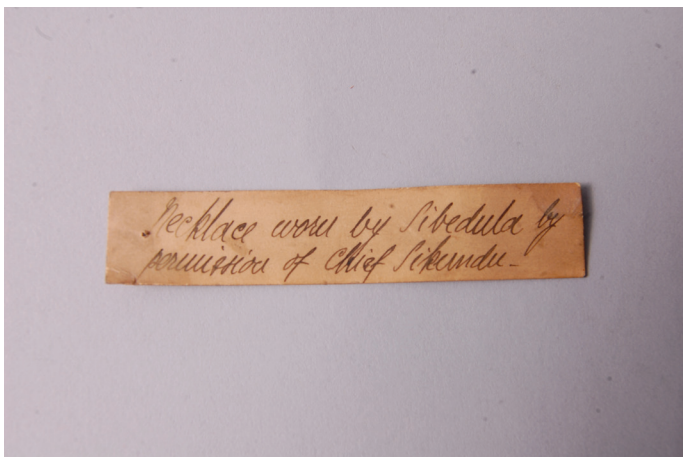


Fig. 46 Sibedula's necklace: Af1945,04.24* necklace; pre-museum label (front and back) for Af1945,04.24

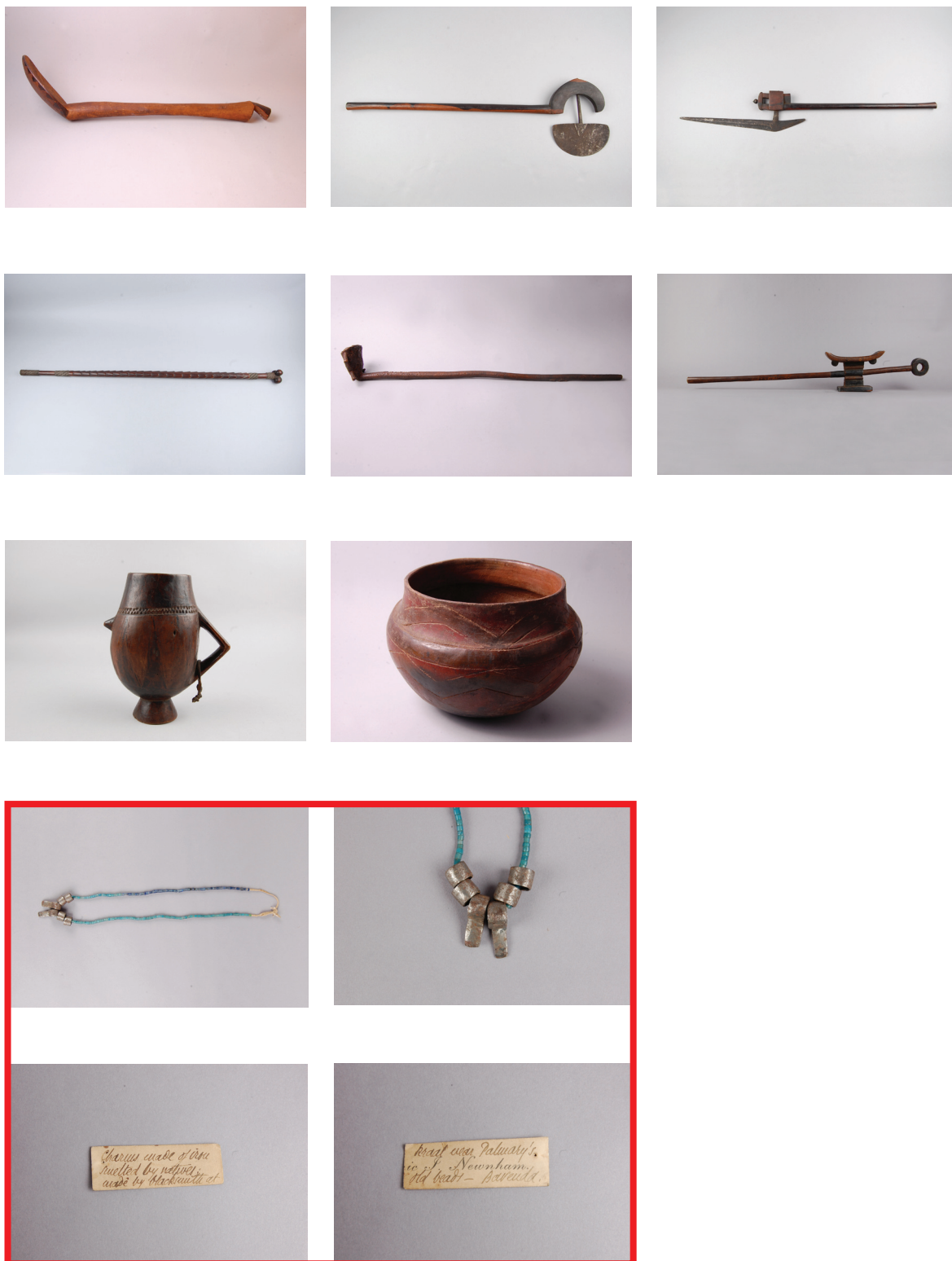


Fig. 47a A selection of objects from the Newnham Collection: (L-R) Af1945,04.1* spoon; Af1945,04.2* axe; Af1945,04.4* axe; Af1945,04.8* staff; Af1945,04.10* ingot; Af1945,04.12* staff/headrest; Af1945,04.13* vessel; Af1945,04.15* vessel; Af1945,04.21* strung beads with iron 'charms' (with detail and pre-Museum label, front and back)

1945				57	
Date	No.	Description	How Acquired	Full	Observations
1945	1	Wooden spoon, large.	Rev. F. J. Newnham 47, Grendel Road Harrow		1-58 Ethnographical series from S. Africa, chiefly from the Bantwana of N. Transvaal.
	2	Composite axe, wooden shaft crescentic at end holding the iron bar, iron bar broken out to form sub-spherical cutting edge. L. 26.3"			
	3	do. wooden shaft, half L. 26.4"			
	4	do. wooden shaft, sub- crescentic iron blade, but with long and narrow -plate point. L. 36"			
	5	Composite spear, foliate iron blade; wooden shaft with copper noosing. L. 42.6"			
	6	do. but smaller iron blade. L. 44"			
	7	do. iron bar broken out to form small foliate blade; iron bar into wooden shaft and joined by f. lath cane, with piece of cane attached. L. 49"			
	8	Wooden stick, three beads, with many notches and noosing. L. 35.5"			
	9	do. but spiral, shaped in the center, with copper noosing. L. 35"			
	10	Copper ^{ring} with flatish lump at right angles with the shaft. L. 20.1"			
	11	Horn washing stick, two pieces L. 39.3"			
	12	Washing stick with much - 28 L. 39.3"			
	13	Wooden receptacle, sub-spherical tapering with narrow bottom. L. 5.7"			
	14	Iron vase, spherical body with flat base; with flange near top, with geometric decoration painted in red, white, black. L. 6.9"			
	15	Iron vessel, sub-spherical, much slightly shouldered, with wide decoration. L. 6.9"			
					14 from Rev. F. J. Newnham 1945, Apr 7 delivered

1945				52	
Date	No.	Description	How Acquired	Full	Observations
1945	16	Beads ornamental, in 12 rows on cotton string, dark blue, green and yellow. L. 9.5"			17 "Ancient Bantwana beads - Sibasa's" 18 Sibasa's Bantwana worn on head" 19 "Makuleka's - very old beads" 20 Sibasa's - Bantwana Bantwana's - may be 100 years old" 21 Charms made of iron melted by the natives & made by blacksmith at Krom near Palmarh, Old beads - Bantwana" 22 "Makuleka's"
	17	do. single row, dark blue. L. 13.5"			
	18	do. single row, white on a fibre string. L. 10.5"			
	19	do. dark blue. L. 1.6"			
	20	do. blue. L. 5.5"			
	21	Iron charms on a string of beads. L. 12.5"			
	22	Composite whistle, animal hairs with two groups of beads, of four rows each attached. W. 2.7"			
	23	Bronze whistle. W. 2.9"			
	24	Wooden necklace, bc-conical beads alternating with six small antelope horns attached. L. 10.8"			
	25	Composite bead ring, fibre circular ring with black clay (?) adhering, with human hairs attached. 0.7"			
	26	Wooden spoon with open- work handle. L. 9.3"			
	27	Composite drum, large, wooden L. 30.8"			
	28	do. but smaller with handle. L. 25.5"			
	29	Pottery fragment part of the neck with parallel lines. L. 3.7"			
	30	do. part of the shoulder. L. 5.6"			
	31	do. part of the neck with beaded pattern. L. 1.4"			
	32	do. similar. L. 1.6"			
	33	do. similar. L. 1.7"			
	34	do. L. 1.0"			
	35	do. L. 1.6"			
	36	do. L. 1.9"			
	37	do. with no pattern. L. 1.9"			
	38	do. similar. L. 1.1"			
					29-35 "Outside the enclosure we picked up a few fragments of pottery marked with the lozenge and herringbone pattern which Sibasa mentions in connection with the Mashonaland mine, so there is a possibility of the story of the Mashonaland origin being true."

Fig. 47b Accessions register entry for the Newnham Collection

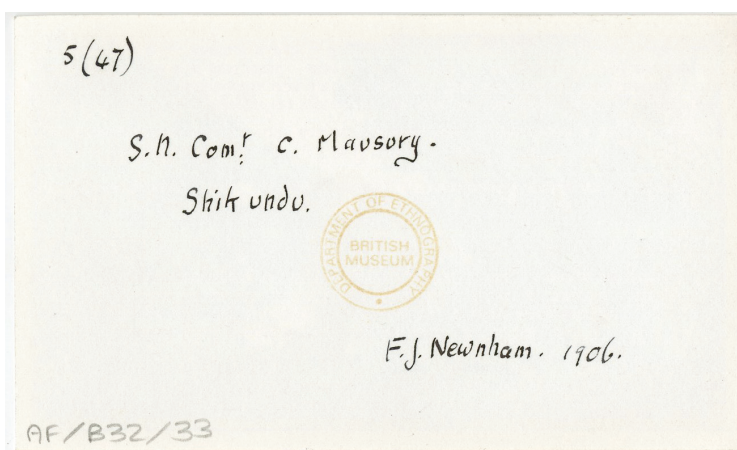


Fig. 48 Sitedula and his necklace?: (L-R) Af,B32.33* (detail of Sitedula?) (note necklace); Af,B32.33* (front and back); Af1945,04.24* necklace (two views);

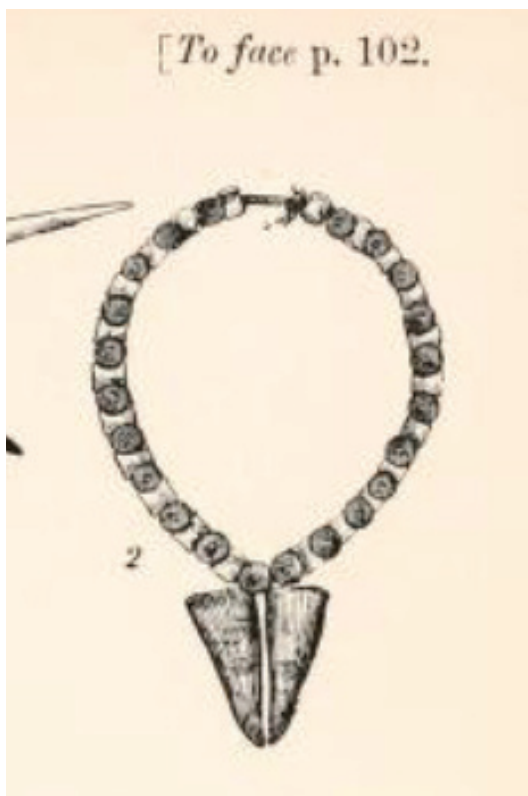


Fig. 49 Necklace, Brighton Museum and Art Gallery (acc. no. R2778/292); Brighton necklace as depicted in Distant (1892: facing page 102)



96(88)

His wife and friends (SEE 95(87))



F.J. Newnham, 1906.

AF/B32/17



95(87)

Native blacksmith, with bellows—
Nr. M. Palenary's.



F.J. Newnham, 1906.

AF/B32/12

Fig. 50 The blacksmith's wife and art: Af,B32.17* (front and back); Af,B32.12* (front and back), reverse inscribed 'Native blacksmith...Nr. M. Palenary's' [sic]



Fig. 51 Hermann Justus Braunholtz (1888—1963) (*Times* 06/06/1963: 17)



Fig. 52 Views inside Chief Sinthumule's location, near Louis Trichardt: Af.B92.18* and Af.B92.22*



Fig. 53 Postcard (front and back) (GC H.J. Braunholtz to T.A. Joyce, 13/08/1929)



Fig. 54 The Brauholtz Collection: (L-R) Af1930,0128.1* gourd vessel; Af1930,0128.2* gourd vessel; Af1930,0128.3* spoon; Af1930,0128.4* stirrer; Af1930,0128.5.a-b* lidded basket; Af1930,0128.6 bowl*; Af1930,0128.7* pot; Af1930,0128.12* graphite



Fig. 55 Af,A1.45-48* sequence of photographs showing a meeting in the *khorro* with Chief Sinthumule Ramabulana (c.1870—1931) who is seated on a chair (Af,A1: 12); Af,A1.49* 'Old BaVenda man, in conversation with Prof. J.L. Myres' (Af,A1: 13 detail)

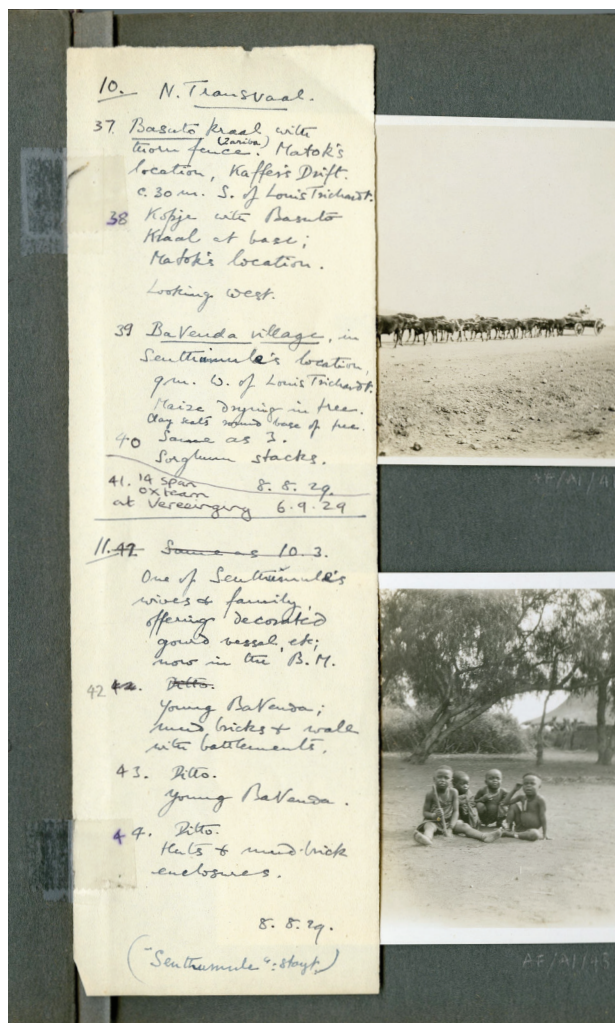
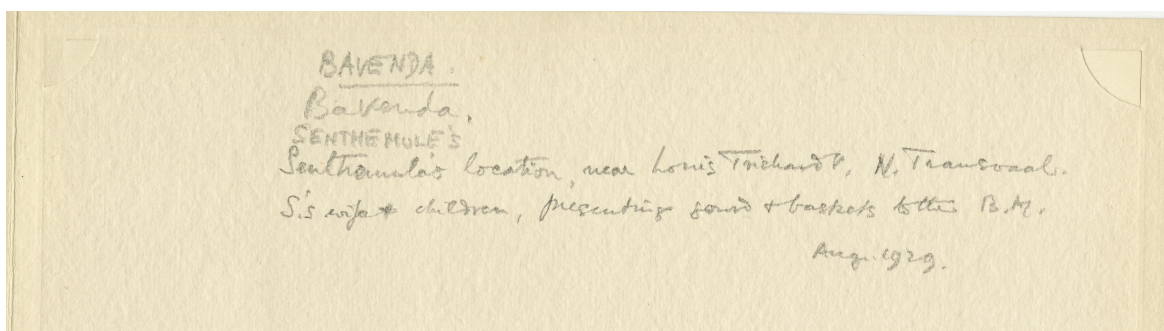


Fig. 56 Braunholtz's captions (Af,A1: facing page 10); sequence of photographs (Af,A1: 11). Note photograph at top left (Af,A1.41) does not match Braunholtz's caption '[o]ne of Sonthumula's [?] wives & family, offering decorated gourd vessel, etc; now in the B.M.'



Senthamule's location. Bavenda. N. Transvaal.



BAVENDA.
Bavenda,
SENTHEMULE'S
Senthamule's location, near Louis Trichardt, N. Transvaal.
S's wife & children, presenting gourd & baskets to the B.M.
Aug. 1929.



Fig. 57 Presentation: (L-R) unnumbered* photograph in folder (two views, folder detail) 'S's wife & children, presenting gourd & baskets to the B.M'; the presented objects — Af1930,0128.1* gourd vessel; Af1930,0128.3* spoon; Af1930,0128.4* stirrer



Fig. 58 Made by Makiliebin?: Af1936,0314.15* gourd with an unusually graphic depiction of a young Venda woman performing the *u losha* (Mackenzie-Skues Collection)



Fig. 59 Unnumbered* (and rejected) photograph: 'BaVenda. Senthimula's locn. 9.m. w. [9 miles west] of Louis Trichardt' (cf. Fig. 57). A candid image showing Sinthumule's wife and children as well as probably G.R. Carline, J.L. Myres (cut-off figure) and Sinthumule himself



FIG. 2.—DZATA. BAVENDA RUINS OF PARTLY DRESSED STONE, ABOUT TWO MILES FROM CHIEF MPHEPHU'S KRAAL, THE STONES ARE REPUTED TO HAVE BEEN BROUGHT FROM NORTH OF THE LIMPOPO.
(PHOTO BY H. A. STAYT.)

RELICS OF PRE-EUROPEAN CULTURE IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.



Fig. 60 Dzata Ruins: Af,B36.28* probably Braunholtz's *JRAI* editorial paste-up of 'Dzata' photographed by H.A. Stayt (for Trevor 1930: Plate XI Fig. 2, unpaginated); Dzata (Trevor 1930: Plate XI Fig. 2, unpaginated); Af,B32.23* 'Old Tzada' (Dzata) photographed in 1906 (from the collection of F.J. Newnham)



Fig. 61 Mukharu's divination bowl: (L-R) CRS.74* cast of divination bowl (side and bottom); Af,B81.12* and Af,B81.11* photographs of the divination bowl in the possession of H.A. Stayt from which cast CRS.74 was made at the BM around the time of the Museum's *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities from Zimbabwe* (1930) where this object was shown. The bowl is said to have formerly belonged to a diviner by the name of Mukharu (Stayt 1931: 292-293)

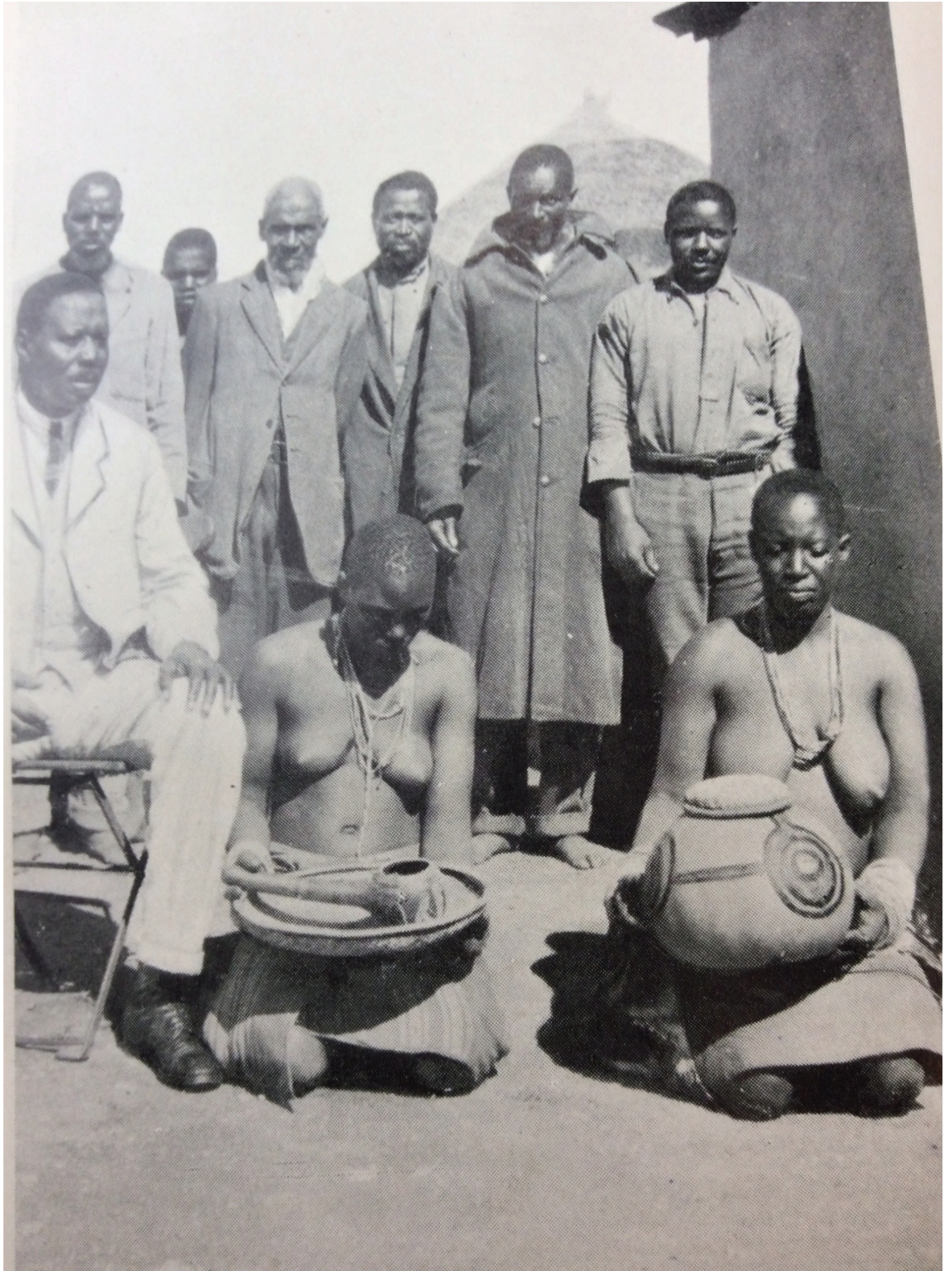


Fig. 62 Sinthumule (seated) 'with two wives and some of his councillors' (Stayt 1931: Plate XXXIV)



Fig. 63 Af,A1.29-32* sequence of photographs showing 'war dances' and xylophone playing at a Johannesburg mine compound (Af,A1: 8)



Fig. 64 Af,B41.9* (detail) photograph of Antoinette Powell-Cotton (1913–1997); photograph of Major Percy Horace Gordon Powell-Cotton (1866—1940) inscribed on reverse 'Z.II 18' (PCM)



Fig. 65 A selection of objects from the Powell-Cotton Collection: (L-R) Af1936,0316.1* shield; Af1936,0316.6* belt; Af1936,0316.10* necklace; Af1936,0316.11* necklace; Af1936,0316.13* hairpin; Af1936,0316.14* snuff-bag; Af1936,0316.16* wristlet; Af1936,0316.23* knee-ornament; Af1936,0316.29* apron; Af1936,0316.33* baby-carrier; Af1936,0316.34* ochre; Af1936,0316.43* pipe-bowl; Af1936,0316.44.a-b* *dagga*-pipe and stem; Af1936,0316.47* spoon; Af1936,0316.51* spoon-basket; Af1936,0316.54.a-b* lidded basket; Af1936,0316.58* mat-slat; Af1936,0316.61* dish

1936. 3-16

53 Objects

Eth. Doc. 74

March 1936.

CURIOS FROM ZULULAND, PRESENTED TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM, BY MAJOR P.H.G. POWELL-COTTON AND MISS ANTOINETTE POWELL-COTTON.

Article	Native Name.	Date.	Place; Lat. & Lon:
19. Shield Dancing; s; Cattle skin (brown & white) Stick with Wild Cat pom-pom, Isimbi tail	Hawu	21.7.35	M'Kusi 27.40 S; 32.12 E;
35. Basket, small circular; with square base, twisted handle;		2.3.35	"
122. Necklet, white rope; white & red loop end tassel, bead loop, 2 brass buttons		"	"
137. Belt, 8 strand white rope, girl's; 3 red & blue strings; worn at weddings &c.		14.3.35	Manzibovu Hluhluwe Native Reserve 32.30 E; 28 S;
199. Apron; s; back; Isinane cattle skin	Bechu (back)	"	"
207. Apron; s; front	Zinane (front)	4.9.35	"
238. Hemp, sample of uncrushed; used for smoking		5.9.35	"
242. Band, Chest; white; girl's; worn before marriage to show cattle had been paid for		5.9.35.	"
246. Ball red Ochre; mixed with grease and smeared on infant's forehead to prevent small pimples	Bonbu	7.9.35	" obtained Hlabisa
254. Belt; s; plaited		"	Manzibovu Hluhluwe Native Reserve

(1)

Fig. 66 Eth Doc 74 (first page)

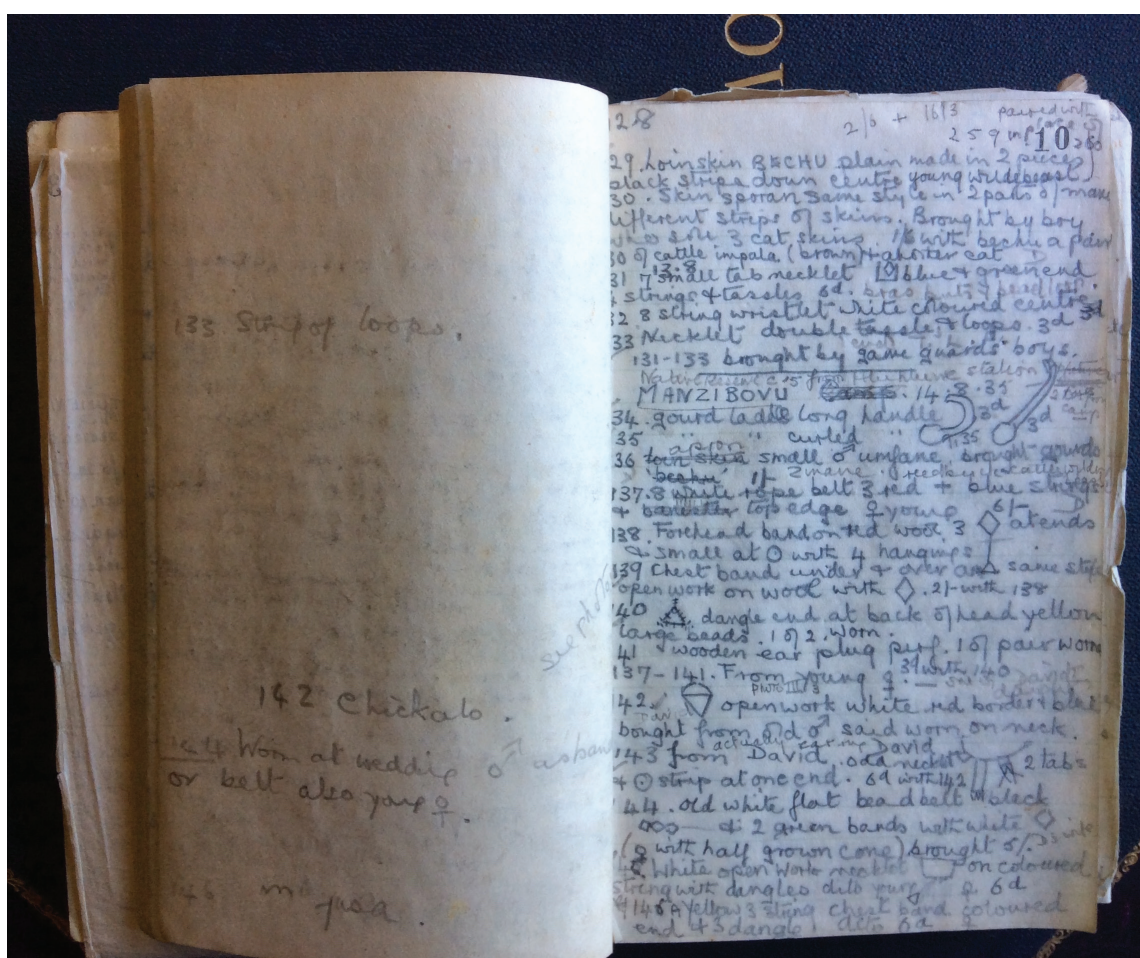
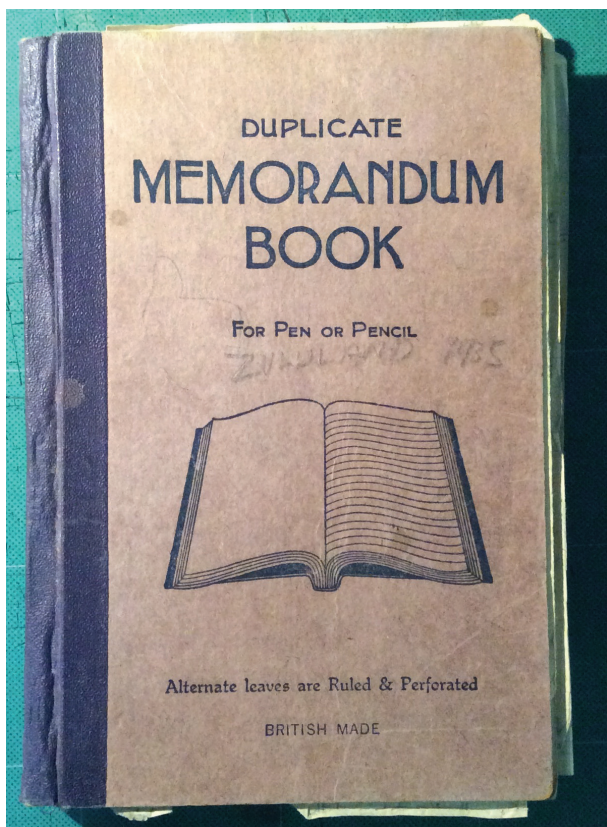


Fig. 67 Carbon Book: Antoinette Powell-Cotton's notebook containing a running list of objects acquired during the 1935 Zululand expedition (PCM)

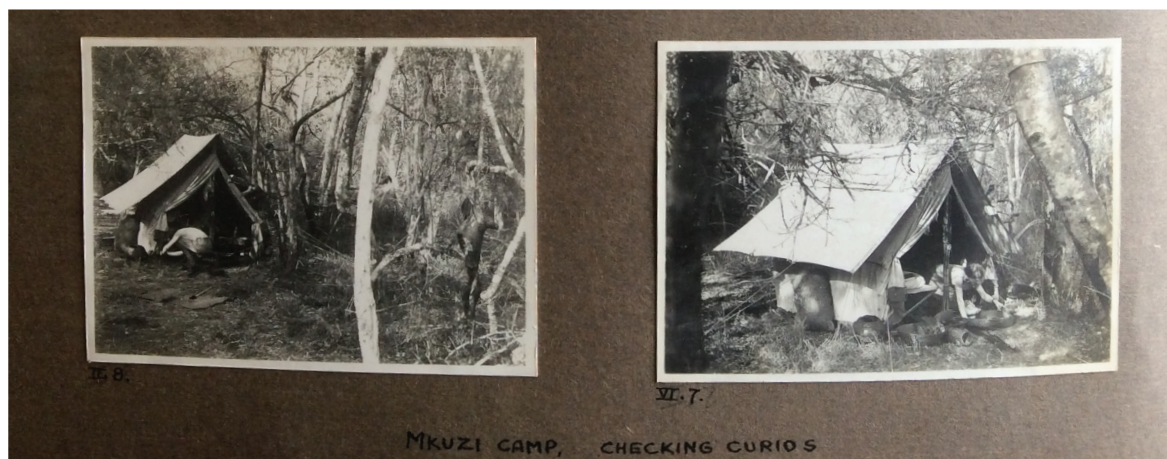


Fig. 68 'Checking [and Ticketing?] Curios': sequence of photographs showing Antoinette Powell-Cotton 'Checking Curios' back at camp (PCM 4.1.41 album: 24, detail showing II.8 and VI.7); detail of VI.7; example of a ticket still attached to an object (Af1936,0316.13* hairpin, bearing Powell-Cotton field number 425)

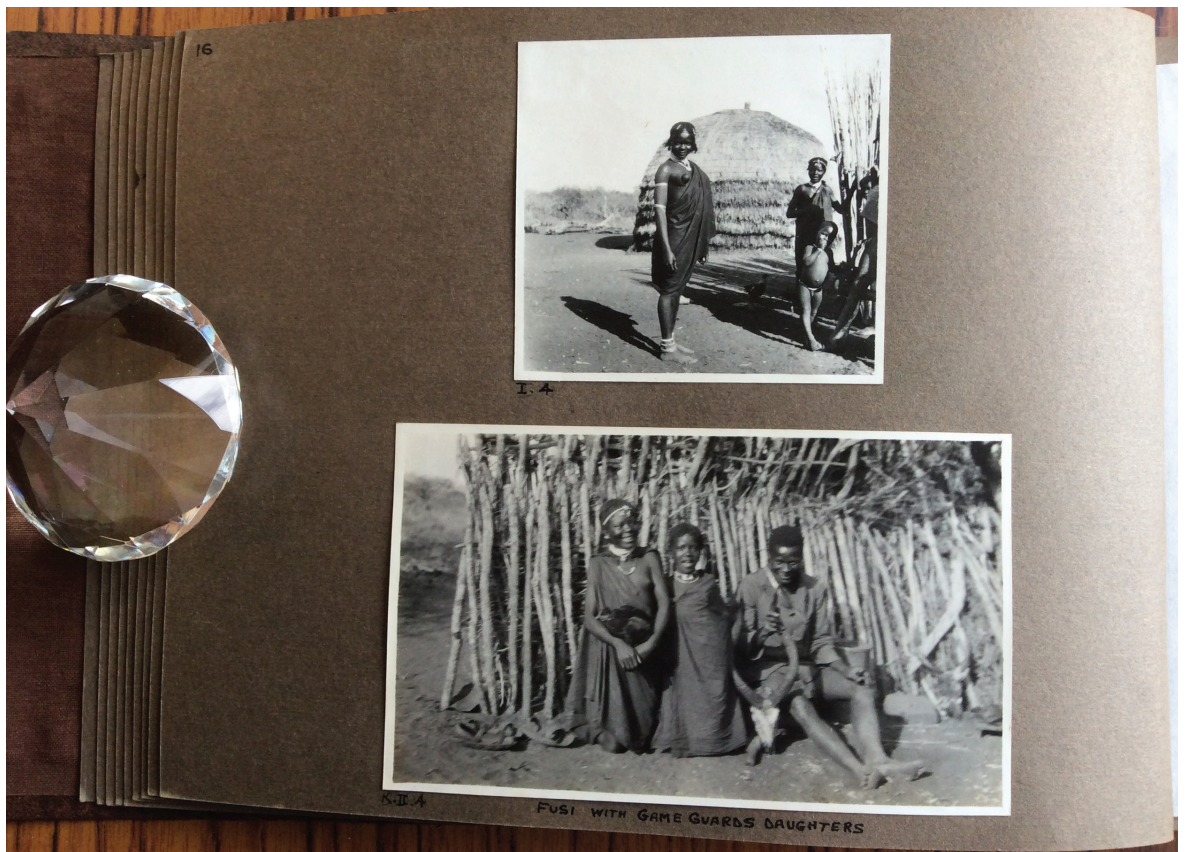


Fig. 70 Loscoche, the Game Guard's daughter, the '[s]martest girl who...wanted only money & would not sell many of her things': (L-R) Af,B41.30* (and detail); sequence of photographs (PCM album 4.1.41: 16, I.4 and K.II.4)

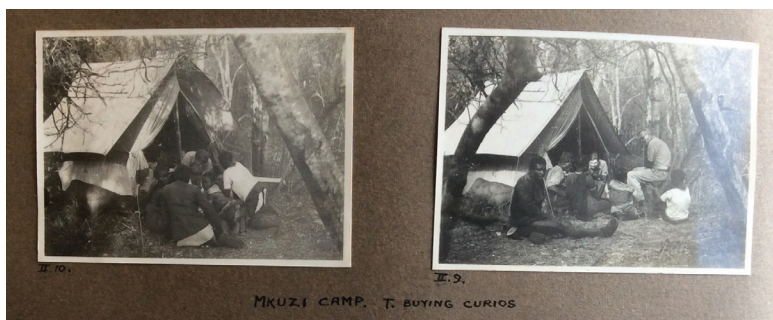


Fig. 71 'Buying Curios': (L-R) sequence of photographs (PCM album 4.1.41: 14, K.III.6 and K.III.5); photograph (PCM 4.1.41: 15, K.III.4); Af.B41.9*; sequence of photographs (PCM album 4.1.41: 24, II.10 and II.9); detail of II.9



Fig. 72 Af,B41.29*, Jesse's brother, the carver, wearing sandals (at left) (cf. sandals in Fig. 71, PCM album 4.1.41: 24)



Fig. 73 Wedding at 'M'pupuma': photograph (PCM album 4.1.41: 56, detail); photograph inscribed on reverse 'Wedding. Bride in centre with small shield as seen at Manzibomvu' (PCM unnumbered) (note same image as before); Af,B41.23* inscribed on reverse 'Hairdressing at Wedding'

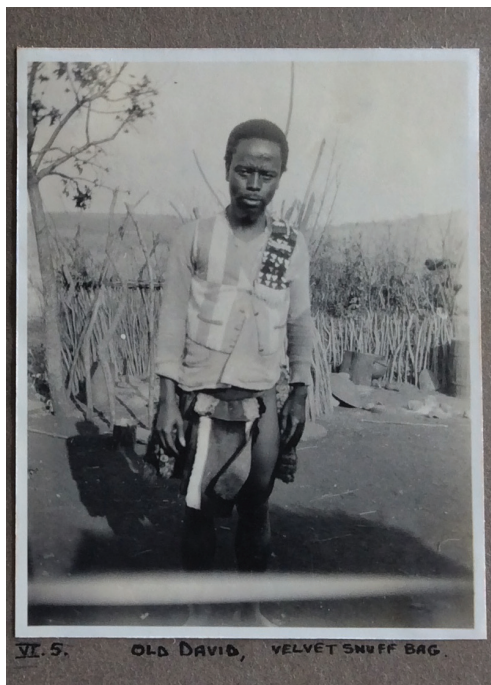
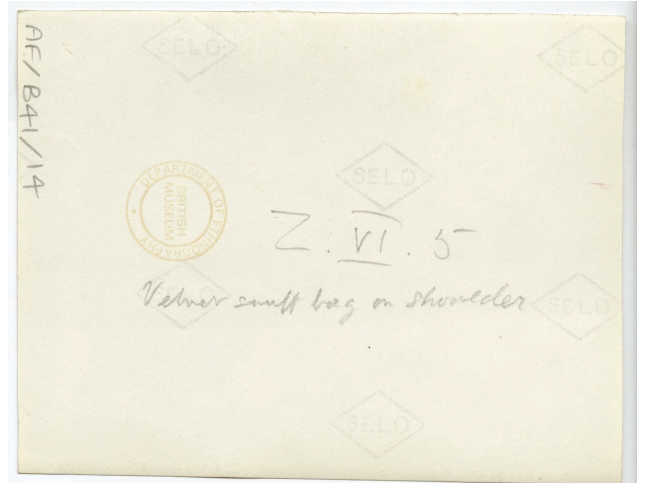


Fig. 74 David (probably David Gomo Zulu) wearing a velvet snuff-bag: (L-R) Af,B41.14* (front and back); 'VI.5. OLD DAVID, VELVET SNUFF BAG' (PCM album 4.1.41: 37, detail showing VI.5); cf. Af1936,0316.14* snuff bag



Fig. 75 Fusi kaMafoko (son of Mafoko): Major Powell-Cotton's 'skin man' (PCM album 4.1.41: 8, detail showing III.14) (see also Fig.70)

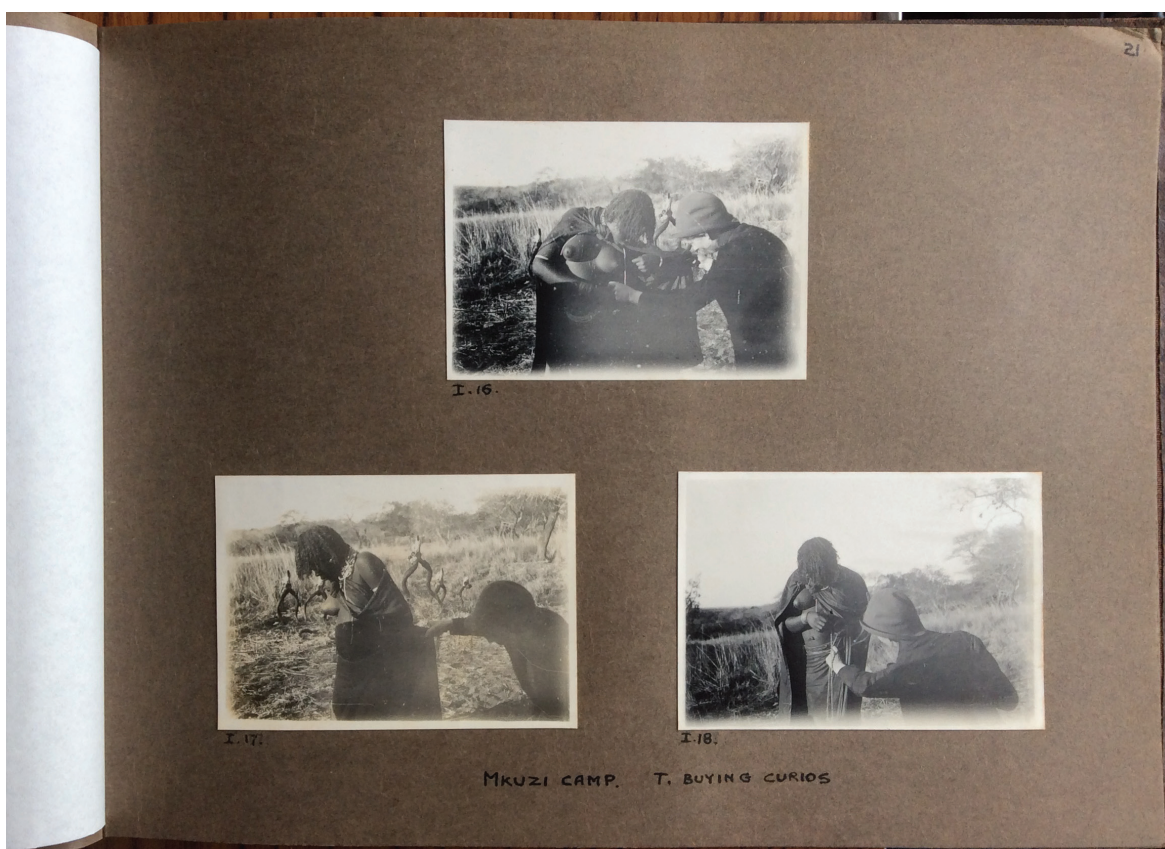
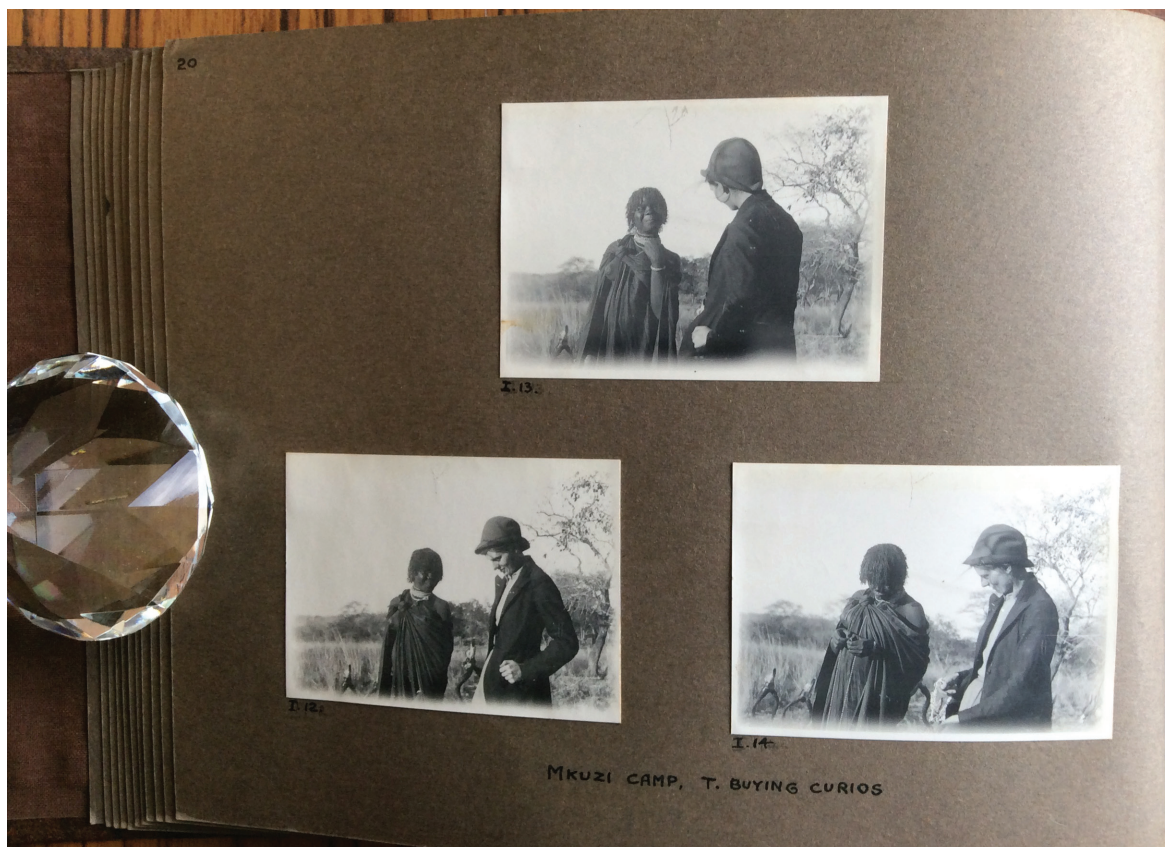


Fig. 76 Buying (more) 'curios' at close quarters: sequence of photographs (PCM album 4.1.41: 20, I.13-14 and 21, I.16-18)

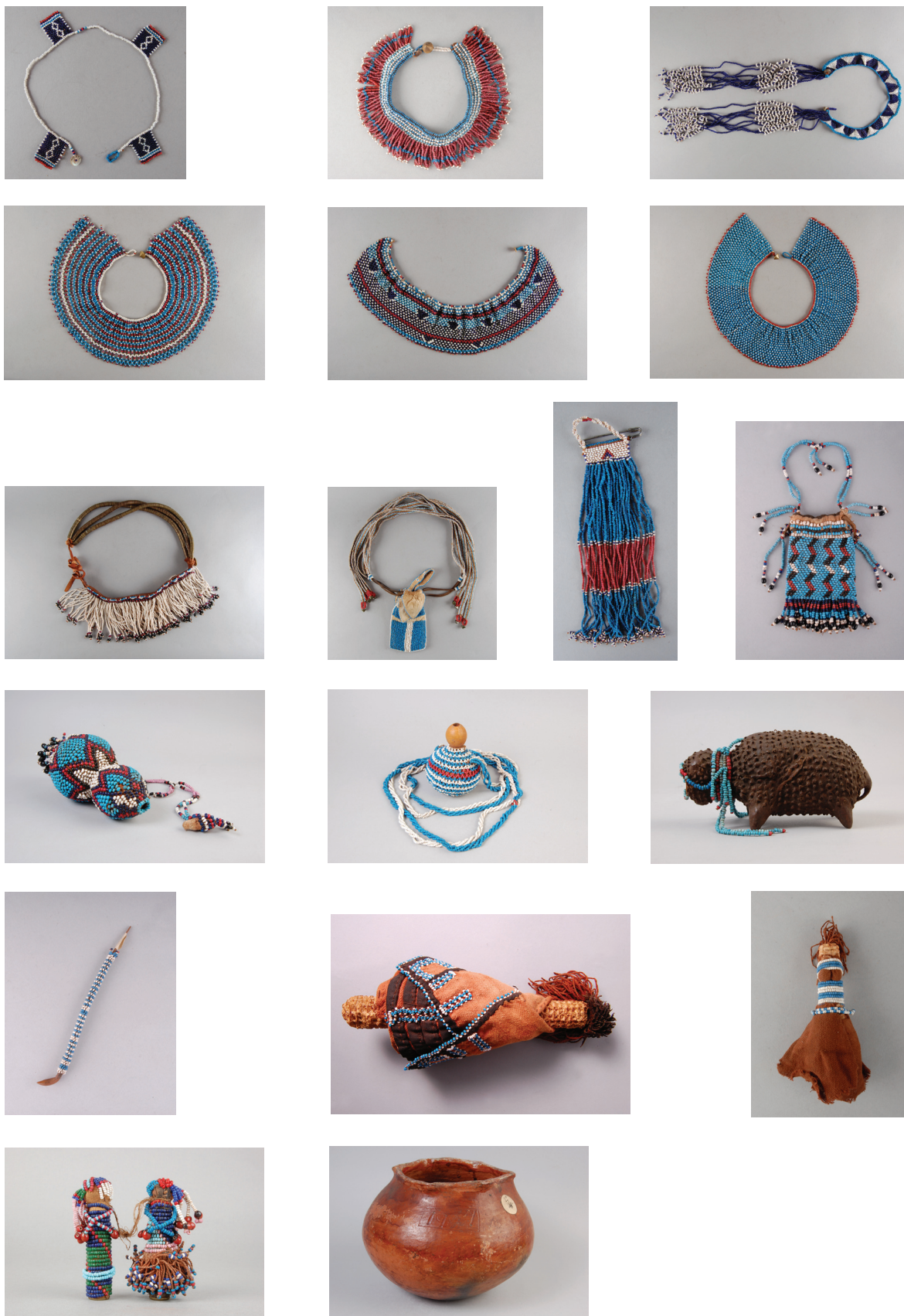


Fig. 77 A selection of objects from Frank Corner: (L-R) Af1933,0609.5* necklace; Af1933,0609.11* necklace; Af1933,0609.17* necklace; Af1933,0609.44* collar; Af1933,0609.47* collar; Af1933,0609.50* collar; Af1933,0609.61* apron; Af1933,0609.68* bag; Af1933,0609.82* blanket-pin; Af1933,0609.89* bag; Af1933,0609.92* snuff-container; Af1933,0609.94* snuff-container; Af1933,0609.104* snuff-container; Af1933,0609.122* snuff-spoon; Af1933,0609.134.a-b* corn figure; Af1933,0609.135* corn figure; Af1933,0609.137.a-b* pair of figures; Af1933,0609.141* pot



Fig. 78 Frank Cornner (1872—c.1959): unnumbered photograph showing Frank Cornner (at far right) standing with a group outside the Mission's primary school building (Wits HPRA AB653 Ee1.2: unpaginated)



Fig. 79 Some of the smoking-pipes: (L-R) Af1933,0609.32, 34, 36 and 37*

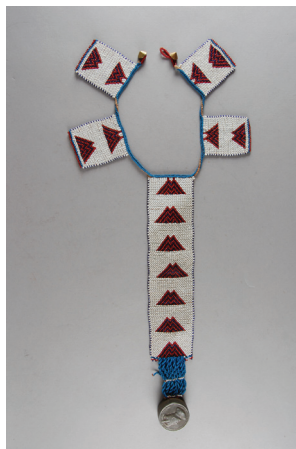


Fig. 80 Neck-ornaments with metal tins: (L-R) Af1933,0609.22-31*; detail of tins (Af1933,0609.28)

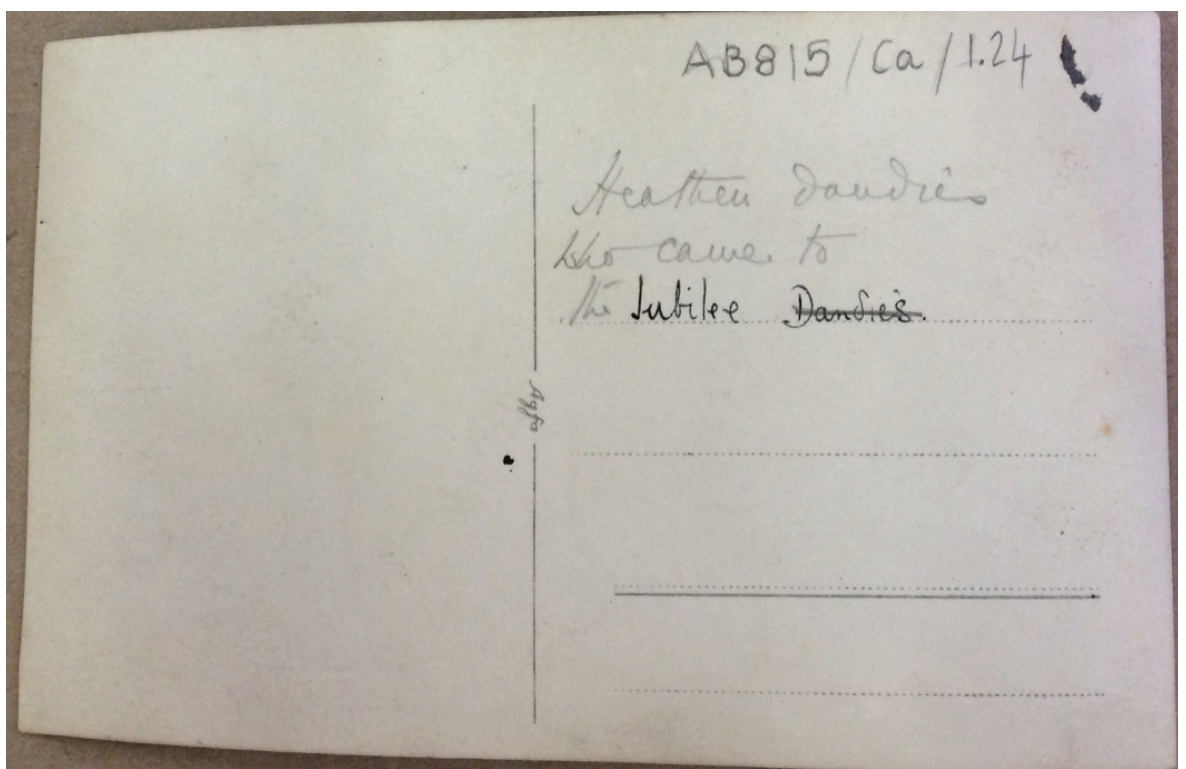


Fig. 81 'Jubilee Dandies'/'Heathen dandies who came to the Jubilee': photograph (front and back) (Wits HPRA AB815/Ca/1.24)



Fig. 82 'BAPEDI pottery [and other items]...offered by I.S. Wansbrough': Af,B35.3* and Af,B35.4*



Fig. 83 A selection of pots: (L-R) Af1933,0109.1-2 and 8-9*

Tables etc

Table 1: Departmental Responsibility for Ethnography Collections at the British Museum

Year (since:)	Department Name
	Natural and Artificial Productions
1807	Antiquities
1861	Oriental, British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography [with British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography as a sub-department of Oriental Antiquities]
1866	British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography
1921	Ceramics and Ethnography
1933	Oriental Antiquities and Ethnography [with Ethnography as a sub-department]
1946	Ethnography [Museum of Mankind 1970--1997]
2004	Africa, Oceania and the Americas [most of the former ethnography collections]

Table 2: Ethnography Keepers and Deputy Keepers at the British Museum to the 1960s*

Name	Dates	BM Dates	Department of First Appointment	Keeper/**Deputy Keeper Position and Dates	University Alma Mater
Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks	1826--1897	1851--1896	Antiquities	Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography 1866-1896	Cambridge
Sir Charles Hercules Read	1857--1929	[1874]1880--1921	British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography	Keeper 1896--1921	N/A
Ormonde Maddock Dalton	1866--1945	1895--1927	British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography	Keeper 1921--1927	Oxford
Robert Lockhart Hobson	1872--1941	1897--1938	British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography	Keeper of Ceramics and Ethnography (1921); Oriental Antiquities and Ethnography (1933)	Cambridge
Captain Thomas Athol Joyce	1878--1942	1902--1938	British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography	**Deputy Keeper of Ethnography 1921--1938	Oxford
Hermann Justus Braunholtz	1888--1963	1913--1953	British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography	Keeper of Oriental Antiquities and Ethnography (1938); Ethnography (1946)	Cambridge
Adrian Digby	1909--2001	1932--1969	Ceramics and Ethnography	Keeper of Ethnography 1953--1969	Oxford
William Buller Fagg	1914--1992	1938--1974	Oriental Antiquities and Ethnography	Keeper of Ethnography 1969--1974	Cambridge
Dr Bryan Allan Lefevre Cranstone	1918--1989	1947--1976	Ethnography	**Deputy Keeper of Ethnography (1969)	Cambridge

* Based on Caygill (2002)

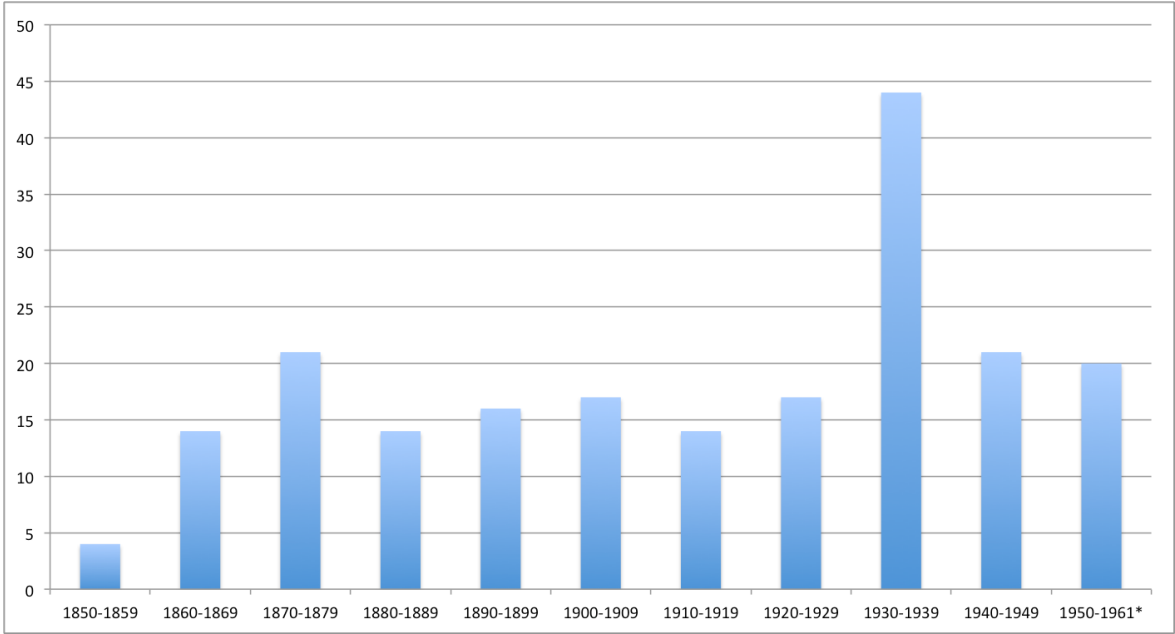
Table 3: South Africa Collections Ranked by Size, Top 15

Rank	BM Acquisition Source	Accession Date(s)	Donation or Purchase?	Approximate Total Number of SA Objects
1	Henry Christy	1866	Donation	350
2	Wellcome Historical Medical Museum**	1954	Donation	308
3	Sir Bartle Frere	1910	Donation	161
4	Frank Cornner	1933 & 1934	Donation	145
5	Hugh Cuming	1854 & 1859*	Purchase	104
6	Augustus Wollaston Franks	1868-1900*	Donation	104
7	Miss Powles	1870	Donation	103
8	Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew	1866-1960*	Donation	102
9	William Wareham	1866 & 1882	Purchase	101
10	London Missionary Society	1910 & 1911	Purchase	67
11	Percy Horace Gordon Powell-Cotton and Antoinette Powell-Cotton	1936	Donation	61
12	Dr Henry H. Sturge	1923*	Donation	49
13	Mrs Wharton	1947	Donation	45
14	Miss Joy Elvy	1929	Donation	43
15	John Currey	1867 & 1868*	Donation	43

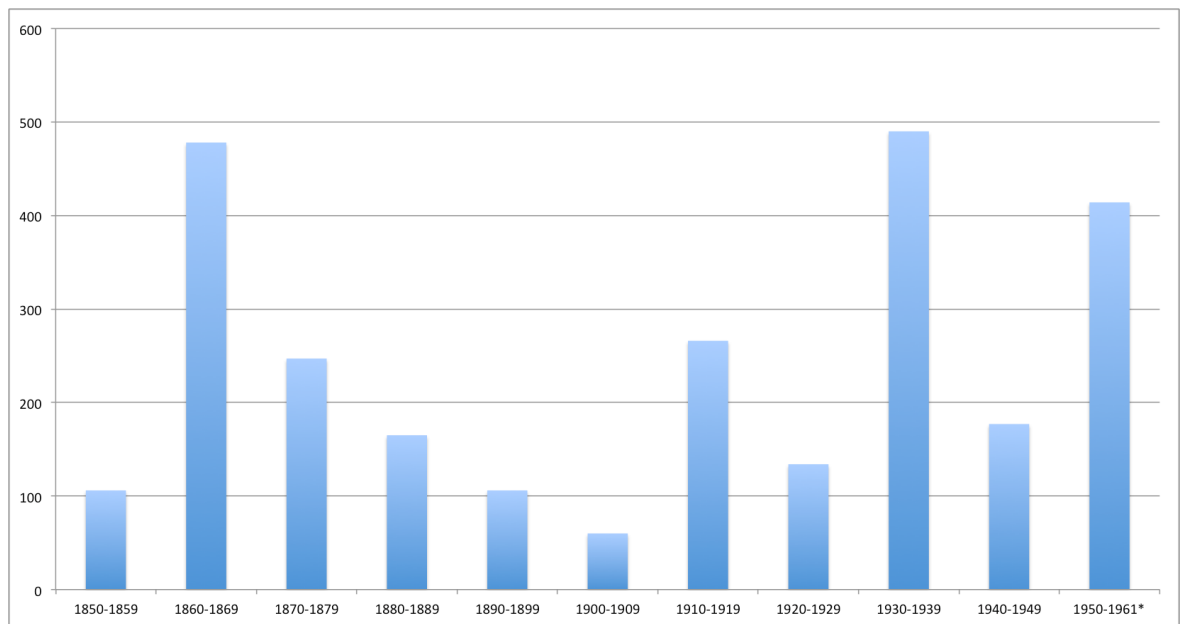
* Denotes more than one accession event; figures exclude objects with an unknown acquisition source.

** Only a few SA objects registered seemingly at the time, the remaining objects were formally accessioned later. Wellcome therefore skews the figures for the period concerned.

Graph 1: South Africa Collections at the British Museum to 1961: Number of Accession Events by Decade



Graph 2: South Africa Collections at the British Museum to 1961: Approximate Number of Objects Accessioned by Decade



Graph 2a: South Africa Collections at the British Museum to 1961: Approximate Number of Objects Accessioned by Decade, Excluding Wellcome Historical Medical Museum Additions

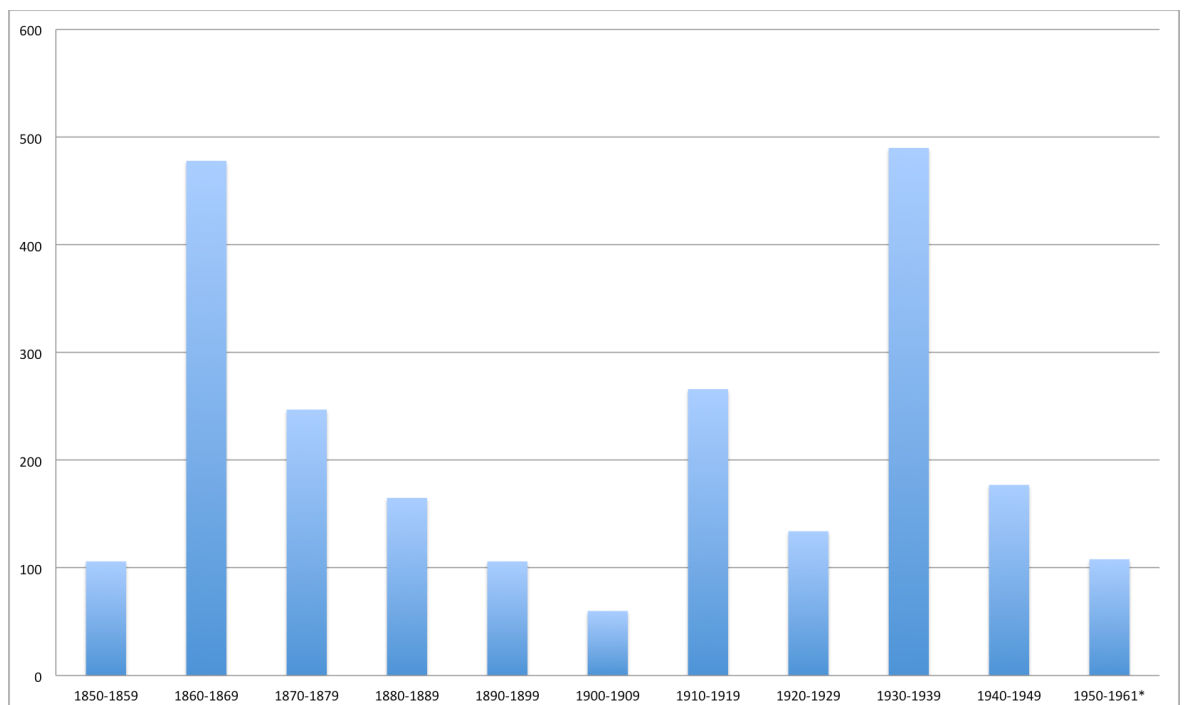


Chart 1: South Africa Collections at the British Museum to 1961: Donations vs Purchases etc per Accession Event

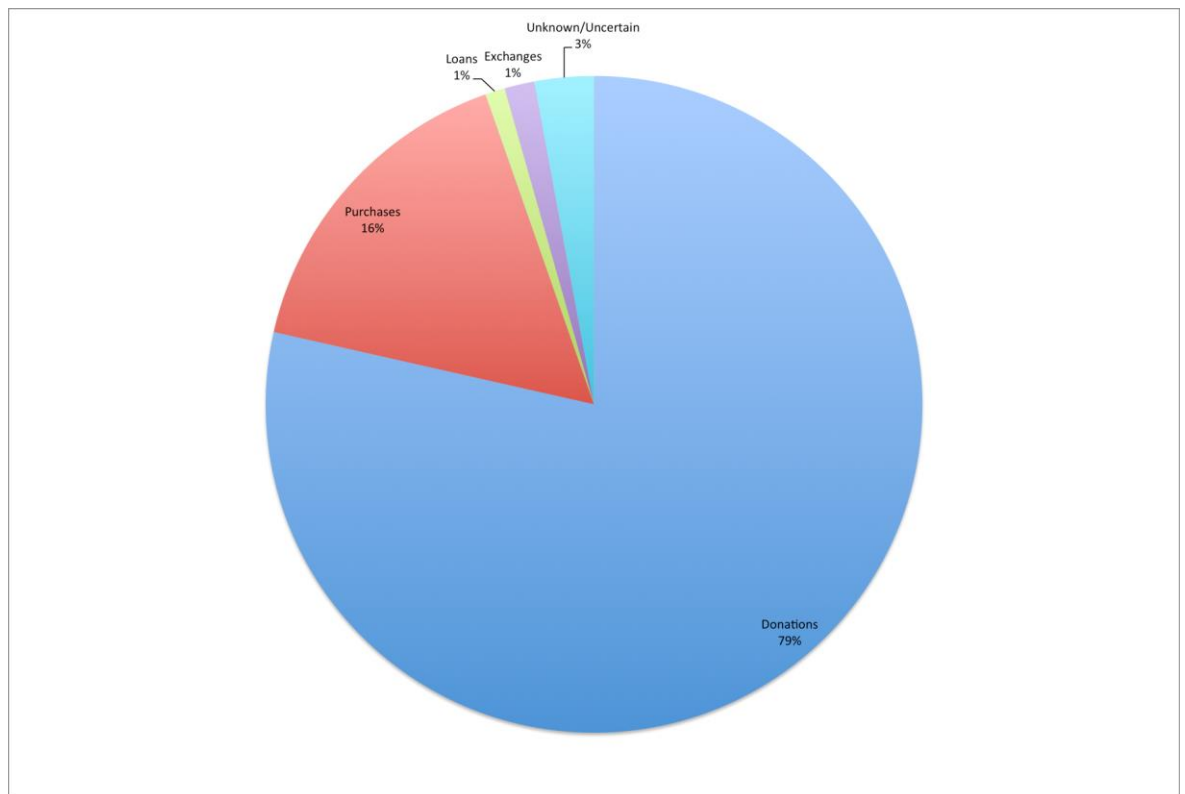


Chart 2: South Africa Collections at the British Museum to 1961: Gender of Donor/Vendor/etc

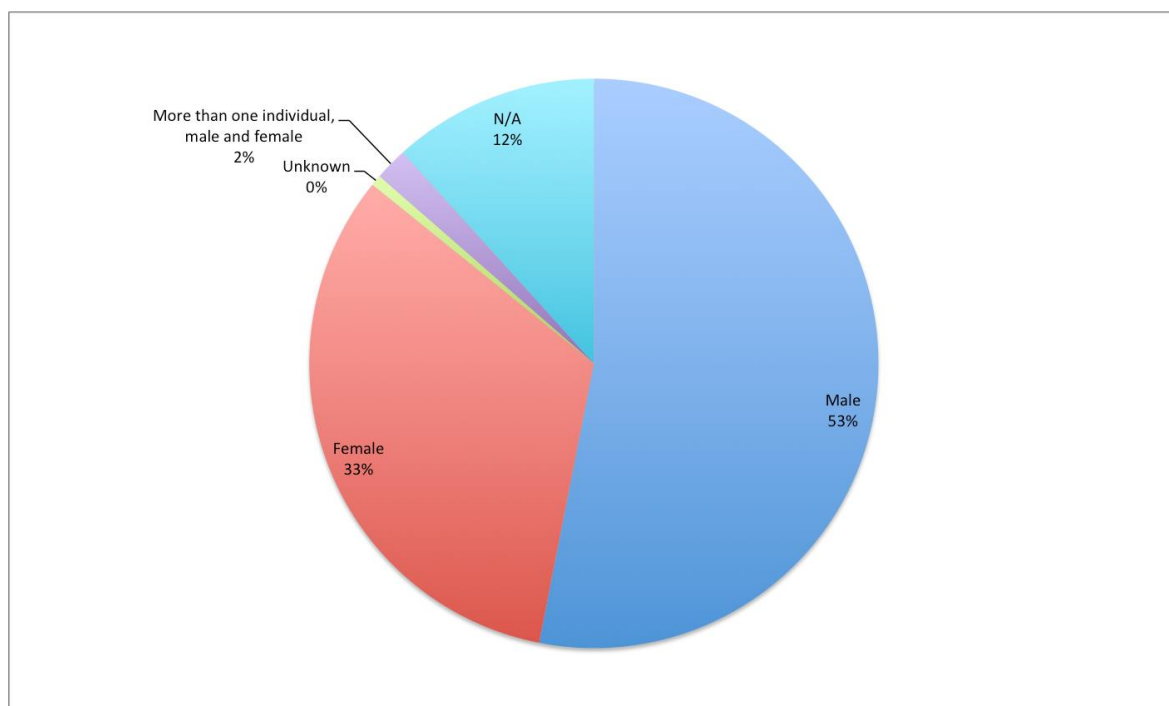


Chart 3: South Africa Collections at the British Museum to 1961: Gender of Donor/Vendor/etc, Excluding Institutions

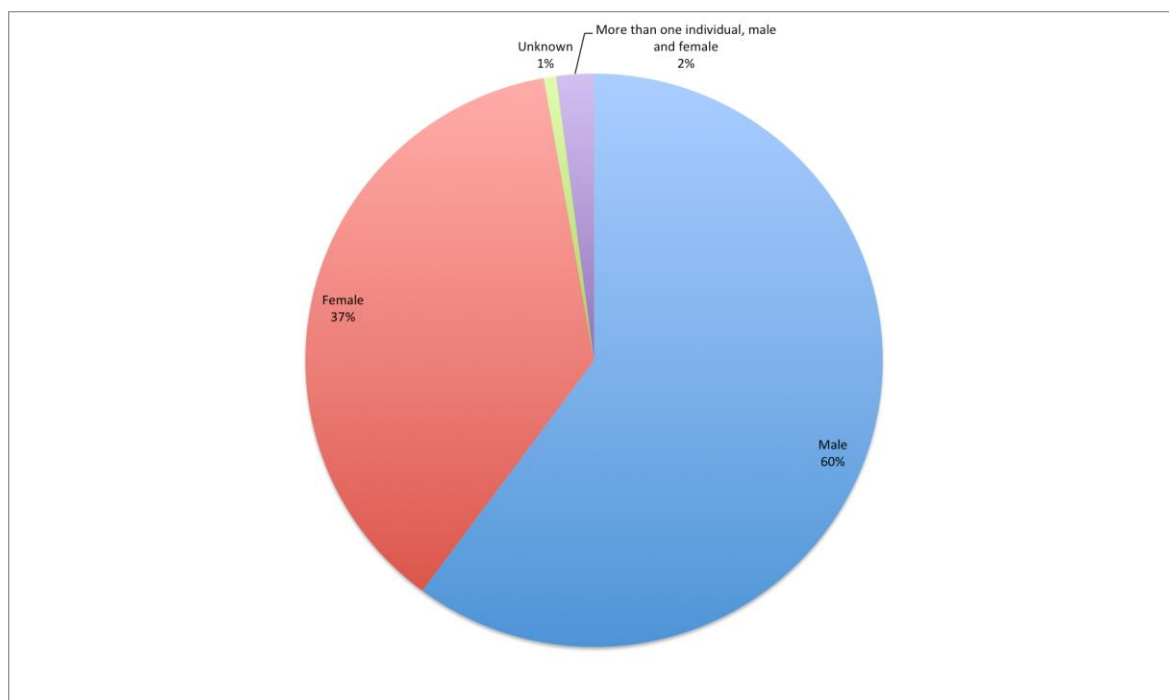
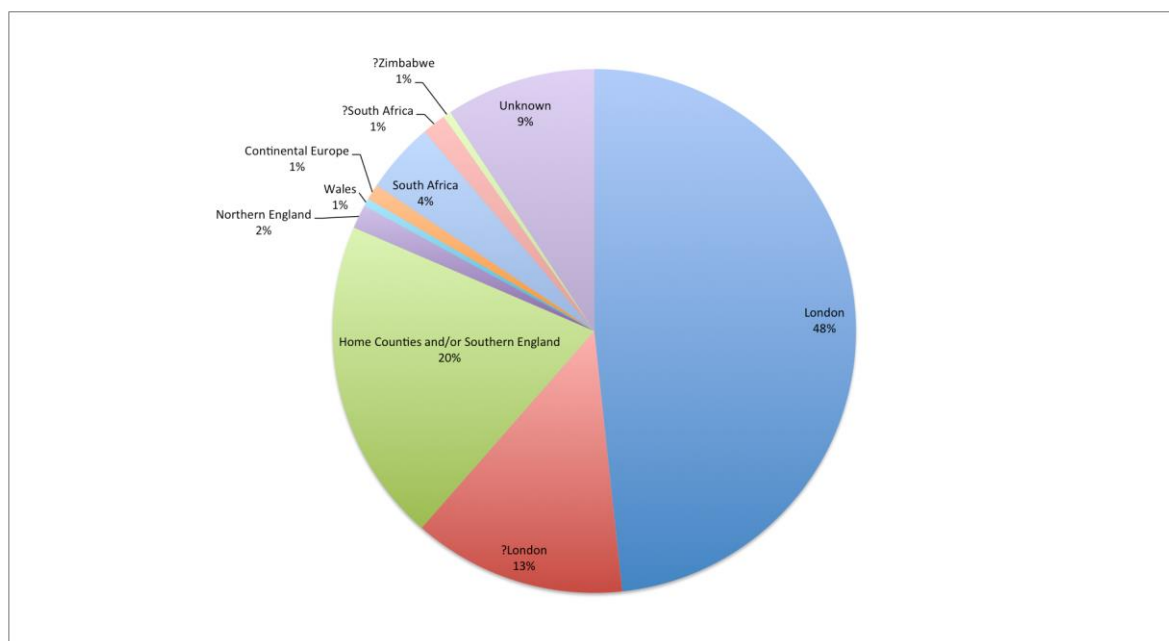


Chart 4: South Africa Collections at the British Museum to 1961: Collections by Sending Location



Appendix A

Af1933,0609. ‘Jubilee’ beadwork from the Eastern Cape: The ?Tsolo/St Cuthbert’s Mission/Frank Cornner Collection

Originating from the Tsolo area of the Eastern Cape, this collection of around 145 beadwork and other items – mainly of personal adornment and use, including necklaces, snuff-containers and tobacco smoking-pipes – was assembled by Frank Cornner, a layman working at a local Christian mission (**Fig. 77**). Placed with the BM in the early 1930s through the National Art Collections Fund (NACF) (Cornner subsequently placed another small group of objects, Af1934,0305., directly with the Museum), the collection was immediately biographised as ‘interesting and well documented’ (NACF 885 ‘Offer of Gift’: no page number) and as a ‘series [that] gives a comprehensive idea of the range of native work in beads’ (NACF 885 13th annual report: no page number).¹ Of late the collection has received a fair amount of attention. It has been the subject of two journal articles (Nettleton 2013; 2015) and the BM’s recent exhibition, *South Africa: The Art of a Nation* (27/10/2016—26/02/2017), featured no fewer than seven items from the collection.² However, in attempting to create a backstory for the assemblage, the archive has, to date, not yielded a single name of an African person associated with it – neither that of a maker, user nor seller. So why discuss the collection here?

Anitra Nettleton suggests that this assemblage presents ‘an unusually coherent collection of beadwork...in relation to collecting practices’ (2013: 36) and asserts that ‘identities of the donor and collector ...[are] important to an understanding of any collection’s significance’ (2013: 38). This case study attempts to shine further light on the collection, mostly through close examination of letters mainly housed at Iziko South African Museum, Cape Town (SAM) to see what they reveal about Cornner’s collecting motives, aims, methods and procedures and what this, in turn, tells us about the collection and the archive.³ In discussing the collection, Nettleton questions its validity as archive – rightly

¹ The NACF (now Art Fund) assigned this collection with Review Number 885. It was reported in their 13th annual report. A paper file for the Cornner gift exists, although the Art Fund keeps digital copies of such files for ease of access (the physical archive being held by Tate). I am grateful to Emma Coleman at the Art Fund for providing me with a copy of Cornner’s digital file and for answering my additional questions (pers. comm. 28/11/2016). All in-text references to ‘NACF’ refer to the Art Fund’s file.

² Additionally, the objects are discussed and illustrated in the exhibition catalogue (Giblin and Spring 2016).

³ The full reference for Iziko SAM’s correspondence between Cornner and Ethnology curator, E.M. Shaw, is as follows: SAM Ethno. Correspondence File 3: 1934-1939 nos 230, 235, 236, 240, 245, 257 and 283 (all apparently previously numbered ‘C. 135’), but for brevity here these have been shortened to ‘Iziko’ in the in-text citations.

finding it to be ‘unreliable’ as a repository of cultural identity, ‘of Mpondomisi culture in particular...or of a putative more widely defined Xhosa-speakers’ culture’ (2013: 48). Here this is regarded as a given, and the concept of archive is developed in other ways. By exploring what might be termed the ‘extended archive’ or ‘archive at large’, especially necessary given the dearth of information at the BM relevant to the collection, African agency in the formation of the collection becomes apparent. One also encounters other presences, that is to say, other forms of agency that further act to place the collection within a specific historical context and timeframe. The identity of the collector is also shown to be important to an understanding of the archive. In considering the beadwork collection, archival material held by numerous institutions in the UK and in SA will be discussed.

A.1 A many-cornered archive: ‘Please kindly note the spelling of my name with two N’s’⁴

By his own admission, Cornner formed ‘many collections’ (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 04/02/1936). As far as it is known, a number were placed in the UK – at the BM (1933 and 1934), the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (PRM) (1923) and with two missionary societies –⁵ and at least two in SA – at the SAM (1935–1948) and with the East London Museum (ELM) in the Eastern Cape (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 30/02/1936; see also Nettleton 2015).⁶ Here, the study focuses on material pertinent to the BM collection, held across sites in the UK and in SA. The study considers documentation held by the BM (within the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas (AOA) as well as in the Department of Britain, Europe and Prehistory (BEP)); the NACF (held digitally by the NACF and physically by Tate); the Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA) archive, now lodged in the William Cullen Library at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (Wits) within the Wits Historical Papers Research Archive (Wits HPRA); and at Iziko SAM, Cape Town. Understanding more about Frank Cornner, the collector, helps account for this ‘archival spread’.

⁴ Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18 & 21/12/1935.

⁵ Possibly now dispersed.

⁶ The East London Museum (ELM) in SA unfortunately falls beyond the scope of this study as getting there in person was beyond my fieldwork budget. The collection there warrants further research. According to Nandipha Mlonyeni, an anthropologist working at the ELM, Cornner is recorded as having donated 22 items of amaMpondomise beadwork to the ELM, as well as a few pieces of amaMpondo and abaThembu manufacture, although there is no record of any photographs or letters from Cornner (pers. comm. Nandipha Mlonyeni, 07/09/2017). The Museum was established in 1921 (du Preez 1982: 30) and Cornner deposited the collection there before 1933 (NACF F. Cornner to the Secretary [D. Meldrum], 21/05/1933).

Until recently, relatively little was known about Cornner, not least owing to some confusion over his name.⁷ However, it is in fact thanks to his rather unusual name, as well as a letter he wrote in 1933 to the NACF, that it is possible to establish that he was very probably born in the UK, in Bedford, during the second quarter of 1872.⁸ He is recorded in a CPSA manuscript deposited at Wits as having worked at St Cuthbert's Mission for over sixty years, from 1897 until 1959 (possibly the year of his death) as a layman, specifically as 'Teacher, Steward, Post-Master, etc.' (Wallace 1960: 12, Wits HPRA AB799/Ec3) (**Fig. 78**).⁹ As a non-ordained member of staff – and one senses something of a factotum – Cornner would have worked alongside the brethren of the Society of Saint John the Evangelist (SSJE), the Anglican religious order responsible for running the Mission.

An early twentieth-century missionary society account describes St Cuthbert's with picturesque flourish as being located 'some fifteen miles distant' from the regional capital Umtata (today Mthatha) just '[n]ine miles to the south-west' of Tsolo (Paget 1913: 98). Described as 'a small village of about 150 people mostly European', Tsolo nonetheless 'form[ed] with the outlying districts a good centre for work among the Pondomisi [Mpondomise]' (Paget 1913: 98), isiXhosa-speakers whom early missionaries considered 'very wild' (Schofield c.1960: 1, Wits HPRA AB894).

By the mid-1930s the Mission was large, encompassing St Cuthbert's Mission church, St Lucy's Hospital as well as various buildings for staff and the black (and fewer 'coloured')¹⁰ students in attendance at the Mission's schools and training facilities (Nettleton 2013: 39).¹¹ By the middle of Cornner's tenure, these included an 'Industrial Native School' and a 'Housecraft School'.¹² Additionally, the Mission had a growing number of outstations

⁷ The BM's database incorrectly attributes the collections to another collector, Dr Frank Corner, and this information is replicated in Giblin and Spring (2016). It is presumably the database alone that led Nettleton initially on a 'wild goose-chase' as no other 'BM records' of which I am aware feature this error (Nettleton 2013: 48, fns 4 and 8). Nettleton has done much to shed further light on the collector and the collection.

⁸ The birth of a Frank Cornner was recorded in the Bedford district in the June of that year. See www.freebmd.org.uk (last accessed 12/04/2017). In 1932 Cornner wrote to the NACF asking for their annual report to be sent to him at an address in Bedford (NACF F. Cornner to the Secretary [D. Meldrum], 10/11/1932).

⁹ Here and following the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg has been abbreviated to Wits HPRA, followed by the relevant Wits HPRA collection number. In the preamble, Wallace thanks 'Mr Cornner, who revised it [the MSS] with me very shortly before his death' (Wallace 1960: no page, Wits HPRA AB799/Ec3), which suggests Cornner died sometime between 1959 and early 1960.

¹⁰ The coloured (i.e. mixed-race) children had a separate school, St Augustine's (Nettleton 2013: 39).

¹¹ Although the Mission itself has closed, the church and hospital continue to operate, the latter under state administration.

¹² See Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 03/06/1937 and 29/09/1938 respectively.

within a ten-mile radius (Pendleton 2009: 3), visited by clergy on horseback (Nettleton 2013: 39).

A.2 The mission/collecting field (in the archive) and the collector

It is against this backdrop that Cornner assembled the collection now housed in the BM as well as museums elsewhere. Cornner's career at the Mission in many ways accounts for the placement of collections in Oxford and London. It was during his furlough in 1923 that the PRM collection was placed – the SSJE was founded in Oxford and operated from there and it is quite likely that Cornner visited that Museum when in the city.¹³ During the same period of leave, Cornner visited the BM and it seems decided to form a collection for the Museum, which was placed there during his following furlough ten years later. During this second visit home discussed here, and possibly also the first, Cornner stayed at St Edward's House,¹⁴ the SSJE's erstwhile London monastery,¹⁵ which was within relatively easy reach of the BM. Similarly, the SSJE had a mission in Cape Town,¹⁶ which helps account for Cornner's movements between these centres and for the placement of collections there. Unlike Oxford¹⁷ and London,¹⁸ where documentation is scant, Cape Town is key to an understanding of the collection. Further documents held by the NACF in London help to shed further light on the BM acquisition in particular, while documents and photographs from the archive of the CPSA housed at Wits provide further information about the Mission and Cornner's life there.¹⁹

The veritable trove of correspondence between Cornner and Miss Ella Margaret Shaw, ethnology curator at the SAM in Cape Town and housed there proves invaluable.

¹³ It was founded there in 1866 (<http://www.lambethpalacelibrary.org/content/society-saint-john-evangelist>) (last accessed 29/10/2018). A CPSA photograph at Wits shows an 'African Altar, made at St Cuthbert's & sent to SSJE, Oxford' (Wits HPRA AB1653/Ee1.2), demonstrating the link between the Mission and Oxford.

¹⁴ The accessions register for the 1933 acquisition gives this address for the collector.

¹⁵ The monastery was closed in 2012 and the building at 22 Great College Street incorporated into Westminster School (https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmXoypizjW3WknFiJnKLwHCnL72vedxjQkDDP1mXWo6uco/wiki/Westminster_school.html#cite_note-60) (last accessed 29/10/2018).

¹⁶ In her initial letter to the Cornner, the curator at the SAM, Miss E. M. Shaw suggests that a 'Dr. Barnard' put her in touch with the collector regarding his offer to collect for the Museum (Iziko E.M. Shaw to F. Cornner, 12/06/1935). I have not been able to establish whether Dr Barnard was a member of staff at the Museum (for example, Dr. T.T. Barnard – see Brauholtz case study, Chapter 5) or perhaps a medical doctor working at the Mission.

¹⁷ My thanks to Philip Grover, Assistant Curator, Photograph and Manuscript Collections at the PRM for confirming this following my research visit there (pers. comm. 15/02/2017).

¹⁸ Information at the BM is largely restricted to what is recorded in the acquisitions register.

¹⁹ I can claim a personal connection to St Cuthbert's, albeit tenuous, through a relative, Mr Arthur B. Ewins, who was also a layman at the Mission between 1927 and 1963 (see Wallace 1960: 10, with subsequent handwritten annotations). Ewins was my maternal grandfather's cousin (I am grateful to my mother, Joy Elliott, for this information).

Although the letters, written over a 13-year period between mid-1935 and late 1948 strictly pertain to the subsequent collections Cornner formed for that institution, they nonetheless give some insight into his collecting motives, aims, methods and practices, which presumably remained relatively constant.

A.2.1 Collecting motives

Close reading of the some 60 letters, reveals that Cornner seems to have genuinely appreciated the inherent artistry of local beadwork and found it aesthetically pleasing.²⁰ His self-proclaimed interest in beadwork, in particular, evidently lead him to collect, an activity from which he derived great enjoyment. Writing to Shaw on one occasion, he states that '[i]t has been my privilege to make a number of collections' (more about which later), but that 'the *pleasure* to me has been the collecting together of these specimens of native art' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 20/02/1936, emphasis mine). (Cornner uses terms such as 'Native curios' (or simply 'curios'), but also 'Native Art' and, less often, 'native handicraft', seemingly interchangeably.) He was also motivated to salvage what he deemed 'an art which is fast dying out' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18/02/1936) and which was 'getting very much more scarce', due to the converts' refusal to wear beadwork and the high cost of beads themselves (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 08/07/1935). Nettleton (2013) has succinctly written about the inherent irony in this aspect of Cornner's collecting, implicit in other Christian missionary or mission-related collections. Cornner was attracted to the very objects that symbolised what, in the eyes of the Mission, needed to change – beadwork having been made and used by the 'reds' (i.e. unconverted, non-Christian, isiXhosa-speakers referred to as such on account of their custom of rubbing red ochre on themselves and their apparel) – rather than to Mission-produced crafts.²¹

Another important motive for collecting appears to be borne out of a sense of compassion. In discussing what he terms the 'natives disposing of their treasures' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 16/09/1937), Cornner says that 'they will only sell in times of scarcity, sacrificing their adornments for food' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 08/07/1935).²² That beadwork, in particular, was utilised as a kind of currency in times of need, specifically

²⁰ Some are postcards, but most are longer. In addition to these, there is a letter written by the Museum Director to Cornner in Shaw's absence (04/07/1938).

²¹ For example items made in the 'Industrial Native School'. It should be noted that Cornner did however collect some examples of such material, for example 'baskets and pots from the school', which he sent to the SAM (Iziko E.M. Shaw to F. Cornner, 11/06/1937). Of the BM collection it is possible that the small earthenware vessel (the only example of pottery in the collection) with an unusually scalloped neck, Af1933,0609.141, was made on the Mission.

²² Cornner uses the term 'treasures' numerous times to describe beadwork (see for example Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 12/08/1936, 16/08/1937 and 05/12/1937).

when food was scarce, is apparent.²³ Cornner, for his part, makes it abundantly clear that he always *bought* beadwork, presumably for cash (rather than via other means, such as barter or exchange).²⁴ Cornner's generosity – that he purchased the objects and then apparently gifted them – is all the more remarkable given that he was a man of modest means.²⁵

A.2.2 Collecting methods and practices

Compassion aside, one also gets the distinct impression of Cornner as a selective, rather than an indiscriminate, buyer – he seems to have had an eye for 'good specimens', as his pronouncements on aspects such as quality and workmanship suggest (e.g. Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 04/12/1935). Similarly, he seems to have had something of a nose for a bargain – savvy enough to realize that appearing too keen on obtaining any particular kind of object could push up asking prices. Tellingly, in a response to Shaw's request for specific items, Cornner advises: 'if they think you really want them, then you must pay their price, but if they know you may perhaps buy them, & they are in need, then you can get them at a fairly reasonable price' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 16/01/1936).

Cornner seems to have done the bulk of his purchasing on Mission soil from 'reds'. Despite their not having been resident at St Cuthbert's, Cornner refers to these people as 'our natives' because,²⁶ in the broader sense, they were the Africans among whom Cornner lived and worked and whom the Mission sought to convert.²⁷ Photographs from the CPSA archive, now lodged in the William Cullen Library at Wits, are helpful here.²⁸ They show 'reds' visiting the Mission and include images entitled 'Outpatients', 'Red Girls', 'Red Men', 'Pumpkin Sellers' and 'Bean Sellers'.²⁹ In all cases the visitors' bodies are suitably covered, as was Mission requirement, albeit not always in clothing in European terms (e.g. blankets), and often articles of beadwork are clearly visible.

²³ See for example Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 30/11/1936 and 16/09/1937.

²⁴ It is noteworthy that in every case Cornner seems to have purchased the objects he mentions (see for example Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 04/12/1935, 07/03/1936, 13/03/1936, 14/05/1936, 10/09/1936, 30/11/1936 and 11/12/1936 inter alia).

²⁵ See in particular his letters to E.M. Shaw 5/12/1935 and 04/02/1936. In the first he mentions the expense of postage and in the second apologises for reusing old envelopes in his letters to her. In an earlier letter (21/05/1933), addressed to the NACF, he appears to state that his annual salary is £40.

²⁶ See for example Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 04/12/1935.

²⁷ For example, Cornner advises Shaw not to confuse the 'Pondos' with the 'Pondomisi', the latter he says, 'among whom I live and work' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18/02/1936).

²⁸ Since 2006 the CPSA has been known as the Anglican Church of Southern African (http://www.archivalplatform.org/registry/entry/church_of_province_of_south_africa_records_and_collections/) (last accessed 29/10/2018).

²⁹ See Wits HPRA AB815/C.

In the letters passed between Cornner and Shaw, it is possible to obtain a fairly good picture of Cornner's collecting methods and what might be called his collecting practices. On countless occasions he writes of items being brought to him for sale,³⁰ in a sense not unlike the pumpkins and beans mentioned above, and also refers to waiting once for 'word to circulate' when seeking specific items (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 16/01/1936). Cornner also took the opportunity to acquire objects opportunistically. For example, he describes persuading a woman he saw in the post office to sell him an unusual 'little necklace' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 16/01/1936).³¹ Additionally, he also mentions purchasing items, '2 specimens of native beadwork', at least in one instance, 'at a sale of work on the Mission' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 05/12/1937) (and while away from the Mission on holiday elsewhere in the Eastern Cape (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 25/08/1940)).³² Unlike sewing, beadwork was apparently not a skill taught at St Cuthbert's or other missions in SA (Nettleton 2015: 25). Therefore, any beadwork Cornner may have purchased at the Mission cannot be regarded as Mission products – even if, like a number of small 'dolls', it was intended for sale to whites.

Much of the beadwork would have borne traces of ochre, Cornner suggesting it 'becomes discoloured through wear: from contact with red ochre on the body [of the wearer]' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 03/11/1936). Cornner's letters reveal his habit of disinfecting and washing beadwork. He advises: '[a]s a rule, I put them, as purchased, into disinfectant, & then scrub them in cold water for cleanliness & to bring out better the colour & pattern' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 04/02/1936).³³ His stated reason for disinfecting the beadwork is to prevent the spread of 'typhus & other diseases... prevalent in these parts [of the Eastern Cape]' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 04/02/1936), which he would have presumably been aware of at St Lucy's Hospital, which was part of the Mission.

³⁰ See for example Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 14/05/1936, 11/12/1936, 16/09/1937 and 15/11/1941. In one particular letter Cornner mentions having an office – and of admiring the belts worn by a 'young dandy' who had just been there (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18/02/1936).

³¹ It is not clear if that would have been the Mission's own post office – presumably the 'our post office' he mentions in a later letter (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 09/03/1938) or in the post office in Tsolo. The Mission's post office is visible in a couple of photographs (see for example a photograph in Wits HPRA AB653/Ee1.2, which shows the primary school class and Cornner photographed in 1898).

³² Nettleton states that in 1937 '[a] small "museum" of beadwork was still visible at St. Cuthbert's' (Nettleton 2015: 22). She also mentions that, according to the correspondence, housed elsewhere, of another Mission worker, Alethea Graham, that 1936 was a famine year and, quoting Graham, that 'Sr Superior bought a number [of items of beadwork] and sells them, giving the money to the people' (Nettleton 2015: 22). It is possible that the 'museum' was a display of items for sale and where Cornner purchased some items.

³³ See also, for example, Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 04/12/1935.

A.2.3 Collecting aims

Cornner's reasons for collecting, as well as some of his methods and practices, are perhaps more apparent, and indeed more clearly articulated, than his intentions. Cornner tells Shaw that it is 'a real pleasure' to gift to the SAM, but surely there is more to it than that.³⁴

As already suggested, Cornner saw himself as conducting something of a salvage operation. It is perhaps partly for this reason that, starting in the early 1900s, he 'made several collections' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 08/07/1935), all of which he seems to have placed in museum and other collections for preservation,³⁵ where, one senses, he thought they would be valued.³⁶ In a letter to Shaw, Cornner refers to the 'many years & the many collections' he has made (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 04/02/1936) and later reveals that he gave collections to the BM, the PRM, the ELM and to '2 different missionary societies in the home land [i.e. the UK]' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 30/02/1936).³⁷ Interestingly enough, Cornner cites the BM first, despite the fact that at least one other collection precedes and pre-dates it, that of the ELM. This implies a kind of pecking order, and it is quite possible that he placed the most importance, and therefore greater emphasis, on the BM given its status. Cornner was certainly proud of his collections, as suggest the occasions he asks Shaw to show the material to fellow mission workers who were to visit the SAM.³⁸

As earlier indicated, much of the above regarding Cornner's collecting motives, aims, methods and practice, while strictly pertaining to the SAM, can be applied to the case of the collection(s) formed by Cornner and now housed in the BM. Before turning to a discussion on that and other archives, as well as to other sources, and to the implications of the above-mentioned aspects of Cornner's collecting, it is important to note that not all

³⁴ At one point Shaw offers to pay Cornner for collecting on behalf of the Museum, but Cornner declined payment (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18/02/1936).

³⁵ Cornner does not seem to suggest that he retained any objects for himself, although this point is questionable.

³⁶ Cornner expresses this opinion slightly obliquely in a comment regarding the collection of another individual, possibly Mr R.C. Camp, about which Shaw sought advice (see Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18/02/1936).

³⁷ Although Cornner does not specify as to which missionary societies, one such may have been the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), an Anglican missionary organization that gave grants to St Lucy's Hospital (Paget 1913: 98). Interestingly, the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which the SPG became, donated a large collection of objects to the BM including a beadwork neck-ornament labeled as coming from St Cuthbert's (Af1983,11.83). Many missionary societies have dispersed their collections (see Chapter 3 for discussion with reference to the BM SA collections), sometimes displayed in their 'museums' or used in travelling education boxes, which may mitigate against further tracing the Tsolo/St Cuthbert's/Cornner Collection.

³⁸ See for example Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 05/12/1937.

the particularities of the SAM collection(s) can be applied to the BM collection(s). This is mainly due to the nature of the relationship established between Cornner, the collector, and Shaw, the curator. In entering into correspondence, as they did over such a long period, and before the formation of the collection(s) for that museum, Shaw guided and prompted Cornner in myriad ways and he assembled the material with that institution in mind. She seems to have encouraged him to form a 'representative' collection (see Iziko E.M. Shaw to F. Cornner, 12/06/1935; F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 04/02/1936), and certainly asked for information such the name of the 'tribe' from which items came, the indigenous names for these objects and the gender of the person for whom they were intended.³⁹ At the outset of their collaboration, her instructions were as follows:

I think I can leave the collection entirely to you, as you know the representative styles of the district. I would merely ask that you make a note of the native name of each specimen; any special ceremony or festival with which it may be connected; by which sex it is worn; and any special significance attaching to the beads themselves or the pattern and colour used (Iziko E.M. Shaw to F. Corner, 12/06/1935).

Shaw also provided labels to be attached to the objects. Of course, none of these aspects informed the assemblage of the BM material, as the SAM collection postdates it and unfortunately the PRM, whose collection pre-dates the BM's, appears not to possess any documentation other than their accessions registers with regard to Cornner material.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, although Cornner ostensibly collected the BM material speculatively, there is the suggestion that he formed the collection(s) with the Museum in mind. Cornner may have been aware of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* or at least had some knowledge of anthropological practice. (His original list or such-like, in the event that there was further, yet no longer extant, documentation accompanying the collection – as some detail in the accessions register indicate (e.g. items 1-11 are 'worn by women & children') – suggests such an awareness.) Shaw was later to ask Cornner if he had read anthropologist Monica Wilson's recent *Reaction to Conquest* (1936), regarding Mpondo encounters with white culture in the Eastern Cape, (Iziko E.M. Shaw to F. Cornner, 01/09/1936).⁴¹ Cornner replied that there was discussion of acquiring a copy (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 10/09/1936), which suggests an interest in such literature at the Mission.

³⁹ See also Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18 & 21/12/1935; E.M. Shaw to F. Cornner, 23/01/1936.

⁴⁰ Pers. comm. Philip Grover 15/02/2017.

⁴¹ Wilson, later Hunter.

A.3 Implications of the Iziko South African Museum archive for the collection at the British Museum

In his letter to the NACF, written from London, Cornner reveals another motive for collecting, saying 'native beadwork is rapidly disappearing & becoming more & more difficult to obtain' (NACF F. Cornner to Secretary [D. Meldrum], 21/05/1933). This statement suggests that although assembled with a different institution in mind, one of Cornner's key motives for collecting – that of salvage – was a constant. If we assume that Cornner's collecting motives, aims, methods and practices remained fairly consistent, then what implications do the letters at the SAM have for the collection housed by the BM?

As we have already seen, Cornner's interest in local beadwork and his own taste shaped the collection. However, in reading the SAM letters it becomes apparent that local people, too, shaped the collection in important ways – from deciding what to make in the first instance, and how to make it, to deciding what to offer for sale and what to withhold. Just as Cornner would have made decisions about what to include or exclude, so would local people. A case in point is the smoking-pipe, of which there are seven examples in the BM from the collection under consideration here (**Fig. 79**).⁴² Beadwork adorns the stem of each, bar one.⁴³ Rather unusually for such items in collections, the majority of these pipes retain their removable mouth-piece (or mouth-pieces in cases where there is a second, acting as a spare). As Cornner explains to Shaw, the mouth-piece, a highly personal item, having come into contact with the user's bodily fluid, is typically removed prior to its being sold, lest it be 'used by an enemy to bewitch them' (Iziko F. Corner to E.M. Shaw, 16/01/1936).⁴⁴ However, as Cornner points out, many of these mouth-pieces are undrilled, which suggests they were never used and therefore would not pose any threat to the owner.⁴⁵ Only two pipes have no mouth-pieces.⁴⁶

Nettleton (2015) suggests that another form of agency can be traced through a specific type of beadwork necklace in the collections assembled by Cornner. These neck-ornaments are of striking appearance – each composed of several beadwork panels arranged on a choker-style necklace, with an elongated central panel suspended with

⁴² Af1933,0609.32 – Af1933,0609.37 and Af1933,0609.45.

⁴³ Af1933,0609.37.

⁴⁴ Cornner's letters to Shaw mention other examples of local people withholding objects. For example, on one occasion Cornner states 'I very much doubt if I can get any thing [sic] connected with medicine or witchcraft' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 16/01/1936) and on another 'you have made an impossible request ...I cannot imagine any woman parting with her [grinding] stones' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 21/03/1936).

⁴⁵ See Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18 & 21/12/1935; F. Corner to E.M. Shaw, 16/01/1936.

⁴⁶ Af1933,0609.36 and Af1933,0609.37.

one, or sometimes more, small circular metal tins (Af1933,0609.22-31) (**Fig. 80**). The lids of these tins are typically embossed with a profile portrait of a member of the British royal family, that of George V in the case of the ten at the BM.⁴⁷ Nettleton states that the beadwork Cornner collected ‘tells stories of encounter, adaptation, and reinvention’ (2015: 23). Crucially, these locally made items created out of imported European materials, particularly glass seed beads, with their suspended ‘heads’ intended to contain snuff (another material of ‘economic engagement with the colonial authority’), can be read as a very ‘visible way to make one’s survival of, and resistance to, British colonial power evident’ (2015: 28). In taking this idea further, Nettleton suggests that the heads might have been seen as powerful objects, a kind of symbolic trophy head referencing the nineteenth-century practice attributed to the British and to the isiXhosa during their many conflicts in the Eastern Cape (see Introduction). Compelling as it is, Cornner might have disputed such a theory. In response to a query, by Shaw, seemingly as to the significance of certain colour combinations and preferences, Cornner states: ‘the maker & wearer of Red white blue necklace would not even know the National Colours ... Sorry to disappoint you’ (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 25/03/1936). This makes it less likely that any particular significance would have been attached to a crowned head of state.⁴⁸

According to Cornner, these neck-ornaments were worn by ‘young Pondomisi males & females’ and that ‘the tin suspended is for snuff’ (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18 & 21/12/1935).⁴⁹ He goes on to explain that where more than one tin is present, the additional tin is used ‘for “tickets”, tiny pieces of paper (chits) on which [the white] trader writes [the] value of maize bought, & which he accepts later for goods sold’ (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18 & 21/12/1935). That the tins served to hold ‘chits’ is noted in the ‘Observations’ column of the BM accessions register, suggesting that further documentation once existed, but is no longer traceable at the Museum. Cornner indicated that the locals would have bought the tins empty (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 16/01/1936).

⁴⁷ I am grateful to Julie Hudson for confirming this identification during a research visit to the collections (pers. comm. 02/11/2017). These are in addition to a number of similar form but without tins as well as one with a Vaseline tin (Af1933,0609.3) and another, smaller than the others, suspended with two metal bottle tops (Af1933,0609.71).

⁴⁸ Red, white and blue is probably a reference to the Union Jack, although this flag was only in official use in SA until 1928.

⁴⁹ For an image of a Bhaca woman, said to be a bride, photographed by A.M. Duggan-Cronin circa 1930 and wearing a related necklace with possibly plain suspended tins see Hooper, Davison and Klinghardt 1989: 334; Giblin and Spring 2006: 153. For an image showing two Mpondo ‘[w]omen in gala dress’ sporting related beadwork pieces, see Duggan-Cronin 1949: plate LVI (unpaginated).

Aside from Cornner's habit of washing beadwork as described above, the correspondence also reveals that he was collecting both used and unused objects. Nettleton's study of the necklaces with suspended tins in three museum collections – the PRM, BM and Iziko SAM– establishes a rough chronology for the collections based on the dates of the respective monarchs' rules (2015). Allowing for exceptions, this chronology tallies with the approximate dates that the collections were assembled and gifted, which in the case of the BM's would have been sometime after 1922 and before 1933.

Nettleton has also written about the relationship between the body and beadwork in the collection, suggesting that the objects form 'a record of the bodies of which they constituted distributed parts' (2013: 44). Despite this, and the fact that the objects physically and in the accessions register reference parts of the body, Nettleton argues that '[t]he beadwork with which we interact in exhibitions and museum stores is completely disembodied; it no longer has the kind of agency which it had when it was, or had the potential to be, attached to bodies' (2013: 43). However, I would argue that given the above discussion, and despite Cornner's perhaps inadvertent attempts to remove traces of the previous owner by washing the beadwork, these objects project a powerful presence. As we have seen, their agency can be traced through their backstory to their very physicality.

It is well-known that beadwork was customarily made by women for themselves and on behalf of men, typically husbands, lovers or sweethearts, and for children (e.g. Costello 1990: 19). Interestingly, Cornner's letters at the SAM reveal that it was mostly women who sold items of beadwork to him. The fact that women made the beadwork may be a factor, especially in instances of new, unused items, but it may also underscore beadwork as being part of what might be termed a 'female economy'. In the case of St Cuthbert's, this economy was then extended beyond the sale to the Mission of produce such as beans and pumpkins to include handiwork.⁵⁰

At no point in the SAM correspondence does Cornner name anyone who either made or sold him an item of beadwork, information that is also lacking elsewhere. This may be the case because, as his letters suggest, he was buying from many different people, seemingly not necessarily known to him. It is notable that, by contrast, in a letter Cornner

⁵⁰ It also begs the question whether, other than as patients, unconverted women rather than men were more inclined to visit the Mission, for example to accompany children to or from school (see for example the photograph of '[a] heathen woman & her boy who is a boarder', Wits HPRA AB815/Ca1.23).

mentions by name Bernard Mizeki, an African Christian martyr of the Anglican Church (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 30/06/1937).⁵¹ This perhaps suggests that in the absence of any kind of personal relationship, or recognition of the individual, especially in the case of fellow Christians, he ascribed a collective, tribal identity. Cornner himself acknowledges the problems surrounding such attributions, saying 'the tribes are so intermingling' (Iziko F. Cornner to E.M. Shaw, 18 & 21/12/1935). Later, in response to a query from Adrian Digby from the Ethnography sub-department at the BM, and his only currently traced correspondence with the Museum, Cornner states 'the beadwork is collected from Pandomisi [Mpondomise] & Fingoes [Mfengu], or better to define it as from kafirs in the Tsolo magistracy' (GC F. Cornner to A. Digby, 17/03/1934). This comment is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it points to the complex history of the Mpondomise and the Tsolo area where, following a rebellion in 1880, the British seemed to want to 'dilute' Mpondomise influence by moving people out and bringing in Mfengu and others (for a summary of this history, see Theal 1908: 200-201; see also Nettleton 2015: 22), lending credence to Nettleton's assertion that the collection is an unreliable archive of Mpondomise cultural identity. Second, rather unusually for Cornner who typically referred to the local people as 'natives', he uses a now-opprobrious term, 'kafirs', that already at the time was beginning to be considered inappropriate.⁵² This term, albeit spelled with two 'f's, appears in the BM accessions register against both the 1933 and the 1934 accession.⁵³

A.4 The British Museum: a point of pride?

It is noteworthy that, in terms of documentation, very little has been found at the BM. What there is seems to be mainly limited to the scant accessions register entries, the object labels based on this information and two letters. The first letter, written by Cornner is apparently in response to a query from the Ethnography sub-department after the collections had been registered and resides with other GC in the ALRC. The second letter,

⁵¹ Similarly, CPSA photographs kept in albums at Wits are sometimes labeled with the names of black individuals, but these seem to be restricted to converts.

⁵² In *St. Cuthbert's Mission: An Historical Sketch*, John M. Schofield recounts how in 1931 the first government appointed headman, 'a Pandomise' proposed 'a motion, speedily passed, that the people formerly called Kafirs and then called natives, should henceforth be known purely and simply as Africans' (Schofield c.1960: 35, Wits HPRA AB894).

⁵³ It is possible that in his letter to Cornner, Digby used and thereby gave credence to the term. These entries, together with the NACF's description of the collection as laid out in its annual report, also further indicate that the collection originates from 'Griqualand East' (denoted as 'East Griqualand' in the first accession). As Griqualand East had long ceased to exist by that time, and indeed does not feature in any of Cornner's own writing, it is also quite possibly another BM insertion. As previously noted, the NACF's information would have been based on details submitted by the BM.

to be found in BEP's archive, like an inscription in the *Donations Book*, points to the NACF.

Cornner, who since 1930 was a paid-up member of the NACF, had his first gift to the BM placed through the Fund (his second, in 1934, appears to have come directly from SA). The NACF's file pertaining to this gift shows that Cornner wrote to them towards the end of 1932, ahead of his planned furlough back home and then again in May 1933, once he had arrived in London. In the first letter Cornner states 'I shall be bringing home with me a collection of native beadwork, & I am wondering whether any or all of it would be acceptable to the British Museum', which suggests that by late 1932 he had already formed the collection. It also indicates that he very probably assembled the material with the Museum in mind. That this was the case is confirmed by his second letter to the NACF, where he explains his motive:

Ten years ago, on my last furlough, I was disappointed at the poor way *our native art* was represented at the British Museum, so borrowed a collection I had presented to one of the Missionary Societies in London for Missionary Exhibition purposes; & they at [the] BM explained themselves as desirous of obtaining similar specimens (NACF F. Cornner to Secretary [D. Meldrum], 21/05/1933 emphasis mine).

It is unclear exactly what Cornner means by 'our native[s]', although it is fairly safe to assume he is referring to isiXhosa-speakers of the Eastern Cape. It is somewhat curious that Cornner did not approach the BM directly, especially in light of his stated earlier communication with the Museum in 1922. Might Cornner have felt somewhat fobbed off by the Museum and therefore sought the NACF's aegis? Although this point is speculation, it is worth digressing for a moment to consider the case of a similar-size collection of beadwork offered to the Museum for sale in the early twentieth century, but which was refused.

In 1903 a Mrs B.K. Bartlett, who may have been involved in the church or a mission,⁵⁴ wrote, enclosing a photograph showing 'a very good collection of native bead work [comprising]... over 150 articles ... Fingo, Basuto & Tembu [in origin]' (BEP Mrs B.K. Bartlett to Sir [V&A], ?/03/1903) which she had assembled '[d]uring several years

⁵⁴ The letter is addressed from a vicarage in Exeter. The letter also describes the enclosed photograph as showing the beadwork under discussion on exhibition 'here' (presumably the UK and possibly as part of a mission display).

residence & travelling about South Africa' (see also Chapter 2). Mrs Bartlett originally wrote to the South Kensington Museum (now the V&A), who forwarded her letter to the BM. The rather brief reply to Mrs Bartlett came from C.H. Read who stated 'we have already a sufficient quantity of this kind of objects [sic]' (BEP C.H. Read to Mrs B.K Bartlett [sic], 13/03/1903). The photograph and letter are now separated – the photograph is housed by AOA's Pictorial Collection (Af,B80.3) (see **Fig. 19**) and the letter forms part of the archives of the BEP holdings. Curatorial priorities change, but one suspects that Mrs Bartlett's beadwork was declined partly because it was not offered as a gift. Aside from this, the Cornner Collection had the added clout of NACF backing and there is every indication that conversations would have been had between David Meldrum, the Secretary of the NACF, and the BM, above departmental level.

By examining Cornner's motives, aims and collecting practices, and in exploring the extended archive, further light has been cast on this beadwork collection and of the workings of the archive. Although the collection cannot be associated with any named black individuals, the archive has offered us glimpses of backstory that speak to other kinds of African agency. Backstory places the archive in the mission context, specifically that of St Cuthbert's near Tsolo in the Eastern Cape, where the collection was bought off local people mainly in lean times.

A photograph from the CPSA archive housed at Wits and discussed at some length by Nettleton (2013) is particularly relevant here (**Fig. 81**). The image, which has been printed as a postcard, is inscribed by hand on the reverse 'Jubilee ~~Dandies~~', amended to 'Heathen dandies who came to the [Jubilee]' (Wits HPRA AB815/Ca/1.24).⁵⁵ It shows a group of young 'red' (mainly) men resplendent in beaded, and wrapper, finery apparently visiting St Cuthbert's Mission. Nettleton assumes that the image was taken during celebrations surrounding Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 (2013: 40). However, given the similarity of the beadwork to that of the BM collection, and owing to the materiality of the image itself,⁵⁶ it seems more likely to show these visitors coming to the Mission in 1932, the Mission's jubilee year. Despite being a time of celebration, the jubilee was 'marred by...a world[wide] depression and the threat of drought' (Schofield c.1960:

⁵⁵ This postcard is labelled on the reverse 'AB815/Ca/1.24', but may in fact be AB815/Ca1.24.

⁵⁶ The photograph is printed on Agfa postcard photo paper, which appears to be of a type dating to the 1930s. Agfa apparently only started producing such paper after 1913 (lwcollectibles.blogspot.co.uk; see also <http://postcardy.blogspot.com/2016/03/>) (last accessed 29/10/2018). The postcard paper helps to further establish a date for the image, although it does not rule out the possibility of older images being printed years later. I am also grateful to South African picture researcher, Rita Potenza, for her input. She notes that the subjects 'are at ease with the camera' and suggests an early twentieth century date for the photograph (pers. comm. 24/05/2017).

34, Wits HPRA AB894). This would have presented Cornner with an opportunity to once again purchase items of beadwork – shortly before his furlough, which commenced in early 1933.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Cornner is recorded as departing from the Mission in order to go on furlough on 15 March 1933 (see Nettleton 2013: 39). This is not to suggest that the entire collection under discussion here was collected that year, but it is not unlikely that a substantial part was assembled in the run up to Cornner's sabbatical.

Appendix B

Af1933,0109. 'Pedi' pots: The Ivon S. Wansbrough/Sekukuniland Mission Collection

Several months before the Cornner collection came to the Museum, a group of objects – ten pottery bowls, two carved wooden bowls, two wooden spoons and two basket – described in the accessions register as 'From the BAPEDI tribe N. Transvaal', was given by 'I.S. Wansbrough Esq, Jane Furse Memorial Hospital'.⁵⁸ At first glance this collection (Af1933,0109.), acquired at the opposite end of South Africa, has little relevance to the aforementioned collection. However, both were assembled by laymen with home county ties working at Anglian missions in South Africa during the early 1930 who gifted collections while on furlough 'back home'. In both instances the objects they gave to the BM reflect local, rather than mission, production – items probably made and parted with at a time of economic downturn— and in both cases searches in the archive, both at the BM and beyond, have to date not revealed the names of any Africans directly associated with the collections. In both cases the Church of the Province of South Africa archive at Wits Historic Papers Research Archive holds information pertaining to the respective missions and, to a lesser extent, on the missionaries concerned.

Unlike Cornner, Ivon S. Wansbrough worked at the mission concerned for a relatively short period, from 1930 to 1937 (Davies 1984: 49;⁵⁹ Wits HPRA/A4 Minutes of Meeting 04/05/1937: no page).⁶⁰ The Sekukuniland Mission, of which the Jane Furse Memorial Hospital formed part, had been established in 1921 on the Sekhukhuneland native reserve.⁶¹ After a few years at 'Jane', as the Mission was affectionately known, Wansbrough relinquished his secretarial and treasury duties in order to focus on the management of the estate (Wits HPRA JFMH Annual Report 1933:1;⁶² Davies 1984: 49). In a written account, the wife of one of the doctors working at the hospital states that Wansbrough 'established very cordial relationships' with two local dignitaries, 'Chief Sekwati Mampuru and Chief Frank Matlala' (Davies 1984: 49). By Wansbrough's own account, also housed by the CPSA's archive at Wits, he was involved in high-level talks

⁵⁸ Wansbrough also gave a collection of South African archaeological material to the Museum, accessioned in 1932 (see collection 1932,1020.).

⁵⁹ For texts by Grace M. Davies see Wits HPRA AB3168/A5-A5.2.

⁶⁰ Peter Mitchell states that Wansborough was a teacher, 'English by birth' and died in 1951 (Mitchell 2002: 218).

⁶¹ Spellings of 'Sekhukhuneland' vary; here I use current orthography. The hospital was named after Jane Diana Furse (1904—1918), daughter of Bishop Michael Bolton Furse, the third Anglican Bishop of Pretoria.

⁶² Jane Furse Memorial Hospital and Sekukuniland Mission Annual Report 1933, Wits HPRA AB3168/A2.1-A2.2.

with Mampuru (a member of the paramount Sekukuni family),⁶³ Matlala and another chief by the name of 'Kgalokoe' or 'Kgalokos' (most probably Kgolokoe).⁶⁴ It is interesting to note that although Wansbrough in his own writing mentions the mission work among the 'Bapedi', and indeed the BM's accessions register characterises the collection as originating from that cultural group, at around this time two of these chiefs are described as 'baPedi proper' (van Warmelo 1935: 108) while Matlala appears to have been considered 'baKoni' (van Warmelo 1935: 109 & 115), the Pedi and Koni having lived on the reserve 'in scattered "locations", or kraals' (Wits HPRA AD1646/E1: 1).⁶⁵ Identities in the region were in fact imbricated – the Pedi had migrated to southern Africa in around 1650 where they 'built up a large empire, ruling over numerous smaller groups [of various origins] such as the Tau, Roka, Ntwane and Koni' (van Schalkwyk 1998: 69) – as evidenced by the collection (discussed below).

Talks between Wansbrough and the chiefs revolved around the establishment of an 'Educational Centre' (Wits HPRA AB3168 I.S. Wansbrough to the Bishop of Pretoria [Neville Stuart Talbot], 28/04/1932) on a site where the three chiefs' 'spheres' met (Wits HPRA AB3168 I.S. Wansbrough to the Bishop of Pretoria, 21/04/1932).⁶⁶ It is not certain if the proposed institution was ever established.⁶⁷ However, it is noteworthy that Kgalokoe was said to be 'prepared to do great things – even a training college for his people right here, *arts & crafts* or a big school' (Wits HPRA AB3168 I.S. Wansbrough to the Bishop of Pretoria, 07/03/1932, emphasis mine). Given Wansbrough's previous experience at Grace Dieu Mission near Pietersburg (now Polokwane, Limpopo province) (Davies 1984: 49), a black teacher training centre and pioneering modern African art workshop,⁶⁸ such a facility at Jane may have been intended to run along similar lines.

Wansbrough's gift seems to have entailed less persuasion, possibly because of his perceived higher standing than Cornner (see Appendix A) or simply because his material

⁶³ See Wansbrough in the 1933 JFMH Annual Report (Wits HPRA 1933: 9, AB3168/A2.1-A2.2).

⁶⁴ Wansbrough's rendering of the name is indistinct. More properly, it may have been spelled 'Kgolokoe' (see Hunt 1931: 316). In his work of 1935, van Warmelo prefers the substitution of 'Kg' with 'Kx' and renders the name 'Kxolokwe' (van Warmelo 1935: 108). Here, 'Kgolokoe' is used as it seems to be the currently preferred orthography.

⁶⁵ The Government would later try to separate out the Pedi and Koni by resettling the latter in the south of the Reserve (Wits HPRA AD1646/E1: 1).

⁶⁶ This appears to have been land on the 'Native Reserve'. Wansbrough had originally written 'grounds', which he crossed out and changed to 'spheres'.

⁶⁷ For example, such an institution does not get mentioned in Grace Davies' extracts of the 'Hospital Reports' (no date), which, as a/her (?) handwritten note indicates, constitutes a 'potted history' of the Hospital (Wits HPRA, unprocessed Jane Furse material). I am grateful to archivist Zofia Sulej for making this as yet unprocessed material available to me.

⁶⁸ See Morton (2013) for discussion.

was of greater regard for his material at the BM than for beadwork. Given their interest in ceramics at the time, the curators at the BM may have been particularly attracted to the pottery in Wansbrough's collection. Two photographs housed in the Pictorial Collection, Af,B35.3 and Af,B35.4,⁶⁹ (the only two pertaining to the Wansbrough material) show objects from the collection in a garden setting (**Fig. 82**). The reverse of the first photograph, which shows some of the objects, is annotated in Hermann J. Braunholtz's curatorial hand: 'BAPEDI pottery...offered by I.S. Wansbrough'.⁷⁰ The earthenware pots (Af1933,0109.1-10), which constitute more than half of the collection, would have been made by women and are a luscious shade of deep, shiny orange (**Fig. 83**). Their outer surfaces are decorated with incisions and various highly burnished, abstract motifs in black graphite. According to Johnny van Schalkwyk,⁷¹ former curator at Ditsong, four of these vessels (those with lips/rimmed necks), namely items 1, 8, 9 and 10, are beer pots (sing. *pītša*). Van Schalkwyk notes that 1 in particular is of an established type for the period,⁷² made by Pedi, Tau, Koni and other Northern Sotho-speaking women in the area, and is probably of Pedi or Koni manufacture.⁷³ According to van Schalkwyk, the 1930s and 1940s was a time of experimentation as far as Northern Sotho pots are concerned. He suggests that vessels 2 to 7 are 'atypical' and probably examples of what potters would refer to as '*blompotto*' (flower pots, i.e. decorative items). He also notes that 2 and 3 formally resemble cooking pots, however the fact that they are decorated suggests that they were not intended as utilitarian items. The pots appear to be unused, which, together with particularly those of atypical style, suggests they could have been made for an outside market. Van Schalkwyk's comments and my findings at Ditsong raise two points. First, the cultural complexity of Sekukuniland suggests that a seemingly straightforward label such as 'Pedi' is problematic for the BM collection, just as 'Mpondomise' is for the

⁶⁹ Image Af,B35.4 is out of focus, but seems to show all sixteen objects that make up this collection, alongside an additional four Northern Sotho earthenware pots, presumably not selected for or by the BM.

⁷⁰ It also gives the address of a Reverend H.A. Wansbrough in Basingstoke, Hampshire, presumably a relative, and is dated 'Sep. 1932'. In a letter to the Bishop of Pretoria, Wansbrough mentions '[m]y people' (i.e. family) in England (Wits HPRA AB3168 I.S. Wansbrough to the Bishop of Pretoria, 28/04/1932) and given the surname of the Reverend a familial link is more than likely. A brief letter written by the Reverend in December of the same year is the only piece of correspondence found at the BM pertaining to the collection. In it the Reverend invites the addressee ('Sir'), presumably Thomas A. Joyce, and Braunholtz to lunch at the vicarage. On the occasion of their visit it is possible that the curators viewed, and perhaps even collected, the items – for, as the registration numbering indicates, the accessioning was done in the January (1933), the same month I.S. Wansbrough returned to Jane.

⁷¹ The following observations were made during my fieldwork at that Museum (December 2016 and January 2017) and are based on my photographs of the objects concerned. I am grateful to van Schalkwyk for sharing his thoughts with me.

⁷² Van Schalkwyk refers to it as the 'Boomplaats' type.

⁷³ Van Schalkwyk states that the Pedi migrated to southern Africa in around 1650 where they 'built up a large empire, ruling over numerous smaller groups [of various origins] such as the Tau, Roka, Ntwane and Koni' (van Schalkwyk 1998: 69).

Cornner material. Second, the pots can be said to display agency in that most, if not all, were made for outsiders, probably whites, like some of the Cornner items.

It is quite probable that, like Cornner, Wansbrough acquired objects in order to help local people – either financially, with cash, or materially, through barter – during a time of great hardship.⁷⁴ Another possible, and potentially concurrent, motive is that of ‘salvage’, notable in that he acquired items of non-mission produced material culture. He may have intended to use the objects as props, in much the same way as what he referred to as his ‘photographic propaganda’ (Wits HPRA AB3168 I.S. Wansbrough to the Bishop of Pretoria, 28/04/1932). Indeed, the hospital’s annual report for that year states that ‘mindful of our [the Mission’s] needs’ while he was in England, Wansbrough ‘found time to give several lantern lectures and talks about the native people and the work’ (Wits HPRA JFMH Annual Report 1932: 3).⁷⁵ Cornner too, especially in gifting objects to two missionary societies in the UK, would have called attention to the work being done in the Eastern Cape.

⁷⁴ The Great Depression, which had begun in the United States in 1929, was being felt locally. Added to the closure of the last platinum mine in the area the following year (Hunt 1931: 318) and fewer job opportunities generally for black people, the hospital, which had grown in stature, had to make cuts at a time of economic crisis and drought (Davies 1984: 45). The situation was such that the Bishop, evidently with Wansbrough’s drafting assistance (Wits HPRA AB3168 see list, I.S. Wansbrough to Burrough, 04/04/1932), issued an appeal for food, clothing and medicine on behalf of the Mission in July 1932 (Davies 1984: 45). (A typescript copy of the Appeal is dated, in pencil, ‘Aug 1932’ (Wits HPRA AB3168).) It is possible that the pots and other objects would have been available for sale at events at the time such as agricultural shows instituted by the South African Native Affairs Department (pers. com. Johnny van Schalkwyk, 12/2016).

⁷⁵ Wits HPRA AB3168/A2.1-A2.2.