

Dr Killie Campbell¹ and her Collections: Challenging the Colonial Notions of Museums Displays and Representation

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This essay has been inspired by Zulu material culture and other collections that are preserved at Campbell Collections. These collections hold the core of Zulu identity and African people of the south eastern part of Africa. This inspiration is as a consequence of an in-depth Campbell Collections' museum collection audit which was tasked to me in my role as new Senior Museologist (2011,Jan) at Campbell Collections, UKZN. After the whole audit exercise, which took into account the content and the nature of the collection, it became clear how important the collection is, and the need to preserve it for future generations. The audit also gave me an understanding of Killie Campbell in the context of her time. Hence this piece intends to take a slightly different rationale of Dr Killie Campbell's Collections. Examining the socio-historical value and the meaning of each and every piece of paper and object collected by Dr Killie Campbell, to individual and collective memories of KwaZulu-Natal, formerly Natal, people and other parts of southern Africa who claim a direct connection with the collection, a number of questions arise pertaining to the motive behind the establishment of Dr Killie's collection.

This article draws upon some historicized definitions and phrases that articulate traditional origins of museums as colonial invention, and compare these with the motives and the route that Dr Killie Campbell pursued in her collection development. Dr Killie Campbell's collecting methods challenged her counterparts, settlers of British descents who never mentally and spiritually adopted and integrated with the colony as their new home, as they contributed in enriching the British Museum and other European repositories. The challenge to this popular conception commences when one examines her family background and its influence in her life as she lived it. Her vision and activities pose a counter notion to race relations and perception especially the clash of cultures that prevail during her time in colonial Natal and later apartheid South Africa. It is equally significant to visit the actual background of Dr Killie Campbell to trace the real motives and influences of her collecting passion and the rationale

¹ Dr Killie Campbell is the founder of Campbell Collections, born on the 9th September 1881 and died on the 28th September 1965.

of the nature of the collections she collected. The nature of the material that Dr Campbell collected was chiefly influenced by her heart, this is visibly detected in her collections. Her collection of paintings is dominated by African artists or art of African orientation, her books and manuscripts mostly Africana, objects and artefacts are mainly Zulu and South African histories.²

In the past many museums accepted objects with little or no informative deliberation on acquired objects. Most of the items on display had limited background information and sometimes were given general labels e.g. "Zulu/Kaffer pot". Today most museums have accepted the need for formal accessioning procedures and practices. Most museums set out a collection development policy as part of a museum's Collections Management Policy or CMP, which serves as a guideline on the scope and nature of collections and the proper documentation of the background of objects and artefacts collected. Campbell Collections has not deviated from Dr. Killie's original policy. Dr. Killie Campbell had a clear policy on collection development, which stood the test of time in the field of collecting. The current global policy on collections adopted by ICOM, dictates that;

² Whilst this paper focuses on the museum collections, it is important to note that there is also a library at the Campbell Collections. The principles of this paper apply equally to Dr Killie Campbell's collections of books and manuscripts. Dr Killie Campbell's unique and large Africana Library consists of rare Africana books, manuscripts, maps, photographs and government publications, which cover issues about Zulus and other African peoples in southern Africa. She collected these rare and endangered papers and books with the aim of rescuing and safe-guarding records, especially those that relate to the history of Natal. In 1945 she had collected approximately 20 000 books, and she had specialized chiefly in history and Bantu life (see Campbell Collections' catalogue which commemorated her centenary birthday). This collection is complemented by the objects and artefacts that depict the life of Zulu people before being influenced by colonial encounter. African intellectuals like H.I.E Dhlomo made public acknowledgement of the work done by Dr Killie Campbell. He once wrote in a newspaper article that "Miss Campbell is accumulating and producing unique books and MSS. One cannot mention them all. But one is happy to say a volume on proverb lore will soon be on sale." (Ilanga lase Natal. NgoMgqibelo, April 23, 1949) The Africana Library of Dr Killie Campbell always encouraged scholars of African studies to be regular researchers at Campbell Collections. Not only African scholars but also other racial groups who were interested in Africa's history and culture became regular users of the Africana collection.

“The governing body for each museum should adopt and publish a written collection policy that addresses the acquisition, care and use of collections. The policy should clarify the position of any material that will not be catalogued, conserved or exhibited.”³

“...Museum collections should be documented according to accepted professional standards. Such documentation should include a full identification and description of each item, its associations, provenance, condition, treatment and present location.”⁴

Dr. Killie Campbell lived ahead of her times, what the ICOM Code of Ethics demanded 21 years after her death, Dr. Killie had implemented more than 50 years ago. Almost all items in possession of Campbell Collections - papers, books, maps, objects and artefacts received during Dr. Killie Campbell's time and after, are documented accordingly, and cover almost all requirements and principles of ICOM. Campbell Collections is currently lacking space of accommodating new acquisitions. Culture is not static, the Zulu culture and that of other tribes of Southern Africa was gradually eroded by the colonial influence. Campbell Collections as an institution faces a challenge of building on what Dr. Killie had embarked on, to further reflect the continuity of culture borne of colonial and general global influence. Nevertheless, most of collections of Dr Killie Campbell were obtained in a legitimate manner as Herd maintains:

“When Nona Eastwood started to work at Muckleneuk she presented Killie with a magnificent necklace, about three metres in length, made up of small square interlocking beads precisely carved from an indigenous wood. It was one of the types presented by a Zulu King to one of his fighting men for valour on the field. This rare item is exhibited in the

³ The ICOM Code of Professional Ethics was unanimously adopted by the 15th General Assembly of ICOM in Buenos Aires on 4 November 1986 and amended by the 20th General Assembly in 2001 and revised in 2004. ICOM is the international Council of Museums which guides the museums on ethics and practices of museums. Museums are not museums without collections, hence ICOM, presents among other things, code of ethics on collection management, acquisition, preservation, promotion of use, research and other related matters. (2006) (<http://www.icom.museum>)

⁴ Ibid

Mashu Ethnology Museum among the many tribal artefacts which began to accumulate at Muckleneuk as soon as Killie became known as a collector of such things”⁵.

“Most of the earlier acquisitions came in the form of gifts, supplemented later on by purchase...Killie placed a special value on the collection, not only for the skilful workmanship that had gone to the exhibits and their ragged and sometimes delicate, beauty; but also because they constitute a graphic record of tribal peoples of Southern Africa and, in some case in further north – their history, social life, customs and beliefs. They were, in short, a visual illustration of the descriptive and comments on tribal life and history contained in the books and papers in her library (collection)”⁶

This exonerates Dr Killie Campbell and her collections from falling within the bracket of colonial idea; either objectifying African people and other non-Western people as a ‘thing’ on display for amusement, or as a symbol of darkness and as people stuck in their own past. Herd’s statement further justifies a dedicated mission of an active historian, the one who didn’t consume but who was actively involved in building up and conserving sources and references of history of her people. Besides being a collector, she became a historian and a heritage practitioner in her own right.

In 1949, after a long struggle of repatriation of James Stuart papers, Dr Killie Campbell wrote to Mrs. Stuart; “I do assure you the best will be done with the papers. I would not have thought of leaving my library to the Natal University School of African Studies if I was not satisfied in my mind that every good use would be made with my collection. It’s purely a research library and not an ordinary one, that’s why I wanted Stuart papers for it.”⁷

Besides being a collector and a self-proclaimed historian, she was a heritage practitioner in the strongest term. She was not just a collector but, due to her dedication in the conservation

⁵ See N. Herd, *Killie’s Africa: The Achievements of Dr. Killie Campbell*, (Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane Books, 1982) (p100)

⁶ See N. Herd, *Killie’s Africa: The Achievements of Dr. Killie Campbell*, (Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane Books, 1982) (p100-101)

⁷ See Killie’s correspondence to Mrs Stuart , 23 April 1949. Killie Campbell Africana Library, Campbell Collections.

of the history and heritage of Natal, “Killie was appointed to the National Historical Monuments Commission was gazetted in September 1940. She was the first, and so far the only, woman to hold this position.”⁸ Her dedication to her unique mission prompted my interest in her family background.

Dr Killie Campbell, in her family tree, belonged to second generation of colonial settlers which arrived during the second half of the 19th century just eleven months before the Natal Museum was established. She was born and grew up during the peak of colonial times, where a cultural difference was employed to justify racial oppression in centres of power. The remains of Saartjie Baartman were still on display in the Paris Museum of Mankind as part of pseudo-scientific justification of racial domination. The British Colonial venture was that of assistant in the road to Baartman’s racial humiliations and abuse in Europe and objectified for public gaze⁹. “Thus, a Foucaultian model allows one to argue that being able to ‘see’ these natives villages and their constituent population was clearly neither a ‘natural’ process, not an accidental one, but a socio-historical one, which was associated with and reinforced standard museological representation of peoples through ethnographic artefacts.”¹⁰ It was also during colonial times that, as a common practice, aristocrats collected objects deemed too precious or deserve special gaze for their own amusement and aesthetic taste. Although, Dr Killie Campbell lived in a period where human specimens (non European) were part of museum collections as part of ‘pseudo-scientific’¹¹ objects. Nevertheless, “Killie was by no means content to see the black man posed stiff and silent under scrutiny of white anthropologists and sociologists with prejudice mind.”¹² This was a real challenge aimed at the established museum, especially to museums like the South African National Museum in Cape Town and exhibitions elsewhere in Europe where African people of different cultures were on display with animals – as they were classified by colonial thinking as ‘next to nature’. During the colonial Exhibitions in Europe; “The popularity of

⁸ See N. Herd, *Killie’s Africa: The Achievements of Dr. Killie Campbell*, (Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane Books, 1982) p87

⁹ The term ‘gaze’, according to Foucault’s understanding has a connotation of power and knowledge.

¹⁰ P197 S. Hall Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices, London, Sage Publication, (p197)

¹¹ See M.R Drennan, *A Short Course on Physical Anthropology*, Cape Town, Mercantile-Atlas Company, 1937. This was an institutionalized machinery of building racial stereotypes, where skulls and other human remains were on glass display in universities as evidence of racism theory. South African natives were the subject of the study in many university lecture halls in South Africa during Dr Killie Campbell’s times.

¹² See N. Herd, *Killie’s Africa: The Achievements of Dr. Killie Campbell*, (Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane Books, 1982) (p137)

these exhibitions-many millions of visitors from all walks of life trooped past native villages helped to support the dominant popular discourse that other cultures were survivals or savages”.¹³

Dr Campbell was living in times where class was a social observable fact. Based on her family's economic status, she automatically belonged to the high class – a 'bourgeoisie' in socialist language. Her father Sir Marshall Campbell was one of those settlers who made a fortune in the colony. He became one of the most successful businessmen and a politician in colony. As a politician Sir Marshall advocated racial equality in Natal, as South African Native Affairs Commissioner, “he and other Natal representative, O.S. Samuelson, jointly signed a strong minority plea for black man's rights and privileges; his opportunity for social and material advancement”¹⁴. Hence, Dr Killie Campbell's social status was of high class spiced by political and economic status. British settlers brought along the culture of social class. “Social background, supported by wealth, was the major determinant of class division in the colony. Among the first class passengers on the emigrant ships there was a sprinkling of the British aristocracy in addition to a fair number reasonably well-educated men and women whose deportment proclaim their pride in their yeoman.”¹⁵ Dr Killie Campbell, by essence of her family status and the times she lived in, should have been influenced to be an elegant, stylish, fashion-lover, or maybe have become a Natal businesswoman, or have adopted the aristocrats' style of collecting. She challenged the aristocrats mentality of the affluent colonial life, her collection was mainly aimed at preserving what she deemed to be a vanishing culture and what belonged to her people. She did not do it for the colony instead she did it for the people of Natal.

The initial idea of a museum was prevailed in the then Natal Colony during the second-half of the 1800s and was based on perpetuating the colonial ideas and the colonial conquest. “The founding of the Museum in Pietermaritzburg lay in the formation of a literary society. In May 1851, when the white population numbered about 1500, The Natal Museum was

¹³ S. Hall Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices, London, Sage Publication, (p196)

¹⁴ Ibid (p36)

¹⁵ Ibid (p66)

inaugurated, its main objective being the dissemination of improved knowledge about the physical, climatic, agricultural historical and commercial characteristics of the Colony.”¹⁶

Museums are universally and historically known as “treasure-houses of human race”¹⁷ that were regarded as a social class phenomenon within European societies, meant exclusively for the aristocrats and the affluent. This undoubtedly indicates that museums were originally not for public gaze. Tony Bennett maintains that museums were barred from the public gaze as they were “secreted in the studiolo of princes, or made accessible only to the limited gaze of high society in the cabinets des curieux of the aristocrats.”¹⁸ “However, during the 19th Century museums turned to open their doors to the public, to assert a place in among public institutions and create public citizens.”¹⁹ Dr Killie Campbell was one of the promoters of the 19th Century initiative of turning personal treasure houses into public spaces. The Muckleneuk mansion, a treasure in its own right, became a public space and a space of creativity and knowledge in the 20th Century. This museum faced the challenge, in the light of fulfilling its role as a “public space”, of the differences in South Africa regarding the concept of “public”. Public may be divided into black, white, coloured, or Indian public and further could be divided into Zulu public, Xhosa public, etc. The museum was established during the times when the various South African “publics” were in conflict with one another, when there was a struggle for liberation and a struggle for racial domination of one group over others. However, for Killie, as part of her non-racist personality, it was important that the museum accommodate all South Africans, as a broadly defined “public”, and there are no signs and ill intent of racial presentation and colonial domination. Hence, Patricia Penn Hilden, maintains that; “In recent years, museum curators and others have quite thoroughly deconstructed the once obscure practices of the museum exhibitions so that their collective complicity in the “invention,” celebration, and dissemination of national identities is by now well established.”²⁰

¹⁶ B. Stuckenberg, *The Natal Museum*

¹⁷ T. Ambrose & C. Paine, *Museums Basics* (New York: Routledge, 1993)

¹⁸ T. Bennett, *The Birth of Museums: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995) p59

¹⁹ V.V. Buthelezi: 'The South African Jewish Museum and the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum: Serving different publics in two community museums in the Western Cape', MA mini-thesis in Public and Visual history, University of the Western Cape. (p4) <http://www.lwandle.com/research>

²⁰ P.P Hilden, Race for Sale: Narratives of Possession in two Museums, *The Drama Review*, Vol. 44, No.3, (MIT Press, Autumn, 2000) (p12)

What does this mean to South Africa? “Colonial conquest in South Africa had two contradictory consequences. It brought together different racial and ethnic communities into a nation state while simultaneously putting in place strategies and laws to prevent the unity of these communities into a nation. Racial, cultural, gender and numerous other kinds of divide were enforced during Dutch colonization and magnified under the British rule. It was however, the Afrikaner nationalists with their beliefs of white supremacy who established the system of apartheid, which perpetuated the legacy of inequality, disparity, and poverty.”²¹ Killie was aware of her origins as a second generation of Natal colonial settlers. She understood the potential that both colonial and apartheid practices had towards degradation of socio-political fibre of Africans. Killie was highly conscious of the dangers that the institution might face in terms of the escalating apartheid laws, which were imposing more and more racial segregation in public spaces. However, she made certain that African people especially from the province had unhindered access to the institution.²² Dr. Killie Campbell demonstrated her love of the people of Natal indiscriminately, she loved her culture and her values as a white colonial descendant but she appreciated Zulu culture and history more than anything.

This museum, when it was formed by the Campbells, intended to cut the chevron and dismantle racial and ethnic categories. The content of the museum suggests the element of integration among the people of South Africa. “Museums are places of universal human value rather than belonging to racial or ethnic group[s].”²³ “The racialized (and gendered) nature of such “exhibition complexes) have also received considerable scholarly attention. I think, however, that the problems remain: first museologists have not succeeded in moving the center, not least because their well-intended efforts to “deconstruct” and thereby “deracialize” their museum practices have remained mired in a “universalist” discourse that remains hopelessly Euro-centric, despite the fact that their universalism and practice have assumed fresh shapes.”²⁴ Dr Killie Campbell always challenged these euro-centric perceptions, therefore objects originating from different racial as well as ethnic cultural background were brought together to fill the Muckleneuk house. Many problems that engulf

²¹ N. Cloete, et, al *Unity in Diversity; Culture, Identity and the role of higher education in building democracy in South Africa*, (Cape Town: NCHE, 2002)

²² See Killie’s correspondence to Richard Currie, 18 Oct 1954.

²³ V.V. Buthelezi: 'The South African Jewish Museum and the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum: Serving different publics in two community museums in the Western Cape', MA mini-thesis in Public and Visual history, University of the Western Cape. (p4) <http://www.lwandle.com/research>

²⁴ P.P Hilden, Race for Sale: Narratives of Possession in two Museums, *The Drama Review*, Vol. 44, No.3, (MIT Press, Autumn, 2000) (p12)

old existing museums recently, which relate to their history collection policy and practice, were avoided by Dr Killie Campbell. Dr Killie Campbell smashed the colonial barriers that racialized the possibilities, opportunities and access to resources significant to human development. The museum constitutes four main components: the house and its furniture and collection of utensils; ethnographic artefacts and other material cultural objects; and artistic material as well as the garden. Based on South African general heritage practices, Muckleneuk, should be protected by legislation under the SAHRA Act, as it is 97 years old. In South Africa buildings over 60 years old, especially with historical and cultural value like Muckleneuk, are declared as heritage buildings or sites and protected by law. Hence, the Killie Campbell management team has prepared a motivational document for submission to SAHRA for declaration of intent. Muckleneuk, as mentioned elsewhere in this paper, has a history of hosting not only artists from different cultural backgrounds but it also accommodated visitors from the Zulu royal family, to be specific, King Cyprian Ka Dinuzulu. In this house there was a specific chair that the King always used to sit on. This Victorian style chair is still among the pieces of furniture housed in the museum.

Muckleneuk, is a hub of history attached to Sir Marshall Campbell, who was also popularly known to African communities as Mashu. He was very close to the AmaQadi tribe and was a politician and a successful businessman. He was one of the people who shaped the political landscape of the province. Killie followed in her father's footsteps, nevertheless her political involvement was not partisan as her father's was. She was a human rights activist. Dr Killie Campbell was one of the founders of the Black Sash in the former Natal Province. The Black Sash was an organization of white women who defied the apartheid / National Party government. The Black Sash, known for its peaceful protests against apartheid's racial and undemocratic practices, made its remarkable input in assisting victims of apartheid violence and was involved in other anti-apartheid activities. "The Black Sash was thus for Killie a personal engagement and nobody in the Durban branch was prepared to contest her right to lead. Muckleneck became the organization's local headquarters."²⁵ It is from this premise that Muckleneuk is considered to have been denied its deserved status to be declared a heritage space. The period of its existence, its historical and cultural value as well as its architectural posture dictates our generation to do justice to Muckleneuk and its garden by declaring it a grade II heritage site. For almost five decades the city of Durban has

²⁵ See N. Herd, *Killie's Africa: The Achievements of Dr. Killie Campbell*, (Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane Books, 1982) (p119)

failed to recognize Muckleneck as its inherited heritage resource, since it has belonged to the city from 1955.²⁶ Above all the historical and cultural values attached to Muckleneck as a building, it houses objects and artefacts of heritage value. Even the new democratic government has not paid attention to the issue of Muckleneuk as a heritage resource. Muckleneuk houses furniture collection, Africana material which includes books, papers, paintings and objects and artefacts.

Furniture Collections

Entering the Muckleneuk main door, on your right two half-moon shape coffee tables with visitors' book which flank the matching durable dark-brown strong wooden cupboard. The floor is filled with pieces of Persian carpets that roll down the mansion's wide corridor. These pieces were collected by WAC "Umfo ka Mashu"²⁷ with which he wanted to complement their Muckleneuk, Cape-Dutch mansion. These carpets lead the way down the wide corridor to the lounge and dining room. It is in plain sight that these pieces have been in use since the twentieth century, the fading original colours of these carpets reveal the scars endured from the cleaning materials and footprints of knowledge seekers, visitors and staff over the years but well conserved and preserved. The space is filled with a glittering collection of gold plated plant-pots and shining copper pots and pans. However, the most eye-catching item in this space is the big painting of Muckleneuk mansion hung just opposite the door. This massive painting constitutes one of the museum's art collections. The Campbells had a great love of art; evidently, the museum has collections of hundreds of paintings and other collection of sculptures and craft. On your right there is a door that leads to the study room.

In the study room, there is a colourful floral lounge suite surrounding a coffee table. This is where images and sculptures of family members are displayed. The most prominent of these are three paintings: of Dr Killie Campbell and her brother William and their cousin Roy Campbell, the poet. Here, the walls are covered by bookshelves and cabinets. In these shelves, from the ceiling to the floor is a collection of Africana books, most of them are out of

²⁶ See Killie's correspondence to Richard Currie, 21 Sep & 8 Oct 1954. Killie Campbell Africana Library, Campbell Collections.

²⁷ This is usually a friendly Zulu expression which refers to William Campbell as the son of Mashu (Marshal)

print today. This collection of books clearly indicates the level of interest invested in understanding of African people; however *most of the books on these shelves were donated later. They were the library of the anthropologists Jack and Eileen Krige*²⁸. Writing in 1949, Dhlomo proclaimed;

“The collection is the life work of Miss Campbell assisted by her brother, Mr William Campbell, whose long and intimate association with Africans has proved of great value.”²⁹

This is the account of the scholar who used the institutional material during the days of the Campbells. This statement further revokes the idea that “museum collection involves a combination of power relation, a politics of us and them, inclusion and exclusion and history of unequal relations attached to the collection itself.”³⁰ The museum collections of Campbell Collections collected under genuine and good will to conserve history and culture of African people with no intention of following the trend of historical museum practice of displays of power relations of us and them. The Campbells became part of Zulu people to an extent that William Campbell, Dr Killie’s grandfather was also known as “Mashobane” to the Qadi people because of his acceptance as “father figure” to African people of Durban.³¹ Her father, Marshall, was known as “Mashu” through his intimacy with Zulu people, his Zulu linguistic ability and his role as AmaQadi tribe Councillor. This suggests one of the reasons why Dr Killie was so connected to the African people of Natal, the Zulu people and why she was involved in collecting Zulu related material, it was her love to towards the people implanted in her young age by her grandparents and her father which is contrary to the notion of colonial ill intent, as Herd wrote in the 80s that;

“She would run to exchange greetings with lithe black maidens walking with earthen pots or bundles of kindling balanced nonchalantly on their heads.”³²

²⁸ This book collection used to be the library of the Donors; Jack and Eileen Krige. Dr Eileen Krige was one of the Anthropologists who, through her passion in her field of study came to understand African culture

²⁹ Ilanga lase Natal. NgoMgqibelo, April 23, 1949

³⁰ V.V. Buthelezi: 'The South African Jewish Museum and the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum: Serving different publics in two community museums in the Western Cape', *MA mini-thesis in Public and Visual history*, University of the Western Cape. (p7-8) <http://www.lwandle.com/research>

³¹ N. Herd, Killie’s Africa: *The Achievements of Dr. Killie Campbell*, (Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane Books, 1982) p13

³² N. Herd, Killie’s Africa: *The Achievements of Dr. Killie Campbell*, (Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane Books, 1982) P16

Buthelezi claims that museums were used sometimes to juxtapose the cultures of different “races” with an intention of depicting “Europeans as superior and sacred.”³³ Contrary to what I discovered about Dr Killie Campbell Collections and their real origins, where pure passion and sense of identity was the essence of the entire drive. The set up of the museum and the nature of books and manuscripts collected evoke more interest about the nature of person Dr Killie was in the world of colonial rule and racial domination. The museum does not suggest any juxtaposition of races and cultures, nevertheless collections of artefacts and other print collections only reflect the combination of anxiety and dexterity to save cultures and histories of African people of Southern Africa, which was threatened by the colonial destruction.

However, the Cape furniture which dates from the 18th and the 19th centuries reflects personal taste. “Many Cape pieces displayed a high degree of skill and craftsmanship, yet the names of the men who made them are unknown.”³⁴ From the premise that the whole furniture collection consists of a mix of British Victorian, Edwardian, Louise XV, Cape Dutch and Classical pieces of furniture, the Campbells were collecting what had interested them the most and with no intention of pursuing the traditional museum trends that of comparing the nations, “the us and them.” Many museums are known to have built their collections through looting, stealing, and confiscation as well as purchasing. The furniture here was all acquired in the form of purchase, and there is no indication of devious forms of acquisition. Down the corridor, which is covered by pieces of Persian carpet is the Cape and neo-classical thonged and caned spindle-type rusbanks, chair and armchairs that flank the hallway leading to the lounge and dining room. The lounge has beautiful pieces of furniture, and Cape glass cabinet and Dutch cabinets, bible-reading desk, four armchairs surrounding a round coffee table and a set of patio neo-classical table and chairs. In the dining room is a log extendable dining table and chairs, Dutch cabinet, glass cabinet with a collection of Chinese plates and the other cabinet with a gleaming brass collection of kettles and teapots. All the cabinets are of durable wood of which the museum is taking every possible conservation measures to retain its originality.

³³ V.V. Buthelezi: 'The South African Jewish Museum and the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum: Serving different publics in two community museums in the Western Cape', *MA mini-thesis in Public and Visual history*, University of the Western Cape. (p7) <http://www.lwandle.com/research>

³⁴ See CC catalogue, 1977, p10

However, due to limited resources and lack of institutional autonomy some pieces of furniture collection are unable to be restored to their original and proper shape. The two small rooms opposite are the Telephone Room which consists of 19th century colonial Africana paintings of Samuel Daniell, George Angles, Frederick T. l'ons, Lieutenant Lumley Graham and other early paintings of African landscapes and peoples. There are also valuable paintings of Tomas Bowler and John Campbell. Next door to the Telephone Room is the Morning Room; this room is dedicated to Barbara Tyrrell. The wall of this room is covered by over thirty original paintings of Barbara Tyrrell and about eight Hezekiel Ntuli's portrait sculptures. This room is regarded as "Barbara's Morning Room" because prior to going into the field Barbara would always start by reading and gathering necessary information about the people she was about to study. At some point, she would stay there to finish up the unfinished paintings and sketches. Just before the end of the hallway, next to the kitchen and curio shop, are display panels and glass cases of Barbara Tyrrell's artistic accessories which integrate pieces of Zulu bead work and work jewellery.

These panels serve as a gateway to Mashu Ethnographic Museum. This section consists of sixteen panels, which display the combination of beadwork and artwork. Here Barbara Tyrrell demonstrates her ability to mix with the people she worked with; her sitters. Barbara Tyrrell maintains that knowing and speaking isiZulu was her advantage in securing a wide acceptance among African people.³⁵ This is evident in one of the glass cases where Barbara is posing for a photograph with her lifelong friend Banukile Mbele. Barbara has also written a book about her friend, Banukile entitled "Suspicion is My Name". In these panels she demonstrates she also reveals that her relationship with her participants made her a collector of certain items of traditional costume. This is well manifested by the arrangement and combination of drawings and artefacts, mainly beadwork necklaces, sangoma distinguishing dreadlocked hair with beads, animal fur and other beadwork designs. She seems to prove the authenticity of her work by placing the actual artifact next to her drawing of the same image of the artefact. Some of Barbara Tyrrell's work of different Southern African traditional costume dominates the Mashu Ethnographic Museum.

"Museums have been always interested in the influence of one culture to another and has in the past rather casually collected objects produced through the interaction of European and

³⁵Recorded Interview with Barbara Tyrrell, 16th March 2011, Cape Town

indigenous cultures."³⁶ Was Campbell museum collections collected on this notion? The answer to this question can be capably answered only when one understands the background and the will of the founder, Dr. Killie Campbell. The will of Dr Killie Campbell challenges the claim made by Wilson. Hence, the objects on display at Mashu Museum are originally produced by the Zulu people before they met colonial settlers and they are of no colonial influence. *Dr Campbell had a genuine love of the Zulu people; she did not collect their material culture for amusement or to display colonial power, but to help them recover what was being eroded by colonialism.* She even made certain that after her death the African people of Natal remained beneficiaries of the collections. This demonstrates the clear relationship and strong connection between Dr Killie Campbell and her collection. Her collection was mainly connected with the love and the relationship that her father Marshall had developed in her, which had nothing to do with colonial thinking of racial superiority but also to conserve culture that was endangered by the existence of colonialism. However, Dr Killie Campbell had clearly articulated her vision when she delivered her speech at a Rotary luncheon in 1935 when she said, "It is our bounden duty to see that all our treasures are collected and preserved for Natal. They are no longer our individual possession, but belong by right to our Nation, the symbols and makings of history so essential to a young country."³⁷

Mashu Museum of Ethnology

Dr Killie Campbell was an integrationist; she treated people with equal status. She loved heritage non-discriminatively, she had been involved and instrumental in campaigns of the 1938 Voortreker centenary celebrations, even though she worked behind the scene. However, her deep concern was focusing on people that were close to her heart and her fathers' heart, Mashu. That is why the museum which is the home of Zulu material culture is dedicated to him. Mashu Museum of ethnology consists of a collection of mainly African material cultural objects and Barbara Tyrell's paintings of costume study. Entering the Mashu museum, one is welcomed by a panel with two paintings of armed Zulu warriors; these paintings are surrounded by the actual collection of Zulu military weapons; amawisa (knobkerries) Iklwa (King Shaka's assegai) and a shield. There are brilliantly crafted headrests, walking sticks, milk pails, beer pots etc. This space is entirely filled with African spirits, Dhlomo observed the collection in this section in the late 1940s that;

³⁶ D. Wilson, *"Collecting": The British Museum, Purpose and Politics* (London: British Museum Publication, 1990) p31

³⁷ See original Dr Killie Campbell correspondence, 15, Aug. 3 1947.

“Some of the specimens in the collection are very old...there are the beautifully done izicamelos (wooden “pillows”) used in Shaka’s time.”³⁸

“Some of these articles are important not only for intrinsic or artistic value, but for their historical and sociological association. One’s patriotic feelings, nostalgic memories, and creative yearning are stirred when one sees and holds an article that was seen and handled by the great ancient heroes and kings whose life now seems to be legend...”³⁹

Dhlomo continued to warn but encouraging Africans to utilize their treasure productively; “Non-African research workers, artists and musicians are freely exploiting our cultural treasures while we sleep and regard these things as of no use.”⁴⁰ Dhlomo’s assertion was true, however in this regard; he was clouded by the mentality of his social class status as museums had just opened to the public in the 20th century. Even though Killie Campbell Collections was open to all racial groups but it was still a private home in a ‘white designated area’ in South Africa which had recently adopted apartheid policy, which is why he also quickly suggested in the same article that;

“My aim in doing so is to appeal to African leaders, patriots and artists to cooperate and help preserve these treasures for the Race. They should do all they can to have this collection housed in a public building in Durban”⁴¹

However, this ambition turned to be not only Dhlomo’s dream but it was also imbedded in Dr Killie Campbell and her brother William. William Campbell might have read Dhlomo’s article, and came to recognize and acknowledge the idea as noble. Hence, William Campbell attempted to render a solution to Dhlomo’s proposal. He had even approached the City of Durban and offered some money for the land for building of this purpose. However, the city declined, citing economic instabilities faced by the city at the time. William eventually donated Muckleneck as well as the sum of £30 000 and set as a condition that it must

³⁸ Ilanga lase Natal. NgoMgqibelo, April 23, 1949

³⁹ This article was published by H.I.E. Dhlomo in newspaper; Ilanga lase Natal. NgoMgqibelo, April 23, 1949; is one of the great African intellectual of the time. He was very close to Dr Killie Campbell and a regular visitor and a library user at (Killie) Campbell Collections.

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Ibid

“house in perpetuity an Africana museum.”⁴² Clause (c) of Dr. Killie Campbell’s bequest states thus; “The sum of Ten Thousands Pounds (10,000) for the purpose of erecting a Museum for Africana Studies, such Museum to be called the MASHU MUSEUM “MASHU” being the name which the Donor’s father was known to Zulus.”⁴³ Dr Killie Campbell and her brother declared Muckleneck as a public space as a condition in their will. It was also a condition that the house and its grounds is a gift to the people of Durban as a public park. Dr Killie Campbell and his brother contested the colonial greed; they offered their wealth to all people who intended to use it for the good purpose. The question would be: to what extent are the current owners/heirs of the facility restricted or advanced by the will of Dr Campbell and her brother with regards to their bequeath? It appears that both sister and brother had love and desire for preservation of Zulu material culture.

Here, the indigenous knowledge systems is well exhibited; ironsmith (assegai), geology (grinding stone) wood selection and carving, etc. Knowledge of wood iron making – Campbell Collections has followed in Dr Killie’s footsteps in establishing good relationships between the institution and artists. Mshololo⁴⁴ is one of the wood sculptors who once became a regular visitor at Campbell Collection. He shared his knowledge and experiences in his world of art as an artist and a spiritual being and his relationship with plants and the types of wood he uses in his art. Mshololo had a deep knowledge of indigenous plants that produce wood of different production of artworks.⁴⁵ Dhlomo, occupied by excitement about the artefacts maintained; “One is impressed not only with the artistic skill, but the knowledge nature of the craftsmen of ancient times. They used beautiful wood that could last for hundreds of years...”⁴⁶ These ethnographic items on display are accompanied by illustrative images.

The colourful Barbara Tyrrell’s paintings of real people from different cultural groups of Southern Africa filled the rest of the space; at the far left corner of the room is a collection of Basuto traditional symbolic dressing code which consists of grass hat and other items.

⁴² An article in Natal Mercury, 30, 09 1954 articulate the wishes of Dr Killie Campbell and her brother William about gift to people of Durban.

⁴³ See Dr Killie Campbell signed bequeath (Dr Killie Campbell original documents)

⁴⁴ In-house publication by Yvonne Winters

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Ilanga lase Natal. NgoMgqibelo, April 23, 1949

These items are also complemented by paintings of real people that reflect different age group and gender dress code. There are also other cultural groups' artifacts and paintings that reflect their lifestyle; the AmaTembu, Baca, Batlokwa, Inanda people, Khoi/San. In a small passage towards Masakhane Hall is a glass case with costume artifacts of AmaSwati group, Shangane group, Gwembe group of Tonga valley. Masakhane is a multipurpose space normally used for meeting and workshops. However, Masakhane hosts beadwork artifacts and beadwork language. Three glass cases contain bead work and photographs of people wearing the same beadwork and two glass cabinets, which also show colours and patterns of beadwork, which were used by the Zulu people to communicate their stories.

Picture Collections

One of the Campbell Collections' draw cards is the paintings that the institution has collected over the years. There are hundreds of paintings by different artists from travellers to modern artists. Dr Killie Campbell respected people of different cultures and different backgrounds in equal manner, as it is reflected in her collection of paintings. She collected colonial travellers' art as African local art. Through this, she further challenged the colonial thinking by bringing into the mainstream local African artists who were, in those days, not respected and taken seriously as artists.

The works of Samuel Daniell, George Angas, Frederick T. l'ons, Lieutenant Lumley Graham, mostly Africana painting. However, Killie and WAC had connection to people, Killie made friends with artists, which lasted for a long time. Her friendship with artists like Barbara Tyrrell, Gerard Bhengu, Hezekiel Ntuli, and Trevor Makhoba earned the Campbell Collections world class paintings. Currently, and in Killie's time, Campbell Collections was and still is the home of African artists, the works of African artists like Gerard Bhengu, whom Dr Killie Campbell was patron. Jabulani, Simon Mguni, Azaria Ntuli, were some of the early African artists recognized by Dr Killie Campbell. Trevor Makhoba and many others were recognized by Campbell Collections in the later years. However, the most interesting painting in our collection is the one and only original painting of King Shaka. The museum has currently collected brilliant pieces of painting produced by the students of the late Artist of the Year, Trevor Makhoba. The recent piece collected from Welcome Danca is the "First Supper". The relationship between Campbell Collections and artists has been maintained and improved especially with old and new generation of artists in Durban.

Barbara Tyrrell (OIS) was born on the 15th March 1912, in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. She lived her whole life studying and painting African costumes. She had her special relationship with African people, which originated from her background as a child *of a magistrate court interpreter and growing up in Zululand socialising with Zulu people from a young age*. The traditional dress and customs of the Zulu people fascinated her as a child. She spoke their language and was present at many of the Zulu people's traditional ceremonies. Her great uncle Frederick Fynney accompanied Zulu King Cetshwayo as an interpreter during a State visit to Queen Victoria in 1882.

When Barbara's work was classified as of nonexistence in the art world, Killie encouraged her and saw value in Barbara's work. Campbell Collections has a collection of 253 water colours dating back to Killie's time, 700 field-sketches acquired in 2004 and 10 acrylic paintings of the 1970s. Barbara has authored and published several works like "The Tribal Peoples of Southern Africa", "Suspicion is my Name", "Caravan Verse", "The Magic of Glove Theatre".

Barbara Tyrrell was later recognized by the nation when the State President of South Africa awarded her with the *Order of Ikhamanga Silver (OIS)* in 2008. This presidential award is only awarded by the President of the Republic of South Africa to individuals who demonstrate an outstanding achievement in the field of art culture, literature, music, journalism and sport.

Barbara Tyrrell, and, in particularly her costume studies, has to a larger extent contributed to the association of the artist and Campbell Collections. Barbara and Killie's close ties ensured that after Killie's death Barbara retained these links to the Campbell Collections. Barbara continued to work closely with the institution and influenced the museum's collection policy. She remained a loyal patron of the institution to date. Her work in the institution includes sketches and complete works of paintings of traditional costumes of South Eastern Africa and Southern Africa. Her collection is complemented by artefacts of bead work regalia of her sitters. This interest of collecting developed later in her career.

The battle Collection and Jo Thorpe Collection

The corridor in the upstairs section is filled with paintings of veteran artists like Arthur Buthelezi, Simon Mnguni and Gerard Bhengu. Other young artists like Paul Sibisi also feature in this display. The corridor is lined with wall wardrobes of Victorian style design as well as in different offices. These wardrobes are filled with different types of Zulu traditional weapons; spears, axes, bow arrows and sticks as well as western arms which include antiquated guns. It cannot be claimed that all these beautifully crafted perilous items made their way into the collection in a legitimate way. This section of the collection is the only aspect that puts Dr Killie Campbell to the test, nevertheless, it reflects the essence of historical colonial interaction between the Zulus and colonial settlers in KwaZulu-Natal. Considering the long relationship and the connection that had built over the years between the Campbell family and the Zulus, the family was caught in a dilemma during Impi Yamakhanda⁴⁷.

Impi yamakhanda is the last open armed resistance against the colonial government. The successful suppression of this campaign led by Bhambatha Zondi by the British settlers descended a long lasting inheritance of poverty among the Zulus. This was a bitter moment between the settlers and the Zulus in the early years of the 20th century. The relationship that prevailed between the employers and the employed deteriorated further. Marshal was affected by the situation; he was caught up in the middle. His son William had joined the British squadron as a captain. "A long-serving *Induna* named Shatabka, ordered by his chief to join Bambatha's forces, dispatched his wife and children to Mount Edgecomb House to be sheltered and fed in his absence. Marshal frowned upon the supplicants. 'How can you expect my hospitality', he demanded, when my own son is fighting and might be killed by your chief." This was a genuine dilemma for Marshall, especially his long-standing relationship with the Zulus.

Hence, some of these weapons were removed from the battle scene. Such weapons may belong to Zulu soldiers who were caught up by death during the combat and confiscated from the defeated victims. Some of these weapons may have inflicted death. This also

⁴⁷ This is famously known as "Bhambatha Rebellion", it is also know as Impi ka Khandampondo, or Impi ka Bhambatha, which resulted from colonial government's imposition of Poll Tax to Zulus.

applies to the guns; some may be responsible for deaths and fatal injuries. “The rebellion was suppressed by the use of “maximum force”. The troops were issued with Mark IV cartridges (the infamous dum –dum) designed to mutilate where it struck.”⁴⁸ This revelation demonstrates the real path that British settlers and the Zulus travelled before reaching the current state of affairs.

The influence of Dr Killie Campbell expanded to reach people like Jo Thorpe who recognized African craft and crafters.

In 1997, Jo Thorpe who directed the African Art Centre in Durban donated a collection of soft sculptures. This collection supplements the museum’s foundation holdings of contemporary black art and craft. Thorpe, collected these sculptures which are rich in beadwork decoration, and by so doing introduced them into mainstream arts and craft. This collection reflects the current issues faced by African people in the township. Issues of divine, religion, death and other traditional and modern expression can be traced through these dolls, which portray the manner how people view life as it prevails.

The Muckleneck Garden

For Dr. Killie Campbell the garden in Muckleneuk was not just a green space but a forest of collection of her favourite indigenous plants and trees. “Most of the indigenous trees had been preserved when the site was cleared and these formed the basis of grandeur”⁴⁹ She had also taken great pleasure in breeding her favourite plants. “Killie Campbell designed the layout of the garden and was an enthusiastic gardener all her life. She was helped by horticulturist William Polton, who is remembered for his pioneering work in the hybridisation of bougainvilleas”⁵⁰ Dr Killie Campbell was a selfless person who believed in collective effort. She was a long serving member of the Horticultural Society and a member of Durban Municipal Parks and Gardens Advisory Board. She advocated for a Natal Kirstenbosch.⁵¹ “Killie also made plea for the cultivation of native trees, shrubs and grasses in public

⁴⁸ N. Herd, Killie’s Africa: The Achievements of Dr. Killie Campbell, (Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane Books, 1982) P38

⁴⁹N. Herd, Killie’s Africa: The Achievements of Dr. Killie Campbell, (Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane Books, 1982) P57

⁵⁰ <http://Campbell.ukzn.ac.za/?=node69>

⁵¹ N. Herd, Killie’s Africa: The Achievements of Dr. Killie Campbell, (Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane Books, 1982) P58

gardens, where visitors could appreciate their beauty and learn of their uses by the tribal people in the treatment of physical ailments.”⁵² There is a living example of her vision in Muckleneuk. Among indigenous plants found in Muckleneuk collection is *Umphafuthi* of *Umlahlankosi*. This plant is used by Zulus to collect the spirit of the dead from the scene. The Zulu people hold a belief that if a person dies wherever s/he dies if the spirit is not removed from the scene where s/he died the spirit will haunt the people around the scene of death. There is also ubani used by pregnant women for reduction of complications when they are giving birth. There is *Icene* for children and chickens, and many other useful plants that comprise Muckleneuk garden; umkhuhlu, isguda, isigqiki somkhovu, mayime, etc. They all need to be labelled accordingly as Dr Killie Campbell had anticipated. However, the Campbell Collection is in the process of undertaking the task through the partnership initiate with Stainbank Nature Reserve Wilderness School.

Conclusion

In conclusion I would like to use Sue Lind Holmes words where she concluded that “Killie Campbell’s achievement in horticulture and the collection of Africana-both artefacts and books have enriched many aspects of life in KwaZulu-Natal. She will not be forgotten.”⁵³ Dr Killie Campbell collections have challenged the colonial notion of collecting African material culture to develop stereotype. Instead Dr Campbell defended the dignity of the African people and loved it as much as she loved hers and others. Furthermore, I will employ Megan Abigail White’s comment after her visit to Muckleneuk; “Killie Campbell felt important of collect books, memoirs and papers “dealing with every aspect of Our Nation, without prejudice to race, religion or colour, which should be available to every earnest student seeking knowledge.”⁵⁴ Dr. Killie Campbell used everything she had to enrich South African people of Natal and the world at large. Her contribution and her name in history should be preserved and promoted. However, there are elements of erasing her name from history. If the name “Killie” is removed from the institution that she personally built with selfless efforts and reduced to ‘Campbell Collections’, the possibility is that in 10 to 20 years her name will be gradually erased from history. Her efforts deserve accolade and her name should be elevated for the role she played in challenging colonial practices.

⁵² ibid

⁵³ <http://Campbell.ukzn.ac.za/?=node69>

⁵⁴ <Http://www.meganabigail.blog/2010/10/killie-campbell-and-africana.html>