

THE WILLOUGHBY collections catalogue





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Missionary Legacies and Botswana's Diasporic Heritage

Fidelis Nkomazana

The missionaries' legacies and Botswana's diasporic heritage make a noteworthy contribution to the colonial history of Botswana. They are a reminder that in this history of interaction between missionaries and Botswana not only religion but also culture were exchanged; not only European tools and objects were introduced but Botswana cultural artefacts were also exported, which were put in European museums. It is possible that without exporting these artefacts, all would have been lost. Therefore, this initiative plays a significant role in the creation of history, and not just in the presentation of written records but also in the presentation of preserved objects. So, diasporic heritage should not be viewed as a historical controversy, but as a historical congruence where the foreign contributed positively. Thus, we are happy and honoured to talk of this diasporic heritage as it objectively contributes to history.

This is a very important initiative of the researchers involved in the writing of this catalogue, which expresses a quest to value the cultural past of the people and to positively identify ways to effectively manage the diasporic heritages and also acknowledge the role of missionary legacies. The catalogue is also an effort to contribute towards a process of decolonizing and repatriating 'migrated' collections, which will be a major contribution to the growth of democracy and to closing the gap in the lack of significant 19th century objects in Botswana museums.

The repatriation of Botswana diasporic heritage will contribute immensely to the rewriting of the traditions and historic narratives of Botswana. It will be very interesting to hear and see the words of the local communities when they interact with these objects. Their memories and interpretations will add much value to communities' cultural understanding, as the objects will connect the people with their past, their ideas, their experiences and their history. This heritage will provide unique opportunities for preserving, re-interpreting and analysing people's experiences and history. It is for this reason that through this catalogue academics are expressing great interest in revisiting the Willoughby archival materials.

The Making African Connections Project

JoAnn McGregor & Nicola Stylianou

The Making African Connections project was inspired by activism for the return of African colonial-era collections held in British museums and a convergence of interest with calls from Botswana for repatriation. Winani Thebele of the Botswana National Museums has been a strong advocate for the repatriation of such ‘migrated’ collections to the countries where they originated. In the UK, many important African collections are in national institutions but others are in regional museums, where they are often inaccessible, poorly documented and unused. One such is an important 19th century Botswana collection held in storage in Brighton on England’s South Coast. The objects were donated to the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery by Rev William Charles Willoughby, a former missionary who collected these objects as ‘curios’ when he was working with Khama III at Old Palapye on behalf of the London Missionary Society. Other Europeans who worked in Bechuanaland Protectorate also made smaller collections. Although the Brighton Museum was open to discussing returns, like other regional museums in the UK, it lacked funds to do the background research necessary to translate calls for decolonizing into practical initiatives. At the same time, Botswana museum collections lack significant 19th century objects. Thus, the University of Sussex led a project, funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council, to digitize and research the Botswana collection in Brighton in collaboration with Botswana curators to render it accessible to Botswana publics, online, through a display at Khama III Memorial Museum and through this catalogue.

The project was envisaged as enabling discussion within Botswana over the significance and future of the collection. It was also seen as provisional, to be taken forward by Botswana historians and curators. The research was conducted collaboratively by researchers at the University of Sussex, the Brighton Museum & Art Gallery, Scobie Lekhutile and Gase Kediseng at the Khama III Memorial Museum, and Winani Thebele at the Botswana National Museum, together with Tshepo Skwambane and the Brighton & Hove Black History, who have been important advocates of repatriating collections such as this. The objects in the catalogue were photographed by John Reynolds. One aspect of the project involved research into the history of the objects in archives in the United Kingdom and in the Botswana National Archives to locate texts that could help rehistoricize, recontextualize, and reinterpret the artefacts, which are often listed in the Brighton Museum catalogue simply as ‘Bechuana’. Oral history research in

Serowe and in the vicinity of Old Palapye in the Tswapong area where some of the objects came from brought the artefacts to life through people's own words, memories and stories.

Transcripts and films of Serowe people talking about the objects are available on the Making African Connections digital archive. Importantly, the archival and oral history research showed that these objects were for the most part from different ethnic groups in Botswana (not Basarwa/San as Batswana viewers sometimes assumed), and shed light on interconnected histories and social change.

This catalogue provides a record of the collection of objects from Botswana held by the Brighton Museum & Art Gallery and is meant to spread knowledge about these objects. It also marks an exhibition based on an international loan of selected objects to take place in Khama Memorial Museum in the future and a precursor pictorial exhibition based on object photos in 2021. Further information on the broader project, which also involved other collections that originated in Sudan and the Namibia/Angola border lands, is available on <http://www.makingafricanconnections.org/>. Further information relating to the research created by Brighton Museum is also available from: <https://brightonmuseums.org.uk/discover/2021/02/22/making-african-connections>.



SHAWL-PINS made of native iron.
BECHUANALAND, SOUTH AFRICA.
Presented by the Rev. W. C. Willoughby,
March, 1936. Reg. 4007/42.

Introduction

Winani Thebele

The migrations of ethnographic collections from different corners of the globe to Europe dates back to the 15th century when new lands were being discovered. In European culture, collecting is an old activity and people have collected since the Middle Ages, and this habit grew more with the development of the museum into a modern institution.¹ Dag Henrichsen, the German-Namibian historian, gives oral narratives about the early encounters between the local communities (Nama, Herero, and Damara) when foreign people arrived on boats at coastal areas in Namibia and the trade that took place. This was another way of migrating local objects and with no ‘informed consent’, according to Jeremy Silvester.² This, therefore, means centuries of looting these territories of their heritage. These objects went into European and American museums, art galleries, auction houses, studios and so forth.

It is within this context that whole museums in the Global North were constituted with collections from foreign lands. The objects, once taken from their original places, got placed into circles of exchange and accumulation by dealers, auctioneers, European Museums, and later, American Museums. This made it very difficult to trace their origin and for scholars to research them. Some were taken from their sacred places only to be stored in museum boxes and warehouses. Larissa Foster also argues that because of the large amount of collections brought into European museums, the museums and collectors were in most cases unable to do provenance research.³

Hence, a huge number of objects remained with no information and stored in storerooms and warehouses and were only exhibited as curios and for aesthetics. This is the context in which the ‘Willoughby Collections’ as found in the Brighton Museum & Art Gallery, the Iziko Museum of Social History, the York University Museum and many other places were transferred. The provenance research done by the team on the objects was to get them out of warehouses and to reintroduce them to the communities of origin and the global community. According to Sarr and Savoy, this ensemble of the displaced objects that are in foreign museums has been reframed and has lost their identities and significance.⁴ In our case, they had lost their identities. They are the oldest and finest pieces from Batswana culture, but local communities do not know them and mistake them as belonging to Basarwa. While over centuries the migration of cultural property meant the development and establishment of museums, today within the context of museums and heritage this implies institutional partnerships and collaborations, and exchanges in exhibitions,

1 Gunther Wessel, “Dealers and Collectors, Provenances and Rights: Searching for Traces,” in *Countering Illicit Traffic in Cultural Goods: The Global Challenge of Protecting the World’s Heritage*, ed. France Desmarais. (Paris: ICOM, 2015), 1.

2 Dag Henrichsen, “Cape Cross? African Places—History and Stories,” *Historical Judgment* 1 (2019): 24

3 Larissa Forster, “Problematic Provenance: Museums and University Collections from a Post-Colonial Perspective,” in *German Colonialism: Fragments Past and Present*, (Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, 2016), p. 159

4 Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, “The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Towards A New Relation Ethics,” 30.

staff, research findings, websites and expertise. This is with a deliberate aim to partner with those who hold our collections as a way of gaining access to what is rightfully ours. It explains the Making African Connections Project's collaborative research on Willoughby's Botswana Collection between the University of Sussex, the Brighton Museum & Art Gallery and the Khama Memorial Museum. The engagement with such material, therefore, serves to reconnect with the long lost heritage and to empower, restore and renew the life and aspirations of the communities of origin. The empowerment and restoration could entail collaborating with museums and communities of origin, exchange exhibitions, and publication and sharing with the international community through the media about the reconnection with the objects.

The transfer of African heritage during the colonial era was instigated by many different perpetrators that ranged from travelers, explorers, hunters, colonial officials, curatorial expeditions, punitive expeditions, scholars or researchers, traders, and most importantly, missionaries. In this case, it was the Rev. Willoughby, a missionary from the London Missionary Society church, a beloved friend of the Batswana, who even accompanied the three chiefs to England to discuss the Protectorate with the Queen (as evidenced by the Three Chiefs Monument in the Central Business District in Gaborone).

During their first explorations, missionaries collected artefacts to prove some points back home and to share their discoveries, recruit colleagues and lobby their governments for support.⁵ Due to these encounters with missionaries, a lot of objects found in museums abroad were migrated. The colonial encounters and their repercussions are supported by John and Jean Comaroff in their exploration of colonial evangelism and modernity in South Africa.⁶ Good examples of objects migrated by missionaries are the weaving loom from Malawi's Lower Shire region and a host of artefacts migrated by David Livingstone and his peers, now found at the National Museum of Scotland. The weaving loom was a common artefact used by communities of the Lower Shire region of Nyasaland. Rebekka Habermas also talks about the role of missionaries in colonial history and their contribution to the migration of collections from the local communities.⁷

Rev. Willoughby collected objects for the South African Museum in Cape Town and donated collections to the Brighton Museum and many other places. Like most missionaries, he collected objects that were associated with local traditional practices.⁸ In spite of all the positive contributions he made, as narrated by John Rutherford,⁹ as a collector, he remains a perpetrator and a contributing factor to the huge presence of Botswana collections in Cape Town, Europe and America. What was received from him and through him is far too little compared to what has been lost because of him. The Finish missionary Martti Rautanen was in the same way responsible for uprooting the Namibian Kwanyama Power Stones that ended up in a Finish Museum and have now been repatriated.

Another method of migrating Africa's cultural property by the missionaries took the form of condemnation of the African culture as heathen and barbaric. As a result, the African communities willingly gave away their cultural objects.¹⁰ Therefore, museums

5 Donald Fraser, *The Story of Our Mission—Livingstonia*, (London: The United Free Church of Scotland, 1915), 3.

6 John L. Comaroff, and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

7 Rebekka Habermas, "Do You Want to Help the Heathen Children?" In *German Colonialism; Fragments Past and Present*, 2016, pp. 54-57.

8 John Rutherford, *Little Giant of Bechuanaland: A Biography of William Charles Willoughby*, (Gaborone: Mmegi Publishing House, 2009), vii.

9 Jeremy Silvester, "Museum Objects, Memory and Identity in Namibia," *Historical Judgment* 1 (2019): 24.

10 Chi Thien Pham, "How Museums Identify and Face Challenges with Diverse Communities," in *Museums and Communities: Diversity, Dialogue and*

globally and communities today are engaged in conversations to decolonize the museum, to redefine the museum and to reappraise its colonial past and its history of collecting.¹¹ The debates are around the repatriation of this heritage back to communities and countries of origin. They also hinge on the notion of a shared responsibility towards the management, promotion and preservation of this heritage as universal property. This directly talks to the Brighton Museum & Art Gallery, the Iziko Museum of Social History, the Khama Memorial Museum and many other museums engaging in similar projects.

As part of best practice, there is a need for transparency and sharing of old notes and records from colonial times by institutions of heritage and scholars. This includes accepting that there is a historical and cultural gap that needs to be filled.¹² The museum also has to give space and resources to the proper inventorying of its collections. The objects migrated by Rev. Willoughby were not documented, and we can only argue the case that the objects that were transferred from Botswana were given to him as gifts and donations and that some were purchases. Where there are replicas or in cases where the particular objects could only belong to a certain ethnic group or culture, we could apply issues of copyright and intellectual property. It is this gap of lack of documentation that the curators and scholars involved in this project have been trying to close through the systematic documentation of the Willoughby collections for this project, both manually and digitally.

According to Schorch, provenance research and restitution should contribute to the knowledge base about the communities of provenance.¹³ This subscribes to a museology of diasporic cooperation and the protection of heritage as a global responsibility, and most importantly, as a human right. The active participation of communities in the different functions of the museum gives them an opportunity to remake their history through the collections found in the museum.¹⁴ The communities become authors of their own culture through the co-interpretation of collections and displays in the museum, and it gives them a sense of pride and ownership.¹⁵ Engaging with the communities and curators in Serowe, Botswana, over the Willoughby Collection was an opportunity for them to appreciate their long-lost heritage and to reconcile with the colonial past with its goods and wrongs.

Collaboration in an Age of Migrations, eds. Viv Golding and Jen Walklate, (London: Cambridge Scholars, 2019), viv.

11 Liviu Razvan Pripon & Valentino Andrian Kiss, "Redefining the 21st Century Museum Based on the Cultural Organism Concept," in *Revista Muzeelor Museum Journal*, ed. Virgil Stefan Nitulescu (2019), 9.

12 Ellen Ndeshi Namhila, "The Hendrik Witbooi Diaries: From War Booty to Memory of the World Treasure," *Historical Judgment* 1 (2019), 20.

13 Philipp Schorch, "Sensitive Heritage: Ethnographic Museum, Provenance Research and the Potentialities of Restitution," *Museum and Society* 18, no. 1 (2020): 1.

14 Chi Thien Pham, "How Museums Identify and Face Challenges with Diverse Communities," 110.

15 Chi Thien Pham, "How Museums Identify and Face Challenges with Diverse Communities," 107.

Then we were 'Bechuana'

Winani Thebele, Scobie Lekhutile & Gase Kediseng

The Serowe exhibition objects are a representation of ethnographic material collected by Rev. Willoughby in the 1890's from the Batswana of Gammangwato and the hinterlands. The collection includes clothing and ornaments, and food quest, such as cultivation and hunting objects. Most, if not all, of the artefacts were created from material that was readily available to the maker. While a small portion was acquired through trade, most was provided by nature.

The objects are out of use and long forgotten by most modern Batswana, though a tiny fraction might still be in use in our part of the region. Though this period is important as it marks a time of transformation, not much was kept in terms of material culture. The exhibition will give present day Batswana a chance to appreciate what their ancestors used on a daily basis. The selected objects in the exhibition are currently a part of the collection of the Brighton Museums Art Gallery. These will be exhibited alongside contemporary objects from the recent past. This is to illustrate similarities and a shift in the use of materials; for example, the traditional material for making baskets was grass, palm or *morethwa* bark, and today we see some weavers using plastic materials. Another thing that is easy to observe is that whenever new things were introduced to Batswana, they would attempt to produce their version of the same items; for example, moving from a hat that resembles the roof of a rondavel to one that looks more western with a crown and bream, but all the same woven.

Another noticeable trait is the use of common leather clothing, such as the back and front aprons, leathers cloak and sandals. Today only the San people will be associated with the leather attire, and many of the other ethnic groups have long abandoned them for more modern attires. When it comes to some cultural practices, we cannot give account of where and when they were introduced to Batswana. What we can learn from the exhibition is that some practices were common, such as the use of snuff and its intricate designed containers. It's not surprising to learn that among some ethnic groups in Botswana, snuff is still a treasured commodity that is also used as a prized offering to the ancestors. Meanwhile, with beadwork and jewellery it is easy to notice that Batswana have always had the skill of making their own beads. In the collection there is a neck piece with thorns from a camel thorn tree (*Acacia erioloba*).

All in all, it is our hope that this exhibition will give the modern-day Motswana an opportunity to learn of this important era. It shows that the Motswana of the yester years was creative, innovative, productive and self-reliant. People produced their own food, clothing and domestic utensils. Today's Batswana are dependent on things produced in a factory, which results in the death of the creative industry.

Let us all enjoy this great lesson from our past!

Background to the Objects Selected for the Exhibition in Serowe

This section showcases the objects selected for the exhibition in Serowe, grouped into themes, with a short introduction to each section and a caption for each object. There is also a reflection of the thinking behind the exhibition by Gase Kediseng and Scobie Lekhutlile, curators at the Khama Memorial Museum.

There are numerous Basarwa communities living in the greater Serowe area and the greater Kgalagadi area, and a simple look at these objects by ordinary Motswana would depict the objects as belonging to Basarwa. However, provenance research into the objects by the project team has proven that they belong to different ethnic groups, such as the Mazezuru of Peleng (Lobatse) and Serowe, Bangwato, Bakalanga, Batawana, Batswapong and Babirwa. This also goes to show that many other objects in European museums documented as belonging to Basarwa might actually belong to other ethnic groups. This, therefore, calls for provenance research for most of the colonial holdings.



LEATHERWORK

Today leather attire is mostly associated with the San people and traditional dance attire, but the many terms used to describe the front and back aprons worn by women shows that some Batswana ethnic groups knew and wore these attires. The names that are mostly remembered are *phaya* and *phayana*, and some would say *dibebe* or *dipepe*, while others would say *mothikga* or *motati*. All these are descriptive of the leather attire. Traditionally, leather was not only used to make daily attire but also for making mats and bedding and not forgetting the leather sandals (*rampechane*), milk containers (*lekuka*) baby slings (*thari*), loin cloths (*mocheke* or *mongato*). Clearly this shows that leather was once a key source of livelihood for Batswana.



Cloak/cape (motati)



Back apron (mothikga)



Back apron (mothikga)



Front apron (mothikga)

Sandals (mpeetshane/mampeechane): Much as they walked bare footed, many Tswana ethnic groups also used leather thongs (*pheetsane*) protect their feet from thorns and stones.



Leather tools: Used among the many traditional societies of Botswana (the then Bechuanaland). These are mostly made from natural resources, such as leather and tree barks.



Corn bag/sack (motsitana/motsitsana)



Strip of hippopotamus skin (letlalo la kubu)



Utility belt/case: used for carrying hunting equipment such as bows and arrows (morutshe, letlalo la kubu).



Stringed apron/front skirt (makgabe): The apron was in most cases made of leather, string and sinews.



Bullet pouch (Bante ya Metsu)

This is a set of needles for sewing leather works and a pouch in which the needles and thread are kept, as well as a flattening stick for flattening down the stitched areas or seams.



flattening stick/roller (mogoko/moiteelo)

BEADWORK AND JEWELRY

Jewelry or beadwork was very common among many African ethnic groups. The collection includes a variety of head bands and necklaces, and most could be used for both purposes. Beads made from different materials, such as ostrich egg shells, dried seeds and wood, were used as adornments or decoration. It appears that among most Batswana, jewelry was not just for decorating the body, but was also connected with correcting and healing the body. Copper bangles are attributed with having healing properties over arthritis and were worn by people as bracelets and anklets. To the present day there are some Batswana who still associate and connect different beads of different colours with ancestral worship and traditional healing. Furthermore, it is still common to see babies with beads around their waists, believed to help the baby form well. It was also common, and is scarcely practiced these days, to wear charms made from animal parts such as teeth and horns with bead necklaces. Even purses could be made from beads. Beads are therefore a key component of Tswana culture, and were associated with rituals and ceremonies.



Purses (kgetse/kgetsana/sekgwama)

Apron (tshega)

Accessories such as purses were also made from local materials. They were used by both men and women to carry snuff containers, perfumes, protection charms and hunting knives for the men. The purses could be made from leather, beads and sinews and were found among many ethnic groups.



Ornament/waist bead band (sebaga sa letheka): Believed to beautify women and shape their waist



Beadwork/dolls dress (mosese wa mpopi wa dibaga)



Neck ornaments/necklaces (dibaga)



Necklace with horn (sebaga sa lenaka la pheko):
Could be worn as charms for protection
by both young and old



Necklace or neck ornament/charm (sebaga sa leitlho la tlou):
Mostly visible among the Venda and Ndebele people
of South Africa today (leitlho)



Necklace (sebaga)

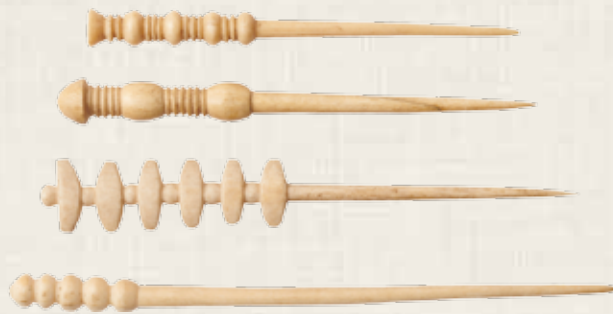


Eggshell container for storing, carrying and keeping water cool (sekgapha sa lee la manchwe): Necklaces, earrings and headbands were also made with ostrich egg shell beads

Leg and arm ornaments (dikgare/maseka)

There is a variety of hand bangles used by the different ethnic groups of Botswana. These can range from one single bangle to a whole set of bangles that were worn on one hand or both and around the neck. The Bakalanga and other regional ethnic groups, such as the AmaNdebele, have this in their tradition. These are also evidence of the use of metal and blacksmithing amongst Tswana communities





Ivory hair pins (dikgokelo tsa moriri tsa lenaka la tlou):

Hair craft or hair dressing was another key area of pre-occupation among women in traditional Tswana societies. This was later replaced by head scarfs.



A set of shawl pins made from metal (dikopelo/dikgokelo):

A shawl around women' s shoulders has always been part of traditional Tswana societies. The shawl pin was used to fasten the shawl or blanket and to keep it in place when attending village gatherings, weddings, discussions and funerals.

Basketry and Weaving

Basketry is prevalent among many ethnic groups in Botswana. The materials used for making baskets vary according to the locality and availability of resources at different localities. The baskets can be made by both men and women. The common baskets ranged from carrying baskets, storing baskets, utility baskets and baskets used for decorating or when giving away corn, groundnuts etc. to friends. The winnowing tray is also a common utensil. It is used by many ethnic groups in Botswana, and even by other Bantu or Sotho groups in Southern Africa. It is used to separate chaff from grain or corn powder from the corn after pounding. We do not know when Batswana began weaving baskets and making clay pots, but we do know it has been done for a long time. The baskets were household utensils for storing grain. Alongside basketry and pottery, beakers were at times made from horns.



Hat (hutshe/thoro ya lelodi la moretlwa)



Basotho style hat for men (hutshe/mokorotlo)



Winnowing baskets (leselo)



Storage basket (sesigwana)

WOOD CARVING

The different ethnic groups used wooden home utensils such as wooden bowls, mortars and pestles, wooden spoons and milk urns. Wood is one of the most commonly used materials and was used to produce anything from wooden bowls (*mogopo*), spoons (*leso*) and walking sticks (*thobane\lore*) to spear and axe handles. It is evident that some utensils were inspired by what was newly introduced into the culture. The wooden spoon was mainly used for stirring and cooking porridge, hence its name *leso la go soka bogobe*. A smaller version (*leswana*) was a copy of the tablespoon as people mostly used their hands to eat back then.



Wooden bowls (megopo ya legong)



Milk urn/pail (kgamelo)



Wooden spoon for eating (leso la legong le le jang)



Adze (petlwana)

Below is a set of utility sticks



Play stick for herd boys (seragi sa basimane madisong/nxai)



Digging stick (kepu)

Farming



Calabash/gourd with a leather handle (phafana/phaana)



Calabash/gourd/milk container (phafana ya mongobolo)

Pottery

Pottery is also an old preoccupation for many traditional Tswana societies and still is. It was done by both males and females, with taboos involved at times. We do not know when Batswana began making clay pots, but it is clear that this skill has been a part of the local cultures for a long time. The clay pots available ranged from the smallest to the biggest, and the uses included carrying and storing water, cooking food, brewing and storing beer, rituals, and burials.



Clay vase (sejana sa letsopa)

Snuff Containers

The smoking of tobacco and snuff is a very old preoccupation among traditional Tswana societies. It was done by both men and women and was done for pleasure as well as for rituals. Different sets of snuff containers were used for prestige and out of necessity. Some were traded and some were made locally from local materials, such as guards and horns. Though we cannot give full account of when and how snuff use was introduced to Batswana, it is evident that it became popular and a somewhat priced commodity among consumers. Its importance is clear from the containers crafted for its storage and the manner in which it was consumed. Some snuff users would make and carry a snuff spoon, known as *lemeku* in Setswana, which was used for cleaning the nostrils after taking snuff. Amongst most Tswana groups, the material of choice used for making snuff containers was the end tip of a horn, hence the Setswana name *nakana*, meaning small horn. In addition, it is notable that snuff were also used as an offering to the ancestors



A spatula or snuff spoon used to scoop snuff during preparation and to clean nostrils of dried snuff (lemeku)

Snuff containers (dinakana/ditoise tsa motsoko)







Powder horns (dinakana tsa mosidi)



Horn vessels/tumblers (kopi/bekere ya lenaka)

IRON SMITHING

Batswana has displayed some knowledge of working with metal (blacksmithing) for a long time. It is clear that they had a process to source raw iron or scrap metal, which they used to produce axe blades, spear heads and arrow tips. They also made their own bellows, which is called *mouba/moubelo* in Setswana. The spear heads were made with a mid-rib, which gave them enough strength to penetrate rough surfaces. Double edged knives were also made, and today they remain common mostly among the San and Hambukushu people. Below are hunting knives that were commonly used by the river people as multi-tasked knives. The wooden sheath is for the protection and durability of the knife and is also a concealer.



Hunting, fishing and utility knives with wooden casings and a dagger (thipa) with a sheath (kgata/selata)



Spears and arrows (segai/lerumo/metso): These arrows go hand in hand with the above wooden sheathed knives for hunting, fishing and fighting.

Arrow quiver (morutshe)



Bow, quiver and arrows (metsu, seragi/bora le kgetsi ya metsu kgotsa motsitsana): This is a set of bow and arrows. It was commonly used by the Basarwa or “Bushmen” of the Kgalagadi desert for hunting, although other ethnic groups could have also used them at some point.

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS



Fly whisk (seditse sa kgomo)



Anklets/leg ornament



Walking sticks (lore/thobane/seikokotelo)



Leg rattles/musical instruments (matlhowa)

The Collection of Reverend Willoughby at Brighton Museum & Art Gallery

Helen Mears (Keeper of World Art, Royal Pavilion and Museums Trust)

i) The Royal Pavilion & Museums Trust (RPMT; the organization of which Brighton Museum & Art Gallery is part) has a collection of around 200 objects from Botswana. Most of the objects were first loaned to Brighton Museum by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in 1899. The collection was initially on display in what was then the Museum's Ethnology gallery for around 10 years. The same objects were first loaned to Brighton Museum by Rev. Charles Willoughby in 1899. In 1936, after his death, his family donated the collection to the Museum, and it became part of the permanent holdings of what is now the RPMT. Today the collection is an important element in a significant group of historic objects from Africa, many of which were collected during Britain's colonial era. Like other parts of the collection, these objects offer a tangible connection between the city of Brighton & Hove and specific African countries. Willoughby's connection with Brighton came from the fact that he was a pastor in a congregationalist church in the town before he left for Botswana in 1893. He maintained links with the town until his death. When Willoughby accompanied the three Tswana dikgosi on their trip to London in 1895 to campaign against the incorporation of the then Bechuanaland Protectorate into Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company territories, he also brought them to Brighton for two visits.

In recent years we have been reflecting on what it means to hold colonial-era collections, and like museums elsewhere in the UK and across Europe, we want to be open about the way these objects were collected. We are committed to sharing information as widely as possible about colonial-era collections held by the RPMT and are gradually going through these collections in partnership with communities in the UK and in the countries of origin, where possible. We have always been open to requests for the repatriation of cultural property (as is set out in our Collections Development Policy) but hope to be more proactive in this area in the future than we have been to date. The Making African Connections project has thus offered a welcome opportunity to pilot new ways of working and for having open discussions about what the future of these collections might be.

Through the Making African Connections project, we have been able to develop our knowledge and understanding of the 'Willoughby collection', as well as of historic objects from Botswana collected by other individuals. As a result of the collaborative research undertaken in the UK and in Botswana, new information has been added to our collections management system. Professional-quality images have been taken of individual objects and these new resources are available online so that they can be accessible to publics internationally. We are also excited to be undertaking preparations to loan part of the collection to Botswana

through a partnership with Scobie Lekhutile and Gase Kediseng at the Khama III Memorial Museum and Winani Thebele from the Botswana National Museum. Furthermore, through a visit to Serowe, undertaken by Rachel Heminway Hurst (Curator), John Reynolds (photographer and filmmaker) and Tshepo Skwambane (cultural consultant), a small collection of new objects was acquired that can provide the Museum's publics with a more current view on the role of craft practice in Botswana today. The development of this new collection was informed by a series of visits to and conversations with the makers, which are forming the basis for a series of short films, available here: <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL7imClpGqvhrYHoFINCA5olc0XhhnQZ5Z>

Alongside these initiatives which aim to develop and share knowledge and understanding of the 'Willoughby collection' in historical and contemporary contexts, we are delighted that the Willoughby Collections Catalogue, compiled by Winani Thebele, will provide another way through which the Botswana public can learn more about this collection and hopefully contribute to the process of thinking about what its future could or should be. Whatever the final destination of these objects, we are grateful to the project partners for enabling a new set of conversations and a new range of relationships, which expand the possibilities for this historical collection. We look forward to the further development of these relationships in the future.

The achievements of the project are testament to the extraordinary time, energy and commitment dedicated to it by all those involved. My thanks to all those who have worked on this initiative: Suchila Chatterjee; Colin Heminway; Rachel Heminway Hurst; Gase Kediseng; Kathleen Lawther; Scobie Lekhutile; Neil Parsons; John Reynolds; Tshepo Skwambane; Winani Thebele; and Bert Williams; as well as to our project partners at the University of Sussex, the Powell-Cotton Museum and the Royal Engineers Museum. We are grateful also to the Arts & Humanities Research Council for project funding and to the James Henry Green Charitable Trust for additional financial support.

Object documentation has been collated and supplied by Kathleen Lawther, Rachel Heminway Hurst and Tshepo Skwambane. Objects were photographed by John Reynolds. We appreciate the support of our project partners, our Botswana museum colleagues and those Botswana-based researchers and artisans who generously shared their knowledge of and insights into these objects. Wherever possible, this information has been added to the museum catalogue and to the project's digital archive: <https://www.makingafricanconnections.org/>

ii) A Reflection on all the Available Botswana Objects at the Brighton Museum. *Winani Thebele*

Documentation records show that the list of available objects from Botswana at the Brighton Museum was not migrated by Willoughby alone. Like in the many other cases across Europe and America, many characters contributed to the transfers, including missionaries, colonial officials, scholars and researchers, curators, commissioned individuals, travellers, and hunters. The objects were collected in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1936) and even before. This was a period of social and technological changes and these objects represent the traditional lifestyles and skills of traditional Tswana communities from that period rather than the contemporary lives of the people of Botswana. This explains why the ordinary Motswana today associate the objects with the Basarwa. It is also evident that some objects from Botswana, Namibia and South Africa were just labelled or documented as coming from the Sotho or Tswana, the “Bushmen” or the Kgalagadi without specifying the exact country of origin. The exact provenance of the objects is therefore not clear at times. The overall list of objects from Botswana found at the Brighton Museum has been divided between those migrated by Willoughby and those migrated by other characters. Willoughby's outstanding character and contribution to the collection is why he has been given an upper hand in the Brighton Botswana Collection. This is common in many other museum collections, and similar collections are often referred to by the name of the collector; for example, the British Museum has the Welcome Collection, the Torday Collection and the Christy Collection, while the Botswana National Museum has the Van Rensburg Collection and the Bathoen Collection.

The objects have been documented below for the appreciation of the extent of the collection. The documentation reflects a description of the object, the collector, and the object number given by the museum and should help in case of researches on specific objects. There are different conditions and circumstances surrounding the presence of the different objects by other actors. Willoughby's collection on the other hand was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK, and the loan was converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/16
Dagger (thipa); sheath (kgata)

White metal dagger with carved wooden handle. Sheath made from two separate pieces of wood bound together with leather. The overall shape of the sheath is phallic, with a symbol (possibly an animal form) carved on the upper half, and a carved loop on the back. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.

Object Number: R4007/99
Dagger (thipa); sheath (Kgata; Selata)



Dagger with a dark wooden handle and openwork wooden sheath, decorated with raised ornament and incised lines. The blade has double zigzag lines down the centre on both sides. The sheath has a perforated lug for a string for carrying. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from Bechuanaland (1885-1966) and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.



Object Number: R4007/98

Powder horn (lenaka la mosidi)

A powder horn made from a cow's horn with raised ring just below mouth. The base and bottom portion are bound with hide and scored at the top of this section with decorative lines. There is a hide thong tied around the neck. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from Bechuanaland .

Powder horn made from a cow's horn, grooved for string below mouth, with wood bottom and an iron wire staple near bottom edge. There is a carrying string made from braided animal hide in the lower part and braided plant fibre rope in the top part of the string. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from Bechuanaland. The collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.



Object Number: R4007

Powder horn (lenaka la mosidi)



A powder horn made from a cow's horn, decorated with a raised ring around the mouth and two rings below with a zigzag dotted line in between. There is a double line of dots ascending spirally from the base to the bottom ring and a wooden base. Two iron wire staples in horn for string attachment that functions as a carrying strap.

Powder horn (lenaka la mosidi)

Object Number: R4007/95



Object Number: R4007/94

Axe (selepe)

An axe with straight wooden handle, bulbous head and oval metal blade. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966).



An axe with a long wooden handle with a bulbous head and metal blade. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. He loaned the objects to the Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.

Object Number: R4007/93

Axe (seletswana)



An adze with metal blade that fits through the shaft, held in place with a small wooden peg. It has a bulbous wooden shaft and straight handle. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Object Number: R4007/92

Adze/petwana



A string apron consisting of a fringe of closely tied plaited strings attached to a hide belt. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate .

Object Number: R4007/90
Stringed apron (makgabe)



Object Number: R4007/9
Adze/Petlwana

An Adze made from a pointed wrought iron cylinder, beaten out into a cutting end, with a knobbed wooden handle. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate .



A wooden hoe with bulbous head and short, square metal blade. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from Bechuanaland.

Object Number: R4007/88

Hoe (mogoma)

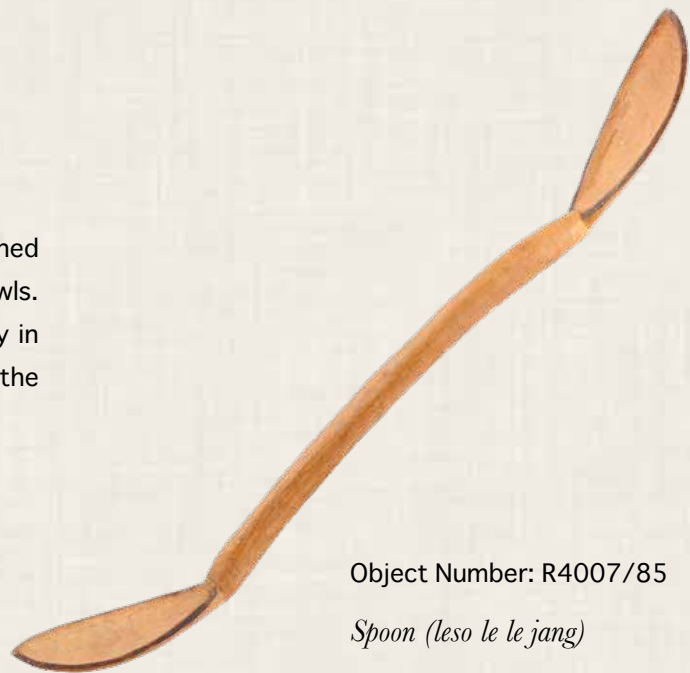


Two interlocked wooden spoons carved from one piece of wood. Each spoon has a large, blackened loop at the end of its handle connecting it to the other spoon. The bowls of the spoons are shallow, oval-shaped and decorated with blackened designs. These are part of the collection from the then the Bechuanaland Protectorate and were collected by Rev. Charles Willoughby.

Object Number: R4007/87

Spoon (leso le le jang)

A double ended wooden porridge spoon with blackened markings around the rims and on the back of the bowls. It was collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the then Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to the Brighton Museum in 1899.



Object Number: R4007/85

Spoon (leso le le jang)



Object Number: R4007/84

Spoon (Leso le le jang)

A small wooden porridge spoon used for eating. It has a rounded handle with a small hole at the end and a black decoration on the edge of the handle and the rim and the base of the bowl. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.



A small wooden porridge spoon used for eating. It has a blackened rectangular loop at the end of the handle and a blackened, carved triangular pattern on the back of the spoon. The spoon is part of a collection from the then Bechuanaland Protectorate by Rev. William Charles Willoughby .

Object Number: R4007/83

Spoon (leso le le jang)



A small wooden porridge spoon used for eating. It has a ring loop at the end of the handle and a black pattern on the back of the bowl. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966) and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.

Object Number: R4007/82

Spoon (leso le le jang)

A large wooden porridge spoon with a flat oval-shaped bowl and the head of an animal carved at the end of the handle. Used in the porridge cooking process. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to the Brighton Museum in 1899.



Object Number: R4007/81

Spoon (leso le le jang)



An apron consisting of a fringe of closely tied, plaited strings attached to a hide belt and worn by girls. It was collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate .

Object Number: R4007/80

String apron (makgabe)



A large wooden spoon with a shallow circular bowl. The end of the handle, rim and one side of the base are blackened as decoration. Used in the porridge cooking process. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the then Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Spoon (leso la legong)

Object Number: R4007/8



A large wooden porridge spoon with rectangular hole at the end of the handle and a blackened design on the rim and base. Used in the porridge cooking process. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to the Brighton Museum in 1899.

Object Number: R4007/79

Spoon (leso la legong)



Bowl (mogopo wa legong)

Objective Number: R4007/78

A wooden porridge bowl carved from light-coloured wood. Below the outer rim a is a line if burnt triangles as decoration. The handle has also been coloured by burning. The bowl has a rounded bottom. It was collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby together with many other objects in the then Bechuanaland Protectorate.



Object Number: R4007/77

Leg rattles (musical instrument; matlhowa/mathoa)

A pair of leg rattles made of the dried cocoons of the mopane caterpillar strung together. This were worn tied around the ankles but this one has been coiled into a circle and stitched in place. There are 165 cocoons in total. They are part of the collection by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate .



Object Number: R4007/75

Anklets; bracelets

A pair of men's bracelets or anklets made from animal hair and porcupine quills. The curved quills splay out in spiral-like pattern from the centre, which is a circular band of animal skin with some fur still present. These would be worn when dancing. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966).



Object Number: R4007/74

Sandals (rampeetshane/mpechana)

A pair of flat leather sandals with thin leather straps made from the skin of the forehead of a cow. The top surface shows the natural colouration of the animal hide in mottled tan and brown. These were collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to the Brighton Museum in 1899 .



A gourd or calabash container made to hold milk or water. The calabash itself is contained in a network of thick string and has a string handle. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to the Brighton Museum in 1899.

Object Number: R4007/73

*Calabash/gourd/milk container (phaana/
phafana ya mongobolo)*

A carved wooden milk bowl shaped like a large mug. This milk bowl is made from a light-coloured wood that has been darkened on the outside. It has a foot rim and a raised band incised with wavy lines and triangular and lozenge-shaped pittings. A small, perforated lug projects from the band. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate. .



Object Number: R4007/72.

Milk urn/milk pail (kgamelo)



A heart- or shield-shaped cloak made from the skin of a hartebeest with tail at the top. Decorated with circular and star-shaped leather applique patches in a lighter coloured hide. Three small tabs project from the near-centre of the cloak, and there are three short, braided straps at the top corners. It was part of a collection by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate and was loaned to Brighton Museum

Object Number: R4007/70

Cloak/cape (motati)

A shallow oval-shaped dark wooden porridge bowl with flat rim. Decorated around the outer rim with triangle-shaped holes in a single row pattern and at either smaller end a double row. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate.



Object Number: R4007/7

Wooden bowl (Mogopo wa legong)



Large, dark wooden mug-shaped vessel with decorative black stain and triangular handle. Decorated with a central band of two incised lines with a mirrored pattern of black triangles and chevron stripes. Slightly curved base. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Object Number: R4007/69

Mug (kopi ya legong)

Bottle vase-shaped water container made of red clay with a flat base and raised ridge at the neck. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). It was part of the collection he loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.



Object Number: R4007/68

Vase (sejana sa letsopa)



A globe-shaped basket made of plaited kitenge root fibre with a slightly flattened base and a tall neck ending in a lid. The lid has a central star design in darker brown dyed fibre. The basket is woven to form a zigzag pattern with the darker fibre in middle of the body. It is part of a collection from the then the Bechuanaland Protectorate and was donated by the Rev. Charles Willoughby to the Brighton Museum in 1936.

Object Number: R4007/67

Basket with lid (sesegwana)

A globe-shaped basket made of plaited grass. The weave is spirally bound with eight vertical band decorations from the base to the middle and eight smaller vertical bands from the rim to the middle. Spherical with a slightly flattened base. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate. He donated it as part of a collection to the Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/65

Basket (sesegwana)



An urn-shaped basket made of coiled grass. This basket has a flat and narrow base, a round lid and a leather thong attached as a handle. Collected together with other cultural items by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Object Number: R4007/64

Basket (sesegwana)

A round container made from a section of a gourd or calabash and decorated with incised black lines and triangular shapes. There is a short leather thong attached to the side with a knot to form a carrying handle. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The Willoughby Collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK and later converted into a donation.



Object Number: R4007/63

Calabash/gourd (phafana/phaana)

A man's woven grass hat made from a golden yellow grass bound with a broader, dark grass, creating thin diagonal stripes. It has a flat top with a narrow, straight brim. The design is an imitation of a European hat design. The hat appears small for a man but would be worn perched at the top of the head, slanted backwards. It is part of a collection by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate. He donated the objects to the Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.



Object Number: R4007/62

Hat (thoro ya lelodi la moretwa le bojang/hutse)



Object Number: R4007/61

Bullet pouch (Bante ya Metsu)

A set of tools used in leather work. One wooden awl section with metal pins bound together with a length of grass rope. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and later converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/60

Front apron/skirt (mothikga)

A case for tools used in leather work made of rush or grass stems bound at the ends with hide and a rolled spiral thong. Collected as part of a set of tools used in kaross (animal skin cloak) making. It is part of a collection by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It was loaned to the Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK and later converted into a donation.

A woman's goat skin apron or cloak with broad hide strings attached to the top edge. Near the bottom of the apron are three ornaments of coral-orange, white and black beads sewed to leather discs. It was collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate . The collection was later donated to the Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/6

Leather work tools casing (morutshe)



Object Number: R4007/59

Flattenig stick(lengwaelo)

A smooth wooden stick used as a roller or beater for preparing skins in leather work. Collected as part of a set of tools used in kaross (animal skin cloak) making. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the then Bechuanaland Protectorate. His assembled collection of objects was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and later converted into a donation in 1936.

A horn tumbler in a dark brown graduating to striped cream colour in the top half. The shape follows the natural curve of the horn. It has a decorative ridge carved one third of the way from the top and at the rim. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/58

Horn vessel/tumbler (kopi/bekere)

A brown and cream-coloured horn tumbler with a marble-like effect created by the natural colouring of the horn. The exterior is decorated with incised stripes and zigzags around the rim. The base is a disc of dark wood. It was part of a collection by Rev. William Charles from the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK and later converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/56
Horn vessel/tumbler (kopi/bekere)

Snuff container (nakana/toise ya motsoko)

Object Number: R4007/55



A snuff container made from a small gourd with a small circular opening at the top. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK and converted into a donation in 1936.



Bottle-shaped horn snuff container decorated with carved vertical ridges. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.

Object Number: R4007/54

Snuff container (nakana/toise ya motsoko)



A small dark bottle-shaped snuff container decorated with vertical copper bands and studs. The colour is dark brown with a lighter translucent brown band near the base. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Willoughby's collection was given to Brighton Museum in 1936.

Object Number: R4007/53

Snuff container (nakana/toise ya motsoko)

A small horn bottle-shaped snuff container. The body is decorated with vertical inlays of copper wire to form a striped design. The colours of this snuff container are green and black. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate . This assembled collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/52

Snuff container (nakana/toise ya motsoko)



A small horn bottle-shaped snuff container. The body is tapered in towards the top and decorated with eight vertical inlays of copper wire and two light-coloured bosses. These two bosses are decorated with lines and dots. The colours of this snuff container are green and black. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Object Number: R4007/51

Snuff container (nakana/toise ya motsoko)



A woman's square goat skin dress or cloak with two long skin strips and two wide skin tabs fixed to the top. There are patches of lighter coloured skin, two circular and one square, sewn onto the top half of the piece as decoration or mends. It was a part of the objects collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in Bechuanaland.

Object Number: R4007/50
Apron/leather dress (mothikga)

A dark-coloured horn snuffbox. The carved body of the bottle tapers in with a small ridge, followed by a bulbous neck and three further ridges carved at the rim. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.



Object Number: R4007/5
Snuff container (nakana/toise ya mmotsoko)



Object Number: R4007/49

Snuff container (nakana/toise ya motsoko)

A dark-coloured horn snuffbox with wooden stopper. There are three decorative vertical white strips attached to the sides, each with three round dots. The shape follows the natural curve and taper of the horn, and the neck is carved to form three rounded ridges. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Willoughby donated the objects to Brighton Museum in 1936.

A snuffbox made of bone, with a dark horn base. It is a smooth flask shape with a ridge at the neck. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). He assembled this collection of objects during a period of social and technological changes and these objects represent traditional lifestyles and skills, rather than the contemporary lives of the people Willoughby met. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.



Object Number: R4007/48

Snuff container (nakana/toise ya motsoko)



Snuffbox made of bone that is gourd-shaped with a globular bottom and a smooth round neck. The lower portion is decorated with burnt dark circles with a dark dot in the middle. One of these circles is a hole; it is unclear whether this is intentional or damage. A part of the collection by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966) and donated to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.

Object Number: R4007/47

Snuff container (nakana/toise ya motsoko)

An ivory and animal hide small snuffbox that is a conical shape with three rows of downward facing chevron/triangle-like incised decorations. Eight of these chevron motifs, four in the upper row and four in the middle row, have a club like addition in the shape of a figure eight with a protruding stem. Hide stopper with leather thong loop. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to Brighton in 1899.



Object Number: R4007/46

Snuff container (nakana/toise ya motsoko)



A spatula-shaped snuff spoon made of a silver-coloured metal. The handle and blade are decorated with a line of zigzag dots. The end of the handle curls up to form a circular loop. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.

Object Number: R400/45

Snuff spoon (lemeku)

Four metal pins made from twisted iron with small triangular heads. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 .



Object Number: R4007/43

Shawl pins (sekopelo/ Kgokelo)

SHAWL-PINS made of native iron.
BECHUANALAND, SOUTH AFRICA.
Presented by the Rev. W. C. Willoughby,
March, 1936. Reg. 4007/42.



Object Number: R4007/41

Hair pin (kgokelo ya moriri)

An ivory hair pin carved with four round bead-like knobs alternating with discs and a round, flat head. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.

Object Number: R4007

Hair pin (kgokelo ya moriri)



Ivory hair pin with the head carved into six cross-like projections, alternating with a flattened bead-like stem. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 .



Object Number: R4007/40

Hair pin (kgokelo ya moriri)

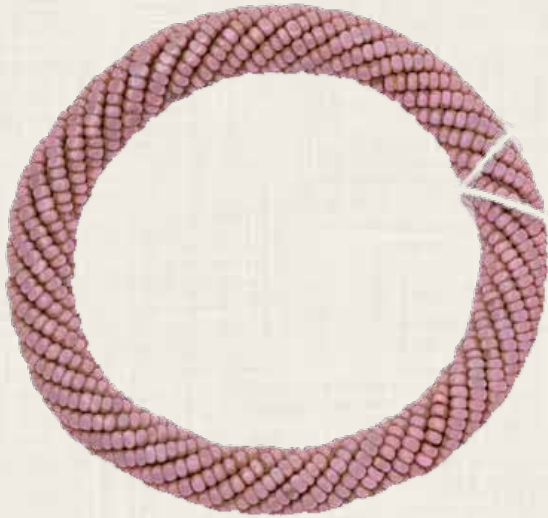
A ivory hair pin carved with five round knobs at the head and a smooth tapering stem. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.

Object Number: R4007/4

Hair pin (kgokelo ya moriri)



An ivory hair pin carved with bead-like knobs alternating with discs at the head and a smooth tapering stem. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate. He assembled this collection of objects that he donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/38

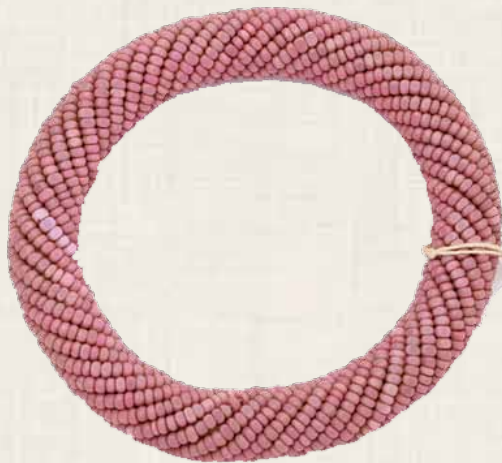
Bracelet (leseka la ditalama/dibaga)

A girl's bracelet made from a thick twine with blue beads wound around it in a spiral design. The twine is not visible because it is concealed by the beadwork. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and later donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/37c

Bracelet (leseka la ditalama/dibaga)



Object Number: R4007/37b

Bracelet (leseka la ditalama/dibaga)

A girl's bracelet made from a thick twine with pink beads wound around it in a spiral design. The twine is not visible because it is concealed by the beadwork. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.



Object Number: R4007/37a
Bracelet (leseka la lenaka la tlou)

An ivory bangle with two grooves and a keel shape on the outer surface. A crack has been joined with brass wire through four drilled holes. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate. His assembled collection of objects was donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.

One of a pair of elephant hide bracelets that is a simple round bangle shape and cut in one piece with no join. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.

Object Number: R4007/36

(b)



(a)



Object Number: R4007/35/2



Object Number: R4007/35/1

Bracelets (maseka)

One of a pair of bracelets made of woven yellow grass with stitched hide joints. The grass section has a feather pattern weave, forming chevron stripes. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate . Willoughby's objects were initially loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.

One of a pair of bracelets made from woven yellow grass with stitched hide joins. The grass section has a feather pattern weave, forming chevron stripes. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate and donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/34/2

Bracelets (maseka)



Object Number: R4007/34/1

Bracelets (maseka)

One of a pair of arm ornaments made of coils of twisted wire, with one section each of brass, copper and iron wire. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate . These assembled objects were donated to Brighton Museum in the UK.



Object Number: R4007/33/2

Bracelets (maseka)

One of a pair of arm ornaments made of coils of twisted wire, with one section each of brass, copper and iron wire. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Willoughby's collection was donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.

A wire bracelet comprised of two coils of iron wire in the centre and two coils of copper wire on each side. These are held together with an iron wire wrapping at the centre, which is decorated with copper wire in a diamond shape. At either end the bracelet fastens with a wire hook and eye. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. This collection was later donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/33/1

Bracelet Leseka)

A wire bracelet comprised of ten coils of copper and brass wire. These are held together with an iron wire wrapping at the centre, which is decorated with copper wire in a diamond shape. At either end the bracelet fastens with a wire hook and eye. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in Bechuanaland and donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/32/8

Bracelet (Leseka)



Object Number: R4007/32/7

Bracelet (Leseke)

A bracelet made of twisted wire comprised of a braid of brass wire bordered by coiled copper wire. These are held together with an iron wire wrapping at the centre, which is decorated with copper wire in a diamond shape. At either end the bracelet fastens with a wire hook and eye. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate . The collection was given to Brighton Museum in 1936.

A bracelet made of twisted wire comprised of a braid of iron and copper wire bordered by coiled iron wire. These are held together with an iron wire wrapping at the centre, which is decorated with copper wire in a diamond shape. At either end the bracelet fastens with a wire hook and eye. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in Bechuanaland. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum and later converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/32/6

Bracelet (Leseke)

A wire bracelet comprised of two coils of iron wire in the centre with two coils of brass wire on either side. These are held together in five evenly spaced places with iron wire wrapping, which is decorated with brass wire. The bracelet fastens with a wire hook and eye. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.



Object Number: R4007/32/5

Bracelet (Leseke)



Object Number: R4007/32/3

Bracelet (Leseke)

A bracelet made of twisted wire comprised of a braid of iron and copper wire bordered by coiled iron wire. These are held together with an iron wire wrapping at the centre, which is decorated with copper wire in a diamond shape. At either end the bracelet fastens with a wire hook and eye. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in Bechuanaland. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum and later converted into a donation in 1936.

A bracelet made of twisted wire comprised of a braid of iron and copper wire bordered by coiled copper wire. These are held together with an iron wire wrapping at the centre, which is decorated with copper wire in a diamond shape. At either end the bracelet fastens with a wire hook and eye. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate



Object Number: R4007/32/7

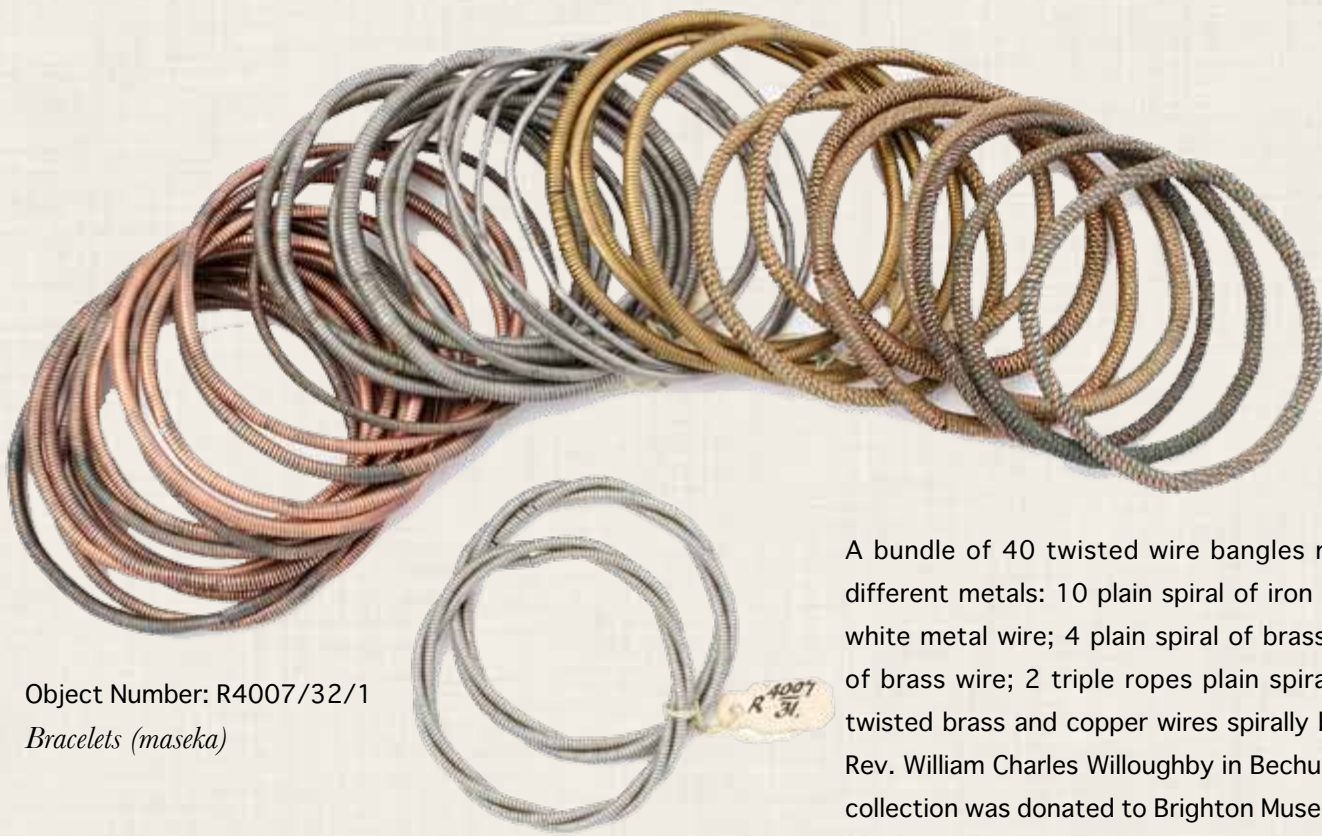
Bracelet (Leseke)

A bracelet made of twisted wire comprised of nine double twists arranged in rows, with three iron twists in the centre and three copper twists on either side. The twists are held together with wire wrapping at the centre, which is decorated with copper wire in a diamond shape. At either end the bracelet fastens with a wire hook and eye. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.



Object Number: R4007/32/4

Bracelet (Leseke)



Object Number: R4007/32/1
Bracelets (maseka)

A bundle of 40 twisted wire bangles made of a variety of different metals: 10 plain spiral of iron wire; 1 plain spiral of white metal wire; 4 plain spiral of brass wire; 15 plain spiral of brass wire; 2 triple ropes plain spiral of iron wire; and 8 twisted brass and copper wires spirally bound. Assembled by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in Bechuanaland. Willoughby's collection was donated to Brighton Museum in 1936

Twenty twisted wire leg ornaments in a simple circular bangle form. These were worn by women just below the knee. There are 13 brass and 7 copper or copper and iron. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK and converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/31
Bracelets; Maseka



A square sheep skin shawl or blanket with rounded corners. There is a square of tan-coloured animal skin in the centre with a border of lighter coloured skin with patches of dark hair on it. It has two skin strings at the top. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate and loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.

Object Number: R4007/3

Cloak/cape(sekhutane)

A necklace consisting of a short, twisted leather thong with eight iron wire pendants attached. The pendants are circular in form with short, twisted ends. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in Bechuanaland and donated to Brighton Museum in 1899 .



Object Number: R4007/29

Necklace (sebaga)

A woman's necklace made of oval blue beads with darker blue beads at the centre. In the centre of these beads is a pierced leopard's tooth pendant. The leopard's tooth is both a decoration and a charm. All the beads are threaded onto cotton, which is tied at both ends. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Willoughby's collection was donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.

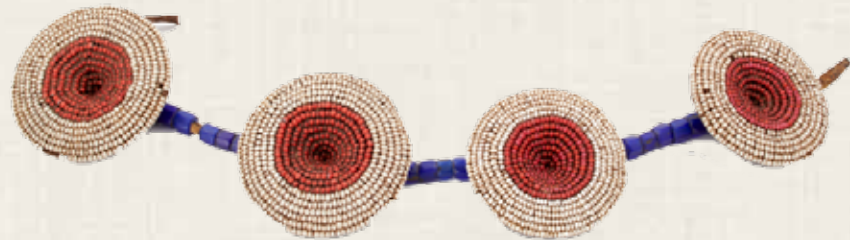


Object Number: R4007/28
Necklace with horn (pheko ya sebaga)



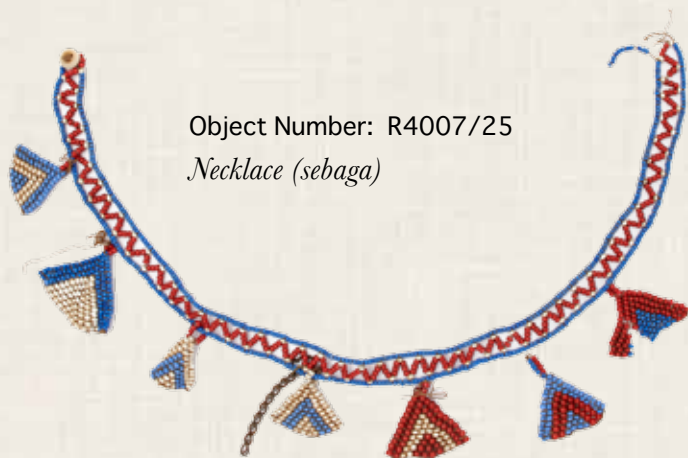
Object Number: R4007/26
Necklace (sebaga)

A Tswana girl's necklace made of a hide string to which is sewn a double row of coloured beads in alternating lengths of black and light pink beads. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.



Object Number: R4007/27
Necklace/charm (sebaga sa leithho la tlou)

A necklace made from a length of leather strap threaded with large, hexagonal dark blue beads and four large 'elephant eye' ornaments. These ornaments are made from discs of elephant hide decorated on the top surface with seven circles of red beads and six of white beads stitched onto the hide. The stitching is visible on the reverse. This woman's necklace was also worn as a charm by elephant hunters. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in Bechuanaland. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/25
Necklace (sebaga)

A Tswana girl's beaded necklace or headband made with seven triangular pendants attached to a beaded band. The beaded band consists of a double row of blue beads with a zigzag of red and white beads as the centre of the band. The pendants are made of blue, red and off-white beads arranged as chevrons. The necklace is secured in place using a shirt button as a fastener. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966).

A necklace or headband consisting of a leather thong with beaded triangular pendants in chevron designs of white, black, blue, red, pink and turquoise beads. It fastens with a white button. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was first loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.



Object Number: R4007/24
Necklace (sebaga)



Object Number: R4007/23
Necklace (sebaga)

A woman's necklace consisting of two strands of strung small coral-coloured imported glass beads. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and converted into a donation in 1936.

Beadwork dolls dress



Object Number: R4007/22

Beadwork made of a fringed band of beads sewn to a hide band with a button and loop fastening. It has a bead band of blue beads with a zigzag pattern in white beads and a fringe of lighter blue beads. The original accession register describes it as a dolls dress. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby.



Object Number: R4007/21
Apron (tshega)

A beaded apron or loin ornament made for a Tswana boy. This apron is triangular in shape and decorated with double lines of pink and blue beads in chevron stripes. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/20
*Bag/purse (kgetse/
kgetsana/sekgwama)*

A small bag of coloured beads. The small oblong pocket is decorated with a beadwork design of pink and blue zigzag stripes with a fringe at the bottom in the same colours. Two thin hide strings are attached to the top and tied in a bow. There are traces of light-coloured animal hair on the thinner strings. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from Bechuanaland and later donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/19
*Bag/purse (kgetse/
kgetsana/sekgwama)*

A small bag covered in coloured beads. The small oblong pocket is decorated with zigzag stripes of pink and white beadwork. Two wide, leather strings are attached to the top. This would have been used by women to carry small valuable items, tied around the waist or pinned inside clothing, since women's clothing had no pockets. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.

Object Number: R4007/18
Apron (tshega)



A Kalanga women's loin ornament or apron made of a doubled skin apron with three skin tabs at the top. The bottom is decorated with a line of white shirt buttons and a deep fringe of coral-coloured and white beads. The button and bead fringe extend onto the two hide strings at the sides. This was worn over a skin skirt. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was given to Brighton Museum in 1936.



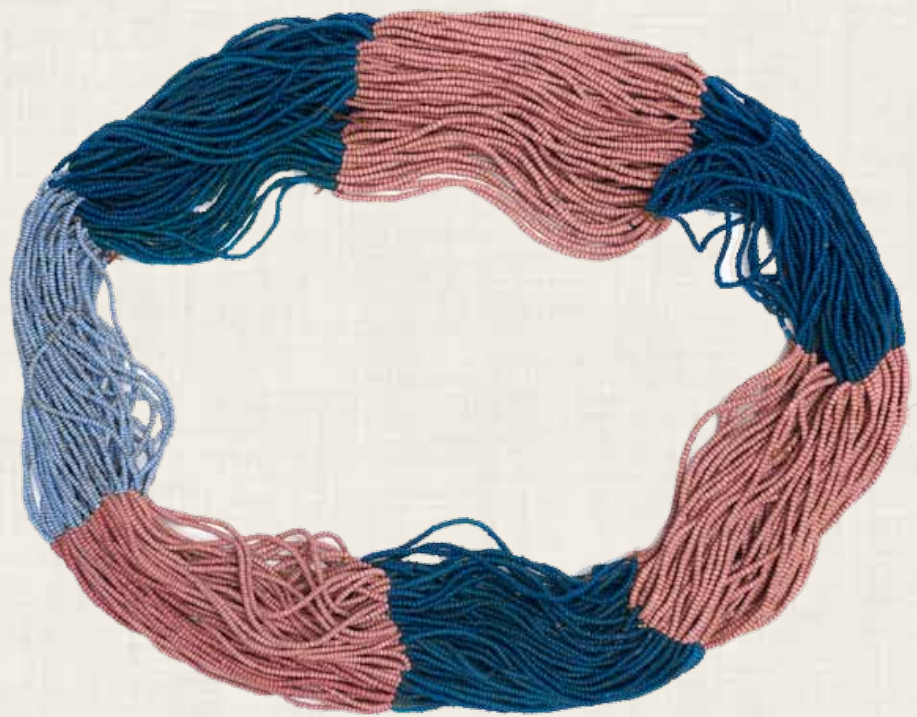
Object Number: R4007/17

Ornament/belt (sebaga sa letheke)



A beaded waist ornament made of ostrich egg shells and beads string on 11 strings joined together with a leather tie. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and converted into a donation in 1936.

A women's waist ornament made of multiple strings of light blue, dark blue, and pink beads, strung in alternate bands. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.



Object Number: R4007/15

Ornament/belt (sebaga sa letheke)



Object Number: R4007/14

Bowl/winnowing basket (leselo)

A winnowing basket made from woven plant fibre and coated in a brown substance. Used as an agricultural tool and for domestic use. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). The collection was given to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/129

Porridge stick/beer stirrer (mogori/leso)

A stick made from the stiff middle rib of a palm leaf and used for stirring porridge or beer. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was first loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.



Object Number: R4007/128

Walking stick (thobane/lere)

A walking stick whose stem is made of twisted and dried hippopotamus hide. It has a crook handle. There is a scored line around the middle of the stick and another around the middle of the hook. This may be part of the manufacturing process. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966) and donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/127

Spear (segai/lerumo)

A spear with a narrow leaf blade. The shank is squared and the sides are decorated with incised chevrons. The wooden shaft is attached to the blade with an iron spiral. The lower part of the shaft has three vertical bands of incised chevrons. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was given to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/128

Spear (segai/lerumo)

A spear with a narrow leaf blade. The lower portion of the iron shank is squared and the sides decorated with incised zigzag lines. It is attached to the wooden shaft with an iron spiral band. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966).. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/126

Spear (segai/lerumo)

A spear with a narrow leaf blade made of iron. The edges of the squared iron shank are notched to form short bands of lines. The blade is bound to the shaft with an iron spiral. There is a band of snake skin around the centre of the shaft. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was given to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/125

Spear (segai/lerumo)

A spear with a metal leaf blade ending in two barbs and attached to a wooden shaft with an iron spiral band. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966) and donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/24

Spear (segai/lerumo)

A spear with a metal lozenge-shaped blade and long shank that is attached to a wooden shaft with an iron spiral band. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). The collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.



Object Number: R4007/23

Spear (segai/lerumo)

A spear with a narrow metal leaf blade attached to a wooden shaft with an iron spiral band. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966) and donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/22

Spear (segai/lerumo)

A spear with a narrow metal leaf blade attached to a wooden shaft with interlaced hide. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966) and given to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/121

Spear (segai/lerumo)

A spear with a narrow metal leaf blade attached to wooden shaft with a hide band. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was permanently donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/119

Spear (segai/lerumo)

A spear with a blunt, narrow leaf blade made of iron. This blade is attached to the wooden shaft with a band of interlaced brass wire. There is a hide band near the bottom of the shaft. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966) and donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/117

Walking stick (thobane/lere)

A wooden walking stick decorated with lines of burnt oval spots. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). He assembled this collection of objects during a period of social and technological changes and these objects represent traditional lifestyles and skills, rather than the contemporary lives of the people Willoughby met. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK. The loan was converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/115

Staff (thobane/lere)

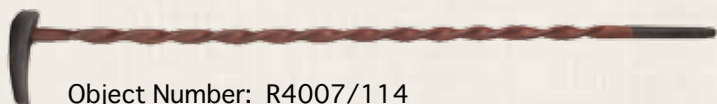
A wooden staff made of dark stained wood. It is decoratively carved in a twisted shape with slight club at the end. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/116

Walking stick (thobane/lere)

A wooden walking stick decorated with broad burn spiral bands covering length of the stick. This design is relatively simple to make, indicating that the stick may have belonged to a lower status individual. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was handed over to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK



Object Number: R4007/114

Walking stick (thobane/lere)

A wooden walking stick made of a dark red wood with the stem carved into a twisted design and a cross handle of horn inlaid with copper wire. The horn inlay may be made from rhino horn. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The objects were loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and were converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/113

Walking stick (thobane/lere)

A wooden walking stick in a dark red wood with a stem carved into a twisted design, decorated with a band of woven copper wire below the knob. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). The collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.



Object Number: R4007/111

Cloak/cape (sekhutane)



Object Number: R4007/12

Hat (hutse/mokorotlo)

A boy's shield-shaped cloak, made of dark-coloured calf skin. The animal's tail and two hide strings are at the top. The exterior was once covered with dark animal hair, now worn away. The interior is smooth and decorated with small leather circular applique patches with white hair. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and converted into a donation in 1936.

A conical-shaped woven grass sun hat, with a flat circular knob at the top. Is made from grass and decorated with short strips of black hair (possibly elephant hair) woven in. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was handed over to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.



Object Number: R4007/110

Fly whisk (seditse)

A fly whisk made from a light-coloured ox's tail and a handle made of woven brass and steel wire in diagonal stripes. There is a short loop of hide string at the end of the handle. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was given to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/11

Utility belt/case (morutshe)

A bullet pouch made of hide in the form of a belt. It has two long and one short purse-like pockets, and a long loop of hide string. It fastens with an iron buckle. Assembled by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in Bechuanaland and donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/08

Fire stick (phetho ya molelo)

Part of a fire stick, broken in the middle, used in the fire making process. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was initially loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899.



Object Number: R4007/107

Fire stick (phetho ya molelo)

A fire stick, pointed at both ends, decorated with zigzag lines and dots. It could be a fire stick or a play stick (nxai) for herd boys. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was donated to Brighton Museum in 1936 when he returned to the UK.



Object Number: R4007/106
Quiver & arrows (kgetsi le metsu)

An arrow quiver with arrows. The arrows are made of wooden heads and bamboo shafts. They have blunt, round hardwood points. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was given to Brighton Museum 1936.



Object Number: R4007/105
Quiver & arrows (kgetsi ya metsu)

An arrow quiver with arrows. The arrows are made of semi-lunar iron heads and attached to the bone shank with cane shafts. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). The objects were donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/104
Quiver & arrows (kgetsi ya metsu le metsu)

An arrow quiver with three arrows made of blunt bone heads, one with a wooden shaft, and two with cane shafts with a ring of skin from a monitor lizard at the blunt end. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/103
Quiver & arrows (kgetsi le thogo ya motsu)

A barbed bone arrow head. Assembled by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966) and later given to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/102

Quiver & arrows (kgetsi ya metsu)

An arrow quiver with five arrows with triangular barbed bone heads and cane shafts. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). His collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK.



Object Number: R4007/101

Quiver (motsitsana)

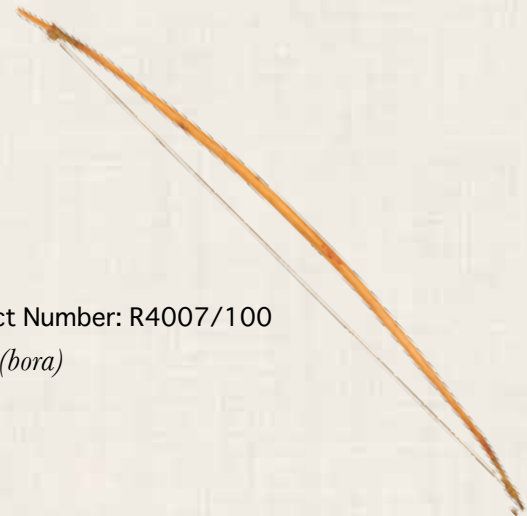
A quiver made from red hardwood with a hide strap and a hide cap for the base. It has 12 bands of cane binding, and 8 drilled holes for use with fire sticks. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). This collection of objects was given to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/10

Corn bag/sack (motsitana/ motsisana/motsitsana)

A small sack made of the skin of a Duiker, a small antelope, with the legs and hind feet still attached and tied to form a strap. There are circular and square patches of a darker leather sewn as decorations or as mends. Used for carrying a quiver and also may have been used to carry corn or provisions. Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 and converted into a donation in 1936.



Object Number: R4007/100

Bow (bora)

A wooden bow with leather attachments wound around the ends and a leather or vegetable string. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was loaned to Brighton Museum in 1899 when he returned to the UK



Object Numbers: R4007/ BC425478
Ostrich egg shell/water container
(sekgapha sa lee la ntshe)

A whole undecorated ostrich egg shell. There is a small circular hole in the top where shell has been removed. This was probably used as a water carrier with the hole sealed with a stopper. Assembled collection by Rev. William Charles Willoughby from the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It was donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Numbers: R4007/ BC425477
Ostrich egg shell/water container
(sekgapha sa lee la ntshe)

A whole undecorated ostrich egg shell. There is a small circular hole in the top where shell has been removed. This was probably used as a water carrier with the hole sealed with a stopper. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966). Willoughby's collection was donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.



Object Numbers: R4007/ BC101600
Strip of hippopotamus skin
(letlalo la kubu)

A thick strip of hippopotamus hide, light brown in colour squared off at each end. Collected by Rev. William Charles Willoughby in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885-1966) and donated to Brighton Museum in 1936.

A necklace or waist ornament made from ostrich eggshell beads strung on a long leather thong. Late 19th century. Materials: Ostrich eggshell and leather from the Khoe-San. Place: Southern Africa. The beadwork can be worn around the hips, neck, or diagonally across the body. The Khoe-San are the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa (Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa), and ostrich eggshell beadwork plays a prominent role in their dress and culture. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906.



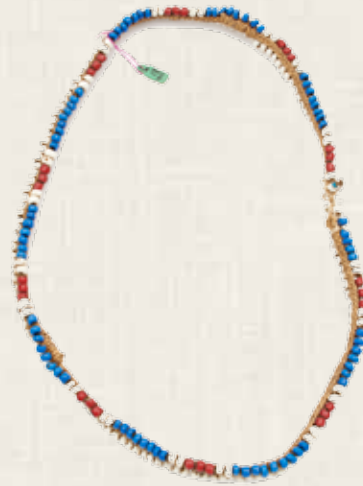
Object Number: R705/18
Necklace/waist ornament



Object Number: R3916/9

Necklet (sebaga)

A necklet with two beaded panels. Narrow flat band of white, red, and yellow beadwork with a narrow strip of pink beadwork along the centre. Two square decorative panels of beads in red and black and with a line of larger yellow beads along base are attached. Donated to Brighton Museum by William S Proctor in 1935. Collected from Bechuanaland in about 1910.



Object Number: R3916/7

Necklet (sebaga)

A necklet consisting of two rows of beads on fibre. One row is all white and the other is in bands of blue beads interspersed with bands of three red beads with two white beads on either side. Donated to Brighton Museum by William S Proctor in 1935. Collected from Bechuanaland in about 1910



Object Number: R3916/8

Necklet (sebaga)

A bead necklace consisting of a leather band covered with pink beads to which are attached green, black and pink bead fringes. There is a loop at one end and a brass button fastening at the other. Donated to Brighton Museum by William S Proctor in 1935. Collected from Bechuanaland in about 1910.



Object Number: R3916/3

Belt (lebante)

A fibre belt with five bars of blue, red and white beadwork running the length of the belt, except for a break in the middle where there are nine brass studs. There are four brass studs at one end and three at the other. Long strings at either end terminate in clusters of large blue and smaller white and red beads. Donated to Brighton Museum by William S Proctor in 1935. Collected from Bechuanaland in about 1910.



Object Number: R2778/267

Bracelet/bangle (leséka la ditalama/dibaga)

One rope bracelet made of blue and pink glass beads strung on a textile fibre. There is a loop fastening at one end, and the other part of the fastening is damaged or missing. Part of the collection of Mr Frederick William Lucas, F.L.S. In 1922 the Brighton Museum accepted an offer of a one year loan of Lucas' 'Osteological and Ethnographical Collections'. In November 1925 a selection of 96 items were removed by Lucas and the remaining items were offered to the museum as a gift.



Object Number: R2778/282/2

Necklace (sebaga)

One of a pair of rope necklaces made of coloured glass seed beads in bands of black, pink and green with single rows of white. This necklace has a pyramid-shaped metal fastening. Part of the collection of Mr Frederick William Lucas, F.L.S., F.Z.S. Lucas. In 1922 Brighton Museum accepted an offer of a one year loan of his collection. In November 1925 a selection of 96 items was removed by Lucas and the remaining items offered to the museum as a gift.



Object Number: R3916/2

Belt (lebante)

A plant fibre belt whose outer surface is covered with beadwork that is mostly white beads with eight small rectangles in blue and red and an outer border of mostly pink, interspersed with yellow and red. Donated to Brighton Museum by William S Proctor in 1935. Collected from Bechuanaland in about 1910.



Object Number: R1346/1

Apron (khiba)

A blue cotton apron made from hand woven cotton fabric dyed with indigo. It consists of a rope girdle of white beads with bands of red, yellow and blue beads at the waist, and a fringe of coloured beadwork at the lower edge. A collection of six items from Bechuanaland purchased from furniture dealer Henry Faulkner of Brighton in 1913.



Object Number: R998

A Girdle/Fibre Belt (lebante)

A girdle/fibre belt with a coil of blue, red, and white beadwork featuring triangular designs that are attached to a strip of brown hide at the center. From this hangs a heavy fringe of closely knotted tassels of string made from plant fibre and dyed a deep red-brown. There are also eight pairs of green beaded strings attached to the central coil, evenly spaced among the tassels. Purchased from commercial dealer James Biddle of Brighton in 1910. Documented as coming from Botswana, Southern Africa.



Object Number: E3/1/70

Basket (totwana/tlatlana)

A wide shallow foot-based basket made of grass or palm fibre. The fibre is a natural yellow colour with darker brown fibres forming the central circle with sectional patterns. The pattern is similar to the traditional Tswana design 'tears of the giraffe'. Collected by J. Rosen



Object Number: E/8/76

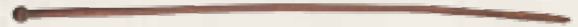
Gourd/calabash (segwana)

A water dipper made from half a deep orange-coloured gourd, consisting of a deep bowl and handle to which a loop of string is tied. The outside is decorated with incised lines and geometric patterns. Documented as coming from Botswana but the collector is not mentioned.



Object Number: R732
Bow (bora)

A round section bow decorated with bands of hide with hair attached to a sinew string. Donated to Brighton Museum by Louisa Percival in 1907. The Percival family of Hove donated several items from Southern Africa, Australia and New Zealand to the World Art collections in the early 20th century. Documented as coming from Botswana, Southern Africa. Cultural Group: Khoisan; Basarwa



Object number: R705/6
Staff (lere/thobane)

A wooden staff with a small round knob at the end. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana.



Object Number: R705/7
Knobkerry (thobane)

A wooden staff with a plain bulbous round end. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana.



Object Number: R705/8
Club/knobkerry (thobane)

Club carved from long thin piece of dark wood with plain round knob at one end. Pre-1906 collection. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana.



Object Number: R705/5
Battle axe (seletswana)

A battle axe with a dark wooden handle, a curved head and a D-shaped iron blade. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana.



Object Number: R705/3
Spear (segai/lerumo)

A spear with a small leaf blade on a long shank bound to wood with plaited wire. The case of the shaft is covered with hide. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana

A bangle made of braided and coiled brass and copper wires. There is a thick braid of brass wire bordered on each side by thinner braids of copper wire and two coils of brass wire. These are held together by a thicker iron wire wrapping in three sections and at either end where the bracelet fastens with two hook-and-eye clasps. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana.



Object Number: R705/24
Bangle/bracelet (leséka)



Object Number: R705/23

Bangle/bracelet (leséka)

A bangle made of twisted brass and copper wires. There are eight twists of brass wire bordered on each side by four twists of copper wire. These are held together by twisted copper wire wrapping in two sections and at either end, where the bracelet fastens with a wire hook and eye. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana.



Object Number: R705/22

Necklace (sebaga)

A single strand necklace made from the double pronged thorns of the acacia tree, interspersed with cylindrical wooden beads. Strung on fibre and tied together to form a loop. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing of London in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana, Southern Africa.

A beadwork apron with a fringe of mostly white beads, with red and dark blue beads forming a repeated double diamond design and two zigzag stripes. Each strand of the fringing ends with further blue and red beads and a larger black bead. There is a row of lighter blue beads along the top of the fringe where it is attached to the belt. There are three long leather strands attached to the apron, and these are threaded with metal discs and end in bead fringing. Donated by Miss Faith Standing of London in 1906.



Object Number: R705/21

Apron (makgabe)



Object Number: R705/21

Necklace (sebaga)

A double stranded necklace consisting of beadwork coiled around cotton rope. Each strand is half green and half pink beads. The upper part of the necklace is exposed rope. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana.



Object Number: R705/19

Necklace (sebaga)

A thick tubular rope necklace with black and white beadwork. One half is plain white, and the other is formed of even sections of blocks of black and white beads, with the last section being a mix of black and white beads. The beads are coiled around a thick rope that is exposed at the ends and tied together. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing of London in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana.



Object Number: R705/17

Girdle (lebante/sebaga)

A coiled glass-beaded waist girdle or neck ornament. Sections of white beads with stripes of green, black, pink, red and yellow beads. The beads are coiled around a fibre interior, and there are triangular pointed brass buttons as fasteners at each end. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana.



Object Number: R705/15

Bowl/pot (pitsa/mogobo)

A large, deep wooden food bowl or pot on three legs decorated around the rim with carved chevrons and sewn together on one side. The bowl has a round handle with a loop on one side. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana, Southern Africa.

A simple constricted neck gourd with a leather thong handle tied around the neck. There is a dried corn husk inside the gourd, which may have been used as a stopper or an addition to purify the water carried within. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana, Southern Africa.

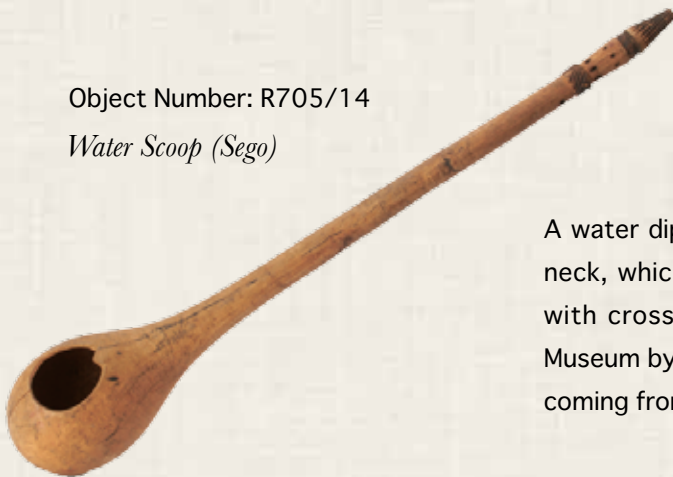


Object Number: R705/16

Gourd/calabash (phafana ya bojalwa)

Object Number: R705/14

Water Scoop (Sego)



A water dipper made from a hollowed-out gourd with a very long neck, which forms the handle. The top of the neck is decorated with cross-hatched black lines and dots. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing of London in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana, Southern Africa.



Object Number: R705/12

Fly whisk (seditse)

A fly whisk made of the red-brown hair of an animal tail attached to a slim dark wooden handle. There are two loops of hide string at the end of the handle. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana, Southern Africa.



Object Number: R705/13

Fly whisk (seditse)

A fly whisk made of the white-grey hair of an animal tail bound to a slim wooden handle with string wrapping. There is a metal cap at the end of the handle. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing of London in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana, Southern Africa.



Object Number: R705/1

Spear/assegai (segai/lerumo)

A leaf-shaped bladed spear with wooden shaft and leather binding and identified as an assegai in the accessions register. Donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Faith Standing of London in 1906. Documented as coming from Botswana, Southern Africa.



Object Number: R4789/1

Male figure/doll (mpopi; 1930-1950)

A standing wooden carving of a male figure holding a club in his right hand and a club and container in his raised left hand. The head is decorated with white feathers. The figure is wearing an apron decorated with burnt decoration, which also distinguishes the facial features. The figure is represented in burnt wood as dark with decoration in a lighter unburnt wood. One of a pair of figures donated to Brighton Museum in 1951 by Mr and Mrs Sneyd. Described in the accession register as: 'Two male figures made by natives of Gatsi (should be Gantsi), Bechuanaland, 1950'. It resembles carvings made and sold to at Shashe River railway station south of Francistown during the colonial period and years after.



Object Number: R4737/4/5

Bracelet (lesêka)

A bracelet made of woven elephant hair with interspaced gold-coloured beads. This collection was donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Mary Knott Panzera in 1949. She was the daughter of Colonel FW Panzera, Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate up to 1915. Registered as coming from Bechuanaland.

A bracelet made of woven elephant hair with 13 randomly spaced beads covered in a gold-coloured coating. This collection was donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Mary Knott Panzera in 1949 and registered as coming from Bechuanaland.



Object Number: R4737/4/6

Bracelet (lesêka)



Object Number: R4737/4/4

Bracelet (lesêka)

A wire coil bracelet of a dull gold colour and circular in shape. This collection was donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Mary Knott Panzera in 1949. The accession register entry notes the objects as coming from 'Bechuanaland'. Miss Panzera was the daughter of Colonel FW Panzera, Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate up to 1915.



Object Number: R4737/4/2
Bracelet (lesêka)

A wire coil bracelet of a dull gold colour and circular shape. This collection was donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Mary Knott Panzera in 1949. She was the daughter of Colonel FW Panzera, Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate up to 1915. Registered as coming from Bechuanaland.



Object Number: R4737/4/3
Bracelet (lesêka)

A wire coil bracelet of a dull gold colour and bent circular in shape. This collection was donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Mary Knott Panzera in 1949. She was the daughter of Colonel FW Panzera, Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate up to 1915. Registered as coming from Bechuanaland.



Object Number: R4737/3
Pendants/ornaments (dibaga/maseka)

Five beaded pendants or ornaments loosely stitched together at the top with brown thread. From left to right: Light blue with darker blue zigzag, ending in a triangular pendant of chevron stripes and three tassels; white, black and darker blue zigzag and triangle design ending in fringe; pink and black mixed design of chevrons, diamonds, vertical stripes and squares, ending in fringe; dark blue and red zigzag design ending in a diamond-shaped pendant with checkered design and three tassels; red, pink and black zigzag and triangle design ending in a diamond-shaped pendant with checkered design and three tassels. The three pendants are backed with patches of animal hide. This collection was donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Mary Knott Panzera in 1949. The accession register entry notes the objects as coming from Bechuanaland. Miss Panzera was the daughter of Colonel FW Panzera, Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate up to 1915.



A dagger with a triangular iron blade with subtle zigzag decoration. It has a wooden handle with incised decoration near the hilt and a wooden sheath decorated with six triangular carvings. This collection was donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Mary Knott Panzera in 1949. The accession register entry notes that the objects are from Bechuanaland. Miss Panzera was the daughter of Colonel FW Panzera, Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate up to 1915.

Object Number: R4737/2

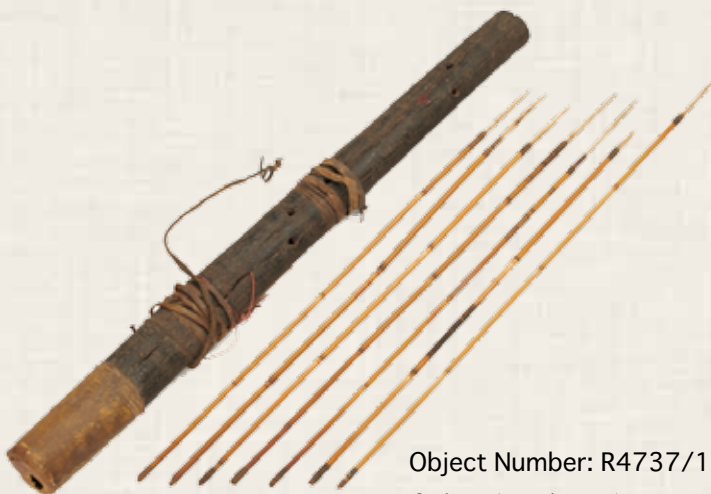
Knife (thipa)



A round section bow with its ends and centre bound with hide and fibre. This collection came from Botswana in about 1898 and was donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Mary Knott Panzera in 1949. The accession register entry notes that the objects are from Bechuanaland. Miss Panzera was the daughter of Colonel FW Panzera, Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate up to 1915.

Object Number: R473/1/1

Bow (bora)



A quiver made of a hollow section of a dark bark-covered wood with a hide base cap and bands. This collection was donated to Brighton Museum by Miss Mary Knott Panzera in 1949. The accession register entry notes the objects are from Bechuanaland. Miss Panzera was the daughter of Colonel FW Panzera, Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate up to 1915. Originally associated with the 'San Bushmen'

Object Number: R4737/1/2

Quiver (motsitsana)



A necklace consisting of a single strand of large white seeds alternating with small dark brown seeds. Collection donated to Brighton Museum by William Barling of Brighton. Collected from the Bechuanaland Border Police in September 1936. Accession register description reads: 'Worn by the wild bushmen of Ngamiland, Bechuanaland, about 1895'

Object Number: R4096/4

Necklace (sebaga)

A horn snuff box covered in copper wire decoration. Collection donated to Brighton Museum by William Barling of 46 Riley Road, Brighton. Collected from the Bechuanaland Border Police in September 1936.



Object Number: R4096/6

Snuff container (nakana/toise ya motsoko)



Object Number: R4233/20

Bangle (lesêka)

A bracelet made of plaited and twisted wire, comprised of a braid of silver-coloured and copper wire bordered by twists of copper wire. These are held together with brass wrappings similar to staples in two places and with two staples at either end where the bracelet fastens with a wire hook and eye. There is slight verdigris on some areas of the copper wire. Part of a collection donated by Mrs Ethel May Clarke of South Africa together with other ethnographical specimens brought home about 1900. Southern Africa.



Object Number: R4096/1
Necklace/ornament (sebaga)

A long beaded necklace made from strings of coloured glass seed beads and seeds with a tassel and round leather pendant decorated mainly with red seeds on one side. Collection donated to Brighton Museum by William Barling of Brighton. Collected by the Bechuanaland Border Police in September 1936. Accession register description reads: 'Worn by the wild bushmen of Ngamiland, Bechuanaland, about 1895' .



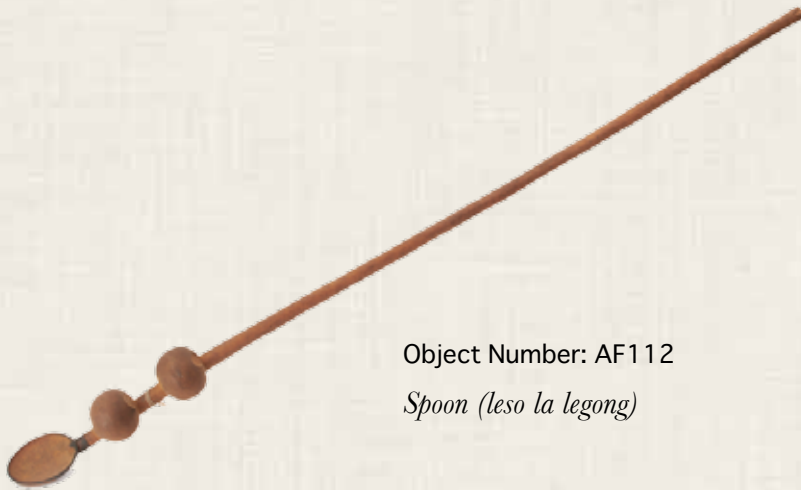
Object Number: R4096/2
Necklace (sebaga)

A small necklace made of turned brown wooden beads alternating with round red beads. Collection donated to Brighton Museum by William Barling of Brighton. Collected by the Bechuanaland Border Police in September 1936. Described by the accession register as 'Worn by the wild bushmen of Ngamiland, Bechuanaland in about 1895'.



Object Number: R4096/4
Necklace (sebaga)

A necklace made from a single strand of dark brown seeds strung on fibre. Collection donated to Brighton Museum by William Barling of Brighton. Collected from the Bechuanaland Border Police in September 1936. Accession register description reads: 'Worn by the wild bushmen of Ngamiland, Bechuanaland, about 1895'.



Object Number: AF112

Spoon (leso la legong)

A wooden spoon with a very long handle, decorated with two large wooden spheres along the handle. The bowl edges and back are decorated with darker staining of the wood. 'J.C Penfold Esq' is written in pen on the back of the bowl and a sticker/label reads 'Af112'. Acquired by the museum in 1881 from Samuel Joseph Woodham Smith, along with five other Southern African spoons that are labelled 'J C Penfold Esq'. John Croucher Penfold was a Brighton solicitor who died in 1880.



Object Number: AF109

Spoon (leso la legong)

A carved wooden spoon with a handle in the form of a giraffe and decorated with poker work to create dark markings representing the giraffe's hide. Acquired by the museum in 1881 from Samuel Joseph Woodham Smith, along with five other Southern African spoons that are labelled 'J C Penfold Esq'. John Croucher Penfold was a Brighton solicitor who died in 1880.

iii) **A Reflection: "A Trinity of Dusky Kings"** (Suchi Chatterjee)

When the Scottish born missionary Charles Willoughby came to England with the three African Kings (Khama, Sebele, Bathoen) to petition Queen Victoria against the Cecil Rhodes railroad expansion, it was one of many actions that laid an inadvertent foundation for future generations to discuss and debate the 'decolonisation and repatriation' of museum collections all over the United Kingdom. This collection certainly has the potential to unite local communities in Sussex as it is such an eclectic and fascinating collection of items that includes cow skin shoes, woven gourds, highly polished wooden bowls, poisoned arrows, spears, beautiful beadwork and items of possible religious significance. There is so much to be discovered from this hidden gem of a collection. However, there is also the potential for it to cause discord and resentment, especially among people who might have a vested interest in some of the items that now no longer exist in their original country of origin (Botswana), along with the fact that it is known as the Willoughby Collection when it is in fact an African or Botswana collection. During a meeting where the Black History Project and other stakeholders got to look and handle some of the collection, an African cultural specialist mentioned in passing that many of the items on display were no longer available in their country of origin, perhaps some families might hold similar items, but many of the items we were examining and discussing were not present in modern day Africa. Colonisation and the Christianisation of much of the country had ensured that a lot of local knowledge was irrevocably lost.

It is easy to say that we in the community/museum sector cannot answer for what was done over 100 years ago and that the collection might have been put together in good faith by a man who was just interested in Africa and its people. Willoughby wrote many books, tracts and articles on Africa over the years, including one that looked closely at race problems in "the new Africa"¹⁶, and he was vocal in his support of the three Kings when they came over to England in 1895, acting alongside his young son Harold as their interpreter. Both father and son played important roles in the three-month long visit and were integral in its success. Newspapers of the day admiringly made mention of young Harold and his fluency in Setswana, and this would have endeared the touring group to the general public. It needs to be noted that the three Kings' visit to the UK in 1895 more than likely played a significant role in ensuring that Botswana was spared much of the horrors of apartheid (due to it being a British protectorate and not a colony) that other parts of Africa experienced, and so this rich, yet unsettling history has much to offer with regard to its connections to Brighton, primarily because of this visit and of course because of the many artefacts held at the museum. The Willoughby/Botswana Collection is a major player in the decolonisation and repatriation debate, just as much as the Elgin Marbles or Benin Bronzes are.

For some, especially in local communities, the easy answer would be to 'give it all back', but this is logistically impossible for a variety of reasons at this moment in time. The work that Brighton Museum has been doing with the Khama Memorial Museum in Botswana over the last few years is a real tribute to what can be done, rather than what won't be done. A positive way forward could be the development of evolving strategies and tactics where communities, especially those with a vested interest in the Willoughby/Botswana Collection, get together with the museum and ensure that the legacy of the three Kings is never forgotten through joined-up working to create an interactive digitised exhibition. This might not be repatriation as we know it, but it would be a start, running alongside the work already taking place between Brighton and Botswana. Through this project it is clear that we cannot change the past, but we can endeavour to be partners in a new beginning!

(St James Gazette 25th September 1895)

16 William Charles Willoughby, *Race Problems in the New Africa*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923).

Insights and Omissions

(JoAnn McGregor, Nicola Stylianou,
Winani Thebele, and Neil Parsons)

i) Birmingham & SOAS Historical Archives and Contexts

(Nicola Stylianou and JoAnn McGregor)

Archival texts can provide important contextual information about collections, and researching these records is an essential part of the process of restitution. Typically for ‘migrated’ colonial-era collections, the objects in Brighton's Botswana collection have been separated from relevant archives. The most important archives for understanding Willoughby's collection are in the UK among his personal papers in the University of Birmingham Special Collections, the records of the London Missionary Society at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and University of London. Other sources are in South Africa, particularly Iziko Museums, Cape Town. As Willoughby worked closely with Khama III in Palapye and with prominent Batswana *baruti* (evangelists) between 1893 and 1904, his archive has been valuable to historians, despite the racialised views that infuse his writing. He learnt Setswana in Palapye and documented aspects of contemporary Tswana cultural life. Historians of museum collections have shown that colonial collector's records occasionally reveal the lives and meanings of named African owners and creators of museum artefacts. One of the goals of the archival research was to find traces of such Batswana owners and creators in Willoughby's papers. We also wanted to know more about Willoughby's collecting: Did he buy the objects? What were the circumstances of these exchanges? How did he acquire them? The research only answered some of these questions.

What the archives do show is that Willoughby considered most of the items in the Brighton collection as exemplifying Batswana life (not Basarwa). Willoughby's notes show the influence of Batswana elders' knowledge. He collected things used in ‘ordinary life’ as well as those that demonstrated ‘exceptional workmanship’. The objects testify to a moment of great change, when locally made things were increasingly replaced by goods bought from stores. Below we discuss the archival evidence. The archive of Willoughby's personal papers in Birmingham is substantial: It contains over 800 folders relating to his wider career and writing. In addition, there are two boxes of documents from Willoughby in the School of Oriental and African Studies. What do these papers tell us about the Batswana men who were the sources of Willoughby's knowledge of Tswana language and culture? Typical of contemporary/colonial European researchers and collectors, Willoughby provides inadequate recognition of his African teachers and informants. In his book *The Soul of the Bantu*, he says Khama III gave him ‘two wise men’ to teach him Setswana and instruct him on cultural life, but he does not name them.¹⁷ In the archives, Willoughby's notes on Tswana material culture include what appears to be verbatim information from his Batswana mentors and descriptions of objects full of Setswana terms. We found passing reference to a man named Ramashoana, whom Willoughby describes as his ‘mentor’. Ramashoana may have been a teacher-evangelist and a graduate of Kuruman, as the first cohort of students include a man of this name.¹⁸ Ramashoana was clearly an important source, along with many other Tswana informants whom Willoughby consulted but did not credit. The evident

17 William Charles Willoughby, *South of the Bantu*. (New York, 1928), ix, x.

18 Ramashoana is mentioned in DA 49/1/2/609, Birmingham Special Collections. According to Neil Parsons, Old Ramashoana appears in London Missionary Society records at School of Oriental and African Studies. In 1872 Ramoch(o)ane is listed as one of four London Missionary Society evangelist teachers under training at Kuruman, by 1895 he was stationed under Molepolole, and then in 1899 at Moshupa (under Kanye mission). His son, D.M. Ramoshona, made major contributions on Setswana linguistics between 1936 and 1948.

influence of these Batswana men, as sources of the linguistic and cultural knowledge in Willoughby's notes, gives us confidence that these items should be considered Tswana heritage. Willoughby lists most of the objects he gave to Brighton in 1899 as 'Bechuana'¹⁹. This is also the case in another contemporary list entitled 'Notes on Curiosities' in the box, some of which relates to objects in Brighton.²⁰ As Khama ruled over a cosmopolitan, ethnically diverse town and rural hinterland, it is not surprising that Willoughby's collecting also included a sizeable number of items that he labelled Kalanga²¹ and a 'Matabele battle axe', as Kalanga and Ndebele people were also settled under Khama.

Some of Willoughby's very detailed object descriptions and sketches match those in the Brighton collection; for example, there are annotated sketches that seem to relate to the girl's leather cover (R4007/4) and the sandals (R4007/73).²² Unfortunately, most sketches do not match the Brighton objects. Willoughby's description and sketch of a young woman's leather cover credits Ramashoana with the information that this was worn specifically by a girl who had begun to menstruate but had not yet been through the *bojale* initiation. Khama had banned initiation and the *baruti* had on-going campaigns against the practice.

Were the artefacts in the Brighton collection in use at the time? Willoughby's letters describe Palapye-made snuff boxes as ubiquitous and sought after by Bamangwato men in Palapye town as well as Europeans. In 1902, writing to the Curator and the South African Museum in Cape Town, Willoughby says skilfully made, locally crafted snuff boxes, such as those in the collection, were plentiful and joked that "there are more snuff boxes in any Bechuana community than there are cooking pots"²³. He regarded the snuff boxes as "true illustrations of customs and workmanship that existed before the demand for curios came. The snuff boxes still hold their own in spite of importations"²⁴. Other items, such as horn drinking cups in the collection, however, were mostly made for sale as curios, as people preferred enamel cups from the stores. Leather clothing, such as the items in the collection, were no longer worn by most Bangwato in town by the 1890s. Indeed, the missionary John Mackenzie noted in 1876 that "only the poor, the dependent and the conservative dressed in the leathers of the old style"²⁵.

How did Willoughby acquire the objects? There is evidence that he bought some artefacts. European traders in Palapye by then were accepting 'curios' in exchange for food and other goods.²⁶ Although Willoughby could have bought objects from Palapye traders, it is more likely, given his self-reported quest for a good price and 'genuine' artefacts, that he bargained directly with owners. When collecting for the South African Museum, his letters with the Curator, William Lutley Sclater, show the two men discussing what objects the museum is looking for and Willoughby advising on what artefacts can still be obtained. Willoughby asks: "What do you want - good specimens of average articles such as are in common use or exceptional variations of the same such as one occasionally finds among the wealthy or the skilful? That is to say, do you want your curios to show the life of ordinary Bechuana, or to illustrate the highest skills and tastes of the ethnic groups." Sclater requested "good examples" and explained that he did not want "things made to sell, but things actually in use or former use by the Bechuana". He expresses a particular interest

19 Willoughby's list is in a letter to Mr Lomax, curator at Brighton Museum, 7 October 1899, School of Oriental and African Studies.

20 Notes on some curiosities in the box, DA 49/1/2/245, Birmingham. This is a three page file, with two-three line descriptions of objects; some, but not all, of which appears to relate to the Brighton collection.

21 He records collecting dice for Cape Town from a "Sekalaka diviner at Mugapatona, Khama's country"; DA 49/1/2/692, Birmingham.

22 Description in DA 49/1/2/609/9-10; sandals description in DA 49 1/2/609/12-13, Birmingham.

23 Willoughby to Sclater, 20 November 1901, CWM/Africa/personal/box6, School of Oriental and African Studies.

24 See also Sclater to Willoughby, 5 December 1901; Willoughby to Sclater, 18 March 1902. CWM/Africa/personal/box6. School of Oriental and African Studies.

25 Mackenzie to Mullens, Shoshong, August 1876. Papers of John Mackenzie. Cited in Paul Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom*. (Heinemann, 1995).

26 Willoughby comments: "The trader must know how to buy game-horns, ostrich-feathers, ivory, sheep, goats, cattle, maize, pumpkins, curiosities and a dozen other oddments". William Charles Willoughby, *Native Life*. (London, 1900), 54.

in domestic utensils, musical instruments, personal ornaments and genuine artefacts.²⁷ Willoughby explains that he bought the Bechuana items for Cape Town Museum out of town "for the sake of low prices and really old specimens", and that he bought few Bushmen items as they were scarce: "I have tried to get you some Bushman bow and arrow arrangements, but nothing genuine has come this way"²⁸. Willoughby also collected animal skins and plant samples.²⁹

This quest for low prices raises ethical questions about his collecting and the adequacy of remuneration, especially to 'ordinary' people, given the context: During Willoughby's collecting for Brighton, Palapye was wracked by famine in 1896 and cattle were devastated by rinderpest. The town and surrounds had a population swollen by the refugees from the wars and dispossession elsewhere, migrant labourers looking for work passed through, and social hierarchies were pronounced. The texts most closely related to the objects obscure this turbulence, the hardships for some and their effects on what could be purchased and the implications for the ethics of seeking out the lowest possible prices.

27 Sclater to Willoughby, 5 December 1901.

28 Willoughby to Sclater, 18 March 1902. Sclater seems pleased with what he sends but asks for more, this time specifying a "pillow and wooden bowl", Sclater to Willoughby, undated.

29 The list of items donated to Brighton includes an armadillo skin. A letter from Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, April 15 1901, thanks Willoughby for the bulbs he has sent. The letter is personal rather than official (Chamberlain created a notable garden at his home in Birmingham).

ii) Iziko Museum of Social History, Cape Town: Historical Texts and Collections *Winani Thebele*

In the same way that he collected for the Brighton Museum, Rev. Willoughby collected objects for the South African Museum in Cape Town. The objects are documented as the Willoughby Collections today, and the Iziko Museum of Social History holds copies of the correspondence. The objects in the collections include a mill stone (*tshilwana le lelwala*). The millstones were pieces of rock, hollowed and used for grinding corn, tobacco and *letsoku*. Willoughby speaks of the need to further investigate certain medicinal and ceremonial objects and herbs, which he would send to the museum. There is evidence of a bond between him and the museum, which justifies why he continued being a source of supply of cultural materials. He also indicated in his letters that he wanted scientific names for the sent shrubs and promised to continue supporting and supplying them. These were sent by train from Bechuanaland to Cape Town.³⁰

There is also evidence that he sold the objects to the South African Museum for profit, either for the church or for personal gain. In one of the letters, he expresses the hope that he has not been extravagant with his prices, since he gets the objects for free from the natives. There is also an indication that he wanted his fees for collecting put into his Cape Town account by the South African Museum official, Mr Sclater. The body of letters show that he toured the Makalaka and Tswapong areas, where he describes Bushmen paintings and promised to get some Makalaka pottery for the South African Museum. He shows the considerable demand for 'Bushmen curios' (bows, arrows, quivers, fire sticks, etc.) and other Batswana curios, pottery and leather garments.³¹ In one letter, he described sending cocoons found from around the Tswapong hills, and requested scientific names and proof as to whether they are edible.³² He also indicated he had sent the long awaited curios and promised to send specimens of the *phane* (worm that feed on mopane tree) and another edible worm called *nato* (feeds on the monato tree). He also mentions another possible trip to Lake Ngami, where he hoped to find some more objects. In another note, Willoughby talks of blacksmith bellows among the curios that he collected. He confesses that he negotiated and bargained for low prices.

This creates another insight as to how Willoughby collected some of the objects and also another angle to his activities in the country under the missionary umbrella. The objects in Cape Town do not differ much from those in Brighton, except for the fact that there is correspondence to explain the reason for collecting certain objects. It is worth mentioning that the University Museum of York University also has a good number of Botswana collections by Willoughby, which comprise mostly ethnographic objects. The Cape Town objects include two buffalo/cow toys, and there is no reference as to what they symbolize. But given Willoughby's obsession with cultural traditions and medicine, these could be spiritual or symbolic objects. Rev. Willoughby collected objects from around Serowe, Tswapong, Bukalaka, Ngamiland, Chadibe, as well as from his travels further afield on Zambia, Zimbabwe and Lobatse in the far South.³³

Other objects found in Cape Town were donated by Isaac Schapera, Collin Blackbeard, Ms Sharp (who was a school-teacher in Serowe in 1912) and many other characters that traversed the Bechuanaland Protectorate terrain.

30 William Charles Willoughby to Sclater at the at the South African Museum, Cape Town, 24/10/1901.

31 William Charles Willoughby to Sclater, letter of 20/11/1901.

32 William Charles Willoughby, letter dated 18/3/1902.

33 Ibid, Iziko Museum of Social History, Information from Collections (Cape Town, May 2019).

Some of the Objects at the Iziko Museum of Social History Collection



Wooden drum



Iron axe head/blacksmithing



Wooden head rest



Buffalo toys



Walking stick with baboon head

Chip of stone (documented as used in mining, or iron-smithing (Not shown in picture))

iii) A Biographical Profile of Rev William Charles Willoughby *Neil Parsons*



Rev. William Charles Willoughby

William Charles Willoughby (1857-1938) was one of twelve children of a mineworker in Cornwall (England). He joined the Congregational Church and was sent out by the London Missionary Society to the court of Chief Mirambo of the Wanyamwezi in Tanzania (1882-1883). After falling ill with malaria, he considered himself a failure. Back in England he slowly recovered and gained self-confidence after further college education in Birmingham, where he also met his wife Bessie.

In 1889 Willoughby became the super-efficient pastor of the Union Street Congregationalist church in Brighton, Sussex, from which he was 'head-hunted' by the London Missionary Society in 1893 to replace its broken-down missionary (J.D. Hepburn) at

Palapye in Botswana. Here, Willoughby spent an intensive first two years, learning the language and culture, building and rebuilding church buildings, and acting as archivist and English language secretary for Kgosi Khama III in negotiations with British authorities.

Khama therefore chose Willoughby to accompany himself and *dikgosi* Bathoen and Sebele on their mission to England in 1895. Looking back, we can see the mission as a success in stopping Botswana becoming part of Rhodesia. But at the time Khama and Willoughby blamed each other for its possible failure and disagreed about turning Palapye into an London Missionary Society/Bangwato educational centre. While Willoughby and his family were on long leave in England (1898-1900), the London Missionary Society decided after the South African War to build its college (Tiger Kloof) in the Northern Cape instead of Botswana

After the Bangwato capital was moved to Serowe in 1902, Willoughby seized the chance when offered the headship of the London Missionary Society College at Tiger Kloof, south of Vryburg. Between 1904 and 1914 Willoughby was an extremely energetic principal, building accommodation blocks and classrooms, and recruiting young men and boys for the building and carpentry brigades that built the college, and as trainee teachers and evangelists. Young women were also being admitted to both 'normal' and 'industrial' classes soon after 1914.

According to his biographer Rev. John Rutherford, despite all his hard work and high moral principles, Willoughby suffered from a quick temper and "was more inclined to act than consult". Willoughby quarrelled with his missionary colleagues and with many *dikgosi*, and came to believe that tribalism would disappear in a new world in which black Christians achieved power and responsibility as skilled workers and professionals.

After Tiger Kloof, Willoughby spent a couple of years as a missionary among the Bakwena. He now saw himself as a pioneer (untrained) anthropologist, having recorded

cultural traditions and collected ethnographic artefacts since his time at Palapye among the Bakalanga, Batswapong and Bangwato. Between 1919 and 1931 he used this accumulated knowledge for his lectures in America as Professor of African Missions at Hartford Seminary College in Connecticut, before retiring to live near Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham, England.

Besides leaving ethnographic collections at Brighton in 1898 and at Birmingham after his death in 1938, Willoughby was an accomplished photographer (see his book *Native Life on the Transvaal Border*, 1900) He compiled his research notes into published books: *Race Problems in the New Africa: A Study of the Relation between Bantu and Britons in Those Parts of Bantu Africa that are Under British Control* (1923), *Soul of the Bantu: A Sympathetic Study of the Magico-Religious Practices and Beliefs of the Bantu Tribes of Africa* (1928), and *Nature Worship and Taboo: Further Studies in the 'Soul of the Bantu'* (1932).



*From left: Sebele I, Chief of Bakwena; Bathoen I, Chief of Bangwaketse; and Khama III, Chief of Bangwato
Rev. William Charles Willoughby.*

CONCLUSION

Winani Thebele

In conclusion, the approach taken by this project between the University of Sussex, Brighton Museum & Art Gallery and Khama Memorial Museum is evidence that the notion of a shared heritage, co-curation, and involvement of communities of origin is one that is gaining currency in the world as it is promoted by international organisations and is a non-confrontational approach. The idea of shared heritage is, however, a problematic issue that needs careful interrogation to establish the degree of equalness, fairness and beneficiation in the partnership. Moreover, the debate about restitution and sharing of this cultural property has become a key issue for discussion by scholars. This is brought about by the flow of cultural heritage from Africa and other parts of the Global South to the rest of the world, which still continues even today. The scientific discoveries of the colonial period are today replaced by the looting, spoils of war, pillaging, and criminal smuggling of objects that is happening in Iraq, Mali, Egypt, Syria and other countries faced with political strife and hunger. The option to involve local communities for provenance and co-interpretation is therefore meant to put an end to the tradition and history of European monopoly of knowledge and the 'better other'. The promotion of universal culture where restitution fails is meant for “a perfect integration into the contemporary world, for the promotion of feelings of humanism, solidarity, respect, equality and devotion to human beings”³⁴.

Circumstances are now forcing museums from both the Global South and the Global North with repatriated objects or that is co-curated to become open and free spaces.³⁵ Louis Tythacott and Kostas Arvanities argue that even though emotive and contentious, “the global focus on restitution today is a reflection of global power relations, the reappraisal of colonialism and the urgent need to re-document the colonial holdings in the custody of Western Museums”³⁶. The loss of cultural property and the bitterness it has caused have forced the global community to unite in fighting the illegal transfers. According to Lyndel Prott, all the civilised nations should subscribe to the common justice of returning cultural property back to countries and communities of origin.³⁷ The call, therefore, is for a decolonised museum, a new museum, a cultural hub that is a local as well as universal resource. This is a museum of accessibility that focuses on communities of provenance and co-interpretation and where all community groupings, women, youth, the disabled, and academics, are represented equally. This is also a museology of diasporic cooperation that even covers continents, for example the European and African continents. The representational role played by museum objects (such as the Willoughby Collection) after co-curation becomes a source of pride for the communities of origin. Hence, co-curation is not only about curators from the Global North and South, but also about communities of provenance.³⁸ It is important to note that the colonial objects have evolved from dead relics, curios, and exotics to live entities that “provoke debates, contestation, conflict, reconciliation, collaborations and reciprocal knowledge production”³⁹. This therefore explains this project!

34 Anne Mayor, Vincent Négri and Eric Huysecom (eds.), *African Memory in Danger*, (Journal of African Archaeology Monograph Series 11, 2015): 52-55.

35 Francisco Bethencourt, “Colonial Objects: Imposed, Appropriated and Exhibited”, in *Historical Judgment* (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2019), 9.

36 Louis Tythacott & Kostas Arvanities, eds. “Museums and Restitution; An Introduction,” in *Museums and Restitution: New Practices, New Approaches* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 1.

37 Lyndel V. Prott, *Witnesses to History: A Compendium of Documents and Writings on The Return of Cultural Objects*, (Paris: UNESCO, 2009), iii.

38 Winani Thebele, “The Reinvention of the Museum into a Cultural Hub in the African Context,” *Revista Muzeelor* 1, (2019): 40.

39 Philipp Schorch, “Sensitive Heritage: Ethnographic Museum, Provenance Research and the Potentialities of Restitution,” *Museum and Society* 18, no. 1 (2020): 3.

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