

# *The Natal Society Museum (1851–1904): Potentialities and Problems*

The recent universal rekindling of interest in museums, their professed aims and probable functions, has cast a new and fascinating light on the ‘musty Victorian warehouse’ of popular misconception. What, in the contemporary South African context, is the contribution (if any) of the established museums to our conflict-ridden society? How relevant are these institutions in reality? A new and searching look at the origins and subsequent development of South African museums is, perhaps, both appropriate and long overdue. French museologist H. de Varine-Bohan has stated that:

Hitherto, . . . consideration has been given only to the ‘heritage’ of objects, regarded as ends in themselves. The museum was there for the objects and the public was authorised, sometimes paying a high price for the privilege, to contemplate these objects without touching them and often without understanding them . . . Instead of being there for the objects, museums should be there for the people.<sup>1</sup>

It seems clear that this stereotype, in the colonial context at least, requires qualification. The Natal Museum, for example, was at its inception closely linked with the colonial community it attempted to serve. Its formation was intended to meet a specific need within the infant colony; and its objectives, far from being exclusivist or irrelevant, placed the museum firmly in the mainstream of contemporary Victorian thought.

In practice, the ideal proved rather more difficult to implement than had originally been anticipated. However, the museum was at the outset indispensably a part, firstly, of the Natal Society’s efforts to initiate commercial exploitation of the resources of the district, and to supply prospective, newly-arrived, and even established settlers with much-needed practical information. A committee was appointed by the Council of the Society as early as September 1851 ‘for the purposes of collecting materials of a museum’,<sup>2</sup> but when the Honourable Henry Cloete was elected President three years later, no progress had been made. Significantly, Cloete envisaged the Natal Museum not only as a ‘source of rational amusement and interest to the stranger and visitor’,<sup>3</sup> but also ‘for the first time . . . a school of practical information and instruction’<sup>4</sup> for the benefit of the local farmer. The emphasis was to be on mineralogy, for it was, in Cloete’s opinion, of inestimable importance that the community should possess ‘in an accessible shape’<sup>5</sup>

representative samples of the geology of the district. The agriculturalist could then refer, whenever necessary, to the relevant section of the museum for information 'as to the character of the soil which he is probably cultivating, in defiance of the laws of nature, and in utter ignorance of its innate qualities'.<sup>6</sup> As conceived by its originators, then, the Society's museum was to indicate to the people of Natal

which are the [sections] most conducive to agriculture; which only for depasturing cattle; and which afford the prospect of precious minerals, which have been the means of converting desert regions, within ten years, into wealthy and populous countries.<sup>7</sup>

A second and equally important function of the intended museum was to provide for the recreational needs of the colonists. An anonymous visitor to Durban in 1865 remarked on the meagre recreational facilities available to colonists:

The lack of museums, libraries, theatres, concert-halls, lectures, and the like, is a grievous drawback to a young community. I am astonished, considering the want of these things, to find the young people of the place so intelligent and well-behaved . . . The marvel is that they can find anything to talk about.<sup>8</sup>

In Pietermaritzburg there was some attempt to stage theatrical productions in Robert Jones's rooms in Church Street (until St George's Garrison Theatre was built by the military in 1864),<sup>9</sup> and monthly musical entertainment was provided by the Natal Society in the 1860s, with the well-defined object of 'affording an opportunity to the members and general public to meet together and break the monotony of our isolated position';<sup>10</sup> but circulating reading matter was very limited and the need of some further constructive recreational outlet only too apparent. Cloete, therefore, in his important 1855 lecture 'On the value and importance of a Museum in the District of Natal' advanced the cogent argument that the museum would be a source of 'healthful and innocent recreation'<sup>11</sup> to be visited by the inhabitants of Pietermaritzburg as a 'relaxation from the labours and toils of the day'.<sup>12</sup> By the same token, it was hoped that the museum, as a valuable addition to the cultural life of the colony, would prove an attraction to visitors.<sup>13</sup>

Entertainment was not, of course, an end in itself. 'Rational entertainment' and 'the improvement of the mind' were to the Victorians inextricably linked. The museum in Britain was at this time in the very vanguard of scientific progress, and natural history was for many people more than a passionately pursued pastime: it was a pleasurable and accessible means of self-education. The ideal of popular education when transported to the colonies acquired, if possible, even greater force. Cloete, in the same seminal address, expressed concern at the limited period of schooling available to colonial children:

. . . how soon are these young people not taken from those studies to enter into the drudgery of domesticity, or the requirements of field or daily labour? How soon do such pursuits not obliterate and choke the good seeds which may have been sown, but which have hardly had time and opportunity to germinate . . . ?<sup>14</sup>

A democratic museum in Natal would encourage the germination of these same seeds. For 'truth' to the Victorian was an eminently graspable reality;



An old photograph of the entrance hall of the Natal Museum. The Addo elephant, well-known to many generations of museum visitors as guardian of the entrance, is now in the Frank Bush Mammal Hall in the new wing.

*(Photograph: Natal Museum)*

and no detail was considered unimportant or irrelevant in the glorious and inevitable advancement of the frontiers of knowledge. Britain was the great empire-builder of the nineteenth century, and, as such, was perceived to enjoy opportunities for exploration and scientific discovery unparalleled in the history of the civilized world. Settlers in Natal lacked neither enthusiasm nor a suitable field in which to exercise it. Cloete dwelt at some length on natural history in which ‘the field is boundless’.<sup>15</sup> There were ‘the quadrupeds — from the gigantic African elephant, to the graceful blue buck’; ‘the feathered creation — from the ostrich and may-hen to the lovely colibri and red-beak’; ‘our entomology and conchology’ (which had at that time barely been explored); the new and unknown ‘species of fish abounding in our Bay’; and so on.<sup>16</sup> Natal’s museum then, was to be a thoroughly practical institution providing for the immediate needs of the infant community, not only for reliable information and recreation, but also for education.

Indifference on the part of the colonial authorities, however, was to influence, either directly or indirectly, almost every aspect of the work upon which Cloete had so sanguinely embarked. Sir William Flower, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, remarked with perspicacity in his 1889 address to the Association:

Some persons are enthusiastic enough to think that a museum is in itself so good an object that they have only to provide a building and cases and a certain number of specimens . . . to fill them, and then the work is done: whereas the truth is the work has only then begun.<sup>17</sup>

The permanent establishment of the Natal Museum was essentially a four-phase process, spanning the period from 1851 to 1901 (when the government eventually agreed to assume responsibility for the institution). At each stage one remarks a fresh surge of interest in the museum; all too often subsiding in the face of discouraging official unconcern and the related problems of insufficient funds, hopelessly inadequate facilities, and (until 1896) the lack of a properly qualified curator. The Society was dependent from the start on members' subscriptions, with the additional support (discontinued between 1868 and 1873) of an annual grant of £50 from the Natal Legislative Council for the maintenance of a public library.<sup>18</sup>

Numerous petitions were addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor, the Pietermaritzburg City Council, and even the Colonial Secretary, for a land grant, or at least a plot of ground upon which suitable premises could be erected. All proved unsuccessful. The Society, along with its incipient museum, was moved from one set of inadequate premises to the next, until in 1877 its Council was finally authorized to purchase a centrally located site in Longmarket Street on which to build. It is hardly surprising, given the context, that frustration and a good deal of wasted effort were to accompany the development of the Society's museum.

It was, ironically, an official communication which served initially to galvanize the Society into action. In November 1854, a letter was received from the Colonial Secretary informing the Society that its assistance was required in the collection of material suitable for inclusion in the forthcoming Paris Exhibition.<sup>19</sup> The response was both enthusiastic and prompt; but the project had reluctantly to be abandoned when it was discovered that the Exhibition was to be held in March rather than in May of the following year.<sup>20</sup> This left scarcely enough time for the initial collection of sufficient material, much less its transmission to Paris by the prescribed date. The Legislative Council was, however, persuaded to allow the transfer of its £50 to the Natal Society proper, for the establishment of a colonial museum. The Society's front room was set aside for this purpose, glass cases and shelving were procured, and the Society's Annual Report for 1857 announced:

since the last annual meeting some progress has been made with the establishment of a Museum . . . , a number of valuable specimens having, by the kind exertions of Dr Sutherland, been arranged in glass cases in the room adjoining the library.<sup>21</sup>

It soon became clear, however, that beyond the donation of £50 the authorities were not prepared to support the new institution. In March 1859, the 'museum' was dismantled, its glass cases sold, and the proceeds deposited

in a Museum Fund in anticipation of its revival at some unspecified future date.<sup>22</sup>

A growing dissatisfaction with the increasingly literary emphasis of the Society resulted in the late 1860s in the initiation of a second phase in the development of the museum. In the Annual Report for 1867, it was observed that 'Looking over its early records, it cannot be denied that the intentions and objects of the founders of the Society have not been carried out'.<sup>23</sup> The Council decided that £25 be allocated to the purchase of a museum specimen cabinet which arrived in May 1869; and the Annual Report for that year included an ambitious programme for future development.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, however, the withdrawal in September 1868 of the vital government grant resulted in a loss of impetus, and the revived museum suffered the same fate as its predecessor. A revealing entry in the Council minutes for 1872 records a request on behalf of the Council to the Museum Committee, asking that a report be drawn up 'upon the origin and object of the Museum Fund'.<sup>25</sup> Its original purpose had evidently been quite forgotten.

A third phase in the development of the proposed museum began in 1878, by which stage the Natal Society had established itself in a building erected through its own fund-raising efforts on Erf 20, Longmarket Street. The short-lived Natural History Association was disbanded at this time, and it was suggested that the efforts of the remaining natural history enthusiasts be channelled into the resurrection of the Society's museum.<sup>26</sup> Despite opposition from those who regarded the Society as primarily a circulating library, a separate Museum Department was created,<sup>27</sup> an appeal made for much-needed public support, a concert held in aid of funds<sup>28</sup> and museum cases placed around the walls of the relatively capacious Committee Room.<sup>29</sup> Operations, however, were hampered by a dearth of scientific textbooks, by the inadequacy of the amateur assistance on which the Museum Committee was forced to rely, and by the continued indifference of the authorities to the fate of the little museum. In November 1882 the Committee received a letter of encouragement written by Roland Trimen, Director of the South African Museum in Cape Town, who suggested that the best course of action would be:

to found a *Natal* Museum, not a 'Maritzburg' one . . . (for) I cannot help thinking that the Colonial Government would recognize the importance of it in a colony so rich in its natural products and with so varied and interesting a fauna and flora.<sup>30</sup>

A hopeful deputation approached the Governor, Sir Arthur Havelock, with the request that the museum be put on a proper financial footing.<sup>31</sup> This effort, along with two subsequent deputations in 1884 and 1885 met with little more than polite indifference. In 1885 the government did declare itself willing to assist; but only on condition the Society agreed to invest its property in government-nominated trustees,<sup>32</sup> and this offer was in any case later withdrawn. By this stage the Committee Room was full to overflowing; and an entry in the Museum Committee's Minute Book on 8 January 1886 stated:

Owing to the want of space previously reported and the uncertainty as to the position of the Department in consequence of the deferred decision of the Society upon the proposed government grant, the work of the Museum has not been extended and there has been no occasion for regular meetings of the Committee.<sup>33</sup>

This time, however, the museum was not altogether abandoned. Despite numerous advertisements in the Press to the effect that no more space was available, public donations continued to pour in and a donation of £50 from the Colonial Secretary towards the 'colonial objects' of the Society was used to rent additional premises for the display of museum specimens.<sup>34</sup> Finally it was decided to remove the librarian from his quarters behind the library and to use the ground for the construction of a separate museum building.<sup>35</sup> The supervision of building activities was undertaken by Mr Morton Green, JP, who in 1893 took over as Acting Honorary Curator as well as Secretary of the Museum Committee until the appointment of E.W. Fitzsimons in March 1896, thus ushering in a fourth and eventually successful era in the development of the Society's museum. The collection was growing apace and had begun to boast specimens of the spectacular and extremely popular large mammals of Natal, including a cow buffalo, the only existing specimen of a white-tailed gnu, and a rhinoceros. In 1897 no fewer than 17 180 visitors signed their names in the visitor's book;<sup>36</sup> and Morton Green's complaint in the Society's Annual Report reads in consequence with great cogency. He complained, after a personal visit to the Cape Town and Port Elizabeth museums, that these institutions

(are) located in buildings of large dimension, suitable for the ever-increasing zoological and other specimens crowding upon their capacity . . . This result is arrived at by the fact that the Capetown Museum is a Government department, Port Elizabeth having grants of money, Corporate and otherwise, sufficient for the purpose; while we are in the position of being 'cribbed, cabined, and confined', depending upon a yearly vote from the general fund of the Society's income.<sup>37</sup>

At Green's request, another application was made to the Legislative Assembly for an increased grant. The response was once again polite indifference.

The climax came in 1900, when Green wrote bitterly in his Museum Report:

Your museum is now merely a warehouse, everything so crowded and mixed up that double the present space could, if available, be filled . . . perhaps some member will now take up my work, otherwise permit me to suggest the closing of the Museum until the Government, the Corporation, and the public fully wake up to the value of the institution as an educational medium, and as an attraction to the City.<sup>38</sup>

This report, published in the *Natal Witness*, gave rise to much public interest and indignation at the treatment meted out to Morton Green and his supporters by the Pietermaritzburg Corporation and the government. A final deputation approached the Prime Minister on 12 November, urging what was by now the absolute necessity of takeover;<sup>39</sup> and an official communication from the Principal Under-Secretary, C.J. Bird, was at last received on 9 April 1901, notifying the Council of the Natal Society that 'the Government approves of the principle of the Museum being taken over by the Government and controlled as a Government Institution'.<sup>40</sup> Work was almost immediately begun on a new museum building in Loop Street, and the Natal Museum Incorporation Bill (providing for a government-nominated Board of Trustees in place of a separate government department) was brought before the Colonial Parliament in 1902 and again in 1903. The Natal Museum Act No. 11

of 1903 was closely modelled on the earlier Cape Act No. 17 of 1857, which had provided for close government involvement in the South African Museum, Cape Town.<sup>41</sup> It is perhaps unfortunate that the precedent set by the Cape authorities was not followed earlier in Natal: far more, in terms of the fundamental aims of the museum's founders, might then have been accomplished.

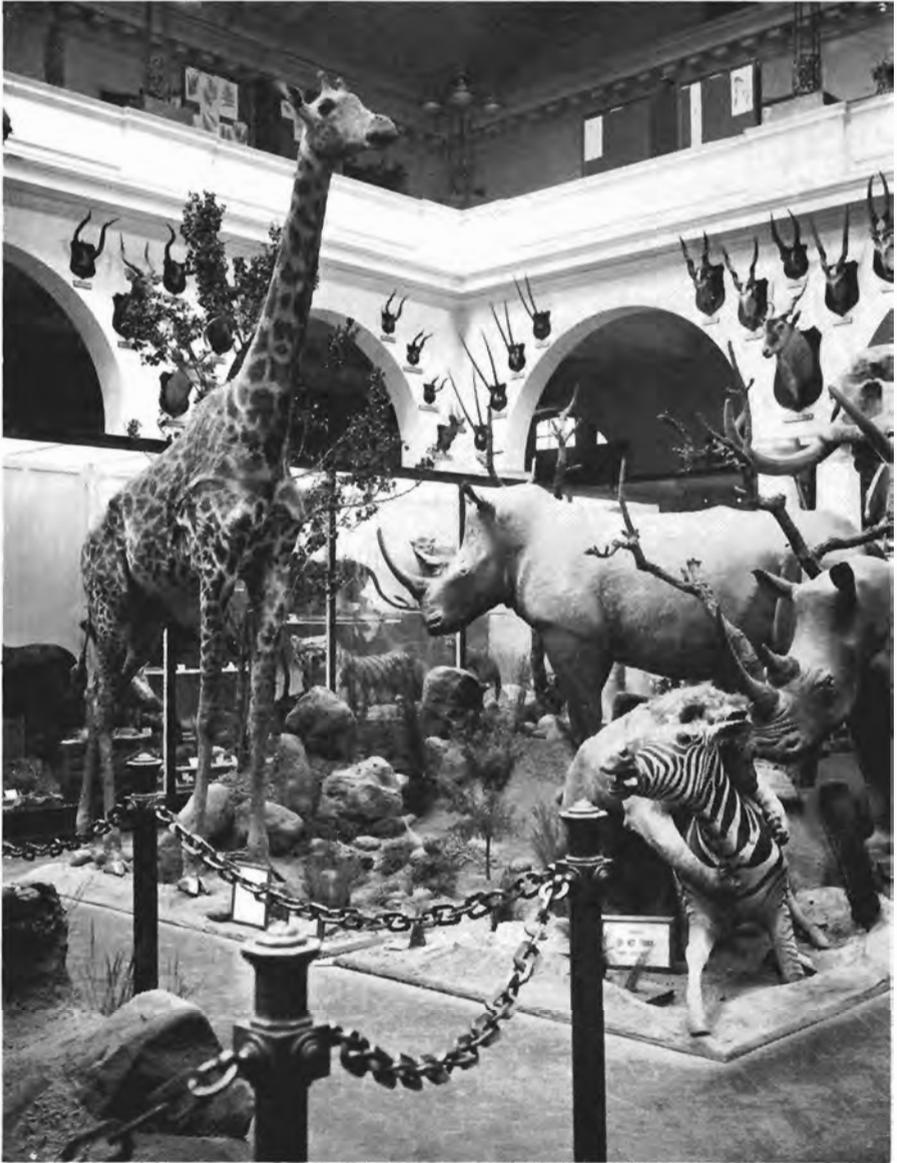
It has already been argued, however, that the Natal Society Museum, as conceived by its more or less far-sighted originators, differed significantly from the dusty warehouse or curiosity cabinet of popular legend. It can further, and in conclusion, be argued that although at one level the disappointments and frustrations outlined above retarded development, at another they in fact facilitated the practical realization of the museum's *raison d'être*: a basic responsiveness to the needs and aspirations of its particular community. Circumstances, by their very nature, militated against either the inclusion of irrelevant objects in the museum collection or the development of an exclusivist museum policy. Lacking an assured source of outside income, the Natal Society, and by extension its museum, was dependent for its very existence on the support of the community to which it belonged. It was observed, for instance, in the third Annual Report of the Society that:

the increasing efficiency of the institution will be most effectually secured by the members individually manifesting a deeper interest in its progress, and using their best endeavours to add to the number of its supporters.<sup>42</sup> Both subscribers to the Society and members of the general public were admitted free of charge to all lectures. Members of the Council regularly canvassed the town for new subscribers. Various fund-raising projects, including in 1876 a Grand Bazaar, in which the impressive figure of just over £2 000 was raised,<sup>43</sup> entailed the active participation of all sectors of the community.

As far as the museum itself was concerned, the necessity of public support was, if possible, even more evident. In his 1855 address, Cloete had remarked that, although no colonist would be expected to devote all his time to the museum, it was essential that 'we . . . one and all, contribute our mite to prepare the way for (the) institution, by collecting the materials at least'.<sup>44</sup> This was the first of many appeals made over the years by the Society's museum enthusiasts. Each of the four fresh initiatives discussed above was accompanied by its corresponding request for assistance, particularly if this were in the form of donated specimens to swell the museum's collection. At the time of the Paris Exhibition, a public meeting was held and £30 collected towards the cost of gathering materials to send to the Exhibition; requests for aid were published in the *Natal Witness* and *Independent* newspapers; and a circular printed and circulated separately asked for donations of money and articles, or specimens on loan.<sup>45</sup> Renewed interest in the late 1860s prompted the following inclusion in the 1869 Museum Committee's Report:

It is almost unnecessary for your Committee to point out that a Museum relies for its success on the number and variety of its contributions, and as such is the case, the Council will see the advisability of calling for them from all willing to contribute.<sup>46</sup>

The first entry in the Minute Book of the newly-established Museum Department, on 11 July 1879, resolved that 'an endeavour be made to attract



The Mammal Hall of the Natal Museum in former days. This space has now been extensively altered by the closing of the well, to enlarge the upper gallery to a full floor, with considerable increase in exhibition space.

*(Photograph: Walter Linley)*

public attention to the establishment of the Museum Department' and that 'subscriptions in money or specimens be invited'.<sup>47</sup> This appeal met with dramatic success. Donations continued to pour in throughout the 1890s, with the result that the new museum building was very soon crowded to capacity.

Great care was taken, especially in the latter phases of development, to acknowledge publicly every donation. Donated specimens were scrupulously recorded in the Museum Committee's Minute Book until 1885, when it was decided to publish instead monthly lists of specimens in the *Natal Witness*. Lists of donations were often appended to the Society's Annual Report. Each donor was acknowledged in person, no matter how small or apparently insignificant the contribution: each was assured that 'single specimens are highly appreciated and carefully preserved, and that by such contributions alone large collections can be made complete and perfect'.<sup>48</sup> The colonists could hardly have missed the implication that this was, in a very real sense, *their* museum. Further, this enforced collecting policy saw to it that the specimens in the possession of the Society, poorly labelled and decrepit as some of them may have been, were given an immediacy which those of a larger institution — say the British Museum — simply did not possess. The apparently commonplace snakes, termites, butterflies, beetles and so on which made up the bulk of the contributions had the great advantage of having been gathered from the immediate, easily accessible environment with which every colonist was automatically familiar. The colonial context dictated that every specimen in the Society's museum was not only collected by the people themselves, but was above all applicable to their everyday experience. A comment made in 1864 by the anonymous visitor to Natal quoted earlier, although it refers to exhibits at a volunteer bazaar held in Durban, is equally applicable to the Natal Society's museum in Pietermaritzburg:

Some collections of curios, such as insects and stuffed birds, pleased me most. In the British Museum I always hurried through the Natural History Rooms, being overwhelmed by the enormous number of the 'exhibits'; but little groups like these we saw today you can spend your time over to enjoy. Perhaps, too, the enjoyment is enhanced by the fact that you may see any of the specimens before you in all the strength of life and glory of freedom, by keeping your eyes at work when outside.<sup>49</sup>

Not even the revolutionary fervour of an H. de Varine-Bohan could, surely, have found serious fault with the community-oriented policy evolved, through necessity, by this hard-pressed but enthusiastic colonial museum. The stripling institution, despite — or, as has been argued, because of — its many problems, enjoyed unsuspected advantages. Out of the exigencies of colonial circumstances had developed a viable, people-oriented and, as such, potentially worthwhile museum.

### List of Donations, 1879–1880

Trustees of the British

Museum	An Illustrated Catalogue of SA Fossil <i>Reptilia</i>
Sir Henry E. Bulwer, KCMG	A Wheelbarrow and Spade
Honorary Secretary	A Cabinet for Entomological Specimens
Dr P.C. Sutherland	Geological collections
Rev. J.D. la Touche	English Silurian Fossils
E.P. Stafford	Fossils and Sea Shells
Miss Wackernow	American fossils

Mr A.F. Ortlepp	Fourteen small Diamonds
Mr W.R. Gordon	Specimens of Stalactites
Mr R. Jones	A Geological Specimen
Rev. Jas Turnbull	Impression of a Fossil Conifer
(Donor unknown)	Some Geological Specimens
Maj Furse	Conchological Specimens
Mr Perrin	Several Snakes
Mr W. Hours	2 Snakes
Mr Sanderson	2 Curious Fishes
Mr G. Gibson, jun.	1 Snake
Mr J. Franklin	1 Snake
Mr G. Lambert	A Tree Lizard
Mr Baxter	2 Specimens of the Hippocampus/Sea Horse
Mr Wm R. Gordon	Miscellaneous Curiosities
Mr Varty	A Hair-ball from a Calf
Mr H. Spence, jun.	Skin of a Blue Jay
Mr Guthrie,	Butterflies, etc
Mr J.M. Wood	Collection of dried Ferns and Plants
Mr Keith (through Maj Furse)	Stalks of the Aloe
Mr Stanton	Branch of the Mauritius Regia Palm
Mr Buntin	Native Assegais and Picks
Mr J.C. Wilson	Model Fender, etc, made by a soldier from Zulu Bullets
Mr Loram	An Old History of the Turks

#### REFERENCES

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- <sup>2</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Council Meeting, 20 May 1851.
- <sup>3</sup> *Natal Witness*, and *Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser*, 9 February 1855, Speech of the Hon. H. Cloete, 'On the value and importance of a Museum in the District of Natal'.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>8</sup> Robinson, J., *Life at Natal a Hundred Years Ago, By a Lady*, Cape Town, Struik, 1972; first published in *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 1864–1865, p. 128.
- <sup>9</sup> Gordon, R., *The Place of the Elephant: A History of Pietermaritzburg*, Pietermaritzburg, Shuter & Shooter, 1981, p. 54.
- <sup>10</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Annual General Meeting, 28 June 1867.
- <sup>11</sup> *Natal Witness*, 'On the value and importance of a Museum . . .'
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

- <sup>17</sup> Flower, W.H., *Essays on Museums and other Subjects Connected with Natural History*, London, Macmillan, 1898. p. 12.
- <sup>18</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Annual General Meeting, 21 June 1853.
- <sup>19</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Special Council Meeting, 28 November 1854.
- <sup>20</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Council Meeting, 22 December 1854.
- <sup>21</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Annual General Meeting, 20 June 1857.
- <sup>22</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Council Meeting, 1 March 1859.
- <sup>23</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Annual General Meeting, 28 June 1867.
- <sup>24</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Annual General Meeting, 30 June 1869.
- <sup>25</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Council Meeting, 3 May 1872.
- <sup>26</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 2: Special General Meeting, 29 June 1878.
- <sup>27</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 2: Special General Meeting, 26 June 1879.
- <sup>28</sup> Museum Committee Minute Book: 26 February 1880.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>30</sup> Natal Museum Library Collection: Natal Government Museum file on early history, Trimen to Stratham, 18 October 1882.
- <sup>31</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 2: Council Meeting, 18 January 1883.
- <sup>32</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 3: Special General Meeting, 27 October 1885.
- <sup>33</sup> Museum Committee Minute Book: 8 January 1886.
- <sup>34</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 3: Council Meeting, 16 March 1889.
- <sup>35</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 3: Council Meeting, 6 March 1893.
- <sup>36</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 3: Annual General Meeting, 30 July 1897.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>38</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 3: Pasted-in copy of Green's Report, 30 August 1900.
- <sup>39</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 3: Council Meeting, 12 November 1900.
- <sup>40</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 3: Council Meeting, 9 April 1901.
- <sup>41</sup> Unaccessioned Natal Government Museum Collection: Administration 1902–1913, Natal Government Museum 11/1903.
- <sup>42</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Annual General Meeting, 20 June 1854.
- <sup>43</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 2: Annual General Meeting, 4 July 1876; A.F. Hattersley, 'The Natal Society, 1851–1951', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, 5(3), 1951.
- <sup>44</sup> *Natal Witness*, 'On the value and importance of a Museum . . .'
- <sup>45</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Council Meeting, 5 December 1854.
- <sup>46</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 1: Annual General Meeting, 30 June 1869.
- <sup>47</sup> Museum Committee Minute Book: 11 July 1879.
- <sup>48</sup> Natal Society Minute Book, Vol 2: Annual General Meeting, 30 June 1880.
- <sup>49</sup> Robinson, *Life at Natal* . . . , pp. 50–51.

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