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## AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN AFRICA TO ca. 1940

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Photographs are attracting growing interest among Africanists. A bibliographical essay in the *Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 7, drew attention to the value and availability of photographs of colonial Africa.<sup>1</sup> The critical use of such documents has been discussed in this journal by Christraud Geary,<sup>2</sup> and historical photographs have been a prominent feature of several recent publications.<sup>3</sup> In May 1988 an international workshop at SOAS considered the problems and possibilities of using photographs as sources for African history. It is hoped that a larger conference on photographs and Africa will be convened in the near future. Meanwhile, the papers for the SOAS meeting have been distributed to interested scholars, librarians, and archivists. A version of the present paper forms part of this collection;<sup>4</sup> since there is as yet no recommendable history of photography in Africa,<sup>5</sup> it seemed worthwhile to republish this modest sketch of the more important developments in the practice and uses of photography in Africa. We conclude with the Second World War, since to have pursued the subject further would have asked too much of the authors' knowledge and readers' patience.

### I

It may be helpful to begin with a reminder of the major technical developments in photography during the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The daguerreotype, introduced in 1839, yielded only a single image, on a sensitized metal plate. The calotype, introduced two years later, yielded multiple paper positives from a paper negative, but like the daguerreotype required exposures of one to three

minutes. The wet-collodion process, introduced in 1851, reduced exposure time to ten seconds or less, and its glass plates could yield very large numbers of prints on albumen paper, but each plate still had to be laboriously prepared immediately before exposure. There was no further major advance until the invention in 1871 of the 'dry-plate' method, using a gelatin emulsion, which reduced exposure time to a second or two. This had the further advantage of allowing plates to be prepared in advance and stored until needed. Further improvements reduced exposure times, and hand-held cameras were introduced in the late 1870s. However, photography remained a comparatively exacting technique until the introduction in 1888/89 of the Kodak box-camera, incorporating a roll of celluloid film that could be returned to the factory for processing; it was this advance which enabled anyone to take photographs simply by pressing a button. In 1897 Eastman produced the Kodak folding camera, which could be carried in the pocket. From 1900 the Brownie camera extended photography to as mass market by its extreme cheapness. It should be noted, however, that early roll-film was not adequate to the demands of professionals, who continued to use plates. It was the advent of Leica and Rolleiflex cameras in the late 1920s which marked the beginning of modern photo-reportage, in which fine definition could be achieved at high speeds and in rapid succession.

Until the late nineteenth century, technical difficulties obstructed the dissemination of photographs in books and periodicals. It was easy enough to issue bound albums of photographic prints; it was another matter to print photographs and letterpress simultaneously. Until the 1880s the only way to represent a photograph in a book was either to paste it in or to copy it in another medium, such as lithography. With the perfection of the half-tone process in the late 1880s, photographs could be transferred to metal plates strong enough for use in a high-speed printing press, and this opened the way to their reproduction not only in books but in magazines and newspapers. By 1900 the postcard offered yet another method of distributing photographs in large quantities. Indeed, up to 1914 at least, the postcard carried a much wider variety of images than we associate with it today; it shared with other media the documentary function of recording events and local activities as well as scenery and personalities.<sup>7</sup>

## II

Appropriately, photography in Africa began among the ancient monuments of Egypt, as an adjunct to a flourishing European tradition of Orientalist art. Between 1844 and 1864 at least ten amateur photographers from Europe published albums illustrating Egyptian antiquities and views. Commercial studios were established in Egypt by the 1860s, and there were at least ten such firms by 1880. In the 1850s and 1860s there were also studios in Algiers.<sup>8</sup> In South Africa studios were established in the Cape in the late 1840s and 1850s, and a local industry expanded with the growth of white settlement.<sup>9</sup> In Luanda a stu-

dio was opened around 1863,<sup>10</sup> and another around 1872. During the 1880s there were at least seven studios in Freetown run by black photographers, and by this time there were also studios in Accra and Zanzibar.<sup>11</sup>

The slow and cumbersome procedures required of early photographers inevitably restricted use of the medium outside the studio. Until the 1870s photography was rarely attempted in Africa much beyond the main centers of European settlement. Special interest thus attaches to photographs of the Sotho king Moshweshwe in 1860 at Aliwal North made by Frederick Young, who accompanied Prince Alfred's touring party.<sup>12</sup> In tropical Africa climatic conditions presented particular hazards to the preparation and preservation of photographic plates. Pierre Trémaux, who traveled up the Blue Nile in 1847, published a splendid album which includes several photographs of black African slaves, but these would all seem to have been taken in Mediterranean towns.<sup>13</sup>

In 1845-48 the French naval officer Charles Guillain surveyed the east African coast, and two of his ensigns were credited with drawings and daguerreotypes from which was derived a fine album of lithographs. The photographs were the basis of sixteen plates illustrating local physiognomies from Somalia to southern Tanzania, including 'Nyasa,' Chagga, and Gurage.<sup>14</sup> The first photographer to visit Ethiopia was probably the missionary Henry Stern, who arrived in 1859 and later published twenty engravings based on photographs in his *Wanderings among the Falashas* (1862).<sup>15</sup> Photographs were taken in Lagos in 1860, although the details are still obscure.<sup>16</sup> The earliest surviving photographs from the interior of tropical Africa are probably those made by John Kirk in 1858-62, while serving as botanist on Livingstone's Zambezi expedition. Kirk experimented with at least three techniques, with considerable success, though while upcountry he appears to have limited his subjects to buildings, boats, and vegetation.<sup>17</sup> Grant took photographic equipment on Speke's Nile expedition of 1860-63, and used it to some effect in Zanzibar,<sup>18</sup> but once on the mainland he gave up such efforts and instead produced some remarkably attractive colored sketches.<sup>19</sup>

In 1873-74 Gerhard Rohlfs took a camera on his expedition to oases in the Libyan Desert, west of Asyut on the Nile. Sixteen sepia photographs are reproduced in his account of the expedition, including a fine panorama of the town of Qasr Dakhla, and some good portraits.<sup>20</sup>

The first explorer to take dry-plate apparatus to tropical Africa was probably Stanley, on his expedition across the continent in 1875-76. His photographs were used in preparing at least ten of the illustrations to *Through the Dark Continent*, and to judge from the captions his plates lasted as far as the Ripon Falls, though only three such drawings show people, all members of his caravan.<sup>21</sup> In 1877 H. B. Cotterill had a camera while working at the original Livingstonia mission at the south end of Lake Malawi.<sup>22</sup> But by far the most considerable name from the 1870s is that of Richard Buchta (1845-94), an Aus-

trian artist and photographer who seems to have settled in Egypt around 1870. By October 1878 Buchta was at Lado, Emin Pasha's headquarters on the Upper Nile. Early in 1879 he visited northern Uganda, and later that year he made two trips west of the Nile, to the eastern Zande and to the *zeriba* of Zubeir (whose son Suliman had lately been defeated by Gessi). Buchta returned to Europe in 1880 and produced two albums of fine photographs which illustrate the pyramids at Meroë, outposts of the Turkiyya, and the physique and material culture of the Shilluk, Bari, Acholi, Langi, Nyoro, and several Zande groups.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, Buchta never published more than a cursory account of his travels,<sup>24</sup> and for full identification of his pictures we have to turn to other travelers in the region who made use of them when illustrating their own accounts. Numerous line drawings in books by Gessi, Junker, Wilson, and Felkin are based on photographs or sketches by Buchta, and in 1891 Casati printed several of the actual photographs, although without acknowledgment.<sup>25</sup> It was this use of Buchta's work which in 1960 prompted H. B. Thomas to write an article about it, in which he briefly noted some of the discrepancies between drawings and photographs.<sup>26</sup>

In the course of the 1880s several explorers in tropical Africa used cameras. Joseph Thomson, Victor Giraud, and Hans Meyer in east Africa all produced books with numerous illustrations, but Meyer (in 1888) was unusual in publishing actual photographs.<sup>27</sup> In 1882 Georges Révoil issued a portfolio of photographs from the northern Somali coast, and in 1888 Philipp Paulitschke published photographs from his expedition to Harar in 1885-87. At the same time Jules Borelli took numerous photographs in Showa, Jimma, and Kaffa, which served as the basis for engravings in his *Ethiopie Méridionale* (1890).<sup>28</sup> On the upper Zambezi, the missionary François Coillard took photographs frequently from 1885 and in his reminiscences published several "from very indifferent negatives ... their sole value ... is that they are instantaneous views. Though not artistic, they are *faithful* ..." <sup>29</sup> Between Buchta's undoubtedly 'artistic' work and many of Coillard's "instantaneous views," the Kodak revolution had begun.

### III

By the 1880s photography was being used more or less systematically by those engaged in the extension of colonial rule.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, as an adjunct to military operations, its history in Africa begins with pictures of the British Abyssinian campaign of 1867/68, by members of the Royal Engineers, who had provided training in photography since 1856.<sup>31</sup> This also accounts for the coverage of the second Suakin expedition of 1885. Several photographers recorded episodes in the Anglo-Zulu wars between 1879 and 1884. In Egypt one commercial photographer, L. Fiorillo, produced an album depicting Alexandria after the bombardment of 1882, and another, G. Lekegian, was employed by the Brit-

ish army of occupation. In Asante an anonymous photographer recorded an official visit to the Asantehene-elect in 1884. In 1890 German naval officers published numerous photographs recently taken in the line of duty in east Africa.<sup>32</sup>

Rhodes' Pioneer Column in 1890 included an official photographer, W. E. Fry, who was then assistant Astronomer-Royal at Cape Town.<sup>33</sup> The Gold Coast photographer, N. W. Holm, was commissioned in 1891 to record the raising of the British flag in parts of southwestern Nigeria. Binger's expedition through the hinterland of the Ivory Coast in 1891/92 included a photographer, Marcel Monnier.<sup>34</sup> Such activity soon became routine: it is enough here to note that in 1911, during their invasion of Tripolitania, the Italians took photographs of enemy positions from an airship.<sup>35</sup> These are among the first aerial photographs of Africa (some had been taken from balloons in the South African War).

Meanwhile, photographers were also employed to record engineering feats: T. D. Ravenscroft for Cape Railways in the 1880s; J. W. Pringle, R.E., for the Uganda Railways survey party in 1892;<sup>36</sup> W. D. Young for the construction of that railway in the late 1890s; F. Fiorillo for the Aswan Dam in the early 1900s; and the Nigerian G. S. A. da Costa for railway-building to Jebba and Kaduna in 1909-11.<sup>37</sup> Trading firms began to use photographs for promotional purposes: the United Africa Company has a collection from west Africa that goes back to the 1880s. Early colonial penetration was also recorded by several officials who may be regarded as serious amateur photographers. Among them, we may note the Lagos surgeon, J. W. Rowland;<sup>38</sup> A. G. S. Hawes, consul on Lake Nyasa 1885-87 and in Zanzibar, 1888-89; Ernest Gedge in Uganda, 1889-91; T. J. Aldridge in Sierra Leone, 1890-1905; and in Eritrea and Somalia in the 1890s V. Bottego and Ugo Ferrandi.

Once newspapers began to carry photographs, in the 1890s, cameras were employed by journalists working in Africa, and not only residents, as in South Africa, but reporters from Europe, as in Eritrea (Ximenes), east Africa, and Southern Rhodesia (Gedge), the Sudan in 1898 (Gregson) and Libya in 1911 (Barzini). However, the true photojournalist, reporting exclusively with his camera, was still very rare. One of the first in Africa was Filippo Ledru, who recorded the Italian landing at Massawa in 1885 and also the Adua campaign in 1896 (though this time he lost his camera). More significant was a pioneer of action war photography, Luca Comerio, who covered the Italian campaign in Libya in 1911-13 with both still and movie cameras.<sup>39</sup>

Between the 1890s and the first world war, photographs of Africa were published profusely to promote a variety of imperial, commercial, missionary, and scientific enterprises. By 1895 the newly-founded *Geographical Journal* regularly carried photographs. During the first decade of the new century photographs were a principal feature of the *South African War Illustrated*, the *Transvaal Illustrated Weekly*, the *African World*, and the *West African Mail*. They were supplemented by annuals, and by such books as *Our Sudan: Its Pyra-*

*mids and Progress* (John Ward, 1905). Photographs of Africa began to be used in the slide shows and slide lectures characteristic of the later nineteenth century: a series of slides was prepared from photographs taken in 1889-91 by an official of the Imperial British East Africa Company.<sup>40</sup> As entertaining novelties, slide shows of exotic scenes yielded to the cinema well before 1910, but photographic slides continued to be made for educational purposes. In the United States around 1910, the Keystone View Co. (Meadville, Pennsylvania) issued slides illustrating traditional and modern economic activities in the Belgian Congo, east, and South Africa.<sup>41</sup> In Britain the Colonial Instruction Committee commissioned several series of slide lectures about the British Empire before 1914, though it gave Africa a low priority and its representation of Africa was correspondingly meager.<sup>42</sup>

For missionaries, photographs were an obvious way to arouse and maintain support at home.<sup>43</sup> In 1900 the U.M.C.A.'s work in east Africa was presented in photographs, mostly by E. S. Palmer.<sup>44</sup> Msgr. Geyer's record of work in the southern Sudan was profusely illustrated by photographs, albeit poorly reproduced.<sup>45</sup> Photographs by Baptist missionaries were used in the campaign against atrocities in the Congo Free State.<sup>46</sup> In Kamerun, Basel missionaries made a remarkable photographic record between 1905 and 1915 of the court of Njoya, king of Bamum.<sup>47</sup>

#### IV

The expansion of trade, the growth of immigrant populations, and the diffusion of European cultural habits all contributed to a rapid increase in demand for the services of photographic studios within Africa. By the 1890s Goans were running studios in Zanzibar and Mozambique. W. D. Young opened a studio in Mombasa in 1899 and another in Nairobi in 1905. In the latter year the first studio was opened in Addis Ababa by an Armenian. By the 1920s he had been followed by other Armenians, a Parsee, and an Austrian.<sup>48</sup> Portraits were the main business of the studios,<sup>49</sup> but several also produced postcards, and the abundance of African postcards by 1914 has given rise to a number of recent books.<sup>50</sup> They are also the subject of serious research by David Prochaska (Algeria), Jill Dias (Angola) and especially Philippe David (French West Africa and Lagos).<sup>51</sup>

The fine reproduction of photographs was a notable feature of the ethnographic monographs which by the 1890s were beginning to supersede the discursive expedition report. Stuhlmann's monumental account of the German expedition to Lake Victoria with Emin Pasha in 1890-92 is a transitional work, both in this respect and in terms of the technical variety of its illustrations, which include seventeen splendid full-plate photographs.<sup>52</sup> Another scientist in east Africa, Max Schöller, devoted a whole volume to ethnographic photo-

graphs taken in 1896-97.<sup>53</sup> The prevailing interest in physical anthropology was also served by the photographs of Fülleborn in German East Africa,<sup>54</sup> Randall McIver and Wilkin in the Aurès and Kabyle,<sup>55</sup> N. W. Thomas in southern Nigeria, C. G. Seligman in the Sudan,<sup>56</sup> and, somewhat later, Duggan-Cronin in South Africa.<sup>57</sup> On his return from serving as Special Commissioner in Uganda in 1899-1901, Harry Johnston produced a magnificent amalgam of ethnography, natural history, and colonial apologia, liberally illustrated with photographs, many of them his own. Among much else, they offer a privileged glimpse of relations between early colonial officials and the Ganda; they also provide valuable evidence of the size and density of Masai villages near Lake Baringo.<sup>58</sup> Material culture was a particular interest of M. W. Hilton-Simpson, who accompanied Torday to the Kasai in 1907-09; his photographs there and later in the Aurès are also remarkable for their documentation of a variety of customary activities, some of which he also recorded on film.<sup>59</sup> Informal snapshots became increasingly characteristic of ethnographic photography between the wars, reflecting both technical advances and new approaches to field-work.<sup>60</sup> Few ethnographers, however, sought the technical sophistication of Bernatzik's photography in the southern Sudan (1927) and Portuguese Guinea (1928). His sumptuous volumes on the latter include six color half-plates (four taken by flashlight) and seventeen aerial photographs, as well as many excellent plates and half-plates of dancing and other activities.<sup>61</sup> Bernatzik also compiled what may be the first 'coffee-table book' of 'vanishing Africa' from his own work and that of others, including the German Aksum expedition of 1906. "The natives are reduced to the position of slaves to the white colonisers... I have tried to preserve some pictures of a small fraction of this world that is fast disappearing... I always tried to take a photograph of natives when they did not notice it."<sup>62</sup>

Despite the notable advances in photographic techniques between the wars, newspapers were "incredibly slow to adapt themselves to the photo-age,"<sup>63</sup> which is one reason why postcards continued to perform a documentary-cum-propaganda function. The London-based weekly *West Africa* was founded in 1917, and from the first carried photographs of all aspects of west African life, most of them taken by west African commercial photographers. An early by-product of this weekly was Allister Macmillan's *Red Book of West Africa* (1920), an entertainingly informal business directory, abundantly illustrated. But it was rare for a photojournalist in Europe to visit Africa. Photo-reportage in the modern sense was chiefly pioneered in Germany in the 1920s, and its progress elsewhere owed much to German *émigrés* after 1933.<sup>64</sup> Three German photojournalists merit notice here. In 1927-28 Joseph Steinlehner was sent by the Afrika-Photo-Archiv in Munich to take photographs in Ethiopia.<sup>65</sup> Felix Man visited Libya and Tunisia in 1932; and in March 1935 Alfred Eisenstadt visited Ethiopia.<sup>66</sup> The Fascist propaganda machine assiduously used both

still and movie photography in the war against Ethiopia in 1935-36,<sup>67</sup> but foreign journalists covering operations from the Ethiopian side seem to have been remarkably unsuccessful.<sup>68</sup> The chief photographer for *Vogue*, George Hoyningen-Huene, made an extended African tour in 1936-37, but he "purposely omitted all sordidness of realism."<sup>69</sup> At least one photo-agency was obtaining photographs from the Sudan and Belgian Congo in the 1930s, but their use has yet to be ascertained.<sup>70</sup> The first British photojournalist to carry out a major reporting assignment in Africa was probably George Rodger, who in 1941 was sent by *Life* to cover the operations of Free French forces. Rodger traveled from Douala to Fort Lamy, Kufra, El Fasher, and Massawa before going on to Addis Ababa. Unfortunately, whether through malevolence or mere incompetence, the British authorities in Cairo contrived to sabotage much of his unique photographic record.<sup>71</sup>

By and large (and in contrast to films)<sup>72</sup> still photographs seem not to have played much part in such efforts as were made between the wars to project images of Africa for purposes of popular instruction or persuasion. There are few books comparable to the pre-1914 albums and annuals. Two stand out. In 1937-38 two dedicated American amateurs, Richard and Mary Light, took a remarkable series of aerial photographs in the course of a flight from the Cape to Cairo. These dramatically illustrate recent innovations in land use and are accompanied by an intelligent text for the non-specialist.<sup>73</sup> The lack of such works on west Africa was deplored by Paul Redmayne, who in 1936 spent a month in the Gold Coast with a Leica and published a book in which "I have visualised my subject in pictures and have written round them."<sup>74</sup> This enterprising work is perhaps alone in reflecting the forward-looking spirit of, for instance, the Cadbury films of the Gold Coast in the 1930s. Redmayne had the blessing of Governor Sir Arnold Hodson, but he gave a prominence to Africans in town and at work that was unusual among the dominant images of the period. These are people, not 'natives.'

#### IV

The Second World War and its aftermath gave a new importance to photographs of Africa as instruments of propaganda. Colonial administrations which had previously employed commercial studios as 'government photographers' began to form information departments with their own studios, which rapidly generated quantities of photographs intended to instruct or mould opinion. In Kenya an official campaign to attract British settlers in 1945 prompted a series of photographs depicting the life of the white farmer.<sup>75</sup> In 1948 photographs sent to Britain propagated a myth of happy African families in towns, based on a highly unrepresentative group in Nairobi.<sup>76</sup> A further important de-

velopment was the remarkable efflorescence of black photographers in South Africa, associated in particular with *Drum* from 1951.<sup>77</sup> But such themes take us into new chapters in the history of photography in Africa, which the present authors, at any rate, are not yet qualified to write.

## NOTES

1. *Cambridge History of Africa*, VII, ed. A. D. Roberts (Cambridge, 1986), 789-90.
2. Christraud M. Geary, "Photographs as Materials for African History," *HA*, 13 (1986):89-116.
3. Andrew Roberts, "Photographs and African History," *JAH*, 29 (1988): 301-11.
4. Andrew Roberts, ed., *Photographs as Sources for African History* (SOAS, University of London, 1989). This also includes, *inter alia*, papers by Christraud Geary, David Prochaska, Jill Dias, Bob Papstein, Alessandro Triulzi, Guido Convents, Lesley Forbes, and John Mack, and a bibliography by Andrew Roberts.
5. A. D. Bensusan, *Silver Images: the History of Photography in Africa* (Cape Town, 1966), is almost wholly about white photographers in South Africa.
6. The following two paragraphs are largely based on Helmut Gernsheim's contributions to the *Oxford History of Technology*, 5 (1958) and 7 (1978).
7. M. Parr and J. Stasiak, *The Actual Boot* (Bradford, 1987).
8. Cf. N. Monti, *Africa Then* (New York, 1987); F. Musso, *L'Algérie des souvenirs* (Paris, 1976).
9. Cf. Robert Harris, *Photographic Views of Port Elizabeth and Neighbourhood* [ca. 1876]; idem, *South Africa Illustrated* [1888]; H. F. Gros, *Picturesque Aspects of the Transvaal* [ca. 1888].
10. Cf. J. A. da Cunha Moraes, *Africa Occidental* (4 vols.: Lisbon, 1885-88); see also the Falkenstein collections (1876) at the Royal Geographical Society, London.
11. Cf. Vera Viditz-Ward, "Photography in Sierra Leone, 1850-1918," *Africa*, 57 (1987): 510-17; J. Falconer, "African Photographs in the Royal Commonwealth Society Library," *African Research and Documentation*, 31 (1983), 12-19.
12. Ibid.
13. Pierre Trémaux, *Voyages au Soudan Oriental Atlas*, (Paris, [1852]).
14. C. Guillaïn, *Voyage à la côte orientale d'Afrique. Album Lithographié ... d'après des épreuves daguerriennes* (Paris, [1857]).
15. Richard Pankhurst, "The Genesis of Photography in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa," *British Journal of Photography*, 123 (1976):878.
16. Cf. M. Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos* (London, 1977).
17. R. Coupland, *Kirk on the Zambezi* (Oxford, 1928); R. Foskett, ed., *The Zambezi Journals and Letters of Dr. John Kirk* (Edinburgh, 1965).
18. The Royal Geographical Society has twenty-seven photographs taken by Grant in Zanzibar in 1860.
19. National Library of Scotland, *James Augustus Grant in Africa, 1860-63* (Edinburgh, 1982).
20. G. Rohlfs, *Drei Monate in der Libyschen Wüste* (Cassel, 1875).
21. H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent* (London, 1878).
22. J. F. Elton, ed. H. B. Cotterill, *Travels and Researches Among the Lakes and Mountains of Eastern and Central Africa* (London, 1879).

23. R. Buchta, *Die oberen Nil-Länder: Volkstypen und Landschaften* (Berlin, 1888).
24. *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 27 (1881): 81-89.
25. G. Casati, *Dieci anni in Ekuatoria* (Milan, 1891), and English translation.
26. H. B. Thomas, "Richard Buchta and Early Photography in Uganda," *Uganda Journal*, 24 (1960):114-19.
27. H. Meyer, *Zum Schneedom des Kilimandscharo, 40 Photographien aus Deutsch-ostafrika mit text* (Berlin, 1889).
28. Cf. Pankhurst, "Genesis," 880-81.
29. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa* (London, 1897), v-vi.
30. The following paragraphs owe much to John Falconer's work for *Commonwealth in Focus* (Melbourne, 1982). Falconer has cataloged the photographic collections of the Royal Commonwealth Society, London.
31. Pankhurst, "Genesis," 878-79.
32. J. Sturtz and J. Wangemann, *Land und Leute in Deutsch-Ostafrika: Erinnerungen aus der ersten Zeit des Aufstandes und der Blokade* (Berlin, 1890).
33. *The Occupation of Mashonaland: Views by W. Ellerton Fry* (n.p., n.d. [ca. 1891]; reprinted Bulawayo, 1982).
34. Christian Forlacroix, "La photographie au service de l'histoire d'Afrique," *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 10 (1970):125-43.
35. W. K. McClure, *Italy in North Africa. An Account of the Tripoli Enterprise* (London, 1913), 172, 188.
36. *Geographical Journal*, 2 (1893):480.
37. The iconography of transport in Africa is currently being studied by Hélène d'Almeida Topor (Université de Metz) and Monique Lakroum (Université de Paris VII); a conference on the subject is to be held in Paris in February 1990.
38. The Royal Geographical Society has some of Rowland's work in west Africa in 1883-84.
39. Monti, *Africa Then*, 167; C. Manenti, N. Monti, and G. Nicodemi, *Luca Comerio fotografo e cineasta* (Milan, 1979), 46-60.
40. John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester, 1985), 33.
41. I owe this information to Diana Wylie (Yale University).
42. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 164-65.
43. The photographic holdings of the archives of the Church Missionary Society have recently been transferred from the University of Birmingham to the library of the Royal Commonwealth Society, London. The White Fathers' archives in Rome are rich in photographs and many have been cataloged (information from At Ipenburg). There is also a fine selection in R. Collart and G. Célis, *Burundi: 30 ans d'histoire en photos 1900-1930* (Brussels, n.d., [ca. 1982]).
44. *East Africa in Picture* (London, 1900).
45. F. X. Geyer, *Durch Sand, Sumpf und Wald* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1914).
46. Some are reproduced in E. D. Morel, *King Leopold's Rule in Africa* (London, 1904), and H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (London, 1908).
47. Christraud Geary and Adamou Ndam Njoya, *Mandou Yénu* (Munich, 1985); Christraud M. Geary, *Images from Bamum: German Colonial Photography at the Court of King Njoya, Cameroon, West Africa, 1900-1915* (Washington, 1988).
48. Pankhurst, "Genesis," 935, 952. Many photographs spanning the past century in Ethiopia were collected by the last photographer to the imperial court, Shemelis Desta. These, together with much of his own work, are now preserved in England (infor-

mation from Nicky Scott-Francis, 16 January 1989).

49. Cf. Allister Macmillan, *The Red Book of West Africa* (London, 1920); T. D. Mweli Skota, *The African Yearly Register. Being an Illustrated National Biographical Dictionary (Who's Who) of Black Folks in Africa* (Johannesburg, n.d. [1930; second ed. 1932]).

50. Cf. M. Luwel, *Le Congo Belge en cartes postales anciennes* (Zaltbommel, 1972); Oscar I. Norwich, *A Johannesburg Album: Historical Postcards* (Craighall, 1986); Paul Azoulay, *La nostalgerie française* (Paris, 1980) (postcards of Algeria); Malek Alloula, *Le harem colonial* (Geneva, 1981); translated as *The Colonial Harem* (Minneapolis, 1986).

51. Philippe David, "La carte postale Sénégalaise," *Notes Africaines*, 157 (1978) :3-12; idem, "La carte postale Ivoirienne de 1909 à 1960," *Notes Africaines*, 174(1982): 29-39; *Inventaire générale des cartes postales Fortier. I. Sénégal-Guinée, 1900-1905* (Paris, 1986), II. A.O.F. et Lagos, 1906-1910 (Paris, 1987).

52. Franz Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894).

53. Max Schöller, *Mitteilungen über meine Reise* (Berlin, 1901-04), II.

54. F. Fülleborn, *Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Nord-Nyassaländer* (Berlin, 1902); idem, *Das deutsche Nyassa- und Ruwuma-Gebiet. Atlas* (Berlin, 1906).

55. D. Randall McIver and A. Wilkin, *Libyan Notes* (London, 1901).

56. Roslyn Poignant, *Observers of Man* (R.A.I. exhibition catalog, London, 1980).

57. A. M. Duggan-Cronin, *The Bantu tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies* (4 vols.: Cambridge, 1928-41).

58. Cf. H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (2 vols.: London, 1901), 2:812-13. David Anderson (Birkbeck College, London) drew this point to my attention.

59. M. W. Hilton-Simpson, "The People of the Aurès Massif," *Geographical Journal*, 65 (1925):24-31.

60. For the experiences in the 1930s of an ethnographically-minded district officer in Nigeria see G. I. Jones, "A Memoir of Early Field Photography," *African Arts*, 18 (1984/85), 64-76.

61. H. A. Bernatzik, *Zwischen Weissem Nil und Belgisch-Kongo* (Vienna, 1929); idem, *Athiopen des Westens* (Vienna, 1933).

62. H. A. Bernatzik, *The Dark Continent: Africa, the Landscape and the People* (London, [1931]), vi.

63. Helmut Gernsheim, *A Concise History of Photography* (3rd ed.: New York, 1986), 114.

64. *Ibid.*, 114-18.

65. Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Germany* (Stuttgart, 1981), 68.

66. Felix H. Man, *Man with Camera* (London, 1983); A. Eisenstadt, *Witness to our Time* (New York, 1966), 162-63. Man moved to England in 1934, and Eisenstadt to the United States in 1936.

67. Cf. Luigi Goglia, *Storia fotografica dell'Impero fascista 1935-1941* (Rome, 1985); Lutz Becker's compilation film, *Lion of Judah* (1981) (Copy in Imperial War Museum, London).

68. Ian Jeffrey, "Photojournalism" in *Thirties* (Arts Council exhibition catalog) (London, 1979), 118.

69. G. Hoyningen-Huene, *African Mirage* (New York, 1938).

70. This was Wide World Photos, from which the *New York Times* derived the collection which it sold to the U. S. Information Agency (U. S. National Archives, RG 306). The U. S. Department of Commerce collected photographs illustrating U. S. exports (motors, tractors, and agricultural machinery) to Africa in the 1930s (RG 151).

71. George Rodger, *Desert Journey* (London, 1944), 75; this reproduced some impressive results.

72. Cf. Andrew Roberts, "Africa on film to 1940," *HA*, 14 (1987):189-227.
73. R. U. Light, *Focus on Africa* (photographs by Mary Light) (New York, 1941); see also H. L. Shantz and B. L. Turner, *Photographic Documentation of Vegetational Changes in Africa Over a Third of a Century* (Tucson: University of Arizona College of Agriculture, Report no. 169, August 1958). This is mostly concerned with South Africa and Kenya.
74. Paul Redmayne, A. R. P. S., *The Gold Coast Yesterday and Today* (London, 1938), 23.
75. Library of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London.
76. David W. Throup, *Economic and Social Origins of Mau Mau, 1945-53* (London, 1987), 186, 199n42. In the Gold Coast, officially-commissioned photographs which graphically revealed malnutrition were suppressed during the war: F. M. Purcell, "Diet and Ill-Health in the Forest Country of the Gold Coast, 1941," CO 859/61/1/12605/C/1 (1941-3). Public Record Office. Cf. *West Africa* (8 June 1946), 512.
77. *The Beat of Drum; The Foundation of the Future; Profile of Africa; African Bed-side Book; The finest photos from the old Drum; The Fifties People of South Africa* (all published by J. R. A. Bailey, Johannesburg, 1982-7; and distributed in the United Kingdom by Central Books, London). See now Dorothy C. Woodson, *Drum: An Index to 'Africa's Leading Magazine,' 1951-1965* (Madison, 1988), which provides access to the major photographic materials in *Drum*.

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### **[Footnotes]**

#### <sup>3</sup> **Review: Photographs and African History**

Reviewed Work(s):

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*To the Bitter End. A Photographic History of the Boer War 1899-1902* by Emanoel Lee

*Johannesburg: Images and Continuities. A History of Working Class Life through Pictures, 1885-1935* by Peter Kallaway; Patrick Pearson

*Working Life 1886-1940: Factories, Townships and Popular Culture on the Rand. (A People's History of South Africa, Vol. 2)* by Luli Callinicos

*The Colonial Harem* by Malek Alloula; Myrna Godzich; Wlad Godzich

*Africa Then. Photographs 1840-1918* by Nicolas Monti

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*The Journal of African History*, Vol. 29, No. 2. (1988), pp. 301-311.

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### <sup>11</sup> **Photography in Sierra Leone, 1850-1918**

Vera Viditz-Ward

*Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 57, No. 4, Sierra Leone, 1787-1987. (1987), pp. 510-518.

Stable URL:

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### <sup>36</sup> **New Maps**

*The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 5. (Nov., 1893), pp. 477-480.

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### <sup>59</sup> **The People of the Aures Massif**

M. W. Hilton-Simpson

*The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 1. (Jan., 1925), pp. 24-28.

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