

Reframing Duggan-Cronin:  
Examining the recent emergence of Alfred Martin  
Duggan-Cronin's photographs in art exhibitions.

Rosemary Bangham | BNGROS001

A minor dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for  
the award of the degree of Masters of Philosophy in African Studies

Faculty of Humanities  
University of Cape Town  
2011-2012

Compulsory Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: 

Signed by candidate
---------------------

 Date: \_\_\_\_\_

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

## ABSTRACT

This study is about the photographs of Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. It is particularly concerned with the recent use of Duggan-Cronin's photographs in public exhibitions, especially art exhibitions. It suggests that the majority of these recent exhibitions favour an understanding of the photographs as art objects in opposition to how they were previously presented, in Duggan-Cronin's own time, as anthropological reference points. It also explores possible reasons for this apparent shift, as well as possible reasons for the re-emergence of the photographs in the first place. In particular the study engages with the subjects of photography, curation, archives, colonialism and anthropology.

CONTENTS

<u>A CURATION OF DUGGAN-CRONIN'S PHOTOGRAPHS</u>	<u>i</u>
<u>FORWARD</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	<u>4</u>
Notes on my methodology	6
Subjects	10
In summary	21
<u>CHAPTER 1   INTRODUCTION TO ALFRED MARTIN DUGGAN-CRONIN</u>	<u>23</u>
Vital statistics	23
Duggan-Cronin & photography	23
Duggan-Cronin & his achievements	24
Support of his work	25
Duggan-Cronin & his own relationship with his project	26
Madela: a 'native assistant'	28
<u>CHAPTER 2   IN THE PUBLIC EYE IN DUGGAN-CRONIN'S TIME</u>	<u>30</u>
Reframing Duggan-Cronin	38
'Canonised' knowledge	42
Duggan-Cronin's contemporary context	44
The question of genre in Duggan-Cronin's work	47
Overlapping genres	53
Shifts in photography's archive	59
<u>CHAPTER 3   IN THE PUBLIC EYE TODAY</u>	<u>61</u>
Contemporary uses of Duggan-Cronin's photographs	63
Explaining the re-emergence and noticing a shift in genre	83
Where the projects are archived & where the exhibitions have been shown	92
Avoiding difficult discourses	94

<u>CHAPTER 4   PHOTOGRAPHY &amp; ITS FRAMES AND ANTHROPOLOGY &amp; ITS PERSUASIONS</u>	<u>96</u>
Comparisons	96
Consent & participation	102
Returning photographs	105
Audiences	107
Power & agency	109
Text & image	111
<u>CHAPTER 5   THE ART OF CURATION</u>	<u>115</u>
Entanglements	115
A general understanding of curation	116
Acting as curator	118
Making stories	119
Returning to the themes of power, authenticity & audience	123
Where are museums from?	125
Observations from the case-studies	136
<u>CONCLUSION</u>	<u>140</u>
My own curation	157
<u>APPENDIX 1.</u>	<u>159</u>
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	<u>160</u>

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Front cover of the first volume of <i>The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin.</i>	iii
Figure 2. The introductory pages from the first volume of <i>The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin.</i>	iv
Figure 3. PLATE XLIX   YOUNG PEDI GIRLS	vi
Figure 4. PLATE XVIII   BAKGATLA DRAWING WATER	viii
Figure 5. PLATE XXXVI   THE CRADLE OF THE BAPEDI	x
Figure 6. PLATE LXVI   CHILDREN AT MOITŠUPELI'S	xii
Figure 7. PLATE XLVII   TWO LITTLE KHOKA FISHERMEN AT MAXIXE	xiv
Figure 8. PLATE LXXIII   MAKING BUTTER	xvi
Figure 9. PLATE CXXIX   ROYAL HENCHMAN	xviii
Figure 10. PLATE XLIV   MAKING MATS	xx
Figure 11. PLATE V   XHOSA WOMAN	xxii
Figure 12. PLATE XXV   SIYABALALA, A THEMBU CHIEF	xxiv
Figure 13. PLATE XVI   BANGWAKETSE GRINDING GRAIN AT KANYE	xxvi
Figure 14. PLATE CLV   THE GREAT PLACE, LUGANGENI	xxviii
Figure 15. PLATE LX   WIFE OF CHIEF MTUBA AT ZAVALA	xxx
Figure 16. Photograph illustrating the author looking at <i>The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin.</i>	2
Figure 17. Photograph of an extract of text from the first volume of <i>The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin.</i>	30

FORWARD

---

A difficult position

My background in relation to this project stems from A-levels in Maths, Biology, Art History, Art and Geography, and a BA degree in Visual Culture which covered photography, advertising, film, dress history, collecting, museology, ethnography and more. Both my A-levels and BA were studies in England, UK. Although my background was already eclectic a Masters in African Studies at UCT inevitably presented innumerable tangents all of which have further influenced, and complicated, this project.

I wish to emphasise that this document represents only one aspect of my research. This is only the formal, institutional, get a degree, version of things. The process of my research was much more fluid and influenced by less tangible and less formal things that are not appropriate to a formal, textual academic version but that have influenced *my* interpretation and knowledge considerably and comprise my archive in this context. There are ways in which I have interpreted this into text but this does not by any stretch replace the realities of the non-textual experience. One of the most helpful non-textual indicators I experienced was from reading material whilst on the train around Cape Town. Depending on the reference I was reading at the time I sometimes felt very uncomfortable! In this public space I could sense people looking at the images and reading over my shoulder and people's reactions, although not articulated, could be imagined in all different ways. Amongst these experiences and their implications, there is a significant impact on the recognition as to how 'audience' might influence a photographer (be they artist or anthropologist). In an attempt to visualise some of these other realities I present this staged photograph (Figure 16.) of myself engaging with some photographs, with an archive, as an example of more of my knowledge that is difficult to represent here. This is to inform, or maybe just to imply these other, informal experiences that contribute in different ways to that which ends up as text.



Figure 16.

Photograph illustrating the author looking at *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin*.  
Photographed by Emily Hallinan. January 2012.

Also in reference to this text/image dichotomy, I have presented you first with images. You as the reader and or viewer have the option to look, or not look at the images, there are miscellaneous pros and cons for either action, you choose. Since I have been engaged with an intense post-colonial discourse that frames images such as Duggan-Cronin's as ethnographic and therefore problematic this has become a necessary exercise. It is an attempt to place the responsibility with the viewer in order to encourage further questioning. In my version of things the act of participation is crucial to the reinterpretation and hence I must give the viewer agency as to what engagement and participation is desired. In other words, you must consent. However, I am not pretending to tell you, or even to know, what it is you are consenting too. For those you look at, your response and engagement with that image is personal to you and it counts in the scope of this work. I cannot know what your responses were but you must, and you cannot escape bringing them to this text.

Although this project is essentially a reflection on an encounter, indeed many encounters, with physical prints of photographs, given the nature of my interrogation I was reluctant to include any version of the photographs here since it could not represent my encounter with the photographs and my relationship to them, nor could it represent other reinterpretations. However, since this particular study is *about* reinterpretations this inclusion represents merely another reinterpretation. They do not intend to represent wholly their original state or existence or any other version of them. I have, although perhaps controversial, intentionally only included one image in the main text of this document.

---

#### An aside

It is important that the reader considers this study with an open mind. I do not doubt your capabilities as a reader to read in different ways, but I understand that the conventions of academic writing require certain amounts of continuity and clarity that have not necessarily been adhered to in this study. Whilst I have endeavoured to maintain clarity in style, it has been vital to this study that many questions remain open ended and sometimes unanswered. It has also been important to occasionally include my own reflections on personal experiences. This is crucial to my enactment of *subjectivity* which is in purposeful contradiction to the objectivity that has so dominated the subject of anthropology. Uncertainty and in-conclusion reflect not only my understanding of authenticity but also photographs and exhibitions. I do not mean to imply that openly expressed subjectivity is an appropriate alternative to attempted objectivity, but openly demonstrating it, and not disavowing it, has extreme resonance with, and importance to, the content of this study. I appreciate your patience in accepting this.

## INTRODUCTION

“...photographs...have a hold over those of us who, in a different time and place, are often unaware of their original purposes and the meanings.”<sup>1</sup>

“...the photograph, as it stands alone, presents merely the possibility of meaning.”<sup>2</sup>

This dissertation will examine the trajectory, through time, of the photographic work of Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. It will explore the existence of the photographs; their production and how they were presented to, and received by, society in their contemporary setting, as well as their present day reception and redistribution and presentation in current exhibitions. My intention is to demonstrate the fluidity of photographs through time and through changing societies; to demonstrate how objects can be manipulated and reconstrued such as to reaffirm present political and societal thinking regardless of the circumstances of their initial production.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin was photographing in South Africa in the early 1900's. He photographed people all over Southern Africa, he photographed people who were known by his echelon of society (commonly referred to as white, upper class colonials) as 'Bantu people', who were separated, again by this corner of society, into 'tribes'. His best-known work was published, in tribe-based volumes, as ethnographic studies and well-reputed anthropologists were employed to write introductory chapters to go with each set of images. This was the starting point for this dissertation as these volumes have lasted, as physical objects, into this twenty-first century. Seduced by the aging, sepia coloured pages and the rather static photographs I decided to research Duggan-Cronin further for purposes of a presentation that was required for a class. This then led me to discover other presentations of his work both from the early 1900's and the early 2000's. Many of these presentations, both then and now, were exhibitions (some with accompanying catalogues) and the contrasts between all the different displays was quite striking, hence I decided to explore further why this might be. How could these photographs, which initially seemed so rigidly fixed as ethnographic, factual photographs that told a very fixed story about groups of

<sup>1</sup> Christraud Geary. Images from Baumum: German colonial photography at the court of King Njoya, Cameroon, West Africa, 1902-15. (Washington, 1988) cited in Michael Stevenson & Michael Graham-Stewart. Surviving the Lens: Photographic studies of South and East African People, 1870-1920. (Vlaeberg: Fernwood Press, 2001) 9.

<sup>2</sup> Allan Sekula. "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning." Thinking Photography. Ed. Victor Burgin. (London: Macmillan, 1982) cited in Ed. Wolfram Hartmann, Jeremy Silvester & Patricia Hayes. The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History. (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1998; Namibia: Out of Africa, 1998; USA: Ohio University Press, 1999) 190.

people in a very factual manner, suddenly be presented as a question? <sup>3</sup> For example about anthropology as a discipline? This is not necessarily unusual or un-acknowledged in our present society but it is interesting to follow the trajectory of these particular photographs in light of the corresponding trajectory of society in South Africa.

Photographs, especially those that are considered ethnographic and or colonial, are now contested in a multiplicity of ways; from their initial production through to their resurfacings and distributions in exhibitions and displays. Resurfacings and re-appropriations can occur in a variety of manners; perhaps in essays, as postcards, or online. Sometimes images resurface in exhibitions, and these resurfacings too can be contested and work in particular ways such as to reframe the subjects in the context of new, contemporary debates and ideologies. These re-framings are important both for rephrasing and questioning accepted ideologies as well as creating new ones (or perhaps following or reflecting current ones), and are not always in parallel to the original contestations. The re-framings and resurfacings are important because of their intentions and their interpretations and these can provide insights into various planes of understanding and beyond understanding, to actions and societal and institutional change.

There is something tantalising about this continued or renewed interest in the photographs, especially since there appear to be only a few comparable examples of similar occurrences. Part of my interest in this re-emergence is due to the ways in which the re-emergences also represent strong re-framings of the work and have become particularly prevalent in art spaces. In recognition of the original context of Duggan-Cronin's oeuvre, predominantly referenced and recognised as coming from an anthropological base, the debate becomes fascinating.

In exploring Duggan-Cronin's photographs and their display, both now and then, this project will in broader terms cover debates around archives, photography, exhibition curation, anthropology, art, and potentially post-apartheid and post-colonial 'behaviour'. This study could be positioned in the field of anthropology, most specifically ethnography and visual anthropology. Marcus Banks and Howard Morphy understand 'visual anthropology' as a field "...as much concerned with the presentation and consumption of anthropological knowledge as with the production of that knowledge."<sup>4</sup> They express it to be partly concerned with the *use* of visual material in

<sup>3</sup> Note, as Robert Hart, Curator of the Duggan-Cronin Gallery of the McGregor Museum, Kimberley, persistently reminds us, not all of Duggan-Cronin's photographs are anthropological in nature. For example see Robert Hart. "Flipping the Portrait" [UCT African Studies Students: Gallery](https://www.facebook.com/pages/UCT-African-Studies-Students/198968760114354?sk=app_10442206389). 06 December 2011 <  
[https://www.facebook.com/pages/UCT-African-Studies-Students/198968760114354?sk=app\\_10442206389](https://www.facebook.com/pages/UCT-African-Studies-Students/198968760114354?sk=app_10442206389)>

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Marcus Banks & Howard Morphy. [Rethinking Visual Anthropology](#). (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997) 1.

anthropological research but also ‘the study of visual systems and visible culture’.<sup>5</sup> I am concerned with both in this study since I can argue that Duggan-Cronin’s photographs were initially used as visual material in relation to anthropological research but through considering the recent exhibitions I am now concerned with visual systems and the visual cultures of photography and curation.

Some of the questions that will be explored are about the projected intentions of the exhibitions and artworks relating to, or using, Duggan-Cronin’s photographs. It will also consider their resultant achievements in this light. I will investigate possible explanations for the apparent re-emergence and the apparently strong shift of focus from anthropology to art. Simultaneously, I will consider the difficulties involved with ways of organising ideas into such categories. I will also consider Catherine Lambley’s lead on taking images into an ‘art’ realm and then, moving from asking whether exhibition’s provide useful and fresh imaginings of the photographs, I can ask broader questions about ethnographic and objectificatory gazes and the possibility of multiple and entangled representations.<sup>6</sup>

---

#### Notes on my methodology

The starting point for this exploration was through my discovery of *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin*, in the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town (UCT). Seduced by the aging, sepia coloured pages and the rather static photographs I decided to research Duggan-Cronin further for purposes of a presentation that was required for a class. During this exploration I found that Siona O’Connell and Dale Washkansky from the Centre for African Studies (CAS) had curated an exhibition using some of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs and also other curations had occurred, mainly in the last decade.

Usually, as with any of my written documents, my method is haphazard and fragmented. It always starts one place, arrives at another and traverses a whole plethora of often unrelated things. Perhaps ironically, through this process I felt like I should rather be an artist since that would at least give me the validation to do that, or so I like to think, after all, as Raymond Firth explains

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Catherine Lambley. “Shared Legacies Exhibition: The “Other” on Show?” Albany Museum. 18 June 2010. 6 September 2011. <<http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/2010/06/shared-legacies-exhibition-other-on.html>> Lambley questions: “Is it the purpose of Shared Legacies to criticize Colonialism and former methods of ethnographic collecting by ‘freeing’ the subjects to the canon of ‘high’ art – which has its own historic issues relating to the Gaze? Or does this not form part of a continuation of ‘Othering’ across academic fields?”

“Art has [also] been associated with freedom from restraint”<sup>7</sup> In this case my fragments initially consisted of very sparse artefacts and or references to Duggan-Cronin and or *Shared Legacies*. I went through a process of engaging with each of these components and each one led me down different alleys and different ways of thinking, to different theoretical avenues I could explore. I always find it fascinating how information presents itself; you think have looked in all the obvious places and found all the important items of relevance and then somehow something else will reveal itself, almost by accident. In this case an exhibition in England that also included Duggan-Cronin images presented itself much later on in the layers of my research, entitled: *Life Less Ordinary*. This, and the *Thandabantu* exhibition displayed at the Iziko institution, Castle of Good Hope Gallery, provided interesting comparisons for O’Connell and Washkansky’s display and led to the evolution of my project into its current state which understands these exhibitions as an important collection, or archive, which provide further insights into society, photography, post-colonial discourse, exhibitions and even the world in general.

The literatures that become relevant in this context are multiple; texts on curation and photography, including their methods, particularly anthropological photography; also debates around archives, the content of archive and its perception; and also texts that explore the subject of anthropology in southern Africa in general. There is only a small amount of work of a significant length that is published about Duggan-Cronin himself. There is one full article by Michael Godby and the remainder is mostly related to the McGregor Museum (usually written by Robert Hart, curator of the Duggan-Cronin collection) or in reference to an exhibition. The exhibitions themselves are barely referenced except in their own catalogues and in brief online reviews.

### Beauty

In the course of this project I was, like many, seduced by the beautiful images taken by Duggan-Cronin, but I am wary of imposing my own values and visions on them. I cannot undo what was done any more than I can un-see what I have seen. With such awe, and seeing some such stunning, beautiful images it is difficult to resent the photographer’s action which, in my current context, I feel under pressure to do. I believe myself not to be judging them on authenticity or appropriateness, just beauty and impact but I cannot escape the fact that they were, by all accounts, taken under oppressive circumstances. The photographs *are* beautiful, although one could get tangled in theories of beauty and sublime here, such as follows the theories of Immanuel

<sup>7</sup> Raymond Firth. “Art and Anthropology” *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*. Ed. Jeremy Coote & Anthony Shelton. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 17.

Kant and, more recently, Sarah Nuttall's volume *Beautiful Ugly*. For my purposes it is fair to argue the photographs are, more specifically, 'beautiful' in a Western sense.<sup>8</sup>

I understand that many authors are battling with this issue of the seductive beauty in contrast to the oppressive circumstances, but I have noticed that in spite of this, many scholars have no qualms about assigning emotions to the sitters according to their own understandings and knowledges. I regard this as something of significance that needs addressing; I think greater care must be taken when assigning emotions since, in my experience, what one person sees is not necessarily what the other knows was going on. Emotions are assigned by viewers that might not be there to the people in photographs. There is a fine line between tears and laughter and what one can see as an expression in a photograph might not be the emotion felt at the time. Besides, it is not impossible that different people express emotions differently so to apply terms such as 'dignity' and 'strength' is fairly presumptuous, although of course useful in certain situations. In relation to Duggan-Cronin, Anna Douglas, curator of *Life Less Ordinary*, follows these patterns, stating at one point:

Notable are exquisite portraits from which the dignity (and nobility) of the subject radiate – in great part due to Duggan-Cronin's use of natural light and arrangement of clothing. Whilst bound up in a complex, but subtle power relationship of white photographer – to – black subject that we may never fully fathom, we might wonder if it is possible that such sensitive portraits – that went far beyond the curiosity, scientific or otherwise, of the ethnologist – could emerge without the humanity (and compassion) of Duggan-Cronin being genuinely present at the time. His picturesque scenes relay artistic clichés – with references to Millet for instance; they tend toward romanticisation but are never derogatory. His landscapes and groupings of white subjects were equally romantic.<sup>9</sup>

Douglas also shares certain discomforts about sometimes polar descriptions and thoughts that can be applied to these photographs, intentions, assumptions and all based on different value systems.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Immanuel Kant. *Critique of Judgement*. Trans. James Creed Meredith. Revised, edited and introduced by Nicholas Walker. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Ed. Sarah Nuttall. *Beautiful Ugly: African and Diaspora Aesthetics*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006)

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Anna Douglas. *Life Less Ordinary: Performance and Display in South African Art*. (Nottingham: Djanogly Art Gallery, 2009.) 9.

<sup>10</sup> Douglas *Life Less Ordinary* 7.

If one is concerned, as much critique is, with individual agency and oppression, one has to be careful putting these words out there, putting words out there, putting words into the mouths of people from a completely different time and type of experience of the world, because these words become the new understandings, generalisations and public knowledge. In many of the situations I will explore, words are still being applied and presented; someone is deciding what is what and these words are all simply textual articulations of opinions which are imposed after the event. I expect to find myself following these patterns too. This is one of the difficulties with studying photographs; it is too easy to put labels where they do not necessarily apply.

### Selections

There are also often more photographs available than are 'manageable' to use in any project and the ones that might be most 'relevant' might easily be the ones that are overlooked. Depending of course on what one considers important. The 'curation' included previous to this text was intended to represent another kind of selection. It was a less formulaic, more arbitrary selection so as to demonstrate the effect this can have. I think to examine the kinds of selections that have been made in each presentation I am going to explore will be beyond the scope of this project but the process of selection seems to me to be presented, on the surface, as inextricably linked to ideas of colonialism and post-colonialism, and hence exemplifies yet another paradox.

### Preservation

Another independent theme running through this project is that of preservation. The main act of preservation, one could also argue, is preservation of ones self. Rather cynically, my understanding of academia has come to comprehend that ultimately one is trying to justify and excuse ones own field of study. If you do not you are out of a job or occupation. Understandably this does not hold strong as an academic argument as it is so intrinsically and importantly personal. This has become clear on many occasions but is still hard to place a finger on in any direct way – as any reality and construction should! A relevant example would be where documentary photographers and photojournalists today (particularly white ones) are accused of the same 'offences' as 'colonial photographers', particularly ethnographic ones. In the words of practicing photographers today they believe they are 'giving humanity and sharing difficulties with the world in a visual, accessible manner'; in the words of yesterday the ethnographic photographer was assisting science, sharing knowledge, showing the world, learning and sharing for the benefit of humanity. In the words of today, *those* people, of yesterday, were objectifying and exploiting their subjects. What will this be in the words of tomorrow? What would be the words about those from today? What were they

doing? It is important to acknowledge this here because of the controversy that can surface through re-emergences of old photographs too.

### Subjects

Setting these tangential contexts aside, in order to further situate my study I will briefly introduce some of the subjects that are relevant to this project. This will include the ways in which these subjects and discourses themselves are, albeit peripherally, being expanded and stretched beyond their usual, conventional situation in scholarly discourse.

### Archives

Although the archive in this case is fairly conventional at first sight, it becomes situated in the current movement in academia to reach beyond the traditional notion of archive, one that thinks beyond the conventional archives housed in particular buildings such as universities or libraries or even national archive buildings whilst at the same time highlighting these normal constructions and creations of archives according to historical conventions. At the forefront of this movement are professors such as Tony Bogues and Carolyn Hamilton, people with interests in Africa particularly, where different types of knowledge have and still do exist but are usually ignored, or framed and considered, indeed publicly, or generally ‘known’, as something else.<sup>11</sup> As Nick Shepherd reflects, these can be considered as epistemically excluded archives.<sup>12</sup> This is particularly visible and noticeable in Africa, South Africa specifically, but it certainly exists worldwide. These ‘excluded’ archives are ‘disqualified by the rules of knowledge’.<sup>13</sup> These subaltern alternatives which are being re-viewed as knowledges, are more usually referred to as ‘culture’, ‘custom’, or ‘entertainment’.<sup>14</sup> In terms of using these knowledges as archives, for Bogues the reinterpretation is to consider and include the ‘archive of the ordinary’.<sup>15</sup> The process of recognising and using these subalternised knowledges as archive, as a process, is not to be confused with the finding of new archives. There is no ‘discovery’ involved, it is rather a process of seeing what is right under your nose, that which has always existed but has been discredited and dismissed as something irrelevant and unimportant.

<sup>11</sup> For example see Ed. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh. Refiguring the Archive. (Cape Town: David Philip. 2002)

<sup>12</sup> Nick Shepherd. Lecture at Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 13 September 2011.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Tony Bogues, cited by Shepherd Lecture 2011.

As I have suggested, in some respects the archive under consideration here is very standard; a collection of photographs by a known photographer, housed, with additional artefacts, notes and records, in a particular location, a local museum, but it is also expanded in certain ways. In this case then, archive as interpretations and reengagements, is archive not only as bodies in photographs, the photographs themselves and the photographer but also exhibitions, artworks, artists, and the general public, it is the archive beyond the archive. Using this Duggan-Cronin-related archive I hope will allow an interesting way of straddling more normative approaches to archives with less normative ones, especially since his work has been contested in post-colonial discourse where the knowledge imposed during production was very particular and yet the potential for other knowledges emerging was so strong.

### Photography

It is necessary, certainly conventionally, for this project to understand something about the theory and history of photography as written by multiple scholars. Particularly it is important in the context of southern Africa but also the understanding of photography as a technology. Colonial and anthropological photography are subjects well traversed by many academics. Patricia Hayes, Ciraj Rassool and Anne Maxwell have followed the paths of many photographers and interrogated how their subjects may have been objectified and dehumanised and authors such as Roland Barthes, John Tagg, Susan Sontag and Liz Wells have interrogated intensely photography as a process and an art. In theory photographs are recognised as affecting three types of people, or, as existing in three spaces, as Barthes presents it: the operator, the spectator and the spectrum; those who take the photograph, those who view the photograph, and the subject within the photograph.<sup>16</sup> The relationships between these three components are also crucial to certain conventional types of understanding. Although, particularly with ethnographic photography, it is usually understood that the ‘operator’ is the one with authority and power there are also debates that recognise the potential for the ‘spectators’ to determine the outcome (especially in representing ‘other’), as Hayes, Jeremy Silvester and Wolfram Hartmann cite, “Robert Gordon argues in his work on ‘picturing Bushmen’: “photographers gave audiences what they expected to see” ”<sup>17</sup> but also the power of the ‘spectrum’ is not considered obsolete.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Roland Barthes. Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography. Translated by Richard Howard. (London: Vintage c1981) 9.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Gordon. Picturing Bushmen: The Denver African Expedition of 1925. (Athens OH; Cape Town; Johannesburg; Windhoek: Ohio University Press; David Philip; Namibia Scientific Society, 1997) cited in Ed. Hartmann *et al.* 2.

<sup>18</sup> Stevenson & Graham-Stewart 24.

Gwyn Prins 1990 cited in Brent Harris. “Photography in Colonial Discourse: the making of ‘the other’ in southern Africa, c. 1850-1950.” Ed. Hartmann *et al.* 22.

The relationship between the ‘spectrum’ authenticity demonstrates another problem; one view, particularly strong in the early days of photography but now generally considered outdated, presents “The photograph is literally an emanation of the referent.” with no further detail.<sup>19</sup> “A specific photograph, in effect, is never distinguished from its referent (from what it represents), or at least it is not *immediately* or *generally* distinguished from its referent...”<sup>20</sup> This is always true but there are different ways of interpreting this literal ‘emanation’ as Barthes goes on to discuss: “...it is not impossible to perceive the photographic signifier..., but it requires a secondary action of knowledge or reflection.”<sup>21</sup> Essentially, even if what is presented in the image is exactly what was there, that does not affirm any kind of authenticity or truth such as might be read into it by certain viewers, and further, certain viewers can only read certain things according to certain other knowledges. However, even today, documentary photography is still frequently recognised as a means to report ‘truth’.<sup>22</sup> Rassool and Hayes further these debates on the meaning and truth being determined by other factors:

...the reading of images, what they reveal, what they conceal, and the extent to which they go on to assume lives independent of their moments of creation, devoid of the personal and the particular, with the representational taking off into worlds of meaning perhaps not contemplated at their formation.<sup>23</sup>

This takes on the dimension of time, and hence the potential changes in spectators, which can present further interpretations and is exactly what this project is engaged with. The photographs, as taken by Duggan-Cronin, and perhaps his assistant, in the field a hundred years ago, unprinted and perceivably just a process, some of which then became prints and then book volumes with anthropological statements are housed in an archive. It is only now that they re-emerging in the context of art spaces and all of these re-emergences present the images and ideas in different lights, revealing and concealing as they occur.

The ‘independent lives’, images found and thought about in perhaps unexpected places, are also related to the different spaces in which they might reappear or be concealed. As the opening article of *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History*s expresses: “After technical

<sup>19</sup> Barthes 80.

<sup>20</sup> Barthes 5.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Tamar Garb. *Figures & Fictions: Contemporary South African photography*. (Gottingen, Germany: Steidl; London: V&A Publishing, 2011) 12.

<sup>23</sup> Ciraj Rassool & Patricia Hayes. “Science and the Spectacle.” *Deep Histories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa*. Ed. Wendy Woodward, Patricia Hayes & Gary Minkley. (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2002.) 121.

production of the original print, a wide range of possibilities exist for the reproduction, dissemination, collection and storage of images, and during each stage images can be re-captioned, decontextualised and recontextualised.”<sup>24</sup> One of the revelations of work such as *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* by Walter Benjamin is premised on the articulation that the mechanical production and reproduction of images has a profound impact on their distribution and presence in the world.<sup>25</sup> The same photograph can exist in a huge variety of different places, spaces and times and have different interpretations accordingly although sometimes with surprising consistency in certain aspects. A photograph, or collection of photographs can also be corresponded to different types of documentation containing all kinds of different information which might be scientific or maybe the dates and names of people and places, contextual information about events, personal information, public information, historical information, personalised captions or image juxtapositions.

The reading of photographs as archive is something that, as Paul Jenkins demonstrates, needs to be done with great care.<sup>26</sup> This can be adhered to on many planes but Jenkins is particularly referring to his illustration of how the nature of the corresponding documentation that may or may not occur with photographs, particularly historical ones, is important and variable.<sup>27</sup> Jenkins states: “Beyond documentation, integrating visual sources in historians’ discourse challenges us to develop imaginative and open-ended trains of thought.”<sup>28</sup> This of course also corresponds to ideas of archive. Archive practice will include and or retain some information and not other information. Regardless of the amount and type of care taken the reading will still be subject to multiple interpretations although often a canonical response is assumed especially through certain time periods and places (that is, the building or geographical location).

With this in mind one must also note that the understanding, use, view of, and acceptance of photography in our time compared to Duggan-Cronin’s time was significantly different. As Rick Rohde explains it, the ways photographs are analysed are scattered between looking for meaning and intention but also relating this to the contextual time.<sup>29</sup> Rhode’s explains further, quoting Victor Burgin:

<sup>24</sup> Patricia Hayes, Jeremy Silvester & Wolfram Hartmann. “Photography, History & Memory.” Ed. Hartmann *et al.* 6.

<sup>25</sup> Walter Benjamin. “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” (1936) UCLA School of Theatre, Film and Television. Transcribed by Andy Blunden 1998.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Jenkins. “Everyday life encapsulated? Two photographs concerning women and the Basel Mission in West Africa, c.1900.” Journal of African Cultural Studies 15.1 (2002) 45.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Rick Rohde. “How we see each other: subjectivity, photography and ethnographic re/vision.” Ed. Hartmann *et al.* (London: Macmillan, 1982) 41.

It is a commonly held assertion among contemporary critics of the culture industry that the message, mood or feeling of a photo does not depend on something individual and mysterious but rather on our common-sense knowledge of typical representations of prevailing social facts and values: “only through its position within an ongoing discourse can a photograph yield a meaningful impression”.<sup>30</sup>

This specifically concerns the content of the photograph, but equally important, I feel the same ideas should be applied to photography itself and hence it is important to recognise that now, while photography is relatively easily accessible and can be comparably cheap, in Duggan-Cronin’s time it could be considered a more elitist activity and in South Africa primarily a ‘white’-male activity. In the early days of photography too photography’s relationship with science was perhaps stronger than its relationship with art. This is speculative but substantiated by examining works such as *Silver Images: History of Photography in South Africa* by A.D. Bensusan which was written in 1966. The historical language and rhetoric, the confused dichotomy between art and science, and the ‘newness’ of the technology go some way to clarifying the different status and stage of photography as a practice.<sup>31</sup>

Through all our interpretations it will be useful to consider Elizabeth Edwards’ discussion of the notion of ‘looking for histories’ in her book, *Raw Histories*.<sup>32</sup> Edwards’ reading of work by Carlo Ginzburg states:

Photographs here are as much ‘to think with’ as they are empirical, evidential inscriptions. A concentration on content alone, ethnographic appearance – the obvious characteristics of a photograph – is easy, but will reveal only the obvious. Instead, one should concentrate on detail. It is more revealing, not merely in the detail of content but the whole performative quality of the image”<sup>33</sup>

I am interested particularly in the idea of photographs ‘to think with’ but of course reading the details surrounding the photographs themselves is intrinsic to this project.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* including Victor Burgin “Photographic Practice and Art Theory” Thinking Photography. Ed. Victor Burgin.

<sup>31</sup> A.D. Bensusan. Silver Images: History of Photography in South Africa. (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1966)

<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Edwards. Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums. (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2001)

<sup>33</sup> Carlo Ginzburg 1983:82 cited in Elizabeth Edwards. Raw Histories. 2.

Another dimension in photographic theory recognises that photography has also been transported between different ‘disciplines’ or ‘genres’. It can be understood as a private activity for social or amateur use, as art, used for research and science in anthropology and as a form of record, even in law.<sup>34</sup> It is of course also a technological science in itself that is also related to commerce, cameras as objects, and printing. These different spaces photography can occupy can be somewhat confusing and perhaps conflicting. It is easier perhaps just to fix it as ‘photography’ and not try to associate it with or attach it to anything further with any great intent. In this case it becomes necessary to keep these contradictions omnipresent.

‘Genre’ in general also covers the complicated method of ‘naming’ distinct subjects. In using the term ‘genre’ I refer to the methodology of using different words to indicate a ‘type’ of something. This also traverses the notion of ‘taxonomy’; the way information is organised into categories. There is an antagonistic relationship between the problematics of using historical taxonomies, and their usefulness and or embeddedness, by which I mean that whilst it is not always preferable, titles, terms and categories are sometimes necessary constructs to employ. Whilst I partially believe them not to exist in any ‘real’ sense I am not in a position to remove them. At-least, it would make it even more difficult for me to formulate and articulate my understanding, and potentially for the reader to interpret it.

“...photography should not be studied in isolation. In southern Africa in the late nineteenth century, photography is related to the history of exploration, colonization, knowledge production and captivity.”<sup>35</sup>

This study, I hope, does as Hayes calls for and transcends studying photography in isolation and rather traverses multiple fields in multiple manners.

### Anthropology

The tools of objectification and constructions of anthropology have been written about extensively. The modes of rhetoric, abstraction, measuring, science, photography, art, the ‘Western’ origins, power plays, there is a plethora of information. It is a convoluted and complex subject and whilst many of the reports discuss similar ideas, there are some that manage to move beyond these ideas or at least address them differently and stretch them a bit further, for example, Kent Maynard and Melisa Cahnmann-Taylor’s article *Anthropology at the Edge of Words: Where Poetry*

<sup>34</sup> Barthes 7.

<sup>35</sup> Patricia Hayes “Power, Secrecy, Proximity: A Short History of South African Photography” *Kronos*. 33 (2007) 141.

*and Ethnography Meet*. Of particular relevance here is their question: "...if we were able to "capture" realities—or, at least reach a worthy approximation, as we would argue—what criteria could we legitimately use to evaluate or interpret ethnographic texts?"<sup>36</sup>

One of the many critiques of anthropology refers to the totalising requirements that anthropology can sometimes apply. Again Maynard and Cahnmann-Taylor cite a useful reference concerning these kinds of methods which although are useful in many ways do allow for a certain masking of the very reality of humanness since emphasizing consistencies is often only be done at the expense of underemphasizing inconsistencies and contradictions.<sup>37</sup>

Mary Nooter Roberts explains how in the context of Africa this is a particularly useless methodology. Roberts' example is within a discussion on exhibitions and curation.

A key point is that systems of thoughts in Africa – or anywhere else – are neither monolithic nor neatly coherent, and they never exist in isolation, for they always interact with adjacent and intrusive systems of thought. Pluralism and multiple voices of cultural interpretation, both by insiders and outsiders, are rarely reflected in writing or exhibiting on African art and culture....<sup>38</sup>

This simplification that occurs also ties into the debates surrounding objectification and truth-telling. My understanding is that academic writing is stuck with the association of itself with truth-telling and fact-making which has never left much room for the multiple interpretations and alternatives or polyphonies that make up the reality, and can instead be articulated by different individuals. As Maynard and Cahnmann-Taylor pose the comparison: "Like culture, poetry is allusive, not susceptible to the sort of old scientism in anthropology that viewed culture as a "how-to" manual of instructions."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Kent Maynard & Melisa Cahnmann-Taylor. "Anthropology at the Edge of Words: Where Poetry and Ethnography Meet." *Anthropology and Humanism*. 35. 1. (2010) 3.

<sup>37</sup> Renato Rosaldo *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. (Boston: Beacon, 1989) 29 cited in Maynard & Cahnmann-Taylor 4.

<sup>38</sup> Mary Nooter Roberts "Exhibition Episteme: African Art Exhibitions as Objects of Knowledge." *Preserving the Cultural Heritage of Africa: Crisis or Renaissance?* Ed. Kenji Yoshida & John Mack. (South Africa: James Currey, Unisa Press, 2008) 174.

<sup>39</sup> Maynard & Cahnmann-Taylor 6.

Ethnography as a sub-genre, has been defined variously and is usually understood to stem from anthropology and is premised with being a type of Western study of ‘other’ cultures.<sup>40</sup> It is generally understood as a method of research, one that has gone through various changes according to time and place.<sup>41</sup> In its ‘modern’ form it is also usually understood to be more progressive than anthropology despite its origins there as it moves around and doesn’t aim to survey humanity as a whole.<sup>42</sup>

More recently it has been realised that studies are constructed and formulated according to historical context and are therefore not necessarily what they present themselves to be. James Clifford is one such scholar to address this and explains it as “orchestrations of multivocal exchanges occurring in politically charged situations” where the resultant subjectivities in these ‘often unequal exchanges’ are constructed domains of truth.<sup>43</sup>

### Anthropology & photography

Also important to my study there are debates surrounding the use of visuals, particularly in academic work. The relationship between text and image is often sticky and the chapter *The Visual in Anthropology* by David MacDougall exemplifies particularly the history of these frictions within the subject of anthropology. These debates can be examined in interesting ways in relation to Duggan-Cronin’s work especially in the context of their apparent transition from anthropological to art realms, as I will explore in subsequent chapters.

The anthropological gaze has been questioned and rejected by many theorists and photographers. It is not just anthropology but also photography that is considered a violation: Sontag is commonly cited in this context, she suggests that because photographs show people as they never see themselves and act as a knowledge that can be owned by someone else and not the photographed it is a violation, it turns people into objects, objects that can be possessed, she even correlates it to a kind of murder.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> James Clifford. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press 1988) 9.

<sup>41</sup> Hayes *et al*, Ed. Hartmann *et al*. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Clifford *The Predicament of Culture* 9.

<sup>43</sup> Clifford *The Predicament of Culture* 10.

<sup>44</sup> Susan Sontag 1979. Photograph of a sign in *Shared Legacies* exhibition. 21 July 2011.

<<http://www.modernoverland.com/south-africa/northern-cape/kimberley/duggan-cronin-gallery/>>

Many other authors have similar admonitions and especially related to anthropological photography.<sup>45</sup> Authors such as Clifford, Archie Mafeji, Lila Abu-Lughod, Talal Asad, Peter Ekeh, V.Y. Mudimbe and Frederick Cooper are just some of the many who offer significant information concerning anthropology's similar violations.<sup>46</sup>

Anthropology, specifically ethnography, appears as a subject that perpetually feels under pressure to justify itself and affirm its actions as good and appropriate, its defensive attitude continues to make me wary of its claims. For example, Paul Weinberg, photographer and curator of photography for UCT libraries, affirms his own position as a documentary photographer<sup>47</sup>: "The camera can be a way to shift consciousness and reflect on contradictions – but it can also be a way to celebrate the world around us."<sup>48</sup> Part of the build up to this project was inspired by my course in photography exhibition curation with Weinberg. In one of our lectures he presented his understanding of 'past' ethnographic photography's intentions in comparison with his re-imagination of how ethnographic photography should be today.<sup>49</sup> Weinberg suggested that in the past ethnographic photography worked on the basis of dehumanisation, scientific research, difference, othering, people as specification, and other things. There seemed to be a fluidity between the idea of ethnographic photography and documentary photography but Weinberg's re-imagining presented words and ideas such as: re-humanising, reclamation of identity, demythologising, celebration of diversity and hybridity, new ways of understanding modernity, empowerment, sensitisation, ethics and giving back.<sup>50</sup> It is difficult to affirm these assertions about what makes one more truthful or honest, or even viable than the other when still crossing times, places, spaces, disciplines, individuals. A study such as this is complicated since not only is the

<sup>45</sup> For example see Anne Maxwell. Colonial Photography & Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities. (London & New York: Leicester University Press, 1999) ix.

<sup>46</sup> James Clifford. "Introduction: Partial Truths." Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Ed. James Clifford & G Marcus. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986)

Lila Abu-Lughod. "Writing Against Culture" Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present. Ed. R.G. Fox (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1991)

Talal Asad. Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter. (London: Ithaca Press. 1973)

Peter P. Ekeh. European Imperialism and the Ibadan School of History. (Buffalo: State University of New York, 1997)

V.Y. Mudimbe. The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge. (London: James Currey, 1988)

Frederick Cooper. "Postcolonial Studies and the Study of History" Postcolonial Studies and Beyond. Ed. Ania Loomba, Suvier Kaul, Matti Bunzl, Antoinette Burton, & Jed Etsy. (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005)

<sup>47</sup> Although documentary photography and anthropology are separate subjects I will consider the similarities and convergences later in the paper.

<sup>48</sup> Paul Weinberg cited in Anneke Rautenbach "Shifting Focus: Stories that make a difference" The Cape Town Globalist: UCT's Student International Affairs Magazine. Drugs need a light? 6.2. (2011) 17.

<sup>49</sup> Note that this course was particularly about *documentary* photography and photojournalism.

<sup>50</sup> Paul Weinberg. Presentation in class. 11 August 2011.

reading of the transition of the photographs a process informed by external, social components but the writing of this study is also informed by further external, social components.

Another concept Weinberg presented was the idea of being an ‘involuntary ethnographer’.<sup>51</sup> Interestingly this term was also introduced by Annabelle Wienand at the *Shared Legacies* exhibition lecture.<sup>52</sup> The concept according to Weinberg represents a space for individuals who take photographs of people, not necessarily with ethnographic intent, that later become framed under the auspices of ethnography. I have occasionally been struck by the possibility that this could be a way in which I consider Duggan-Cronin as an individual, an idea that I will return to later.

I have already noted the generalising and genericising methods of anthropologists and hence it is pertinent to note that photography can also be found to contribute usefully to this kind of project. A dialogue I very much admire, by Rassool and Hayes reminds us once again about the necessity and the problematics of generalisations.<sup>53</sup> Many disciplines are haunted by the logic of generalisation, this is not necessarily to their detriment but there is certainly something unsettling about it when the tendency is to be so specific about ones conclusions. What Rassool and Hayes draw out particularly is that ethnographic photography is also privy to these constructions: “We were beginning to learn something important about ethnographic photography – that, despite its particularisation of physical difference, it also had enormous power to genericize in its effects.”<sup>54</sup> This not only applies to the appearance of physical features, but also dress and cultural features. Dress was orchestrated according to the ‘researcher’s’ expectations, in this case Duggan-Cronin’s. The researcher would determine what should be worn and indeed what the ‘correct’ attire would be, hence making extreme generalisations, as are repeated very obviously today in tourist spectacles. Not only might a photograph impose a pre-devised canon on a subject but later the work might become canonical, repeatedly presenting the same images. Santu Mofokeng is concerned with this imbalance as I will also explore later. Paul Landau even suggests that these canons were produced through literature even before photography existed.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Mads Nørgaard. “Documentary Photography and The African Continent” Mads Nørgaard | Photographer. 17 February 2011. 02 December 2011*

[https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note\\_id=182307905144483](https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=182307905144483)

<sup>53</sup> Rassool & Hayes 124.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Paul Landau. “An Amazing Distance: Pictures and People in Africa” *Images and Empire: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*. Ed. Paul Landau. (Berkeley: University of California Press, c2002) 4-5.

A further note on ethnographic photography particularly needs to be made concerning anthropometric photography. There was a strong tendency during the turn of the twentieth century for anthropological photographs to be commissioned such that they would demonstrate the anatomical attributes of ‘indigenous’ people.<sup>56</sup> The intention was then to classify more scientifically ‘racial types’.<sup>57</sup> Some of the primary institutors of formalising methods of identification through photography were Thomas Huxley, John Lamprey and Paul Broca.<sup>58</sup> Lamprey and Huxley particularly were concerned with specific methods of positioning sitters with measuring sticks such that data could be produced and compared.<sup>59</sup> Often photographers and researchers were also expected to make body casts of the natives they were engaged with and photographs were taken of different parts of peoples bodies, including genitalia. For our purposes it is interesting to note not only the now deemed inappropriateness of such activities but also that these formulations were not necessarily implemented with much success or consistency.<sup>60</sup>

### Exhibitions

The theme of exhibition display and curation is relevant for two reasons. Primarily because many of the recent emergences of Duggan-Cronin’s work have been in art gallery spaces but also because the changing display of visual anthropology in museum and gallery spaces is an emergent subject in the world of museology. People as objects in exhibitions were once a popular occurrence, now people as object occurs in ‘traditional’ displays of ‘traditional’ dancing in ‘cultural villages’ and in the museums there is a strong move to consult ‘source communities’ about the display of, particularly, ethnographic objects and collections.<sup>61</sup> Exhibitions in galleries and museums are explicitly designed to construct narratives and can also be problematised according to outdated methodologies and discourses. Exhibition and Museum methodologies are available by Ivan Karp, Kenji Yoshida, John Mack, Nick Prior and Katherine Goodnow amongst others.

### Discourse

The Foucauldian understanding of discourses as constructed and complicated, underlies this project. I have already partially confronted this subject in mention of ‘genres’. Although many headings, names and categories can be utilised, I do not wish to restrain anything to any other

<sup>56</sup> Maxwell Colonial Photography & Exhibitions 40.

Mary Warner Marien. Photography: a Cultural History. (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd. 2006) 153-154.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Paul Fox. “The Imperial Schema: Ethnography, Photography and Collecting.” Photofile. 7.4 (1989) 10-16 cited in Maxwell Colonial Photography & Exhibitions 41.

<sup>60</sup> Maxwell Colonial Photography & Exhibitions 40-41.

Anne Maxwell. Picture Imperfect: Photography and Eugenics, 1870-1940. (Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2008) 30.

<sup>61</sup> For example see Laura Peers & Alison Brown. Museums and Source Communities: a Routledge Reader. (London: Routledge, 2003)

thing, and I wish to present an awareness of Michel Foucault's, and others', debates. Assigning names, genres, methods, structures, taxonomies in so many different manners has made this project possible but also presented many challenges. Starting with words such as 'art' 'anthropology' 'photography' and within them 'contemporary art' 'African art' 'anthropometric anthropology' 'ethnographic anthropology' 'documentary photography' 'ethnographic photography', presented as manageable, comprehensive and distinct (although interchangeable in certain ways) entities, I have found each conglomeration entirely functional in certain contexts, but equally and simultaneously dysfunctional and distracting in others, leading me to no further alternative except to stay within the same frames and repetitions.

### Comparisons

Although only marginally (in chapter four), I have also endeavoured to move beyond the example of Duggan-Cronin and explore the possibility of comparable examples from other photographers whose work has had a similar treatment today. This has been a difficult aspect of the project but it felt necessary to understand whether the Duggan-Cronin case is a unique example, specific to his work or whether there is a general trend that might be explored further.

### In summary

As I begin my interrogation let me reiterate my intentions. It has come to my attention that the photographic work of Duggan-Cronin has made a significant reappearance in various exhibitions and displays in the last decade. What I am concerned with is this collection of photographs and its particular trajectory in the past, and in the present. The photographs original existence and their re-emergence is entangled with a whole plethora of mediums, subjects, people and situations, which I intend to examine in this study. Having introduced my overall questions, subjects and background here in the introduction, chapter one will introduce Duggan-Cronin and his work according to the historical canon. Chapter two then expands on this and is concerned mainly with the presence of Duggan-Cronin's work in his time, the responses to it, and its context. Chapter two also explores the aspect of genre, understanding his work as both anthropology, art, photography and potentially documentary photography. Leading from this discussion of genre I will also consider the complications of using such genres and the various shifts that occur in relation to terminologies. Chapter three traverses the core of our exploration; presenting reports of recent exhibitions that have used Duggan-Cronin's photographs in the last decade. After introducing each of these 're-emergences' I will consider why this general re-emergence may have occurred and also explore the seeming shift from a more anthropological stance to a focus on the

'art' quality of his work. Chapter four is concerned with understanding some of the problematics of both photography and anthropology considering notions such as 'consent', 'participation', 'retuning of photographs', 'audience', 'power and agency' and 'text and image'. Chapter five then begins to tackle the situation of curation and the important part it too plays in our project, before I reach an overall conclusion.

---

 CHAPTER 1 | INTRODUCTION TO ALFRED MARTIN DUGGAN-CRONIN
 

---



---

Vital statistics

As per the common canon available on Duggan-Cronin's life, he was born in Ireland in 1874 and he died in 1954 aged eighty.<sup>62</sup> He lived in Ireland until he was twenty three at which point he was in the midst of training to become a Jesuit priest.<sup>63</sup> He then emigrated to Kimberly, South Africa where he worked for De Beers Consolidated Mines (DBCM). His first position with DBCM was as a compound guard and later he worked in the dispensary of the prison hospital and in the copy room.<sup>64</sup> The basic canon of his biography usually states that his photographic projects were inspired by the migrant labourers' relationships with their home traditions.<sup>65</sup> Although Irish, his affiliation with South Africa was strong since by the end of his life he considered Kimberly his home and only returned to Ireland for visits.<sup>66</sup>

---

Duggan-Cronin & photography

Duggan-Cronin first owned a camera in 1904 and began by photographing the men working on the mines and living in the compounds.<sup>67</sup> It was 1919 when he allegedly began his major project; starting with the San in Langeberg he began to photograph 'the endangered races'.<sup>68</sup> It is generally accepted that the early 1900's in South Africa was a time when rapid Westernisation was occurring. Although apartheid was not yet set as an official regime, an 'us' and 'them' approach was predominant. Within this majority mindset there was a selection of people who were concerned that rapid 'modernisation' as it was known, was destroying local tradition. Dynamics between preserving 'tradition' whilst simultaneously promoting 'modernisation' have been widely discussed and debated both contemporarily and currently. During the debate, one of the moves of the mobile elite was certainly to 'preserve' a 'record' of various forms of that which was 'disappearing',

<sup>62</sup> Robert Hart. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin: A Biography." Thandabantu: A Photographic Journey Through southern Africa 1919 to 1939. (Cape Town: Scan Shop, 2007) 6.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Michael Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954): The Construction of an Ambiguous Idyll." Kronos 36.1 (2010) 55.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

Michael Godby. Lines of Sight: Perspectives on South African Photography. (Cape Town: South African National Gallery, 1999)

Hart Thandabantu 6.

<sup>66</sup> Robert Hart. "The McGregor Museum Photographic Collections" African Historical Photographic Archives. 02 December 2011 < <http://www.ahparchives.org/index.php/archives-info/information-on-photographic-collections/5-the-mcgregor-museum-photographic-collections>>

<sup>67</sup> Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 55.

Hart Thandabantu 6.

<sup>68</sup> Hart Thandabantu 6.

in all kinds of particular ways. Whilst my understanding of tradition and modernity is much less static than is usually perceived, understood and discussed, at that time certain people had fixed notions as to exactly which activities and objects belonged to which people and what exactly was ‘traditional’ and thus ‘vanishing’. Ideas were prescribed and enforced particularly when recording these endangered people as well as when determining state policies.

I have yet to determine how Duggan-Cronin discovered his passion and skill with photography. It appears he was self taught, although this is not expanded upon or even directly mentioned in any of the prominent references to Duggan-Cronin.<sup>69</sup> It is important to note Andrew Putter’s observation that possibly Duggan-Cronin’s photographs are not ‘excellent’. Citing a conversation with someone who had been comparing Edward Curtis and Duggan-Cronin’s photographs, Putter was led to the speculation that for the moment he understands Duggan-Cronin as “a rather poor photographer who was lucky to have beautiful subjects to take pictures of”, suggesting he relied “on simple visual tricks and conventions.”<sup>70</sup>

---

#### Duggan-Cronin & his achievements

The Duggan-Cronin canon references his work with attention (although the numbers vary) to the same ‘vital statistics’ each time: kilometres travelled (128000), the number of expeditions made (18), the thirteen ‘tribes’ studied (which appear to actually be fifteen as per the volumes: Bavenda, Bechuana, Bapedi, southern Basotho, Xhosa, Thembu, Zulu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Swazi, Baca Hlubi, Xesibe, Vathonga, Vachopi) and the number of volumes of books produced (11) from photographs taken in the fifteen years between 1918 and 1933.<sup>71</sup> Other sources change the parameters recording a more impressive sounding ‘project [that] kept him busy for twenty-five years and yielded about 6000 photographs’. Duggan-Cronin was best recognised at the time as a good portraitist but sources comment that still life, animal studies and scenery images were also part of his oeuvre.<sup>72</sup> It seems that something about these numbers and statistics inspires awe. Perhaps due to the nature of most of the inclusions of Duggan-Cronin’s work in recent exhibitions, I have almost fallen into the trap of ignoring the rest of Duggan-Cronin’s oeuvre; the still life and animal studies. It is important to make this recollection that not all of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs were of ‘indigenous peoples’. Much of his earlier work was taken in Europe

<sup>69</sup> Hart [African Historical Photographic Archives](#).

<sup>70</sup> Author unknown, cited by Andrew Putter, personal communication. Email: 11 December 2011.

<sup>71</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 57.

Hart [Thandabantu](#) 6.

Douglas [Life Less Ordinary](#).

<sup>72</sup> Robert Hart “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin” Douglas [Life Less Ordinary](#) 34.

and included landscapes, architecture and other still lives. The absence of these photographs in today's exhibitions is notable in many of them, but not all. *Life Less Ordinary*, for which Putter assisted with choosing the images, included some of his earlier photographs, as Putter explains, since he wished to “show the *range* and also the *roots*” of Duggan-Cronin's work.<sup>73</sup> In his explanation to me, Putter expresses the use of Duggan-Cronin's earlier European works to exemplify “his Romanticism and an attitude to ‘tradition’ which one sees throughout Europe in the late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries...” for me situating Duggan-Cronin clearly in the position of conventional photographer for his own time.<sup>74</sup> The other exhibition allegedly displaying a slightly different selection of the photographs was *Compound to Kraal: Salvaging and Refiguring the Duggan-Cronin Collection*, which included his earlier photographs of people in the mines.<sup>75</sup> Apart from these references to other work, most references either mention it in passing, or avoid it entirely.

---

#### Support of his work

Although I cannot sufficiently substantiate it, it is self-evident that Duggan-Cronin had a personal passion for photographing ‘the natives’. References to his work usually highlight him, Duggan-Cronin, as an individual, as an important factor in the work, but in fact his project was also public and importantly, endorsed by others. This distinction is important. Had his work solely been a personal, private project it seems less likely it would be recognised and known today. It would also seem less likely that it would have occurred in the manner and scale in which it did.

The circumstances of his work becoming public at the time may have been related to his own personal drive and motivation initially, but it was also manifested through his relationship with DBCM and Miss Maria Wilman, the first director of the McGregor Museum in Kimberly.<sup>76</sup> These two relationships appear to be vital to the success of the project. The McGregor Museum and DBCM, as well as the South African Government and the Carnegie Foundation, all funded Duggan-Cronin's project at various points in its evolution. DBCM's support extended to the donation of ‘The Lodge’ to Kimberley City Council as a permanent gallery space for Duggan-

<sup>73</sup> Andrew Putter, personal communication.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> “Listings” [ARTTHROB](http://www.artthrob.co.za/01june/listings-gauteng.html#workerslib), June 2001. 16 December 2011. <<http://www.artthrob.co.za/01june/listings-gauteng.html#workerslib>>

“Compound to Kraal: Salvaging and Revisiting the Duggan-Cronin Collection.” [WorldCat](http://www.worldcat.org/title/compound-to-kraal-salvaging-and-revisiting-the-duggan-cronin-collection/oclc/048834527), 6 December 2011. <<http://www.worldcat.org/title/compound-to-kraal-salvaging-and-revisiting-the-duggan-cronin-collection/oclc/048834527>>

<sup>76</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 56. Hart [Thandabantu](#) 6.

Cronin's work. The Lodge was a space that allowed Duggan-Cronin to present his images publicly and permanently, an opportunity presumably not otherwise possible.<sup>77</sup>

### Duggan-Cronin & his own relationship with his project

Allegedly Duggan-Cronin considered his photographic work to be of great importance. Apparently "he hoped [his project] would contribute to 'a better understanding' of the indigenous peoples of southern Africa"<sup>78</sup> and he considered it is as "a monument to the Bantu people 'to whom we in South Africa owe so much'."<sup>79</sup> Douglas explains the apparent contradiction quoting contemporary sources:

Alfred Duggan-Cronin was motivated by what might sound deeply colonial and patronising to us today, but was nonetheless born out of a 'genuine interest in the Native and some remorse that his culture should fade away'. Through photography he aimed to 'capture the fine physique of the Native, his industry and his peculiar customs, his superstitions, his art and all the different aspects of his life ... for posterity'.<sup>80</sup>

This 'genuine interest' is recorded not only in the contemporary *public* information but also his own words. Putter has found the following quotes:

From 1961:

Of the merits and demerits of my work, it is not for me to speak. If my contribution towards the knowledge of Native tribes is appreciated, my object is accomplished, and I am well repaid for my labours. That it may help towards a better understanding and treatment of the Natives, is my fervent wish. In order fully to understand the Natives among whom we live and work, it is necessary to know what they have been and done and suffered.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Hart Thandabantu 6.

McGregor Museum Kimberly. 02 December 2011

<<http://www.museumsnco.za/other/SateliteMuseumInfoPDF.pdf>>

<sup>78</sup> Hart. Thandabantu. 6.

<sup>79</sup> Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 57.

<sup>80</sup> The Diamond News and The S.A. *Watchmaker and Jeweler*, November 1951 cited in Douglas. Life Less Ordinary. 9.

<sup>81</sup> Basil Humphreys. "The Duggan-Cronin Gallery, Kimberley." Lantern. 11.2 (1961) 78 cited in Andrew Putter "Biographical Sketch of Duggan-Cronin." (Unpublished 2011) 15.

And 1939:

Forty two years ago, my work in the [mining] compounds threw me among natives of all types, and from many different tribes, in whom I began to take a sympathetic interest. After mastering the art of photography in 1904, I at once started making photographic records of these people...I am not a negrophile, but I believe in giving the natives a square deal. Whatever may be our opinion of them we must admit that they are our greatest economic asset.<sup>82</sup>

There are further references, from both his peers and those he photographed, that suggest that he was in sympathy with the 'indigenous people'. He apparently revered his *Matebele* name 'Thandabantu' which means 'one who loves people'.<sup>83</sup> This area of anthropological photographers and their relationships with their subjects has been discussed in various domains. What strikes me is that there seems to be a disparity between the institutional, projected, public version of what this relationship should have been, and what it is likely to have actually been (recall from the introduction the research noting that anthropometric photographic projects were not necessarily as successful as required by the state). Equally, through this project it has come strongly to my attention that this disparity can also be constructed according to contexts and rhetoric. First coming across the rhetoric of the exhibition *Thandabantu*, I was completely seduced into understanding Duggan-Cronin as a lover of people, one with a strong bond with his subjects, one who took pride in his work as record, just as the exhibition intended. Later, coming across the counter-argument presented by Godby and Putter, I was equally convinced of the alternative.<sup>84</sup> The context of presentation significantly determines the view.

In his working life, there was some urgency projected by Duggan-Cronin. Putter cites:

In 1940, on the occasion of his 66<sup>th</sup> birthday, Duggan-Cronin claimed to have completed the task he has set himself years before, 'namely to record for posterity the primitive habits and dress, environment and customs of all the major groups of Bantu tribes living in South Africa.' Duggan-Cronin wrote that 'year by year the Natives were becoming more and more civilized, and any delay in the work would mean that valuable records of the Natives

<sup>82</sup> Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin, quoted in P. Lulu. *The Deaths of Hintsa: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts*. (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009) 176 cited in Putter. "Biographical Sketch of Duggan-Cronin." 15.

<sup>83</sup> Leon Jacobson. "The development of an ethnographic photographer" *Thandabantu*, 8.

<sup>84</sup> Putter and Godby suggest that this was an intentional project by the curators of the *Thandabantu* exhibition. Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 82. Putter. "Biographical Sketch of Duggan-Cronin." 12.

in their primitive state would be lost for all time.’ He also wrote, after his 1934 trip to Rhodesia that ‘in the Union tribal life is still more or less preserved, but in Rhodesia, civilization has killed my work.’<sup>85</sup>

Putter also notes that, seemingly in contradiction to the results of the project, Bensusan suggests “that the Duggan-Cronin gallery was intended not merely as ‘a static monument but a record of the transitions of the Bantu tribes.’”<sup>86</sup>

### Madela: a ‘native assistant’

One of the crucial examples of a distinct change in narrative over time can be exemplified through a brief case-study of Richard Madela. In 1924 Duggan-Cronin met an *Mfengu*, Madela, who according to the *Thandabantu* catalogue apparently became a close friend, and who, from 1930, accompanied him on many field trips as an assistant.<sup>87</sup> His assistance was most important in the form of interpreter and persuader, giving Duggan-Cronin greater access within societies: “Many rural people were at first suspicious if not fearful of Duggan-Cronin and his camera. Madela demonstrated to them the use of the camera and, by taking a shot or two, showed that no harm would befall the sitters.”<sup>88</sup> He also acted as driver and photography assistant. Madela took some photographs himself, notably those of Duggan Cronin as cited by Godby:<sup>89</sup>

...he [Madela] certainly took the photograph of the infant Sabata, Chief of the Upper Tembu, who would not let any white man near him, and he probably also took the photographs of Duggan-Cronin in the field.<sup>90</sup>

Godby suggests in relation to the *Thandabantu* catalogue:

Whatever their personal relationship, it is surely to exaggerate Madela’s role in the project to include no less than six photographs of him in the catalogue (as against three of Duggan- Cronin himself), and to devise a logo for the exhibition that effectively assigns equal responsibility to the two men.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Duggan-Cronin quoted in Bensusan. 104 cited in Putter. “Biographical Sketch of Duggan-Cronin.” 15.

<sup>86</sup> Bensusan 105 cited in Putter. “Biographical Sketch of Duggan-Cronin.” 15.

<sup>87</sup> Jacobson *Thandabantu* 7.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 82.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

It would certainly be fascinating to learn how Madela felt about the project and about his part in it.

It is interesting to note the move by the curators of *Thandabantu*, particularly in light of Shepherd's work about the presence of 'black' workers in the fieldwork photography of archaeologists. Such a move could certainly be attributed as being very deliberate in the contemporary climate, trying to redress historical and continuing racial segregation.<sup>92</sup> A post-colonialist point of contention would doubtless condemn this as tokenism. There are always tactical assumptions one can assign to such behaviour, but I also cannot definitively presume that their relationship was not genuinely as friends just because of their racial differences. The contemporary climate of their lives may not have 'permitted' them to be friends which would perhaps explain why Duggan-Cronin would refer to Madela as his 'native servant'.<sup>93</sup> As I have already said, it has been impossible to formally research these speculations, but again I am suggesting that the dictations of society's ideologies are often strong and few people, even today, are brave enough to 'be different'. Or at least, societal change takes a considerable amount of time.

This chapter I hope contextualises not only Duggan-Cronin himself but also further archives that relate to him and his project. I hope this will enable us to more effectively read his recent emergence in public spheres by understanding that even just his personal biography occurs in different formats and with different intentions. I hope it has also acknowledged other contexts that, although not fully explored here, are flagged for a more general acknowledgement of the difficulties of the totalising project of academic work. I wish us to retain particularly the thoughts around institutional ideals in comparison to human realities, the selection processes involved when considering large collections of photographs, the relationships between institutions and individuals and the significance and impact society has on behaviour and with that, importantly, what is considered 'appropriate' behaviour.

<sup>92</sup> Nick Shepherd. "When the Hand that Holds the Trowel is Black...": Disciplinary Practices of Self-Representation and the Issue of 'Native' Labour in Archaeology." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3 (2003)

<sup>93</sup> Duggan-Cronin, "Kimberley's Monument to a Vanishing Culture" cited in Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 82.

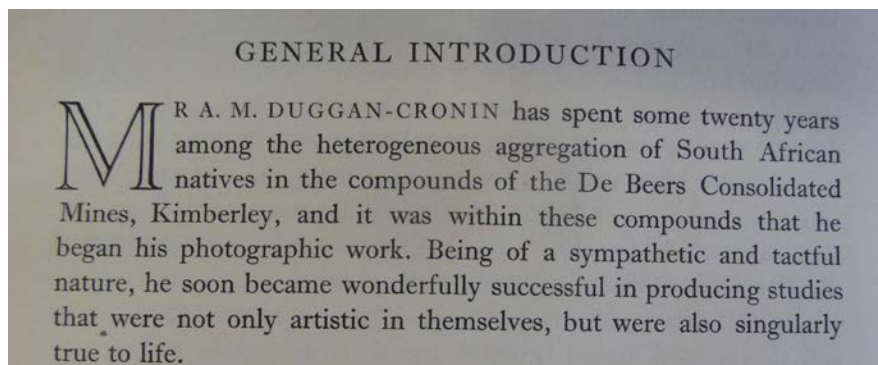


Figure 17

Photograph of an extract of text from the first volume of *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin*.  
 Photograph by the author. January 2012.

For this section, I wish to go back in time. Although briefly touched upon in the introduction, I wish to give greater attention to the context of Duggan-Cronin's work in its position in the first half of the twentieth century. The presentation and reception of his work in his contemporary context is very relevant to this exploration, both to compare with current re-emergences and also to illustrate constructions within the work as well as the story of the work. Referenced in the canon are the following displays of his work during his lifetime:

- 1923 | Drill Hall in Kimberley
- 1924 | British Empire Exhibition in London
- 1925 | at home in Kamfersdam outside Kimberley
- 1931 | Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in London. (Centenary meeting of the  
           British Association for the Advancement of Science.)
- 1937 | Paris International Exhibition
- 1937 | Mine Managers House in Kimberley: 'the lodge'
- 1938 | Donated collection to Kimberley city Council
- 1939 | Agricultural Show, Kimberley
- 1940 | Papal University, Rome
- 1940 & 1941 | (Argus Gallery) Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, East London & Salisbury  
           (Rhodesia/ Zimbabwe)

<sup>94</sup> Thandabantu.

Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)"

In the very first volume of Duggan-Cronin's best known publication, in the General Introduction, Wilman also cites the use of Duggan-Cronin's images in various publications as follows:

19 illustrations in R. Broom "The Natives of South Africa" Natural History. 23 (New York 1923) 283-294.

8 illustrations in H. Balfour, Country Life. 26 (July 1924) 134-135.

7 illustrations in H.J. Braunholtz. "Ethnological Exhibition in the South African Pavilion, British Empire Exhibition" Man. 24 (London 1924) No. 98 pl I-J.

36 illustrations in S.S. Dornan. "Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari" 8vo. 318 (London 1925)

? illustrations in Tom J. Brown. "Among Bantu Nomans" 8vo. 272 (London 1926)

95

I can surmise, the audience was local and international. There was a strong scientific intent with at least one presentation. This proliferation of display could be seen to suggest that his images were well received by the public and accepted in a range of different situations.

I note that the idea of 'public' is not necessarily simple. Nancy Fraser explains "These terms [public and private], after all, are not simply straightforward designations of societal spheres; they are cultural classifications and rhetorical labels." In our case it meant very specific 'public's' from the many "multiple but unequal publics" that existed.<sup>96</sup> In direct relation to this, Andrew McClellan references different publics, specifically with regard to museums. He cites a historical reference by Charles-Antoine Coypel, a painter, quoting:

In the Salon where the paintings are displayed, the public changes twenty times a day...This place can offer twenty publics of different tone and character in the course of single day: a simple public at certain times, a prejudiced public, a flighty public, and envious public, a public slavish to fashion...A final accounting of these publics would lead to infinity.

With this, let us recall McClellan's observation that these publics, arguably, have always been and still are, no matter what efforts are made, particularly 'bourgeoisie' kinds of public.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Maria Wilman. The Bantu Tribes of Southern Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. Vol. I, Section I, Plates I-XX: The Bavenda. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd. 1928) 8.

<sup>96</sup> Nancy Fraser. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." The Cultural Studies Reader. Ed. Simon During. (London: Routledge, 1993) 530-532.

<sup>97</sup> Andrew McClellan. "A Brief History of the Art Museum Public." Art and its Publics: Museum Studies at the Millennium. Ed. Andrew McClellan. (Malden, Oxford, Victoria, Berlin: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 2003) 1-50.

I had previously assumed that most presentations would be part of a ‘science’ genre. I imagined this display in the manner of ‘great exhibitions’ and enlightenment, with the photographs as items of anthropological interest since science and anthropology were at that time closely aligned. However, as cited earlier, it has become apparent that many of the displays, particularly those in Kimberly, followed formats associated, at the time, with art spaces.<sup>98</sup>

As well as these displays and publication in magazines and journals there were also the published works of *The Bushman Tribes of Southern Africa* and *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa*. These are apparently rarely accessible to the public now but can be found in various library collections including UCT’s African Studies Library.<sup>99</sup> For those who do encounter the volumes, the responses will be varied but there will be no doubt that the publication feels old. Those who encounter them will immediately recognise the age but perhaps not, as I did not, the ideological significance.<sup>100</sup> Mofokeng’s work, as will be explored later, took this knowledge as the starting point for his own curation.<sup>101</sup> At the time of course, one would expect the reception to be different to ours according to our new, self-reflective, identity as a society. It is possible to find contemporary responses to Duggan-Cronin’s photographic volumes from when they were published. Observing these records gives us an insight into the frame from which the more general (academic) parties were receiving these works.

Bella Weitzner of the American Museum of Natural History, reviewing Volume IV: The Vachopi of Portuguese East Africa, describes the series as ‘attractive’ and states its purpose to ‘avowedly’ “present a photographic record of the rapidly vanishing native life of the general area”.<sup>102</sup> This is not an unheard of sentiment and has been transferred to the current public canon. Weitzner references the ‘appeal’ to audiences who appreciate the visual over the textual, but she herself advocates an ‘adequate descriptive ethnology’ in preference.<sup>103</sup> Weitzner suggests that the photographs “therefore may be judged merely on their merits, as records of physical types and especially modes of life which will not be observable in Portuguese East Africa many years hence.”<sup>104</sup> She furthers that the “publishers have obviously been well aware of the shortcomings of a mere series of photographs, excellent as they are, and a brief summary of the Culture of each group

<sup>98</sup> Hart *Life Less Ordinary* 37.

<sup>99</sup> “Images that capture a bygone tranquillity – Alfred Duggan-Cronin” *Iziko museums of Cape Town: Press Releases*. 14 March 2011. 02 December 2011. <<http://www.ndstest.co.za/iziko/iziko/press/20070314b.html>>

<sup>100</sup> When I first encountered them I was not aware of their fame or uniqueness whereas many people in South Africa have at least heard Duggan-Cronin’s name and know that he is a photographer.

<sup>101</sup> Santu Mofokeng cited in interview with Tamar Garb. Garb 283.

<sup>102</sup> Bella Weitzner. *American Anthropologist*. 39 (1937) 542.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

depicted introduces each series.”<sup>105</sup> Weitzner does commend the captions included with the ‘plates’ (as they are referred to) for expanding the ‘horizon’ of the text by the anthropologist, in this case Henri-Philippe Junod. The remainder of the review indulges in an anthropological summary of the *Vachopi* during which she manages to slip in a compliment to the ‘excellent illustrations’ of bark fiber and cloth manufacture.<sup>106</sup> Having explained that “The Vachopi are now rapidly disintegrating, physically and culturally, under the onslaught of Portuguese mixed-bloods and Asiatics among the VaKhoka and of other Bantu tribes among the VaLenge” her parting words are: “The authors are therefore to be commended for making available those few elements of their aboriginal culture still recordable.”<sup>107</sup>

E. W. Gifford’s very brief review in the same journal in 1934 of *The Suto-Chuana Tribe*, simply states that “it is a pleasure to survey the splendid series” this being in the context of war where there were restrictions on the printing of books, particularly their illustrations.<sup>108</sup> His view is that the images “convey accurate impressions that no amount of verbiage could duplicate”.<sup>109</sup>

Viewing these reviews is quite eye-opening since each one seems to contradict the others, surely going some way to shattering our previous assumptions concerning canons whilst simultaneously confirming the multiplicity and polyphony of reality. H. U. Hall from Ambler Pennsylvania reviews the *Vu Thonga* volume and calls it “The latest section of the series of volumes of illustrations of the racial types of South African natives”.<sup>110</sup> Although the set of volumes is divided according to ‘tribes’ according to how they were understood at the time, I had not originally understood it to be presented as an illustration of the ‘racial types’. Presumably such a record would rather be in anthropometric form, or at least more explicit as to these features, such as in the work of Gustav Fritsch or Wilhelm Bleek. It must be noted, however, that anthropometrics did not *have* to include measuring sticks or nakedness. Whilst there are some references to racial types in some of the volumes, it does not appear to be the primary objective of the series. It appears to my eyes that there has been a clear move in Duggan-Cronin’s work to *avoid* anthropometric study. Many images one can reference from anthropologists do incorporate measuring sticks and other measuring devices such that they can record *precisely* anatomical distinctions and features. However, i cannot dismiss the use of such ideas by Duggan-Cronin

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> E.W. Gifford. *American Anthropologist*. 39 (1937) 132.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> H.U.Hall. *American Anthropologist*. 39 (1937) 350.

altogether. Godby explains, and one can find often in the Bantu volumes, references to facial types:

[The] Introduction explains that, while anthropology no longer took precise measurements of various parts of African people's anatomy (and, unlike Gustav Fritsch and other nineteenth-century forebears, Duggan-Cronin is not known to have used his camera for such purposes), it did use the idea of facial types to reconstruct the history of the group it was studying.<sup>111</sup>

It is possible that this was an imposed afterthought by those promoting and using the images as it seems that they would not have been accepted by Western society without a scientific intent being imposed upon them. Nonetheless, Hall suggests that the 'fine photographs' 'embrace', in the form of 'a pictorial commentary', a diversity of Thonga life.<sup>112</sup> Hall notes that two are named individuals, five are 'other notables' three connected with 'magic or the healing art' and others are illustrations of domestic and industrial activities.<sup>113</sup> Hall also affirms that "the subjects are well selected to show the considerable variety of racial types; the differences, for example, between "commoners" and "aristocrats" being rather remarkable."<sup>114</sup>

In the journal *Man*, an anthropological journal published by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, many of the volumes were reviewed and they are often referred to as "well-known" and said to maintain "the same high standard of photography".<sup>115</sup> Sometimes comments and criticisms of the anthropological content are made but encouragements are also given: "...a great service would be rendered to South Africa and to anthropology if Mr. Duggan-Cronin could be enabled to continue the excellent work which he has done in attempting to build a photographic record of much scientific and artistic value of the South African cultures."<sup>116</sup> The McGregor Museum is congratulated on its shrewdness: "It was an excellent scheme for the Kimberley Museum Board to obtain his [Duggan-Cronin's] co-operation in securing, while there was yet time, a useful and comprehensive series of illustrations which would help to depict the lives of the already fast-changing native tribes."<sup>117</sup> Criticisms of the photographs include "They are

<sup>111</sup> Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 58.

<sup>112</sup> H.U.Hall 350.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> J. A. Barnes. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies, Vol. III, Section II: The Mpondo and Mpondomise. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin" *Man*, 50 (1950) 112.

<sup>116</sup> R. U. S. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin" *Man* 34 (1934) 31.

<sup>117</sup> E. W. Smith. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Vol. I, Section 1, the Bavenda, Vol. II, Section I the Suto Chuana Tribes, Sub-Group 1, the Bechuana. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin" *Man*, 30 (1930) 53-54.

not sufficient in number to illustrate every phase of life – we should have welcomed more pictures of children and some of the agricultural and pastoral activities – but what they illustrate they do illustrate very well indeed.”<sup>118</sup> One can also find comments such as “...there is some reference to modern ways of living, although the emphasis is rightly on the fast disappearing traditional culture”<sup>119</sup> and “The photographs are most skillfully taken, and the subjects seem completely at ease before the camera...”,<sup>120</sup> “photographs of high anthropological and artistic interest.”,<sup>121</sup> “The atmosphere of the environment is marvelously reproduced. But one wishes that it had been possible to include some of the characteristic women’s dances, especially those of the nzumba or harvest festival.”<sup>122</sup> Criticism particularly seems to be of the anthropological content rather than photographic interest, which makes sense in the context.<sup>123</sup>

*The Geographical Journal* reviews follow similar patterns and make reference to the status made for Duggan-Cronin through the volumes: “...[the volume] has established for Mr. Duggan-Cronin a deservedly high reputation.”<sup>124</sup>

*Geography*, another journal, commends his sympathy with the subject: “Mr. Duggan-Cronin has attained a pitch of sympathetic understanding of his subjects which enables him to produce results remarkable, not only for their artistic excellence, but also as representations true to native character in spirit.”<sup>125</sup> “More adequate provision for the needs of the student of racial types might be made in the future volumes promised. When, as here, the existence of contrasted types is emphasized, they should be presented in identical position, both full face and in profile, in order that a detailed comparison may be made.”<sup>126</sup> “Mr. Duggan-Cronin continues here what will remain for generations a monumental record of the life of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa as well as of its author's devotion to their welfare and to the spread of knowledge about them. Probably no other people save the North American Indians of the U.S.A. have any such photographic record

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> J. A. Barnes. “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies: Vol. III, Section V; Baca, Hlubi, Xesibe. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin” *Man*. 54 (1954) 127.

<sup>120</sup> J. L. M. “Review: The Bushman Tribes of Southern Africa. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin D. F. Bleek” *Man*. 43 (1943) 120.

<sup>121</sup> E. D. E. “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Reproductions of Photographic Studies. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin” *Man*. 37 (1937) 133-134.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> W. F. “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; The Bantu Tribes of South Africa Vol. III, Section III, Plates LXXXI-CXX. The Nguni. Section III. The Zulu by D. Mck. Malcolm” *The Geographical Journal*. 92.2 (1938) 171.

<sup>125</sup> E.N.F. “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Reproductions of Photographic Studies. Vol. 1, Section 1. Plates I—XX by A. M. Duggan-Cronin” *Geography*. 15.3 (1929) 249.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

as Mr. Duggan-Cronin has gathered in the nine parts thus far published”<sup>127</sup> “Long may Mr. Duggan-Cronin's work continue to spread well-informed interest in the people of South Africa”<sup>128</sup> “He is one of the most expert photographers living, and the reviewer has been privileged to see the gallery of photographic illustrations of South African peoples which occupies almost every room in Mr. Duggan-Cronin's house.”<sup>129</sup> “The Duggan-Cronin volumes should be garnered into every library that is interested in Africa and should be treasured as documents which will some day have a vast scientific importance, because the life they picture has become so deeply altered.”<sup>130</sup> “A number of large photographs help one to form a valuable impression of the differences of physical type among the Vathonga and the group and scenic photographs picture many aspects of the life of the people.”<sup>131</sup> “Mr. Duggan- Cronin, acute observer and artistic photographer.”<sup>132</sup> “Perhaps the author would add to his many services next time by giving a little sketch map of the position of the people, and a little more about their environment.”<sup>133</sup> “... a treasure-house of information as well as another appropriate monument to Mr. Duggan-Cronin’s sympathetic understanding of the Bantu.”<sup>134</sup>

*The Quarterly Review of Biology* considers: “The 32 plates are excellent, yet insufficient in scope and too statuary to give a real impression of tribal life.”<sup>135</sup> “As in previous volumes: 1) the pictures are posed too often for this reviewer’s taste; 2) an excellent introduction is provided by a first-rate anthropologist who possesses an intimate knowledge of the tribe, in this case Mrs. Monica Hunter Wilson.”<sup>136</sup>

Through reading these accounts, my interpretation is such that in this context at least, of these mainly anthropological journals, anthropology as a subject and particularly a textual subject was of primary importance. The images are secondary to that knowledge although it seems that it is

<sup>127</sup> H. J. F. “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Vol. III. The Nguni. Section IV. The Swazi by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; Hilda Beemer” *Geography*. 27.1 (1942) 43.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Vol. 2, Section I, Plates I— XXVI. The Suto-Chuana Tribes by A. M. Duggan-Cronin.” *Geography*. 15.7 (1930) 608.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> H. J. F. “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Reproductions of Photographic Studies. Vol. IV. Section I. Plates I-XL. The Vathonga by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; H.-P. Junod” *Geography*. 21.2 (1936) 153.

<sup>132</sup> H. J. F. “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Reproductions of Photographic Studies Vol. IV, Section II. Plates XLI-LXXX by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; H.-P. Junod” *Geography*. 21.4 (1936) 311.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> H. J. F. “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Reproductions of Photographic Studies Vol. IV, Section II. Plates XLI-LXXX by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; H.-P. Junod” *Geography*. 21.4 (1936) 311.

<sup>135</sup> Erwin H. Ackerknecht. “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies. Volume III, Section IV, The Nguni: Section IV, The Swazi. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin” *The Quarterly Review of Biology*. 23.1 (1948) 98.

<sup>136</sup> Erwin H. Ackerknecht. “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies. Volume III, Section II, The Nguni: Section II, The Mpondo and Mpondomise. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin” *The Quarterly Review of Biology*. 25.1 (1950) 121.

prudent for the authors to acknowledge artistic excellence. Of course in an art space the opposite could be argued and hence it becomes particularly interesting to recall the other public displays of the work in the fashionable ‘salon style’ as referenced previously. In response to this consideration, I attempted to find contemporary art reviews of the work but to no avail, although I noted one reviewer had visited the gallery at Duggan-Cronin’s home in Kimberley. All of these reports seem to comply with ideas of critique that correspond to anthropological or aesthetic ideals, though perhaps due to my trail leading to them.

There already seems to be a clear trend of people manipulating the results of Duggan-Cronin’s labours to their own themes and ideas. This is not something that was ever denied of their presence but it becomes awkward when it is presumed that they should be, or indeed are, fixed in a particular way of existing, namely, as anthropological.

Another aspect that perhaps lends itself to shaking up the difference between someone not involved with the project and Duggan-Cronin himself (and also the way repeated information is made available) is in reference to the idea of ‘the natives’ becoming ‘civilised’. The idea that the ‘civilisation’ of ‘others’ is gendered is relatively common and frequently referenced in relation to dress.<sup>137</sup> Women are generally upheld with maintaining traditions more than men, which Godby explains in relation to the migrant workers; men are going into ‘civilisation’, experiencing it and buying into it where they can, and by force they are also coerced into ‘civilising’. Godby references Wilman suggesting that “men were more liable to be ‘spoiled’ by civilization than women”.<sup>138</sup> Godby further suggests that Duggan-Cronin chose not to photograph men because those he did see were probably more Western and therefore not in keeping with “his image of Africa.”<sup>139</sup> Much of the canon on Duggan-Cronin references migrant workers in some way. The mines are of course recorded as the original site of Duggan-Cronin’s work and Godby gives much attention to and explanation for the lack of men and children in Duggan-Cronin’s photographs and indeed ‘Westernisation’.<sup>140</sup> I might also note here the following observation by Godby:

...when the impact of Western culture on black society was acknowledged in Duggan-Cronin’s texts – as when Miss Beemer noted in the Swazi volume that roughly 40 per cent of the men between 16 and 40 years of age are annually away from their homes working

<sup>137</sup> Example: Ed. Elizabeth Dell & Sarah Dudley. *Textiles from Burma*. (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003) 43.

<sup>138</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 76.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

Godby *Lines of Sight* 18.

<sup>140</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 76.

on European- owned mines or farms – Duggan-Cronin’s image was seen as incomplete rather than actually incorrect.<sup>141</sup>

What puzzles me, however, is that when looking through the volumes, one does actually see many references to ‘Western’ attires. Considering all the references to the lack of evidence of Western influence one is led to question whether there is a contextualization error, or a choice made by the various authors who have examined the volumes. One wonders if those examining it were concerned that any Western influences apparent in the photographs did not comply with the project of ‘recording the vanishing races’. It may simply be that the Western aspects that did occur were in much longer established styles and had therefore fallen into the realm of ‘traditional’. Godby quotes at length reactions to the works in Duggan-Cronin’s times, that ultimately imply an understanding of the images as some form of truth even through the commentators own contradictions of that belief.<sup>142</sup>

Recalling the opening introduction by Wilman: “he soon became wonderfully successful in producing studies that were not only artistic in themselves, but were also singularly true to life” I am reminded yet again of the versatility of perspective and also the multiplicity of reality since the ‘un-touched’ can co-exist with the ‘transformed’ and it is the manner of selections that determine what appears to be dominant.<sup>143</sup>

### Reframing Duggan-Cronin

Weitzner’s point about the publishers being aware of the “shortcomings of a mere series of photographs” might make a difference to our own understanding of Duggan-Cronin’s work. It is important to know whether the publishers or Duggan-Cronin himself wished to include the anthropological texts since these are one of the crucial features that set the work into an anthropological frame. Wilman not only implies this discrepancy by opening the volumes with a statement suggesting that the “pictorial records...had their limitations in that they were mostly portrait studies” and therefore it was “suggested to the artist that greater scope for his talents

<sup>141</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 78.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

I have always considered it rather presumptuous to presume that settlers and foreigners entering different cultures were responsible for changes within them. Of course this is not untrue and there are countless ways to prove extreme pressures of influence that were unavoidable for many, but I also prefer not to arrogantly assume this was the only power-relation at play so, an imagination that I add to this reality is that these cultures have been in a constant state of transition and it is those who settled who fixed their ways and then took ownership of many changes that occurred. Some influenced by outsiders, some forcefully imposed, but with adaptations and agency where applicable.

<sup>143</sup> Wilman 7.

would be attained by a friendly co-operation with the Museum Board”, perhaps implying that beautiful images are not considered valuable enough, but Wilman also states that ‘The Rev. P. E. Schwellnus of Pretoria made amendments to the volumes.’<sup>144</sup> It also states that Mr. G. P. Lestrade, who assisted in their production, worked in the Native Affairs Department which further strengthens Godby’s suggestion that Duggan-Cronin’s work was politicised and my own suggestion that it might be a sign of the times rather than a sign of Duggan-Cronin.<sup>145</sup> It is also explained that the Union Research Grant Board considered the project of “national importance” and hence assisted financially and with encouragement.<sup>146</sup> These ‘external advisors’ and also the reviewers, appear to have very fixed notions of what the acceptable use and value of Duggan-Cronin’s images are. This, I would argue, is mostly in the anthropological realm - due in particular to the direct relationship of the published volumes with professional anthropologists - but with artistic appreciation. These uses and values, for the most part, seem to have been transferred along with the images into their present situation in a different time and in different places and spaces. However, Duggan-Cronin’s own claim is reportedly only to record something he sees to be changing and vanishing. This does not necessarily have to be an anthropological project, it could simply be social or artistic. Adding to this the observation by Douglas, who noted that Duggan-Cronin’s image notes were ‘emotive’ and ‘artistic’ I would further presume that external pressures encouraged an apparently more ‘objective’ captioning and contextualising format.<sup>147</sup> Perhaps then there would be room to suggest that Duggan-Cronin himself was not necessarily interested in an anthropology of people and his interest was merely in taking photographs - an ‘involuntary ethnographer’ perhaps. It could be that it was only possible for Duggan-Cronin to fulfill his passion if he fitted his work into the frame of the present trend of textual and anthropological ideas of knowledge, both in order for it to be recognised and accepted and also in order to receive funding.

Through my own experience of presenting a photographic exhibition of my work I recall being waylaid by the requirements or sense of the audience requirements, trying to force my photographs into the discipline of social documentary. This made me seriously consider the idea that in order to make Duggan-Cronin’s photographs of value, they would have needed to conform to social ideologies of the time. I cannot for certain determine effectively his real, personal vision. It is the opportunistic tone of Wilman explaining the projects origins, that goes further to affirm this possibility saying that the images although understood to have ethnological value they still had

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> Wilman 9.

<sup>146</sup> Wilman 7.

<sup>147</sup> Douglas *Life Less Ordinary* 8.

'limitations' because of the restricted subjects and hence he should work in collaboration with the Museum Board, on depicting comprehensively different tribes before they changed.<sup>148</sup>

This might also go some way towards explaining the tricky negotiation between his work as art – which seems to be Duggan-Cronin's understanding of his own work – and anthropology, as 'art' is almost always associated with credibility. If I consider Duggan-Cronin as intending to gain social credibility and thereby intending his work to be 'art' (in the sense of the kind of art that is non-controversial, uses accepted conventions, follows European traditions and styles and is also presented in an appropriate formal manner), I could also consider that in order for it to gain any ground in this respect, or any other, it needed publicity. Publicity that would be granted by following the desires and encouragement of his supporters who were more concerned with recording vanishing traditions than with any artistic intent.

Another sign of societal pressure, or perhaps just circumstance, can be exemplified by Hayes *et al.*'s observation that colonial officials and outsiders taking pictures of those they were colonising was considered ethnography and yet the same people taking pictures of themselves wasn't.<sup>149</sup> Perhaps this simply indicates that in no way could Duggan-Cronin's photographs be received as anything but ethnographic because Duggan-Cronin would always be a white man taking photographs of non-white people, as long as his project remained situated in recording 'vanishing races'.

Understanding Duggan-Cronin's project as a project of love, but one that required funding from people who have responsibilities and reputations to uphold, I could project that his intentions may not have been ethnographic and instead may have been personal and pleasure related. In addition, his historical context dictated that an anthropological stance would be more appropriate and profitable and hence his work became ethnographic.

Douglas has pointed out that Duggan-Cronin was not a trained ethnographer and considers it a confusing paradox, that his methodology was 'vague' and merged documentary with art in ways that might not now be accepted.<sup>150</sup>

I have already noted that the canon barely references Duggan-Cronin's training as a photographer, except to say he bought his first camera in Ireland in 1904.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Wilman 7.

<sup>149</sup> Hayes *et al.* 16.

<sup>150</sup> *The Saturday Evening News*. November 13 1937 cited in Douglas *Life Less Ordinary* 9.

<sup>151</sup> Hart *Thandabantu* 6.

Tamar Garb has also noted the versatility of the Duggan-Cronin collection and the difficulty of ‘pigeon-holing’ his work.<sup>152</sup> In conversation with Mofokeng, further observations are made about shifting meaning according to accompanying text, context and intentions.<sup>153</sup> Mofokeng explains that anyone who doesn’t know anything about Duggan-Cronin can look at his work and read it completely differently, perhaps just as a beautiful portrait.<sup>154</sup> Mofokeng describes Duggan-Cronin as an “ordinary guy on the mines who had a fascination with all these men who were working around him” and says it is only later that he can be considered as ‘doing anthropology’.<sup>155</sup>

Alternative ways of framing might recognise that humans are often influenced by a more public and institutional frame and way of thinking in the public eye. However, they, as humans, may not sign up so precisely to that frame but require to abuse it to survive. In a similar way, artists today find themselves constrained in their work by the world outside and pandering to ways of making a living whilst also trying to maintain their artistic integrity and desires - a problem substantiated by documentary photographers today.<sup>156</sup>

If there was time and space for an in-depth study on society both in South Africa and also Europe, to which of course Duggan-Cronin had connections and, clearly, influence, one might discern a reading of his project in the sense of embodying a conventional role as a middle-class white citizen related to status, reputation and respect. It is beyond the scope of this study to divulge in this exploration but I wish to make it an inclusive aspect of thought: the thought that Duggan-Cronin was part of a performance of his own identity within a particular context at a particular time. He is not referenced as a revolutionary, outcast, or particularly unusual in any way. After all, there are substantial references to the importance of being ‘accepted’ in society in the twentieth century, and to the idea that Duggan-Cronin was not averse to his own social climb up the metaphorical ladder as Hart references, he even paid to change his own name to associate himself with his proud ancestry and displayed his family crest in the Gallery entrance and on his car.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Garb 21-22.

<sup>153</sup> Mofokeng cited in Garb 283.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> Patricia Hayes. “Power, Secrecy, Proximity” 151-153.

<sup>157</sup> Hart Life Less Ordinary 36.

It can also be observed that his reputation was of importance to the reviewers of his publications: "...[the volume] has established for Mr. Duggan-Cronin a deservedly high reputation"<sup>158</sup> and the endorsement of Jan Smuts was also of significance to him.<sup>159</sup> Not only Duggan-Cronin but Curtis was also influenced by external pressures: cited as originally working in harmony with the natives and without anthropological intention, Curtis' project only became anthropological when he joined an 'important scientific expedition'.<sup>160</sup>

In the alternative 'interpretation' of Duggan-Cronin as an individual, not following the canonical idea that his work is anthropological, there might be other 'realities' for himself as well as his work. These might be read through the photographs: after all, as Lambley cited photographer Richard Avedon saying: "My portraits are more about me than they are about the people I photograph!" and Lambley continues "...sentiments echoed by some museum curators who have come to realise the so-called importance of ethnographic data collected during the early part of the twentieth century – particularly since it shows the cultural relationship between the Colonizer and the colonized."<sup>161</sup> This is usually considered an important acknowledgement since it is possible that without these collections one could not know so much about colonisers and their methods, but now the gaze is the other way which surely poses all the same complexities.

What is under consideration here is the notion that Duggan-Cronin himself might be as constructed as his photographs; perhaps there is another puppeteer using various props he has collected to formulate an idea that fits in with the current understanding of ethnographic photographers and their tools and tasks.

Much of this debate points to an observance of societal correctness in a particular 'circle' or 'echelon' of society, just as I myself might be perceived as white, British, middle class and studying 'African Art' – an appropriate pastime for someone of my ancestry.

---

### 'Canonised' knowledge

<sup>158</sup> W. F. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; The Bantu Tribes of South Africa Vol. III, Section III, Plates LXXXI-CXX. The Nguni. Section III. The Zulu by D. Mck. Malcolm" *The Geographical Journal*. 92.2 (1938) 171.

<sup>159</sup> Jan Smuts quoted in Humphreys cited in Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 57.

<sup>160</sup> Christopher Cardozo "Introduction." *Sacred Legacies: Edward S Curtis and the North American Indians*. Ed. Christopher Cardozo. (Italy: Verve Editions, 2005) 22. Cardozo 165.

<sup>161</sup> Lambley.

It has often come to my attention during research that fixed canons easily become the reality of a situation. Considering John Guillory's *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation*, one becomes acutely aware of how applicable the theory is to many and most things. My concern with such situations being tied into the tendencies to generalise and totalise, particularly within discourses, reads such occurrences as sterilizing and hence causing our subject's 'authenticity' or 'truth' to be completely submerged. This is not to say that 'truth' or 'authenticity' exist in definitive forms, but sterilization is problematic especially when language becomes fixed and non-transient preventing realities from being multivalent. Duggan-Cronin seems to be reasonably fixed and presentable entity and yet surely all of the biographies and references I have scrutinized are very similar, albeit by a small community of authors. This too can then be seen to represent a manner of construction and selection similar to that which Duggan-Cronin applied when creating his photographs.

Reading the idea of 'canon' in relation to Guillory, both in the sense of Duggan-Cronin the man and his canonised work, another reading emerges through both their existence as canonical. Guillory's argument suggests that by not recognizing that as a canon work is received differently is:

...the premise of every ideology of "tradition," if tradition implies the supposed reproduction of cultural values by the monuments of culture themselves. Yet if canonical works do not all by themselves reproduce cultural values, it is significant – even integral – to the real social process of reproduction that they are thought to do so. The real social process is the reproduction not of values but of *social relations*. These relations consist of much more than a relation of text to the reader.<sup>162</sup>

This suggests that in today's re-enactments the photographs are removed, not only by way of time and space, but also because of the nature in which they are understood. Alternatively, the representations of both Duggan-Cronin's work and himself are specifically trying to remove the values such that they can be repositioned more favorably according to contemporary climates. What is certain is that this quote implies that different relationships at different times in different places with different people will reconfigure, in intricate and subtle ways, the existence of that 'text' in the world, as is exemplified by this particular archive. Guillory's argument goes on to say "Educational institutions facilitate the production of new relations...and thus facilitate the reproduction of the system as a whole" and even, he continues, "It would seem that the original

<sup>162</sup> John Guillory. *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993) 56.

context of a work's production becomes simply irrelevant when individual works are appropriated by the empire's ideological machinery, which flattens local cultures in its path."<sup>163</sup> Such concepts highlight our own enactments which read presentations as static reproductions. Although I am attempting to be concerned with everything except the 'text', or at least everything that surrounds it, strangely too the 'original context' is apparently transferred with it. It could be argued that the new exhibitions are, as educational institutions, 'facilitating the production of new relations' but are still maintaining 'the whole system' the systems in this case being of multiple levels, as will be discussed later.

#### Duggan-Cronin's contemporary context

I am concerned to attempt to situate more clearly these presentations of Duggan-Cronin's work into a historical context. Of course the research I can do can only go so far as to reference the regular canon and will not intend to go beyond this.

#### Science

In Duggan-Cronin's time the existence of the camera was still a reasonably new science, reaching South Africa in 1839.<sup>164</sup> Other scientific advancements in the Western world during Duggan-Cronin's lifetime included the development of radio, television, other electronics and the early development of computers and recording equipment.<sup>165</sup> The Dewey Decimal bibliographic classification system was formalised and the British Association of Archivists formed, and the idea of Ecosystem Ecology developed.<sup>166</sup> It should also be noted that religion, particularly Christianity, had a considerable influence over society in general and was still struggling to align itself with science.

#### Anthropology & photography

Maxwell has many useful considerations and insights with regards to photographic and anthropological context. Maxwell explains that anthropology had only comparatively recently become to be seen as a science at all. She cites anthropology as being recognised as a scientific

<sup>163</sup> Guillory means predominantly educational institutions such as schools but with museums featuring as educational centres we are also concerned with them. Guillory 58, 60.

<sup>164</sup> Bensusan 9.

<sup>165</sup> Jeremy Norman. "25000 BCE to 8000 BCE Timeline." Jeremy Norman's: From Cave Paintings to the Internet: Chronological and Thematic Studies on the History of Information and Media. 2004-2011. 08 January 2012. <<http://www.historyofinformation.com/index.php>>

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

discipline around 1884.<sup>167</sup> Maxwell also, interestingly, hints at the power of anthropology stating: “Anthropology’s power to galvanize public opinion peaked in the period between 1884-1900.”<sup>168</sup> Previous to the anthropological project that continued in a science vein, Maxwell tells us that the ‘display’ (which could be in photographs printed in various forms or even exhibition) of ‘natives’ was “...intended to advertise the colonies’ untapped wealth. During the scramble for colonial possessions in the 1880s they were used to justify exploitative practices in the existing colonies and the invasion of the few remaining unconquered territories in Africa, Asia and the Pacific.”<sup>169</sup> Maxwell then cites a change in the 1900s suggesting displays were then used to “inspire domestic audiences with noble sentiments about empire and to strengthen colonial settlers’ sense of national identity.”<sup>170</sup> Another observation understands further commercial use of imagery, both mass manufacture of related, consumable paraphernalia (such as postcards or lockets) and also the human wealth, technological and cultural, ‘accrued from colonial possessions’. Both this and the subsequent scientific considerations of colonial imagery and display were presented in spectacular form and allowed colonisers and their states of origin to feel superior.<sup>171</sup>

Maxwell can also be used to situate the convention of ‘recording vanishing races’. Although hailed in contemporary reviews as a unique and valuable project, the notion of recording vanishing races and their customs was not unique in itself. Maxwell states that in the 1880’s the practice was employed and often in a “romantic and sentimental style”.<sup>172</sup> This style and idea was simultaneous with other uses of photography that Maxwell cites; showing ‘untouched’ indigenous peoples to imply inability to progress, or as erotic symbols or even to “...disqualify indigenous peoples from the programmes of nation-making”.<sup>173</sup>

Maxwell explains a lot about photography’s varying relationships with society noting that a lot were ‘consumed by the public’ and acted as a view into the unexplored world usually only available to those who went there.<sup>174</sup> Maxwell also relates them to the great collecting passions of the Victorians which he relates to colonialisms success as it enabled possession of other things, places and people even without being in those places.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Henrika Kuklick. The Savage within: The Social History of British Anthropology 1885-1945. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) cited in Maxwell Colonial Photography & Exhibitions 38.

<sup>168</sup> Maxwell Colonial Photography & Exhibitions 38.

<sup>169</sup> Maxwell Colonial Photography & Exhibitions 1-2.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> Maxwell Colonial Photography & Exhibitions 2.

Bensusan 10.

<sup>172</sup> Maxwell Colonial Photography & Exhibitions 10.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

This is important not only to alert us to this proliferation of purchasable images of ‘natives’ occurring in parallel to the publication of Duggan-Cronin’s images (which were not published as postcards or smaller commodities but mainly in the volumes<sup>176</sup>), but also to understand that the existence of these images in the European and American regions was, in part, to establish and affirm ownership over other peoples. Indeed, people in these Western worlds could also collect and organise such paraphernalia according to their own strategies, although Maxwell suggests that these follow the same patterns of formal subjects such as science and anthropology.<sup>177</sup> Of course the images were considered “an accurate visual record”, as Maxwell puts it:

Truth in this instance was regarded as equivalent to empiricism. Throughout the eighteenth century empiricism had been increasingly advanced as a tool of artistic as well as scientific knowledge, but its privileged status in the middle of the nineteenth century was the result of its compatibility with the commercial and industrial interest of a ruling capitalist class who championed the philosophy of positivism.<sup>178</sup>

#### Society

Godby is useful in situating Duggan-Cronin in the context of politics and history in South Africa. He helpfully details the possible association between Duggan-Cronin’s work and the Land Act of 1913, and more importantly, the Native Administration Act of 1927 which is considered to have been a purposeful ‘retribalisation’ of African people. Godby exemplifies that in the same way that Duggan-Cronin’s images can be seen on different planes, so too could these policies. Godby explains Native Reserves can be seen as “pristine wildernesses protected for the exclusive use of the country’s African population” or as “vast rural slums serving as reservoirs of cheap migrant labour for South Africa’s diamond and gold mines...”<sup>179</sup> These policies, along with other references to the time, reflect the concerns around the country’s diversity and the questions around land ownership and law. Generally it was perceived that ‘natives’ needed to be kept separate from the colonisers and new settlements, except for purpose of labour, particularly in the mines. Different lifestyles were to remain separate except that ‘natives’ were permitted, and sometimes encouraged, to become ‘civilised’ where possible. In fact, by this time it was quite normal to encounter ‘civilised natives’ whom other photographers and anthropologists were

<sup>176</sup> Note that some of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs of Swaziland are today reproduced as postcards in Swaziland.

<sup>177</sup> Maxwell *Colonial Photography & Exhibitions* 10.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> L Marquard 1952 cited in Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 57.

beginning to record, but ‘primitive natives’ still existed; those who were still mostly different enough to be ‘captured’ in their ‘primitive’ states, even if alterations to their appearance were required.

### The question of genre in Duggan-Cronin’s work

I return to the important debate that has been taken on in parallel with this project – that of ‘genre’. As already mentioned in the introduction, the idea of ‘genre’ is another disciplinary tactic of Western discourse, but in the absence of a suitable alternative, since I have little concept of an alternative, and this entire study is situated in these realms, and the evident problems are in association with this, it seems appropriate to continue these patterns but with the recognition that it has never been, and will never be a clear-cut and obvious form of organisation for any content.

### Understood as anthropology

I would argue that part of the examination here has to understand the genre of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs as being alternatively allocated according to different contexts, even if these categories do not exist in tangible reality. From the context of my own experiences and background, I understand Duggan-Cronin’s collection to be typical of anthropological images, although not anthropometric. This perception comes from being an ‘other’, recognising these images to be of people different to myself and this is reinforced, or indeed founded, by the fact that each volume (where I first encountered the images) has an introduction written by a contemporary, reputable anthropologist (many of whom would be interesting to follow up in their practice compared to their relationship to Duggan-Cronin). Dorothea Bleek, G.P. Lestrade, Werner Eiselen, Monica Wilson, N. J. Van Warmelo, D. McK. Malcolm, Hilda Beemer, Henri-Philippe Junod, and W.D. Hammond-Tooke all contributed to the volumes and a bibliography by Isaac Schapera was also published. This fact of the volumes existence situates them as contemporarily having been recognised as anthropological.<sup>180</sup> As one can see from looking through the volumes, there is a very methodical collection method as seems appropriate to the associated rhetoric of ‘record’. Each section, relating to a ‘tribe’, usually includes a selection of landscape shots, shots of the respective dwellings, chiefs, women, men, any ceremonial people and activities, musical activities, water collection, basket making and other, usually gendered activities, all of which were commonly recognised (stemming from anthropological discourse), as ‘cultural’ themes. However, it must be noted that Godby has noticed significant differences between the

<sup>180</sup> A search on JSTOR reveals the titles *Man*, *Geography*, *The Geographical Journal*, *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, *American Anthropologist* and *Anthropos*.

preliminary albums, housed at the McGregor Museum, and the published versions. Godby has used these differences to demonstrate contemporary ideologies and constructions, especially relating to migrant labour and state politics.<sup>181</sup>

#### Understood as art

The photographs might also have been considered as ‘art’ at the time since, as Hart and Putter have referenced, they were also displayed in the fashionable ‘salon style’.<sup>182</sup> They were displayed in this way at Duggan-Cronin’s house during his lifetime and later moved to ‘the Lodge’ for permanent exhibition. Photographs of the displays of images in print show them displayed in rows filling whole walls, layered on top of each other as well as side-to-side. All of the photographs I have seen of these displays seem only to show images of indigenous peoples and life, not photographs of Europe or architecture. Visitors to these displays included “King George VI, Queen Elizabeth and the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret (1947); Crown Princess Frederica of Greece (1943); Dr and Mrs. DF Malan (1949); Noel Coward (1944); Professor l’Abbe Breuil (1942); Chief Tshekedi Khama (1944) and Chief Lotlamoeng Montshiwa of the Barolong (1945).”<sup>183</sup> Presumably a foray into the reception of such displays and visitations would result in an understanding of them as occasions of great importance in terms of personal status and reputation within society, pertaining to the norms at the time.

As photographs, they display the conventional methods of construction, as I previously cited Putter noting, Duggan-Cronin seems to use “simple visual tricks and conventions.”<sup>184</sup> Most images are known to follow the genres of portraits, or group portraits, and those tribes’ respective landscapes. The concept of thirds is utilised in many images and for the portraits usually a semi-side view, or full frontal, often torso only, but also full length. To our eyes today, nothing unusual or particularly exploratory is demonstrated in the photographs, unlike in the work of photographers such as Constance Stuart Larabee, a contemporary of Duggan-Cronin, where the attention to the ‘art’ of photography is very apparent and well referenced.<sup>185</sup> Godby recognises Duggan-Cronin’s work to be situated in common classical styles and Douglas references the fact Duggan-Cronin made a ‘Grand Tour’ of Europe, as many amateur and professional artists are cited to have taken.<sup>186</sup> Duggan-Cronin’s style does not change much between the *Bushmen* or

<sup>181</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)”

<sup>182</sup> Hart *Life Less Ordinary* 37.

<sup>183</sup> Hart *Life Less Ordinary* 36-37.

<sup>184</sup> Unknown author cited by Putter, personal communication.

<sup>185</sup> Darren Newbury. *Defiant Images: Photography and Apartheid South Africa*. (Pretoria: Unisa Press, c2009) 18-42.

<sup>186</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 63.

Douglas *Life Less Ordinary* 8.

within the *Bantu* volumes, despite the many years between. Whilst most photographs are taken outside, there is one photograph published in the volumes that was taken inside a hut. I have highlighted these observations since his work has been presented as being reflective, sympathetic and understanding of the societies within which he was working.<sup>187</sup> To my mind, a real understanding would have resulted in very particular styles according to what was learnt. Groups presented as ‘different’ would surely encourage ‘different’ modes of framing, but it could also be argued that that is a ‘modern’ idea. In addition, such an idea might contradict the scientific, record projects of the time – in order for information to be useful and comparative, especially in anthropology, there must be fixed parameters of control, which was evidently a concern for some reviewers.

#### Could it be understood as documentary?

Another genre I would like to suggest is not conventionally applied to this particular collection, is the genre of documentary photography. At first this seemed an obvious transition to make since it seemed to fit every definition of ‘documentary’ I came across. In placing these photographs into that frame, it could potentially remove the difficult colonial frame, allowing a fresh appraisal situated in a larger, ongoing discussion, relevant to today, in a more tangible manner. It could even allow dialogues, such as that set up by the exhibition *Shared Legacies*, to be engaging rather than antagonistic.

The diversity of dates assigned to the emergence of documentary already alerts us to its versatile and elusive nature, as Hayes confirms: “If we look at the genesis of documentary as a genre, there were complex discourses around it from the start. Lugon describes the naming of the genre from the late 1920s as the coming of a ‘multiple notion’. Very diverse works qualified.”<sup>188</sup> Garb, curator of *Figures & Fictions* suggests that in South Africa the emergence of the magazine *DRUM* signifies its beginnings in the 1950s, but acknowledges its presence in the 1940s.<sup>189</sup> It is also important to note the apparent blurring here between documentary and photojournalism, two genres that also have an interactive relationship. Today the division is, at least by documentary photographers, preferred to be considered more distinct. It is notable that many of Duggan-Cronin’s later contemporaries were associated with these two genres but his work was not then acknowledged as such, although by his death it could be argued that there was considerable overlap with the genres. In my view this seems strange since the idea of ‘record’ and ‘documenting’ seemed so crucial to his project and also appears to be the founding premise of the documentary genre. Jean-Francois

<sup>187</sup> Wilman 7.

<sup>188</sup> Hayes. “Power, Secrecy, Proximity” 161.

<sup>189</sup> Garb 35.

Chevrier explains that “The idea of a documentary photography appeared and developed in a culture that valued facts and documents and by relation art to knowledge and by considering art itself as a subject of study.”<sup>190</sup> Chevrier also reminds us that the context of photography’s emergence was in a different context to how we receive it today, which is not only relevant to its documentary use but also other uses of photography:

Today, we are *so* used to placing photography in a history of *mass media* that favours information and entertainment, that we tend to forget that its first documentary function emerged in different knowledge and learning contexts: the establishment of fine arts and scientific investigation (particularly archaeological or geological investigation).<sup>191</sup>

One of my reasons for re-labelling Duggan-Cronin’s work as documentary was because it does appear to fit all definitions of documentary, both in the sense of what it wants itself to be (objective, impersonal and factual) and what it really is (subjective, versatile and malleable).

Hans Scholten suggests that documentary “starts with the intention of using documentary evidence to represent the world, with the aim of investigating and propagating opinions within a predetermined framework, and then presenting this as a rounded-off story.” Scholten also recognises that “Just like the work of journalists and writers, the work of documentary-makers is subjective. The opinions and interpretations that they express about social situations are personal and essentially liable to manipulation, intentional or otherwise” even though he also recognises that most definitions of documentary “have in common [is] the very general requirement to respect the subject matter, the desire to reveal ‘things the way they are’, to provide reliable, authentic information about them, avoiding any embellishment that might alter the integrity of reality.”<sup>192</sup> This all sounds very familiar to me and the debates Scholten references as divergences seem to correlate with the now familiar contestation of anthropological photographs: “how a description may adhere to reality, to which subjects are worth recording, and how to use the gathered material.”<sup>193</sup> Conveniently, Scholten ends: “Nevertheless, three main options are clear: the encyclopaedic/educational trend, the heritage/conservation line and the social/political approach. To which can be added aesthetic considerations affecting all three...”<sup>194</sup> Scholten then traverses a new avenue of debate:

<sup>190</sup> Jean-François Chevrier. “Documentary, Document, Testimony...” “Documentary Now” Contemporary strategies in photography, film and the visual arts. Reflect #04. (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005) 48.

<sup>191</sup> Chevrier 49.

<sup>192</sup> Hans Scholten. “Hans Scholten.” “Documentary Now” 61-5.

<sup>193</sup> Scholten 65.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*

Does the ‘true documentary’ not consist of an accumulation of evidence that is defined entirely by its subject matter, without necessitating the slightest work or signature from the maker? Is it not, by definition, a joint creation? Must the images suffice as such or should their meaning be shaped by editorial guidance and backing text, serving to alter and subordinate them?”<sup>195</sup>

Duggan-Cronin signed many of his photographs and documentary photographers and artists always attach their authorship with significance. Unlike the names of subjects within photographs which are, in cases such as this, rarely recorded, this authorship situation has not yet been critiqued appropriately.

By Garb’s understanding the constructive tendencies of documentary are in fact only just being realised in South Africa:

With its specific ethical and political valences as the privileged oppositional genre to apartheid, documentary, arguably, still hangs over the contemporary as the truth-telling genre *par excellence*. But its own formal languages are now also being opened to question so that the reality that it constructed is beginning, itself, to be understood as partial, interested and particular.<sup>196</sup>

A key understanding (which also suggests anthropological photography *is* documentary) is made explicit by Tom Holert: “A quick glance at the history of ‘the documentary’ reveals that it has always been a medium suitable for the work of the police, the ethnographer, the secret service or propaganda. It is a component of socio-technological dispositives and as such it contributes to the production of knowledge and power.”<sup>197</sup>

One of the biggest differences between Duggan-Cronin’s project and documentary today is exemplified by this observation by Roy Villevoye and Jan Dietvorst: “Another characteristic of the documentary is the fact that the genre as a form of journalism appears to deal exclusively with problems and negative scenarios. In many documentaries there’s an artificial and unjust suggestion that the situation is straight forward and that problems can be solved. These are reports that imply

<sup>195</sup> Scholten 67.

<sup>196</sup> Garb 12.

<sup>197</sup> Tom Holert. “The Apparition of the Documentary.” “Documentary Now” 153.

social activism.”<sup>198</sup> Duggan-Cronin was allegedly only concerned with recording what was there, and not preserving its continuation or ‘solving’ anything although there was an associated ‘loss’ being lamented. Indeed, a normal trajectory of interpretation understands that his presence rather influenced and changed his surroundings, potentially for the worse. My confusion about the use of ‘genres’ is exacerbated through finding reference to Allan Sekula’s work:

Allan Sekula, for example, is conducting a long-running project about economic structures and trading routes, showing the consequences of economic globalisation. With considerable dedication and patience he photographs the effect of this globalisation on the lives of people in all sorts of locations. He combines his photographs with extensive, self-penned texts, that explain, analyse and criticise the situations he encounters.”<sup>199</sup>

Is this not, then, anthropology? Duggan-Cronin’s work also included extensive texts that explain, analyse and criticise. I previously understood the idea of documentary and anthropological photography to be separated according to respectability (the former considered to be more respectable than the latter), but as the previous discussion illustrates, this distinction now seems superfluous.

The most applicable reading and employ of documentary photography (in this case specifically film) that I found was by Marjoleine Boonstra, who states:

Documentary for me means a story where there’s a clear concept, where image, sound and narrative line represent different layers and emotions. It is a construction in which you can discover things, create a new reality. With a line of approach that condenses and orders things in such a way that the film’s intention becomes clear. The poetry of reality.<sup>200</sup>

This offers clarification to previous observations about the ‘respectability’ and manageability of the ‘authors’ project, and returns to the obsession of ‘ordering’. It could be that anthropological photographs simply are documentary but there is, somewhere, a difference that tends to be asserted in order to make anthropology ‘better’. Since Duggan-Cronin was not considered documentary, it could be assumed that he himself was never presuming to be showing any kind of truth or reality, except that anthropology makes the same impossible claims.

<sup>198</sup> Roy Villevoe & Jan Dietvorst. “Roy Villevoe & Jan Dietvorst.” *“Documentary Now”* 148.

<sup>199</sup> Maartje van den Heuvel. “‘Mirror of visual culture’ Discussing Documentary.” *“Documentary Now”* 112.

<sup>200</sup> Marjoleine Boonstra. “Marjoleine Boonstra.” *“Documentary Now”* 119.

It may seem of little value to have introduced a genre that has already been separated from the work in hand, but research of documentary has been helpful in clarifying some of the processes and opinions at work, both concerning transitions to art, photography in general and the intentions of ‘names’ and ‘genres’, as well as the ways these ‘genres’ and ‘names’ are employed for particular ends and reasons.

### Overlapping genres

There are further reasons for the inclusion of a discussion on documentary: as has been established, not accidentally, there is a blurring of the boundary between anthropological and documentary photography. This is an important observation since documentary, at least recently, is often considered the more ‘politically correct’ activity, and yet it can be held accountable for similar ‘violations’ to that of anthropological photography. This dimension is further complicated by the discussion that is so pertinent to this study, that there is also a tricky negotiation between ‘art’ and ‘documentary’ in a similar way to ‘art’ and ‘anthropology’ with regards to photographs. In the foreword to the *Figures & Fictions* catalogue, Martin Barnes wonders at the possible transition:

...at stake is the threshold between documentary photography and fine art practice. If documentary could be understood as an engagement with the particular, then perhaps fine art practice stands for the universal. This is a pivotal position that much photography on the international stage finds itself addressing presently; but in South Africa the polarities seem greater or of more contrast.<sup>201</sup>

This is, as many are, an inconclusive debate and Denis Adams has suggested almost that documentary photography has had to move to ‘art’ because its previous ‘platforms’ for dispersal have been exhausted.<sup>202</sup> Adams’ concern is whether “this ‘museumification’ of documentary and its presentation as art not making documentary harmless and depriving it of its power to inform and create opinions?”<sup>203</sup> Martha Rosler, in discussing certain types of documentary photography, is concerned that in any case some images “become swallowed up into what you could term the general visual culture” and then “made harmless by the system.”<sup>204</sup> In documentary there has also always been a debate around aestheticising trauma: “Any artist incorporating documentary

<sup>201</sup> Martin Barnes. “Foreword” *Garb*. 9.

<sup>202</sup> Denis Adams. “Preface.” “Documentary Now” 39.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> Martha Rosler cited in Ine Gevers. “Images that Demand Consummation: Postdocumentary photography, art and ethics.” “Documentary Now” 95.

practices (and effects) was always reproached for aestheticising, subjectifying and depoliticizing the documentary image. From that perspective, the ‘artification’ of the documentary entails something corruptive.”<sup>205</sup> Holert then asks the pertinent questions: “But perhaps we can better ask ourselves why the interest in and readiness to embed ‘the documentary’ in present-day art practice is so great – and whether that interest is not in fact linked to specific qualities and promises of the documentary image.”<sup>206</sup>

If documentary is causing this kind of ‘trivialisation’ then I should also be concerned that this is the operation acting on Duggan-Cronin’s work, whether or not I consider it documentary. If Duggan-Cronin’s work is being (re)universalised I should be wary of mirroring old issues of image perpetration and canonisation. Another interesting observation on the translation of documentary photography into museums observes that: “In the museum environment in particular, a sort of laboratory has been created in which the documentary image is analysed, commented upon and deployed in new ways.”<sup>207</sup> This is the kind of process I have been following too. *Then & Now* explores in part how South African photography in particular might have been encouraged to take this route from serious news and social awareness, partly in contrast to the over political documentary photography that had to exist during apartheid. Post-apartheid, the photographers needed new avenues.<sup>208</sup> One pressure acting on this apparent transition is of course financial as Hayes *et al* discuss, this changes the parameters for the creator and audiences.<sup>209</sup>

There is great concern around the apparently invisible boundary now positioned between art and documentary. In some ways it is seen that in order to transport serious documentary issues into art spaces, this denies the ‘spectrums’ often destitute situation as something of importance to the ‘spectator’, and yet there is also concern that documentary photography will not be taken seriously unless it is presented in the art realm, see discussions by Gierstberg.<sup>210</sup>

The debate around the shift to Africa being represented by Africans further highlights the multiplicity of responses that can be had on the same subject, even by people essentially on ‘the same side’ or in the same ‘group’ having different views. Enscorced in this debate is the fine line between documentary and or photojournalism, and ‘art’. The implication here is partly that friction

<sup>205</sup> Holert 157.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> van den Heuvel 110.

<sup>208</sup> Ed. Paul Weinberg. *Then & Now: Eight South African Photographers*. (Johannesburg: Highveld Press, 2007)

<sup>209</sup> Santu Mofokeng, interviewed by Patricia Hayes, Farzanah Badsha and Mdu Xakaza, Johannesburg, 24 July 2005 cited in Hayes “Power, Secrecy, Proximity” 162.

<sup>210</sup> Frits Gierstberg. “From Realism to *Reality*? Documentary photography in the age of ‘post-media’.” *Documentary Now* 139.

and problems arose where ‘insiders’ exposed ‘inside knowledge’ to the ‘public’, and further, presented it in an ‘art’ sphere.<sup>211</sup>

Some scholars have attempted to date a transition stage of documentary into art. Hayes and Frits Gierstberg hint at it being around the 1990s but our previous observations might well argue that photography and art have rarely been separated.<sup>212</sup> Although photography has always had a relationship with art it is also referenced as struggling to be accepted as such. Goodnow, Jack Lohman and Jatti Bredekamp suggest that in the exhibition spaces of today, it has been difficult to persuade audiences that photography *is* art: “Even the exhibitions based on photographs no longer seem strange, although “we’re still having to convince the public that photography can be shown within the fine arts context; lots of people think it’s not really art””<sup>213</sup>

### Anthropology and ‘the visual’

Another part of the fuzz is found in the extensive discussions around anthropology’s own relationship with visual ‘data’. This too has never sat comfortably, partly recognising the versatility of visual media and hence not fitting into the formal, fixed ideals of anthropology’s methods, but also seduced by the clear importance of visual media in many societies, with anthropology never quite satisfying its insatiable curiosity in this vein.<sup>214</sup> Whilst photography had a role in anthropology for some time, Christopher Pinney suggests a decline in its use occurred around the 1930s.<sup>215</sup> David MacDougall introduces his chapter in *Rethinking Visual Anthropology* with the assertion: “Anthropology has had no lack of interest in the visual; its problem has always been what to do with it”, and later suggests anthropologists “have never known quite what to do with the visual” citing the ‘vast archives’ of unseen and unused material.<sup>216</sup> “To anthropology the visual often seems uncommunicative and yet somehow insatiable. Like the tar-baby, it never says anything, but there is always something more to be said about *it*. Words, on the other hand, have little more to say once you have written them.”<sup>217</sup> MacDougall discusses the strange invisibility of the subjects under discussion and the ways attempts were made to overcome this by bringing people to be displayed in museums, lectures and exhibitions as well as in entertainment venues bizarrely tying together entertainment and science, other efforts did use photographs and films and

<sup>211</sup> Hayes “Power, Secrecy, Proximity” 154.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

Gierstberg 127.

<sup>213</sup> Katherine J Goodnow, Jack Lohman & Jatti Bredekamp. *Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney*. (Paris: Unesco, 2006) 178.

<sup>214</sup> Ed. Banks & Morphy 9.

<sup>215</sup> Christopher Pinney 1992 cited in David MacDougall. “The Visual in Anthropology.” Ed. Banks & Morphy 281.

<sup>216</sup> MacDougall 283.

Corbey 1993, Davis 1993, Hisley 1991, Pignat 1992, Street 1992 cited in MacDougall 276.

<sup>217</sup> MacDougall 283.

yet as MacDougall recognises, none of these attempts seem to be entirely satisfactory: "...as anthropologists had discovered earlier, the body in question, removed from its usual surroundings, was often singularly uncommunicative about culture" but photography then of course opened up a new opportunity: "Photographs and artefacts helped fill this gap and took some of the pressure off the living person, who could not be assumed to exist at the fieldwork site."<sup>218</sup> This was still not enough: "...the problem remained that there was something disquieting about visual images. They appeared to show everything, and yet, like the physical body, remained annoyingly mute" and yet they were still returned to: "Visible objects, having exerted great fascination as the products and indicators of culture, but failing as expositors of it, began to acquire a new function (in museums) as metaphors for anthropology. And as metaphor, the visual flourished."<sup>219</sup>

This is clearly not just limited to photographs here; visual also means literal people and material objects collected by many anthropologists and other travellers. Imagery was employed to signify 'others', 'closeness to nature' and other such ideas about 'natives', ensuring simplistic, direct readings made certain that amateur audiences could keep up. MacDougall goes on to imply that 'popular culture' seems to have interfered with the anthropologists' intent, creating further 'images' that perhaps degraded their own images (perhaps a similar concern to some of the documentary photographers previously mentioned).<sup>220</sup> Not only this, but also the problem of 'misinterpretation' became apparent due to the movement of photographs and their important relationship to text or captions; "An uncaptioned photograph was full of undirected potential."<sup>221</sup> MacDougall acknowledges the anxiety attached to photographs that could so easily slip out of 'professional control', concerns expressed in earlier decades and today.<sup>222</sup>

This phenomenon can be observed in action in the many reviews from Duggan-Cronin's time and in his work itself. Interestingly, recent observations have suggested it is precisely this kind of mutability that made visual media a valuable one: "For Mead the value of [documentary] film lay in part in the fact that it was infinitely re-analysable by others. Despite its selectivity and biases it could not but reveal more than it concealed of the events that it recorded: 'Photographs taken by one observer can be subjected to continual re-analysis by others'"<sup>223</sup>

<sup>218</sup> MacDougall 277.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>220</sup> MacDougall 279.

<sup>221</sup> MacDougall 289-90.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>223</sup> Mead in Scherer 1990 cited in Ed. Banks & Morphy 10.

Another strong understanding of visual anthropology was that it would never substitute text.<sup>224</sup> Further confusion is introduced by the word ‘art’ and this too has been debated variously with suggestions that “art [was] considered of secondary importance”.<sup>225</sup> “The marginalisation” of art in anthropology is lamented by Coote and Shelton who consider art a “prime medium for beginning the intellectual exploration of other societies. For this (if for no other) reason, art should be at the forefront of anthropological studies, rather than (as was so often the case in the past), relegated to the final chapter tacked on to introductory books and monographs.”<sup>226</sup> In later debate, the same book suggests reasons for its ‘marginalisation’ citing Gell

The failure of anthropologists to develop a true anthropology of art, he argues, is a result of too great a respect for, indeed a ‘religious’ attitude to, art....As art-lovers we may wish to submit ourselves to the experiences of art, but as anthropologist we must take an objective stance. We can only begin to study how it works by not ourselves succumbing to it.<sup>227</sup>

Today there are still attempts to realign the practices of anthropology and art, both in terms of art as a subject of discussion for anthropology, as the volume *Contemporary Art and Anthropology* outlines, and in terms of comparisons between art and anthropologies methods and practices of representing ‘others’.<sup>228</sup> This study is caught in the paradox:

Visual anthropology is the exploration of the visual in the process of cultural and social reproduction. On the one hand this involves the dematerialisation of artefacts by recasting them as concepts embedded in systems of knowledge and action. It also involves the reverse: the fixing, through film and photography, of the ongoing flow of everyday action in a more concrete form. Thus visual anthropology explores whether in some senses it is possible to capture in such a way the position of the informed actor socialised into observable behaviour patterns, and sharing the presuppositions of the participants.<sup>229</sup>

It could be argued that recent scholarly discourse is aiming precisely for a new interpretation of the visual, but of course it must first be disengaged from the realm of ‘anthropology’, or indeed, any other ‘realm’, and be a distinct kind of knowledge.

<sup>224</sup> MacDougall 292.

<sup>225</sup> Coote & Shelton 3.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>227</sup> Coote & Shelton 3-4.

<sup>228</sup> Ard Schneider & Christopher Wright. *Contemporary Art and Anthropology*. (Oxford: Berg, 2006) 1.

<sup>229</sup> Ed. Banks & Morphy 17.

If anthropology's relationship with images, then, is so problematic, where can I situate Duggan-Cronin's work? The above observations might in part explain why so little material equivalent to Duggan-Cronin's is available, if photography was not a method other anthropologists were using. It could also be that the name of 'anthropology' was an extravagant excuse for printing pictures that would otherwise not be considered important. The now apparent shift to 'art' can be seen as part of a subconscious effort to resolve this difficulty.

#### General boundary blurring

As discussed above, the boundaries between all the 'clear cut' 'taxonomies' are bizarrely blurred given the claims made upon each, and this is not the first time such a problem has been struggled with. In the case of the exhibition *Figures & Fictions*, Garb worries that "...the individuating imperatives of portraiture – which thematises the identity of the sitter as well as the intentionality of the artist – have been pitted against the generalising claims of taxonomies and types, to which much photography of the figure is harnessed." Garb accepts the potential blurring but allows the blurring precisely because of the potentiality of alternative readings:

Of course these are not watertight categories and we have repeatedly seen how their boundaries blur and collapse, so that the particular invades the generic, and the ostensibly private partakes of the social. But, despite these overlaps, figuration is made manifest through institutions and genealogies, which can be historically mapped and traced. And the uses to which figures are put - the fictions that inform and surround them - differ depending on the filters through which they are viewed.<sup>230</sup>

In scholarly debate photography has gone through a number of distinct transitions as well as a number of much less distinct transitions which may not be transitions at all. Although scholarly discourses have filtered through and been influenced by this, in the 'general public' photography has now gone through less distinct transitions, these primarily being in technologies, availability and qualities. The understanding, acceptance and process of photography could be argued to be relatively constant in the mind of each contemporary 'general public' with some seeing it as media, some as art, and some as personal. The transitions of the same photographs, through these many variations are probably hardly noticed, let alone commented on.

<sup>230</sup> Garb 64.

### Historical boundary blurring

The impossibility and importance of labels is nothing new. Tied up with its changing uses, photography has been variously understood. Emerging as a technological science in a time of enlightenment when art and science were more connected and both part of an elitist project, photography was still recognised as an art as can be demonstrated in Bensusan's text.<sup>231</sup> Bensusan's history of photography in South Africa contains many references to the reverence permitted to the 'artists' and also the variation in excellence that was observed and intrinsic association with science.<sup>232</sup> "Barnard opened his ... and showed the public what art in photography really meant and what could be effected by it. He possessed the subtleties of the artist's nature and attained a high degree of excellence with his scientific skill."<sup>233</sup>

The forces of commercialisation as well as imperialism have variously affected the commercial photographer, while the scientists were concerned about rational and objective behaviour and eventually forensics, surveillance and policing as Tagg has explored.<sup>234</sup> Maxwell suggests that tourist photography at least permitted emotion which potentially offered more opportunity for communication, although also acknowledging the methods for safeguarding tourists from immersion with the 'savages'.<sup>235</sup>

### Shifts in photography's archive

Part of this debate of shifts and realms is situated in the archives. Brian Wallis discusses an institutional shift after a photography boom in the 1970s:

...information once stored in the form of photographs and photographically illustrated books has been wrenched from its previous organizational and institutional contexts and reclassified according to its medium. As critic Rosalind Krauss has noted, the effect of this change has been "to dismantle the photographic archive – the set of practices, institutions,

<sup>231</sup> Bensusan 14.

<sup>232</sup> *Cape Frontier Times* 1<sup>st</sup> December 1846 & *Grahamstown journal* of 28<sup>th</sup> November 1846 & G Russell History of Old Durban 120 cited in Bensusan 10.

<sup>233</sup> Bensusan 14.

<sup>234</sup> Maxwell *Colonial Photography & Exhibitions* 10.

John Tagg. *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. (Hampshire & London: Macmillan, 1988)

<sup>235</sup> Maxwell *Colonial Photography & Exhibitions* 10.

and relationships to which nineteenth-century photography belonged – and to reassemble it within the categories previously constituted by art and its history.<sup>236</sup>

This shift is not only observed directly with Duggan-Cronin's work in the public, but also in its own archive it has been re-labelled part of the 'photography' collection rather than the 'ethnographic' collection of its previous denomination.<sup>237</sup> Wallis expands on the trend:

Once-anonymous camera operators have been given names and accorded the status of artists. And works that formerly circulated in file cabinets, desk drawers, family albums, and local archives have now been displaced to the autonomous, unifying context of the art museum. If nothing else, this process proves that these putatively objective records are anything but, and that the notion of an autonomous image is a fiction. Moreover, this process also suggests that the classificatory systems of nineteenth-century objectivity may have a great idea to do with the formation of modernist versions of knowledge. This dual shift in seeing suggests that all knowledge is relative, historically situated, subjectively formed and catalogued, and bound to interest that colour its meanings. But what is signalled by this shift in meaning? How has this reorientation of photographic knowledge actually produced new meanings and new insights? What is the relationship between changing attitudes toward race and simultaneous transformations in museum collection practices?<sup>238</sup>

It is important to remember that I am dealing consistently with constructs; Irit Rogoff's demonstrates the predicament explaining how connections are now so vast according to our vast visual landscape, narratives are formed through experience and unconscious and images cannot be restrained in neat discrete disciplinary films as "neither the eye nor the psyche operates along or recognizes such divisions".<sup>239</sup>

<sup>236</sup> Rosalind Krauss. "Photography's Discursive Spaces," *Art Journal* 42 (1982) 311-19 cited in Brian Wallis. "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes." *American Art* 9.2 (1995) 39.

<sup>237</sup> Hart *African Historical Photographic Archives*.

<sup>238</sup> Wallis 40.

<sup>239</sup> Ed. Liz Wells. *The Photography Reader*. (London: Routledge, 2003) 7.

### CHAPTER 3 | IN THE PUBLIC EYE TODAY

---

“Photographs are never ‘evidence’ of history; they are themselves historical.” The photograph, like the past, is unable to speak for itself, but is instead interpreted and historicised in particular ways. Yet, overlaid as they are with interpretation, photographs do have a great influence on our historical perception and consciousness, particularly when the presence of the photographer, and the possible mediation of the photographer and/or the photographed, is denied.”<sup>240</sup>

Conventionally, in this case of historical photographs and in the case of Duggan-Cronin’s particularly, one might begin by looking not only at the photographs but the entire archive at the McGregor Museum. Duggan-Cronin left his negatives, prints, note books, newspaper clippings and his collection of material artefacts to the McGregor Museum.<sup>241</sup> This archive itself comprises mostly of contemporary material relating to Duggan-Cronin in his own time. However, there have been many engagements with this archive that have begun to comprise a new, more contemporarily relevant archive. There are many ways of interpreting archives, these interpretations themselves could be seen to provide another plethora of archive material. A recent move to expand the viewing scope of what constitutes ‘archive’ has led to an interesting redress which overlaps with other moves to expand the spaces of ‘knowledge’.

There is brief and generalised canon that exists online and includes the normalised biographic details of Duggan-Cronin himself and the expression that his best known photographs were taken in a process of ‘recording the vanishing races’. Beyond the historical archive I have engaged with thus far, in the age of internet one can find an interesting range of engagements with photographs taken by Duggan-Cronin. If one puts ‘Duggan-Cronin’ into a ‘Google images’ search and follows the links through, one starts to get a glimpse of these different uses of the photographs. Articles and websites that include photographs surface, like Godby’s article, Kimberley tourism websites and other tourism websites (though these rarely reference the photographs’ origins or details), online books, the art gallery website for Johans Borman, pictures as included in books such as *Voices of the San: Living in Southern Africa Today*, the website *Wellcome Collection: A Free Destination for the Incurably Curious* where some of the images are presented as ‘curious’ artefacts, *Bauman Rare Books* an online book store presents leather bound copies of the volumes grandly referencing them as “An achievement likened to the groundbreaking work of Curtis in America, Duggan-Cronin’s

<sup>240</sup> Harris [The Colonising Camera](#) 24 including Tagg.

<sup>241</sup> [McGregor Museum](#).

*Bantu Tribes of South Africa*’ and the shop *Quagga for Arts, Artefacts and Books: Rare books and Art* also offers them as invaluable artefacts. The online *Gallery Ezakwantu* presents many of Duggan-Cronin’s images in a variety of manners, both as ‘African Art’ for sale and within ‘information’ pages, as illustrations. Many of the images lead to references of the *Sacred Legacies* exhibition which means trails that end up on the American Embassy website and also *Scan Shop*, as well as on newspaper websites. Of course, the McGregor Museum website also includes his images. They also appear in the Swaziland Digital Archives which includes photographs of Swaziland from various sources, the website *ARTTHROB* mainly includes them in reference to exhibitions, *Kgabo: Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela: Heritage Precincts* includes them as part of their website which presents a history and knowledge of the *Lekgabo* and there are a number of blogs which include them with little or no text; *Story by Story: Composer, Music and Art related Posts* includes them in relation to DNA results showing the authors Shangaan roots, in *Coolness Under Fire* designer Michael Kale presents them as part of the ‘Inspiration from the Files’, *Stately Mansions Did Decree* includes them in a collection of images entitled “African Hair Combs” and the remainder of the site shows other themed collections of images such as “African Currency” or “Japanese school uniforms” or “Peter Voulkos”. Depending on where and how one searches, one can find a number of engagements, of course few of which have accessed or intended to confront with more of the archive than the visual images, probably as originally found online. There is also a more formal, public emergence that exists in physical forms, particularly in art spaces, as will be discussed below. An attempted reading of these multiple interpretations could go some way to understanding not only the original archive, but also how interpretations are flexible and varied and can relate to the archive, or subject, in multiple ways.

There are two important aspects of context to maintain throughout the remainder of this study. Both have already been referenced in earlier sections to some extent, but they are of particular importance now since they refer to our contemporary perspective. One aspect that has been highlighted in recent times is the knowledge cited by both Godby and Hart, that Duggan-Cronin posed and constructed the photographs he shot.<sup>242</sup> He did this not only through positioning the individuals but also by dressing them in attire he deemed suitable. Duggan-Cronin carried stock of baskets, clothing and other props, with him on his travels. The other aspect is concerned with a recent unease about the acquisition of such photographs. In a post-colonial, post-apartheid context there is great discomfort in acknowledging that photographs such as these were taken in

<sup>242</sup>Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” Hart [Life Less Ordinary](#)

oppressive circumstances. Neither of these situations were deemed problematic during Duggan-Cronin's time.

### Contemporary uses of Duggan-Cronin's photographs

Having discussed the background, now it is possible to discuss the expanded archive. As I have proposed, the current conventional archive is housed at the Duggan-Cronin galleries at the McGregor Museum in Kimberly. Some images are on display in the galleries, other material is stored away according to normal archive practice.<sup>243</sup> The two volumes of work: *The Bushman Tribes of Southern Africa* and *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* are still in circulation but, as already noted, they are not often available to the public.<sup>244</sup> The expansion of this archive exists in the recent re-emergence of these images. Although only really speculative, it seems that post-1938 when the permanent collection was instated at the McGregor Museum, the public display of Duggan-Cronin's work went quiet.<sup>245</sup> There are references to a few further displays, but certainly after Duggan-Cronin's death in 1954 there are no further references to the photographs on display. Although one can speculate that, as Godby suggests, the nature of anthropology was changing and Duggan-Cronin's project did not fit into the new methodologies, it is difficult to affirm this projection, especially since any that pre-dated the internet are much harder to find. The formal records do, however, affirm this, as does as much informal information as can be gleaned.<sup>246</sup> What is noticeable is that at least in 2007 and onwards there is a definite re-emergence of the images, particularly in public art exhibitions. Below is a list of the recent re-emergences of the photographs:

- 1997 | Johannesburg Biennale | The Black Photo Album/Look at Me | Santu Mofokeng
- 1999 | South African National Gallery; Bamako Biennale, Mali | African Contrasts in  
Lines of Sight: Perspectives on South African Photography | Michael Godby
- 2000 | University of Cape Town Department of African Languages | General Display
- 2001 | Workers Library and Museum | Compound to Kraal: Salvaging and Revisiting the  
Duggan-Cronin Collection | Santu Mofokeng & Thierry Secretan
- 2007 | University of Cape Town African Studies Library | General Display
- 2005/7 | Castle of Good Hope Gallery, Cape Town; McGregor Museum, Kimberley &

<sup>243</sup> Achille Mbembe. "The Power of the Archive and its Limits" Ed. Hamilton *et al.*

<sup>244</sup> "Images that capture a bygone tranquillity – Alfred Duggan-Cronin"

<sup>245</sup> [McGregor Museum](#).

<sup>246</sup> Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 79.

- MuseumAfrica, Johannesburg | Thandabantu: a photographic journey through southern Africa 1919-1939
- 2009 | CAS Gallery; McGregor Museum; Albany Museum | Shared Legacies | Siona O'Connell & Dale Washkansky
- 2009 | Djanogly Art Gallery, Nottingham, UK & Wales | Life Less Ordinary: Performance and Display in South African Art | Anna Douglas
- 2010 | Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954): The Construction of an Ambiguous Idyll (written work) | Michael Godby
- 2011 | Victoria & Albert Museum, London | Figures & Fictions: Contemporary South African Photography | Tamar Garb
- 2011 | Artworks, in progress | Andrew Putter
- 2011 | Johans Borman: Fine Art, Cape Town | Persona | Johans Borman
- Permanent exhibition | Phuthadikobo Museum, Botswana
- Permanent exhibition | McGregor Museum, Kimberley

There are many books that also reference Duggan-Cronin's work in minor forms and also sometimes include a small selection of photographs. Pippa Skotnes has often used his photographs of 'Bushman' in order to re-imagine 'Bushman' in alternative ways. Interestingly, I have also heard word of a number of projects people started, related to and researching Duggan-Cronin, that were not continued, sometimes because Duggan-Cronin is considered 'over done'.<sup>247</sup>

1997 | Johannesburg Biennale | The Black Photo Album/Look at Me | Santu Mofokeng

Since Duggan-Cronin's photographs are now being presented with a new range of photographs and styles of photography, it is useful to note the important intervention by Mofokeng who says:

Officially, black people were frequently depicted in the same visual language as the flora and fauna, represented as if in their natural habitat for the collector of natural history; invariably they were relegated to the lower orders of the species, especially on those occasions when they were depicted as belonging to the "great family of man".<sup>248</sup>

Mofokeng presented an 'alternative archive', one not often presented to any publics. Taking photographs of the black middle class that referenced Victorian portrait photography, Mofokeng

<sup>247</sup> George Mahashe. Conversations 2011.

<sup>248</sup> Santu Mofokeng. "The Black Photo Album/Look at Me: 1890-1950." Contemporary African Photography from the Walthour Collection: Events of the Self Portraiture and Social Identity. Ed. Okwui Enwezor. (Göttingen: Steidl, 2010) 171.

alerts us to the fact that these exist and in fact were coexistent with those by Duggan-Cronin and others. He did this not only through writings correlating with the exhibit but also through presenting Duggan-Cronin's volumes *with* his alternative album *The Black Photo Album*.<sup>249</sup> Mofokeng highlights the fact that they were not intended for public viewing and usually not seen, although perhaps found 'hanging on parlour walls in the townships' or "coveted as treasures" but also possibly subject to being "destroyed as rubbish during spring cleanings because of interruption in continuity or disaffection with the encapsulated meanings and the history of the images."<sup>250</sup> Mofokeng suggests that "Most often they lie hidden to rot through neglect in kists, cupboards, cardboard boxes and plastic bags."<sup>251</sup>

Somehow Mofokeng's highlighting of the fact that "...there is no evidence of coercion" in these images and suggesting that "...we believe them, for they tell us a little about how these people imagined themselves. We see these images in the terms determined by the subjects themselves, for they have made them their own."<sup>252</sup> This could allow a space for Duggan-Cronin's photographs to exist more comfortably as a different idea, instead of how people imagined themselves they are illustrations of how another society, or Duggan-Cronin and his acquaintances, imagined an 'other'.

It is interesting to note then that Mofokeng has also transported images from one intended space to another space – an unintended space. Whilst Mofokeng states: "They belong to and circulate in the private domain. That is the position they occupied in the realm of the visual in the nineteenth century. It was never their intention to be hung in galleries as works of art. Their significance lies outside of the framed image"<sup>253</sup> he is simultaneously framing them and presenting them in galleries as works of art, which presumably is for some significant reason. In an attempt to counter the alternative of "Images informed by this prevailing ideology [pertaining to 'nativity' that] have been enshrined in the public museums, galleries, libraries and archives of South Africa" he has transferred significance to the images now inside the frames (all be they invisible frames, not literal).<sup>254</sup> Also notable in Mofokeng's new collection is that these images nearly always have the names of the sitters and rarely the photographer, though sometimes the studio at which they were taken is included.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*

1999 | South African National Gallery; Bamako Biennale, Mali | African Contrasts in Lines of Sight: Perspectives on South African Photography | Michael Godby

Godby has not only written about Duggan-Cronin and used his images for teaching in classes, but he also used some of the UCT collection of Duggan-Cronin prints as part of an exhibition entitled *Lines of Sight: Perspectives on South African Photography*. Here the images, intended partly to represent South African Photography, were particularly presented as part of Godby's 'perspective' of South African photographs (Duggan-Cronin's and others) in the context of the migrant labour system and the 'economic geography' of South Africa.<sup>255</sup> The exhibition as a whole was "...intended to offer new insights into photography and contribute to a better understanding of the development, role and content of the art form in South Africa."<sup>256</sup> Other photographers in Godby's section included works by Larabee, Aubrey Elliott, Leon Levson and Eli Weinberg. The remainder of the exhibition included a focus more on themes than particular photographers and many of the named photographers are specifically photojournalists or documentary photographers, including those in Godby's section. The website *ARTTHROB* described the exhibition thus: "This extensive exhibition, assembled by seven different curators, explores different aspects of twentieth century South African photography and is the National Gallery's biggest photographic exhibition yet."<sup>257</sup> With the evidence I have presented so far, this could be seen as the first major contemporary art expression of Duggan-Cronin's work, setting it firmly in the frame of art. As the opening line for the display suggests, its power to help the audience understand the development of the photographic 'art form' in South Africa and Godby's introduction to his sections also references the art context: "Between 1930 and 1950 it was fashionable in art circles for photographers (and other artists) to create an images of Africa that was seemingly 'unspoilt'...."

2000 | University of Cape Town Department of African Languages | General Display

2007 | University of Cape Town African Studies Library | General Display

These displays cannot necessarily be considered fully public but they are significant for the reactions they inspired. The occurrence belongs to a story of events recorded by Godby.<sup>258</sup> It is understood that at some point, what was the School of African Studies, at UCT received a donation of Duggan-Cronin's images as slides and framed photographs.<sup>259</sup> The way Godby describes it, this collection had a uncomfortable presence in the university, particularly since the arrival of Isaac Schapera in the Anthropology department (part of the School of African Studies)

<sup>255</sup> Godby. *Lines of Sight*. 4.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>257</sup> Geoff Grundlingh. "Newsletter" *Centre for Photography*. June 1999. 21 November 2011. <<http://www.artthrob.co.za/99june/exchange.htm>>

<sup>258</sup> Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 80.

<sup>259</sup> Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 79.

in 1935.<sup>260</sup> Godby received the images on slides in 1988 when the Anthropology department decided they were more relevant to the department of History of Art.<sup>261</sup> The framed images remained stored in the attic of the department, later found and claimed by the Department of African Languages who displayed them in their department. The collection, now noted by the University Works of Art Committee on which Godby sat, was then recognised as valuable and put back into storage. However, in 2007 a decision was made by the committee to display the works in the African Studies Library. Godby aligns this move with the political climate at the time, particularly Nelson Mandela's endorsement of the images as "a unique representation of the wealth and diversity of our many cultures."<sup>262</sup> Mandela suggested that the Duggan-Cronin collection would "stand as a fine symbol of the African Renaissance".<sup>263</sup> At this time the post-apartheid projection of South Africa as a Rainbow Nation, joining the 'African Renaissance', was in full swing and perhaps it is this endorsement that inspired many of these displays and exhibitions. This particular display was not fated to last long. Shepherd and Mugsy Spiegel of CAS and the Anthropology department respectively, requested that the images should either be contextualised with text, or removed. These temporary and vague displays are represented as occurring with little meditation and seem rather to be spontaneous curations that simply present images that are repeatedly considered beautiful and in some way valuable and intrinsically representative of something important.

2007 | Castle of Good Hope Gallery, Cape Town; McGregor Museum, Kimberley;  
MuseumAfrica, Johannesburg | Thandabantu: a photographic journey though southern Africa  
1919-1939

This interpretation took on a more permanent and decisive stance. Produced in collaboration with the project to restore the Duggan-Cronin collection, the corresponding press release, *Images that Capture a Bygone Tranquillity*, on the exhibition, presented Duggan-Cronin as a 'leading South African photographer' and lamented the fact that the eleven volumes produced of his work are rarely seen by the public.<sup>264</sup> This notion of a 'bygone tranquillity' is one that is commonly assaulted by those debating colonial photography. Presented as a chronology displaying the 'man who loves people's' travels throughout southern Africa, this presentation can be understood as purposefully using the images to display diversity and beauty in South Africa. This corresponds appropriately with both the national programme of unity and Mandela's endorsement, which is included in the

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.* Note that Schapera wrote the information for some of Duggan-Cronin's volumes.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> Nelson Mandela cited in Zak Debedu & Nick Segal *Thandabantu*. 4.

<sup>263</sup> Mandela 5.

<sup>264</sup> "Images that capture a bygone tranquillity – Alfred Duggan-Cronin"

opening pages of the catalogue. Godby describes it as “a transparent attempt to position the project on the right side of history” highlighting the “new space given to Duggan-Cronin’s assistant” as yet another attempt to improve the view.<sup>265</sup> They place his work in relationship to the *historic* situation of migrant labour that was central to Kimberley and Duggan-Cronin’s employment in the mines. He is described in the catalogue as:

...photographing them [the migrant workers at the mines] in their traditional dress, in which he exhibited a sensitivity which went far beyond mere curiosity as he gave his subjects a dignity which was brutally lacking in their day-to-day work environment. He also realised that their exposure to a modern capitalist economy would lead to the transformation of their traditional rural lifestyles.<sup>266</sup>

The display included the original captions for the photographs but the catalogue asks us not to see the tribal associations as “...fixed ‘tribal’ names as they typically were in Duggan-Cronin’s day” since:

Group identity is now understood to have been more fluid. These terms by which people identified themselves reflect clan or chieftdom allegiances which in themselves were flexible and which depended upon political interest. Communities would split and adopt new names or merge with a more dominant group and adopt the name of that group. While we recognise this complexity, the terminology that Duggan-Cronin used and that is shown here is one that he obtained from the people themselves.<sup>267</sup>

Recognising the malleability of photographs the exhibition explicitly places itself as focusing on the aesthetics and historic engagements:

No image is neutral and any photograph is more than just a visual or factual representation. There is an underlying meaning which can be explored but, to quote a scholar C Geary writing of photographs of West African peoples, “...many of the images are remarkable works of art, provoking an aesthetic response and thus becoming meaningful in yet another way”. This exhibition is focused on the aesthetics of Duggan-Cronin’s work and also on his historic engagements, and so it follows the course of his

<sup>265</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 81.

<sup>266</sup> Jacobson 8.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*

field trips in order to show his overall development rather than being organised on an ethnic basis.<sup>268</sup>

This monographic exhibition appears mainly to have been intended to raise funds for the restoration of the collection but very little information about the display is available online, the most useful document being the exhibition publication. For this reason, I cannot clarify too much on the presence of the exhibition at the McGregor Museum or MuseumAfrica. I learnt of both these versions of the similar exhibition by means of the McGregor annual report and information was slim although details of ‘important guests’ were included such as Dr Pallo Jordian, the wives of several De Beers directors, Prince Bhekizizwe Zulu and Mr David Molusi, the new M.E.C. of Sports, Arts and Culture in the Northern Cape.<sup>269</sup> Indeed MuseumAfrica in general seems to be barely existent.

2009 | CAS gallery, McGregor Museum, Albany Museum | Shared Legacies | Siona O’Connell & Dale Washkansky

This particular exhibition was especially brazen in its approach and hence provides a dynamic grounding for this particular debate. Godby footnotes the exhibition in his paper describing it as “more of an artwork in itself than a critical appraisal of a historical body of work.”<sup>270</sup> Being in the privileged situation of being able to discuss personally the details of this exhibition with the curators and organisations who were directly involved, I included this section as a substantial portion of the work as it provides a particularly useful platform for many of the ensuing debates.

*Shared Legacies* was curated by Siona O’Connell and Dale Washkansky. A collection of Curtis’ photographs from America had been issued to the US Embassy in South Africa as part of a travelling exhibition: *Sacred Legacy*.<sup>271</sup> This exhibition was displayed in Durban in May 2009 where Colin Fortune, current director of the McGregor Museum, saw the images.<sup>272</sup> His immediate response saw similarities between Curtis’ works and those in the Duggan-Cronin collection, housed at the McGregor Museum, and hence the idea of a joint exhibition was mooted.<sup>273</sup> The idea, approved at the Embassy, then required personnel to execute the idea. As O’Connell describes it the situation was such that although requests had been made elsewhere the embassy

<sup>268</sup> Jacobson 10.

<sup>269</sup> Robert Hart. “Photographs: Chapter 16” McGregor Museum Annual Report, 2005/06. (Kimberley:Gepubliseer deur die McGregor Museum, c2006) 29.

<sup>270</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 80.

<sup>271</sup> “News from the Mission: “Shared Legacies” continues to inspire audience.” United States Diplomatic Mission to South Africa. 16 July 2010. 06 September 2011. <<http://southafrica.usembassy.gov/news100719a.html>>

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*

could not find anyone willing to curate the images, the implication being that the associations with an age of colonial domination and racial discrimination were too intense.<sup>274</sup> O'Connell and Washkansky were contacted and agreed to consider the potential. Both had recently joined CAS having previously been photography practitioners at Michaelis Fine Art School, also at UCT. Working as photographers, O'Connell describes how she and Washkansky were passionate about the subject, its methods, processes and theories.<sup>275</sup> When the request came through O'Connell and Washkansky were intrigued. They agreed to meet at the Embassy and look at the Curtis collection. When they arrived at the embassy and saw for themselves the array of Curtis photographs they were completely transfixed. They could not resist the majestic goldtone prints and were completely seduced and enamoured, deciding then and there that they would take on the project.<sup>276</sup>

Having seen both the Curtis and Duggan-Cronin images and knowing much of the debate surrounding the methods and madness of colonial photography, they determined that they needed to be quite radical in their approach to display these images now. Their condition for taking on the curation, as they decided later, was that they were not going to manufacture a conventional, linear and basic exhibition, but rather to make an impact and attempt to reframe the ways of seeing such contested photographs in more politically correct, in their contemporary view, manners, or at least in a way that would ask questions.<sup>277</sup> The exhibition they eventually curated consisted of portraits photographed by Curtis and Duggan-Cronin. Curtis was American and photographed people he recognised as American Indians, Duggan-Cronin was Irish and photographed people he recognised as Bantu or Bushmen tribes. Both projected that they were concerned with recording vanishing races.

O'Connell and Washkansky's intention was partly to move beyond the ethnographic story and understand the images in the realm of portraits.<sup>278</sup>

The curators have chosen to focus on recognising these photographs as portraits, rather than as ethnographical and anthropological representations. By reinterpreting these images, they are attempting to articulate the forcibly interred by situating them in the art historical canon, where the genre of portraiture has its own legacy. The curators assert that it is their aim to translate, remember and reimagine the images of these subjects that share

<sup>274</sup> This is perhaps not entirely consistent since as I have just shown, various displays *were* curated, some more formal than others. Siona O'Connell. Personal communication. Discussion 16 September 2011.

<sup>275</sup> O'Connell 2011.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*

hauntingly similar stories. By revisiting these images against the historic canon they endeavour to recognise the ‘truths’ and ‘untruths’ of their construction.<sup>279</sup>

They determined only to show images that they felt portrayed majesty and dignity where the viewer was confronted by the eyes of the sitter, or struck by a powerful poise and they chose not to include images of naked children.<sup>280</sup> Other images may be included but obscured in some way such that the viewer would have a visual illustration demonstrating, hopefully, the power of looking and the agency that it has. One of these ways was by turning certain images to face the wall. As O’Connell often references, one cannot un-see something you have seen.<sup>281</sup>

O’Connell and Washkansky’s curation projected to engage with the agency of the sitter or ‘spectrum’ and hence they removed the problematic captions that went with the images in previous contexts and endeavoured to make the images relevant to contemporary times (2009) creating dynamic relations with the viewer, thus implicating and involving the viewer very directly.<sup>282</sup> Their approach was so direct in fact that they incorporated into their display a selection of carefully placed mirrors that not only openly and directly incorporated the viewer but that also were situated precisely such that the viewer would see themselves in the same frame as the people in Curtis’ and Duggan-Cronin’s photographs. The mirrors also had quotes from renowned post-colonial theorists on them such that one not only had to engage with oneself in the reference of other people from another time but also the bigger picture of photography in the academic world.<sup>283</sup> Another unconventional move was to avoid the forced structure and direction of an exhibition, instead making it fluid and flexible.<sup>284</sup>

A number of statements from O’Connell and Washkansky can be found that further exemplify what they were trying to achieve. They state that the exhibition “seeks to find the aesthetic commonalities between both photographers...”<sup>285</sup> and as a way of revisiting the images “against the historic canon” and thus allowing for a “recognition of the ‘truths’ and ‘untruths’ of their construction”. O’Connell states that the two collections, Curtis’ and Duggan-Cronin’s, were “effective in fashioning the image of the ‘noble savage’”. They were intending to remove this savage frame (but not association) and “reconsider the roles of the photographer, the sitter and the

<sup>279</sup> “Shared Legacies” [CuePix](http://cuepix.ru.ac.za/main.php?g2_itemId=57005), 16 June 2010. 06 September 2011.  
<[http://cuepix.ru.ac.za/main.php?g2\\_itemId=57005](http://cuepix.ru.ac.za/main.php?g2_itemId=57005)>

<sup>280</sup> O’Connell 2011.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>285</sup> Lambley.

viewer” stating “As such we uphold a performative, re-imagined theorisation of the photographic image, one where the spectator is an active participant in this tripartite relationship.”<sup>286</sup>

When the exhibition opened for the first time at CAS, Weinberg suggests that it was received as a very predictable and obvious intervention in the context of post-colonial debate, but agrees that it might indeed have been a necessary move in order to cause consternation and truly demonstrate the difficult devices that have been prevalent in society.<sup>287</sup> It was not a conventional exhibition and the very first conflict with it was before it even opened, during the set up of the exhibition at CAS. This caused consternation firstly with the *Scan Shop* staff, who were amazed that some of the carefully and painstakingly produced images were simply going to be turned to the wall after all their efforts to restore them.<sup>288</sup> This was only the beginning: in Kimberly there was further consternation from the museum staff, there was outrage from the visitors, and during the Grahamstown festival people were so frustrated that they turned the backwards image back around almost every day!<sup>289</sup>

Consternation with staff and officials and the general public was predictable and necessary, O’Connell and Washkansky were accused of producing the ‘Dale and Siona version’ of the work, which they fully and openly accepted and acknowledged, since taking responsibility for subjectivity was part of their incentive. The UCT news section of the website entitled their review ‘Two worlds meet in a snap’ and the opening line: “What the flip: The curators kept everyone guessing at the Shared Legacies exhibition.”

The progress it made in changing people’s ways of seeing is speculative, but it is clear that it made people talk. Indeed, Dr Alberta Mayberry, the US Consul General, precisely articulated: “This brown paper is baffling me, but it did make me talk”.<sup>290</sup> Dr Mayberry also highlighted another aspect of photography that is often referenced, that is, of photographs as memory carriers. She

<sup>286</sup> O’Connell cited in Lambley.

<sup>287</sup> Paul Weinberg. Personal communication. Discussion 16 September 2011.

<sup>288</sup> O’Connell 2011. Rather than using the UCT collection of Duggan-Cronin images, which it seems they were not aware existed, O’Connell and Washkansky used the recently restored versions from the McGregor Museum. I note they were not the first to turn pictures to the wall, for example Andrew Lamprecht also of The Michaelis School of Fine Art, UCT reversed the pictures of old Dutch Masters at the Old Town House in Cape Town to equal consternation. “Old Masters to be Hung Facing Wall.” The Guardian. 4 August 2004. 16 October 2011. <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/aug/04/arts.southafrica>>

<sup>289</sup> O’Connell 2011.

<sup>290</sup> “Two Worlds Meet in a Snap” UCT Daily News Archives. 20 October 2009. 21 September 2011. <<http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=7162>>

commented that the images reminded her of her grandfather who was part Native American, and hence she was able to state, diplomatically, ‘this is my shared legacy’.<sup>291</sup>

Reviews of the exhibition focus on the commonality between the two photographers, Duggan-Cronin and Curtis.<sup>292</sup> They suggest that America and South Africa have diversity and ‘tribalism’ in common as well as the intention to ‘document the indigenous’ who were ‘under threat’. There is a difference that the UCT news piece pointed out: the Duggan-Cronin images are apparently rarely seen and barely exhibited, especially in South Africa, whereas the Curtis images are apparently regularly displayed.<sup>293</sup> Another commonality is apparently a ‘triple heritage’ of American, European and African – on the American side, and European, African and Asian on the South African side. , which is clearly fraught with problematic generalisations.<sup>294</sup> These debates barely seem to have entered the public sphere. That said, Lambley, at the Albany Museum, wrote a very comprehensive article about it which did bring up further questions. She describes the exhibition and includes reactions and questions:

People ‘stare down’ from the walls, Zulu chiefs are printed alongside Native American Chiefs and hung, printed on perspex, ‘in an attempt to renegotiate notions of cultural representation from the past – a creative banding of brothers, united as objet d’art memory-piece’. The quotes from Susan Sontag, Franz Fanon, Roland Barthes and Homi K Bhabha are articulated to pay “tribute to the important role played by Post Colonial Theory in understanding the effects of colonialism on the colonized.” The images turned to the wall, their backs representative of mourning rites often associated with Jewish custom relating to death – one would assume as a show of respect for the dead.”<sup>295</sup>

However, apparently “not everyone gets it. Most of the visitors were left feeling unclear as to what the exhibition message was.” O’Connell and Washkansky said: “We want to engage and challenge the viewers so they come away from the exhibition feeling slightly uncomfortable, asking why have they done this?”<sup>296</sup> As O’Connell rightly admires, it was very brave of Amy Bell-Mulaudzi to accept

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*

The “WorldCat” states there are 319 library holdings of publications by or about Duggan-Cronin in the world. Apparently the most widely held works about him are the *Thandabantu* catalogue and the very elusive *Compound to Kraal*. It also states that *The Bantu tribes of South Africa* are held by 152 libraries worldwide. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin 1874-” [WorldCat: Identities](http://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n86-852813). 06 December 2011. <<http://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n86-852813>>

<sup>294</sup> Zongezile Matshoba. “Many Came to Share Legacies” [Albany Museum Blogspot](http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/2010/05/who-is-who-of-grahamstown-graced.html). 21 May 2010. 06 September 2011. <<http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/2010/05/who-is-who-of-grahamstown-graced.html>>

<sup>295</sup> Lambley.

<sup>296</sup> “Two Worlds Meet in a Snap”

such a radical proposal, but as Bell-Mulaudzi acknowledges: “The exhibit prompted thoughtful response from viewers – which is exactly what we hoped for.”<sup>297</sup> The CAS Gallery Facebook page states:

It isn't the mirrors with their occasionally inscrutable texts that have irked visitors though. Rather, it is the 15 flipped portraits. Visitors have been outraged: “I did not come all this way to see brown paper”; “The curators have an absolute nerve”; “Is there a grand 'unveiling' of these images?” The answer to that last question, in case you're wondering, is no. What you see is what you get.<sup>298</sup>

Another response to this exhibition is that of Hart. Quoted on the CAS Gallery page:

“I won't say that I'm against it if it's for educational purposes,” says a slightly bemused Robert Hart, the custodian of Duggan-Cronin's photographs at Kimberley's McGregor Museum. Hart cautiously adds that the display strategy is “very different” and “maybe a bit overdone”. “Duggan-Cronin was not merely an ethnographic photographer,” insists Hart. “To view him as such does a disservice to the man. It is far better to consider the entire body of his work and look at it as an artistic and documentary collection.”<sup>299</sup>

As the same site also references: “Notably silent in all of this is Duggan-Cronin himself, who left the writing in his books to anthropologists. Perhaps the most unfortunate outcome of this is the lapse into silence of the intimate encounters that took place between this singular photographer and the varied people he recorded facing the onslaught of a tumultuous century.”<sup>300</sup>

2009 | Djanogly Art Gallery, Nottingham, UK & Wales | Life Less Ordinary: Performance and Display in South African Art | Anna Douglas

This presentation of Duggan-Cronin images, in the same year as *Shared Legacies*, also re-appropriated the images for use in an art space. A selection of Duggan-Cronin's photographs were included in the entrance of the exhibition.<sup>301</sup> Their presence in relation to the other exhibits was

<sup>297</sup> O'Connell 2011.

Amy Bell-Mulaudzi. Personal communication. Email 18 November 2011.

<sup>298</sup> “Flipping the Portrait”

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>301</sup> Amy Halliday. “Athi-Patra Ruga, Berni Searle, Pieter Hugo, Zanele Muholi and Nandipha Mntambo at Djanogly Art Gallery” ARTTHROB: international reviews. c2009. 20 September 2011.

<<http://www.artthrob.co.za/Reviews/Review-of-A-Life-Less-Ordinary-at-Djanogly-Gallery,-Nottingham-by-Amy-Halliday-at-Djanogly-Art-Gallery.aspx>>

intended to be ‘in conversation’: “...conversations about *human difference* between a selection of Alfred Duggan-Cronin’s early-twentieth century photographs, a collection of Apartheid pass books and contemporary artwork, in the context of South Africa.” furthering that the exhibition was “...a conversation about *fictions* of difference – that affects us all; regardless of whom we are and where we live.”<sup>302</sup> Whilst simultaneously trying to erase difference the rhetoric is still unavoidably attached to difference, now focused on racial difference and not the ‘diversity’ Mandela endorsed. The first chapters of the catalogue for this exhibition ask many questions about Duggan-Cronin’s photographs particularly, and responses to them. It questions Mandela’s endorsement:

Nelson Mandela appreciates Alfred Duggan-Cronin’s photographs of the people of southern Africa: ‘...they are a unique representation of the wealth and diversity of our many cultures’, noting ‘the dignity and the individuality of the people who chose to stand in front of Duggan-Cronin’s camera’. He believes you can see this shining out from the camera, [even though the apparatus was held by a white man, accompanied by a young black close companion and servant.] For Nelson Mandela, the restoration and display of these photographs is ‘a matter of national pride’, that ‘must be supported by all of us... (and)...will stand as a fine symbol of the African Renaissance’.<sup>303</sup>

This exhibition struck me in many ways, especially in comparison to the others. One way was through its curators efforts to find out if any of Duggan-Cronin’s subjects were alive to give oral testimony:

There are still people alive who can remember having to be cajoled by Alfred Duggan-Cronin to sit for a portrait. Suspicious of the camera, many believing it to be bewitched, they were reassured by his assistant Richard Madela, who spoke their language. From time to time and elderly sitter enquires about their image, which the McGregor Museum is only too happy to provide. Members of the many South African Royal Families visit the Duggan-Cronin Gallery and pay homage to their ancestors. They are overjoyed by what they see. And, youngsters, following up stories of their parents and grandparents come to see for the first time and older and ‘authentic’ lost way of life.<sup>304</sup>

<sup>302</sup> Douglas [Life Less Ordinary](#) 6.

<sup>303</sup> Mandela 4 as cited in Douglas [Life Less Ordinary](#) 7.

<sup>304</sup> Douglas [Life Less Ordinary](#) 7.

This can be read to imply that the constructed authenticity that theorists are contesting is, for important individuals, authentic enough.

The exhibition as a whole is premised to be “Engaging photography, performance, video and installation, a younger generation shake loose from the epic narrative of race to play with, stage, transcend, celebrate and deconstruct more complex and nuanced subjectivities” and is intended to “convey the performative nature of racial categorization.”<sup>305</sup> “Probing, challenging, poetical, and at times hilarious and uncomfortably satirical, these works create space for a more enigmatic palette of subjectivities and feelings to come to the fore: stepping stones to new identities.”<sup>306</sup> Presumably the intention is to contrast the enforced creation and curation of identity by whites over blacks, as per Duggan-Cronin’s photographs, with a new multi-racial, self-styled identity. Although Putter reputedly made a concerted effort to choose non-ethnographic photographs for the exhibition wishing represent other aspects of Duggan-Cronin’s work and Douglas is said to have intended to “exceed these harmful effects” of his work through recognising “a captivating sense of the beauty of the subjects, and even an honorific approach to the presentation of those subjects.”<sup>307</sup> Putter suggests that Douglas saw Duggan-Cronin as “prefiguring a whole lot of complex performativity in South African life, over the twentieth century, including apartheid and resistance to apartheid.”<sup>308</sup> So perhaps then it is in recognition that all representations and existences of people are only performances of ideals or ideas, which could also be cohesive with our consideration of Duggan-Cronin performing a particular role in society himself.

Perhaps it is of significance that in the exhibition catalogue it is Duggan-Cronin who is given the most attention. It seemed to me that Duggan-Cronin’s work was compared and not correlated with the contemporary South African art scene. Given the quite difficult nature of the modern work included, this seems strange since there *is* a platform for problematising Duggan-Cronin’s work. The comparison between Duggan-Cronin’s work and today’s artists selected for inclusion highlights the possibility of today’s artists being free from an apartheid space where division and ‘othering’ were standard practice. It is noted in the catalogue that:

There is a tendency, though not exclusively, towards self-representation and working with the material of one’s own body (Bopape, Cohen, Mntambo, Murray, Patra, Rose, Searle)

<sup>305</sup> Douglas Life Less Ordinary Back cover of book.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>307</sup> Putter, personal communication.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*

that could be regarded as a reaction against the surveillance of ‘the other’, or indeed an empathy with ‘the surveyed’ – that suggests the gaze should turn safely inward.<sup>309</sup>

Documentary photography is recognised as having a “venerable place in the struggle against Apartheid, charged with providing an authentic image of South Africa to the wider world”.<sup>310</sup> This is recognised in the context of understanding “photography’s longstanding function in visualising ‘the other.’ as exemplified by the presence of Duggan-Cronin’s work.”<sup>311</sup>

Set not only in the context of Duggan-Cronin’s work but also with Apartheid related pass books or *dompas*, the exhibition has a key theme of ‘othering’ and difference. It is so explicit in the lead up to the current artists, the descriptions of their work also formulates them in response to these problematic divisions that have existed in South Africa. A large portion of the catalogue is also dedicated to the idea of ‘A Politics of Togetherness’. This is recommended as a world intervention and then situated in the whole world as a discriminatory space. Whilst Douglas acknowledges that Duggan-Cronin’s can be understood and responded to variously in time, she also states:

The paradox, perhaps, is that while Duggan-Cronin photographed customs and rituals that distinguished indigenous peoples from white society (e.g. initiation ceremonies) and that the language used to describe his works consistently emphasised their ‘authentic nativeness’ (read as *different* from white), his photographs are, in fact, characterised by humanist values, expressed through *western* archetypes that advance the idea of commonality and universality across black and white society: motherhood, love, courtship, the idea of community, and most interestingly, the *idea* of an ordered society, governed by royals.<sup>312</sup>

An interpretation surely correspondent to the context of her own work and today’s society.

2010 | Written work | Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954): The Construction of an Ambiguous Idyll. | Michael Godby

The paper by Godby has been significantly referenced in this project and here it should only be necessary to summarise its intent as situating Duggan-Cronin’s work in a ‘political, anthropological

<sup>309</sup> Douglas *Life Less Ordinary* 12.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>312</sup> Douglas *Life Less Ordinary* 11.

and aesthetic context'.<sup>313</sup> Similar to his contribution to the *Lines of Sight* exhibition, in *African Contrasts*, Godby also highlighted the relationship of Duggan-Cronin's work to the mining industry and to state intents.

2011 | Victoria & Albert Museum, London | Figures & Fictions: Contemporary South African Photography | Tamar Garb

This show displayed the work of seventeen photographers both living and working in South Africa today.<sup>314</sup> All the works were produced in the first decade of the twenty-first century.<sup>315</sup> The intention was for the photographers' 'projects' to be "linked by the depiction of people and a self-conscious engagement with South Africa's political and photographic past."<sup>316</sup> The theme of 'figures' emerged and was found suitable since it raised "...pertinent issues of identity: about how the gaze of the camera, photographer and viewer is returned by the subject, and the balance of power that that interaction implies."<sup>317</sup> Whilst acknowledging other genres of photography, the foreword positions these photographs specifically as 'art'.<sup>318</sup> Duggan-Cronin's inclusion was marginal and, although I could not attend the exhibition myself, it seems he featured only in the catalogue. Where he was included, he seemed to be used as a historical marker, exemplary of previous photographic work (where the gaze was also sometimes returned) in South Africa, and also partly to exemplify the non-conformist fluidity of 'taxonomies and typologies' and also the possibility for alternative perspectives according to the "context and situation of viewing".

Carli Coetzee understands the exhibition to present an "intervention in the histories and traditions of thinking about and depicting the body in South Africa." and references the curator, Garb, talking about the body and its histories specifically, histories that are "never over and done with" Coetzee says:

The exhibition insists on much that is new, in the way we look and are looked at; but it does this in a way that calls us to take note of the past and to account for our own relationship to these traditions. Framed as it is here in the V&A, the exhibition may be understood in ways that make it *just* possible to view as part of an unchallenging visit to a

<sup>313</sup> Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 57.

<sup>314</sup> Barnes 7.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*

decorative arts museum; with the thought-provoking catalogue in hand however this is impossible to do.<sup>319</sup>

This last statement allows us not only to understand the content of the exhibition, but also some insight into the practices and problematics of exhibition display, the incongruencies between space, place, time, text and image and audience.

#### 2011 | Art Works, in progress | Andrew Putter

Putter is a fine-art photographer working in Cape Town, South Africa. Describing himself as a “liberal, avowedly non-political racist” he came across Duggan-Cronin’s photographs in 2007 and is also guilty of seduction.<sup>320</sup> Putter, describing his recent engagement with “a new, changed perception of Africa”, explains that this was partly, and significantly inspired by “the honorific, romantic ethnographic portrait photographs of Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin.” Putter explains: “What struck me about them was the grandeur of the sitters, a gravitas I had never before associated with Africans. The beauty of the works triggered an on-going love affair with the subjects, landscapes and objects represented in them” furthering that it was these “which caused my unexplored prejudice – that African culture is an inferior version of Euro-American culture – to begin to fall apart.”<sup>321</sup> Interestingly, his first encounter with the images was through the contested display at the African Studies Library at UCT and this encounter is what has inspired this current project.<sup>322</sup> In a deeply researched effort Putter is now formulating a restaging of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs. This restaging is complicated, his project aspires to re-examine the sitters in the photographs and he intends to copy the photographs but using different ‘racial’ subjects:

There will be ten photographs, each of which is carefully made to look like a vintage sepia photograph from the past. Each photograph will have **a pair** of people in it: **one black, one white**. These could be a mother and baby, an old man and boy, two middle-aged women, two young men. Putter is looking for everyday people to play these characters. Each pair will be dressed in rare, real, traditional (southern) African costume, borrowed from local museums and collectors. Each pair needs to look as natural and comfortable

<sup>319</sup> Carli Coetzee. “Various Artists at Victoria and Albert Museum.” ARTTHROB: international reviews. 8 December 2011. <[http://www.artthrob.co.za/Reviews/2011/04/Carli-Coetzee-reviews-Figures-\\_and\\_-Fictions-Contemporary-South-African-Photography-by-Variou-Artists-at-Victoria-and-Albert-Museum-%28V\\_and\\_A%29.aspx](http://www.artthrob.co.za/Reviews/2011/04/Carli-Coetzee-reviews-Figures-_and_-Fictions-Contemporary-South-African-Photography-by-Variou-Artists-at-Victoria-and-Albert-Museum-%28V_and_A%29.aspx)>

<sup>320</sup> Andrew Putter. “Status Report: Better Late than Never” Archive and Public Culture Workshop, UCT, Cape Town, 27-29 July 2011. 1.

<sup>321</sup> Putter. “Status Report” 2-3.

<sup>322</sup> Putter. “Status Report” 3.

together as possible, as if they share a life. The sorts of love Putter is aiming to suggest between each pair include the love of siblings for each other, or parents for their children, or couples for their partners.<sup>323</sup>

Putter's 'Call for models' states in explanation of the project: "Putter is concerned with the way that racism has damaged our capacity to love one other. For his next art project, he will take a series of photographs which depict an imaginary past where white South Africans fall in love with black South Africans, and adopt their traditional dress." The project is purposefully and self-consciously reductive. It is evident through speaking with Putter, and attending his presentations about his work, that he has agonised significantly over the problematics that this subject evidently presents. The call to models also makes the following disclaimer "An important apology to those who are not 'black' or 'white'":

This project excludes anybody that doesn't look like the **apartheid idea** of a black or white person. For example, the idea of coloured identity is excluded in this new series of artworks (Putter has looked at the roots and importance of coloured culture in South African life in some of his earlier work). On the surface it may seem that his new project is based on a racist idea (the mistaken belief that the world can be neatly divided into black and white), but Putter's hope is to use these stereotypes in an unexpected way, with tenderness, to shock us into moving lovingly beyond them.<sup>324</sup>

The results of this project are yet to be seen. Putter is, at time of writing, still in the early stages of choosing images to recreate and finding models for the re-stagings.

I admire Putter's self-reflective engagement with Duggan-Cronin's photographs. The fact his research and interest was triggered by the contested display in the African Studies Library reminds us that sometimes it is these badly thought of displays that inspire something that can uncover fictions. Indeed whilst Putter acknowledges that these photographs are constructed: "belying the seemingly documentary veracity of works" he explains how they also:

...have the power to open up a racist like myself to the beauty and complexity of African life. Having looked at Duggan-Cronin's work over the last few years – a time of quite

<sup>323</sup> Andrew Putter. "Spread Your Love: Volunteer to be Part of an Important New Artwork" Call for models October 2011. (Unpublished) 1.

<sup>324</sup> Putter. "Spread Your Love" 2.

intense change in my own view of things – one thing has remained consistently evident: Duggan-Cronin treated his sitters with great aesthetic care. He made them beautiful.<sup>325</sup>

Despite the debate around the idea of ‘beauty’ and whose idea of ‘beautiful’ Putter is referring to (his own, presumably seated in a Western reference), the images clearly reflect *an* idea of beauty, according to the continued theme throughout my research.

“One of these attractors is an interest in the way that artworks can use conventions to change the way we see the world, paradoxically forcing us to abandon conventions and rethink relations...Duggan-Cronin’s work embodies this attractor.”<sup>326</sup>

#### 2011 | Johans Borman: Fine Art, Cape Town | Persona | Johans Borman

In many senses this is, perhaps surprisingly, the most refreshing reference of Duggan-Cronin’s work. It was luck (and excessive internet searches) that led me to the discovery of this exhibition that was happening during the time I was writing this study. Apparently a ‘commercial’ gallery, the Johans Borman Fine Art gallery in Cape Town presented an exhibition entitled *Persona*. The catalogue, perhaps intentionally, perhaps innocently, presents a refreshing alternative view which avoids all explicit post-colonial, academic discourse, whilst simultaneously using it to its advantage:

...in ancient Latin, *persona* meant ‘mask’. Today its meaning is not that literal, but refers to the ‘social masks’ individuals choose to portray versions of themselves. These personas are selected according to the desired impression the individual wishes to create when interacting with other people. People see themselves differently from how they see others, and the personas presented vary according to the individual’s social environment.<sup>327</sup>

Although not unproblematic, a relieved sigh escaped me as I received all these images – photographs, paintings and prints – from a variety of contexts, as one. All of the works represent someone as either an interpretation of self or an other. The catalogue continues:

Most of us are deeply driven by our sense of identity. We categorize ourselves, and others, according to religion, culture, skin colour, language, profession and whatever else we believe separates us – putting each other in ‘boxes’. Although we broadly define ourselves by our membership of such groups, we also define ourselves by comparison and contrast

<sup>325</sup> Putter. “Status Report” 4-5.

<sup>326</sup> Putter. “Status Report” 11.

<sup>327</sup> Ed. Johans Borman. *Persona*. (Cape Town: Johans Borman Fine Art, 2011) 6.

with others, even when our experience of others is predominantly based on external observations.<sup>328</sup>

Although simple and potentially evasive, I cannot help but feel comforted by this economics-driven presentation which even appears to evade issues of race in one fell swoop!

Duggan-Cronin is again one of the first mentions in the catalogue and also claims a high percentage of the overall text, although it mainly quotes Godby. The difficulty of his images not necessarily being considered ‘art’ is mentioned: “The five Duggan-Cronin photographs include in this exhibition were taken during the 1930s and it could be argued that they are, strictly speaking, not necessarily works of art. They are, however, a fascinating example of the categorisation of one group of society by another.”<sup>329</sup>

2001 | Workers Library and Museum, Johannesburg | Compound to Kraal: Salvaging and Revisiting the Duggan-Cronin Collection  
Permanent exhibition | Phuthadikobo Museum, Botswana

These exhibitions and displays are almost completely unrecorded, which explains the difficulty of making broad and generalised statements about the display of Duggan-Cronin’s images. *Compound to Kraal* looks like it ought to be an interesting inclusion for this study, but I could not find accessible details about it. The most I read, on *ARTTHROB*, was that the photographs included, by Duggan-Cronin, were those of mineworkers and the ‘Kimberley elite’.<sup>330</sup> The intention of the exhibition is described as being partly to “expose the images to the general public” as well as to raise funds for the Duggan-Cronin collections restoration.<sup>331</sup> It was co-curated by Mofokeng and Thierry Secretan.<sup>332</sup>

The display at the Botswana Museum is a permanent display of the images they have in their general collection. The context is undetermined, presumably they remain as ethnographic objects. Other references in books are harder to find, but one was in the book *Defiant Images* by Darren Newbury, which uses Duggan-Cronin as a reference point for research into the history of South African photography. Duggan-Cronin appears here as a historical reference point in relation to ethnography, the gaze and ideas of photography in South Africa in the early 1900s. The book was

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>330</sup> “Listings”

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*

produced according to Newbury's "desire to understand the complex relationship between photography and the social and political context as it had developed during the apartheid period" and hence Duggan-Cronin provided a pre-apartheid reference point.<sup>333</sup>

Permanent exhibition | McGregor Museum, Kimberley

Arguably the most important and consistent display is that at the McGregor Museum in Kimberley. This has undergone several changes but essentially has been in existence since it was first established during Duggan-Cronin's lifetime. The most important recent change is that the Duggan-Cronin collection has been moved from being part of the 'ethnographic collection', to that of the newly formulated 'photography collection'. The McGregor Museum Annual Reports disclose minor interactions with the collection from the 'general public'.<sup>334</sup>

These acknowledgements and speculations might not be representative and are unlikely to be complete. The only method in their inclusion is by fact of containing Duggan-Cronin photographs, beyond that the inclusion is simply due circumstance. They pretend no kind of 'truth' or 'authenticity' in representation.

Explaining the re-emergence and noticing a shift in genre

"Photographs taken by one observer can be subjected to continual re-analysis by others"<sup>335</sup>

Godby states: "As the tide of history has turned in South Africa, corporations and universities have learned to use art in their efforts to re-position themselves in the new dispensation."<sup>336</sup> Susan Pearce says in her extensive volume on the subject of 'collecting': "Collections help to create social action, and so 'old' collecting, accumulated in the past, continues to affect us through the continuing successions of presents" and as Garb explains "...it is the visual culture of the past that provides the material for poetic and parodic subversions."<sup>337</sup> Daniel Cull expounds the idea of preservation as a way of deeply separating the past from the present. Edwards has requested that

<sup>333</sup> Newbury 1.

<sup>334</sup> Hart McGregor Museum Annual Report, 2005/06. 29.

<sup>335</sup> Scherer 1990 cited in Rethinking Visual Anthropology. Ed. Banks & Morphy 10.

<sup>336</sup> Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 82-3.

<sup>337</sup> Susan M Pearce. On Collecting: An investigation into collecting in the European Tradition. (London: Routledge, 1995) 283.

Garb 17.

anthropologists reposition themselves and practice within the wider discourse of photography.<sup>338</sup> Edwards presents this particular study as “an exploration of the interaction of anthropology and still photography on and beyond the disciplinary boundary”, presenting photography as “the site for the articulation of other frames and other forms of expression and consumption. In so doing it establishes a fluidity between the scientific and the popular, realism and expressionism, admitting images which are normally described as ethnographic into a broader photographic currency.”<sup>339</sup>

[The archive] houses what could best be described as ‘traces’ of particular aspects of the Past in the form of documents. These documents were produced in the Past and are subjective constructions with their own histories of negotiations and contestations. Their preservation in the archive represents a moment of the end of epistemological instability. They are the outcomes of negotiations and contestations over knowledge and the effects of power in this outcome. Yet, as a container, as a depository of evidence the archive represents a second moment in ending instability, in creating stasis and the fixing of meaning and knowledge when the evidence it houses is deployed in historical narratives.<sup>340</sup>

The Duggan-Cronin ‘document’s’ have been deemed worthy of preservation. They came to their end there, and as such have been given the possibility of a new use, whether or not this was ever intended. The author continues: “For decades most researchers were not inclined to go back to the documents that preceding researchers had consulted, privileging not only the previous researcher’s discovery of the documents but also that researcher’s interpretation of those documents.” “This was partially due to a once dominant argument and assumption that history was a science and to a related assumption that research could and should be done objectively.”<sup>341</sup> In this case, although now this sense seems valid, it seems there was material to go around. At one stage I was concerned that observing the works of exhibitions would colour my view of Duggan-Cronin’s original work and intentions, but I soon came to realise that there was no potential for me to ever have that realisation, although I was still concerned to be privileging one interpretation or use over any other. “In this regard, the archive does become the place from which the past

<sup>338</sup> Daniel Cull. “Subjectivity as Treatment: Neurosis and the Roots of Contemporary Ethnographic Conservation.” CeroArt: Conservation, Exposition, Restauration D’Objets D’Art. April 2009. 11 October 2011. <<http://ceroart.revues.org/1237>>

Elizabeth Edwards. “Beyond the Boundary: a Consideration of the Expressive in Photography and Anthropology” Rethinking Visual Anthropology. Ed. Banks & Morphy 53.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>340</sup> Brent Harris. “The Archive, Public History and the Essential Truth: The TRC Readings the Past.” Refiguring the Archive. Ed. Carolyn Hamilton *et al.* 161.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*

commences, despite the past contained in the archive being incomplete as the archive can only hold certain traces of certain aspects of the Past.”<sup>342</sup>

In recognition of the continued re-emergence of Duggan-Cronin’s work Douglas, states in the opening to the exhibition *Life Less Ordinary*: “Over 90 years, response to Alfred Duggan-Cronin’s work – in all its various forms – has continuously changed and continues to do so” she continues “As artistic and ethnographic objects they continue to write and perform ideas of race and racial difference for new audiences”<sup>343</sup> In talking about the exhibition *Lines of Sight* the authors of the book *Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney*, suggest that the Duggan-Cronin images “may be seen also as important for building up black pride: this is what we were before we were destroyed”, and having asked the question, in relation to exhibitions and their rhetoric “Do such distortions matter? Is it important to recognise them?” they answer yes “All the more reason then for galleries to encourage viewers to consider how such images are constructed, to ask who is omitted or marginalised, what assumptions lie behind them, and what purposes they serve.”<sup>344</sup> In a presentation at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, an event in tandem with the *Figures & Fictions* exhibition, Douglas suggests it is “perhaps ironic that these photographs, produced at the time of colonialism, have the potential to make visible (and therefore empower) personal as well as collective histories. Whilst at the same time, for others they are representations and objects of colonial appropriation and fetishised difference.”<sup>345</sup>

In other spaces there might be more than ‘race and racial difference’ to be performed and ‘art’ might not be a sufficient entitlement, but there seems to be no escaping the reappearance and reappraisal of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs, which, on some level, will affect some of us. One might ask whether the moves of contemporary curators concerned with South African subjects are trying to counter balance the move to separate the past from the present, as some heritage theory also expounds, or alternatively, to enhance it. This is particularly pertinent in South Africa, where the past and the present as a combination is so contentious. Hayes suggests that the visual economy was expanding in South Africa in the 1980s. “South African images received heightened global attention, full-time professional photography became viable.”<sup>346</sup> This might also lend something to the potential reasons as to why Duggan-Cronin’s images are re-occurring; because of the photographs’ improved currency in general. Perhaps once South Africa was reincorporated

<sup>342</sup> Harris *Refiguring the Archive* 162.

<sup>343</sup> Douglas *Life Less Ordinary* 11.

<sup>344</sup> Goodnow *et al.* 178.

<sup>345</sup> Anna Douglas. “Alfred Duggan-Cronin” *Figures & Fictions: The Ethics and Poetics of Photographic Depictions of People*. Conference 24-25<sup>th</sup> June 2011. 1.

<sup>346</sup> Hayes “Power, Secrecy, Proximity” 146.

back onto a world stage it they needed to have a tangible photographic history to go with the burgeoning new photographs.

All the articulations above are relatively formal, public engagements with Duggan-Cronin's work. Apart from these exhibitions, articles and displays enacted according to disciplinary norms, or in counteraction to them, there are also many are intangible responses in the form of visitor responses at these occasions by way of personal responses and imaginings that have not been formally recorded except perhaps in visitor books. It might be possible to collect some oral recollections of visits too, if wished, but I have not attempted this in this study. There are further intangible responses which might also be considered that would be in response to viewing publications of Duggan-Cronin's photographs: *The Bushman Tribes of Southern Africa* and *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa*. These might not normally be considered as reimaginings or reinterpretations since they are not formal presentations of his work, but it is commonly understood and as is referenced here in different forms, the recognition that individuals will 'read' different encounters and public displays in different ways. The imagination that is the Duggan-Cronin-contemporary publication and museum display will then have been personally reinterpreted according to each individual's own experiences, previous knowledge of the photographs and perhaps of theory and academic knowledge.

There is always a reason *why* some things return throughout time. Landau goes some way to explaining how and why images, particularly are re-used:

...visual images are often re-used or re-worked simply because they are recognisable. Re-used pictures can *implicate* a wide subject (say, 'Bushmen) in a powerful or fraught way before they say anything *specific* (say "Bushmen are elegant people"). The initially specific 'messages' of pictures can then be silenced or even reversed. Pictures of bushmen served the 'bushmen discourse' in this unpredictable way, carrying their pictorial properties forward beyond their initial purposes, and sometimes into contrasting textual domains. Bushmen images therefore tended to persist after their discursive life-support was ended, as we have seen both for the earliest accounts and for photographic ones. Such imagery seems to be communicated on a different level than the text beside it.<sup>347</sup>

<sup>347</sup> Paul Landau. "With Camera and Gun in Southern Africa: Inventing the Image of bushmen, c. 1800 to 1935." *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen*. Ed. Pippa Skotnes. (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1996) 140.

It is notable that there have been many recent presentations of Duggan-Cronin's photographs, for which a number of possible reasons can be considered. These reasons by my curation, appear to correspond also with a shift of frame that partially transports the images squarely into an art space.<sup>348</sup>

One of the understandings of the re-emergence that I have considered, was the possibility that photographs, often part of an archive, might also be subject to the type of processes that Achille Mbembe describes is part of the conventional production of an archive:

Once they are received, they have to be coded and classified. They are then distributed according to chronological, thematic or geographical criteria. Whatever criteria are used at the time of coding, classification and distribution, these procedures are simply a matter of creating order. Documents are thus immediately placed in a system that facilitates identification and interpretation. More seriously, the documents are then placed under a seal of secrecy - for a period of time, which varies according to the nature of the documents and local legislation.<sup>349</sup>

In this case it seems unlikely to be in the same way that Mbembe is suggesting since the interment time has been almost one hundred years, but perhaps there is another unofficial interment period for photographs that is only becoming apparent now, since photographic history is only just over two hundred years.<sup>350</sup> It is hard to tell if another reading can be taken by acknowledging the re-emergence of other 'old' photographs in other contexts, this will be explored later.

Another possibility I should at least entertain is that it is not so much a re-emergence as a continued presence. Godby suggests there has been a continued interest in Duggan-Cronin's work but it is not necessarily expressed publicly or extensively.<sup>351</sup> I can, however, still fairly comfortably evidence that there has been a definite increased presence of Duggan-Cronin's photographs in art exhibitions in the last fifteen years. I suggest it would also be fair to say that a common theme throughout all reoccurrences is delight in the beauty and aesthetics of the photographs, as well as the historicity. Many of the curators have been seduced particularly by the look of the images as well as perhaps the magnitude and availability of the project. In light of Godby's understanding of

<sup>348</sup> I say partially since despite this trend each catalogue and explanation contains a significant amount of information concerning the previous ethnographic project.

<sup>349</sup> Mbembe 19.

<sup>350</sup> Some sources extend it further back.

<sup>351</sup> Michael Godby. Personal communication. Discussion 23 November 2011.

them as being classically composed and in a Western style, one could ask whether any aesthetic pleasure that is experienced is then controversial, beyond the normal post-colonial controversies. Another practical possibility for the re-emergence could be related to the McGregor Museum and the accessibility of the collection. Possibly, after Duggan-Cronin's death and the intervention of official apartheid, Kimberley became a less fashionable area, or at least the collection may have been less accessible than it has been in recent years, perhaps reflecting another aspect of archive responsibility or susceptibility that individuals working for institutions are highly influential.

Although, as discussed earlier, the designation of Duggan-Cronin's work is reasonably transient, I wish to suggest that the founding and formal institution of Duggan-Cronin's work should be taken as anthropological, and that the formulations here today imply, partly by design, that there is a clear move from understanding Duggan-Cronin's work as an important anthropological work, to presenting it as 'art'. Godby begins to interpret this reappraisal of work at the end of his paper. His assertion quoted at the beginning of this section clearly recognises the displays as tools to an end, and hence a potential currency.<sup>352</sup> Godby furthers:

In the case of Duggan-Cronin, evidently, it is more important that a crude, general sense of alignment be communicated than the contradictory complexity of the original project. In the process of course, Duggan-Cronin's project is flattened, South Africa's history is flattened – and a vital part of South Africa's heritage is impoverished.<sup>353</sup>

Godby suggests that the use of Duggan-Cronin's photographs by institutions today is political (as it was then), such as in the case of *Thandabantu*, but perhaps I can understand the presences of Duggan-Cronin's work in some of these new imaginings as an attempt to re-expand his project, South Africa's history and South Africa's heritage, or at least that often seems to be the intention or projection.

A move from anthropology to 'art', if it is read as such, could be aligned to compliment the move from apartheid and colonial thought to post-apartheid and post-colonial thought. The efforts made by loosely labelled 'curators', can be read as attempts to remove the images from their political, historical contexts and attempts to reassert them as aesthetic treasures, as in the case of Mandela's endorsement and the *Thandabantu* exhibition.<sup>354</sup> Alternatively, in the case of *Life Less*

<sup>352</sup> I will return to the idea of currency later. Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 82-3.

<sup>353</sup> Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 83.

<sup>354</sup> Mandela 4.

*Ordinary* they can be used in comparison with contemporary work which can attempt to redefine race, presenting modern works as progression in this space of ‘othering’ (but I would argue still with the danger of reinforcing difference).<sup>355</sup> In effect, this is using them for *new* political and future historical contexts and intents. Perhaps the iconic endorsement from Mandela is the reason for the reemergence, which could also be entwined with the restoration of the collection which resulted in Mandela’s engagement with them in the first place.<sup>356</sup> It is also likely that the costly restorations would require that a greater awareness is made of the collections existence, such that it is not a wasted effort.

It can be seen that the move into ‘art’ has been somewhat successful, at least on the surface. One artist I was in conversation with even referenced Duggan-Cronin’s volumes *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa*, as a monograph, an artistic term which does not reference the anthropological nature of the works. Speaking to the same art student and photographer, he told me Duggan-Cronin is one of the most famous photographers in South Africa. As we were speaking he told me there are many references to his work. I then realised that I was foolishly assuming he meant academic, written references, whereas he actually meant artistic references. From this leads the question; what does it mean if Duggan-Cronin’s works have successfully transitioned into being understood as artworks? It could be seen as a trivialization, or attaching of importance to the collection. Alternatively it might simply reflect a general trend in changing Western and or South African societal existence, or indeed a change in curation methodology.

Through exploring the multiple reappearances of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs, I find myself developing a platform which allows the understanding of photographs almost as a currency, but not simply as Tagg presents them – as a non-objective currency not accessible or valuable equally between different people although simultaneously implying this versatility. By my definition photographs are, rather, a currency that essentially exemplifies a recognition of the interactions between audience, subject and photographer; a currency that can be used variously and even conflictingly. Using the status, context and presence of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs, new narratives can be devised based on the reputation of something apparently well-established in South African history. In this particular trajectory the intention can be to use this expanded archive of various reinterpretations of something usually understood as a fixed canon, to ascertain whether reinterpretations can be useful platforms for understanding photographs taken in another time, and indeed to analyse our ways of seeing also in the frame of today. Considering

<sup>355</sup> Douglas *Life Less Ordinary*.

<sup>356</sup> *Thandabantu*.

photographs as currency, as part of a cultural currency, one notes firstly the observation that some cultures do not understand photography in the same way as others and, in that same vein, understand that the dominant culture, where it is understood as a valuable currency, will be where the rules and production of it are determined, as exemplified by Tagg.<sup>357</sup> Tagg's analysis particularly relates these relationships to the recognition that 'truth' and photographs as record are a difficult subject.

Another consideration is to remember from the introduction to this study, a dilemma around the pressure to feel resentment towards such photography. Even after my subsequent discussion, I am still wondering whether all these individuals associated with related exhibition, might also be struggling with this apparent contradiction of presuming a need to resent the photographer, but also struggling to disregard the photographs completely due to their apparently compelling and useable nature.

More generally, the use of 'old' photographs is frequently referenced but less easily harnessed. Stephen Bann suggests: "...we are now experiencing a kind of historical *ricorso* to curiosity whose effects are often perceptible just where we might least expect them: that is, in the conception and display of immediately contemporary works of art."<sup>358</sup> All of the exhibitions considered here seem to follow this pattern, and hence are unsurprising. This is not necessarily a chronological engagement as I have also seen demonstrated. As Bann goes on to say: "Only in the last decade of the twentieth century, and with mixed results, has it become tempting to subvert this triumphalist chronology in favour of a more punctual, thematic, and often (it must be admitted) haphazard association of ideas."<sup>359</sup> Bann follows:

This new desire to contest chronology does not, of itself, amount to a return to "curiosity". It would be absurd to use the concept as a catchall for the many diverse new strategies of the postmodern age. But it may well be that curiosity has a specially important and indicative role, as well as being merely symptomatic of what it is that returns when the historicist mode of presentation no longer retains unquestioned authority. Curiosity has the valuable role of signalling to us that the object on display is invariably a nexus of

<sup>357</sup> J. B. Derogowski. "Real Space and Represented Space: Cross-Cultural Perspectives." *The Behavioural and Brain Sciences*. 12 (1989) 57 cited by Nørretranders, *The User Illusion* 187 cited in Rosamund Stone Zander & Benjamin Zander. *The Art of Possibility: Transforming Professional and Personal Life*. (USA: Harvard Business School Press, 2000; New York: Penguin Books, 2002)11.

Tagg 35.

<sup>358</sup> Stephen Bann. "The Return to Curiosity: Shifting Paradigms in Contemporary Museum Display." Ed. McClellan 118.

<sup>359</sup> Bann 120.

interrelated meanings – which may be quite discordant – rather than a staging post on a well trodden route through history.<sup>360</sup>

Many of our examples could certainly fit into this new order of things, with self-reflexive undertones illustrating the multiple identities of art itself.

Edwards cites some reference to old photographs use too:

I want to turn finally to another movement over *The Boundary* and consider briefly a sample of work by photographers working within contemporary visual arts who are using the visual documents of anthropology's history to counter the traditional anthropological categorisation of people and experience, and in some cases to confront and re-inscribe the artists' own cultural identity and history. As such these works constitute an expression of faith and strength in a new order, and a positive renegotiation with the old. They represent part of a political struggle to assert the unique value of different cultural voices and claims to shared access to resources and institutions. Further, they represent not merely individual talent and creative urges but constitute a response to collective norms of judgement, for instance archiving and classificatory control. The generalising frames of anthropology are demolished in these works to be reconstituted as localised histories or contested histories and a re-articulation of that experience. Access to photography has allowed new perspectives on the kind of imagery which was commonplace in anthropology's history (Onus 1993). Thus opening up the apparently fixed meanings of images has been fundamental to much black and indigenous image—making both in the documentary tradition and in visual arts practice.<sup>361</sup>

There are other uses too; some artists have literally adapted old photographs such as those that Edwards and Christopher Morton cite: Leah King-Smith's *Patterns of Connection* (1991) and Zig Jackson's *Spirit* (1989). These artists have manipulated old photographs to their own intents. Edwards and Morton suggest that these represent “expressive re-engagements with, and renegotiations of, archival imagery; they represent a dynamic articulation of history as a continuing dialogue between past and present concerns.”<sup>362</sup> They say that “Although mainstream anthropology has shown reluctance in critically engaging with contemporary art as making a

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>361</sup> Edwards *Rethinking Visual Anthropology* 70.

<sup>362</sup> Ed. Christopher Morton & Elizabeth Edwards. *Photography, Anthropology and History: Expanding the Frame*. (Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate publishing Limited, 2009) 18.

meaningful contribution to representational practice, recent volumes...have signalled an increasing interest in such intersections between differing disciplinary approaches.”<sup>363</sup>

As I have already suggested, it is tempting to label the re-emergences I have explored as ‘post-apartheid’ or ‘post-colonial’ reimaginings but I resist this idea since it is difficult to attach something to a specific time, just as it is difficult to attach some things convincingly to a particular genre. I regard the use of time as a fixative as problematic – again it references fixing binaries, as if the time is the definitive reference for all things. Instead, sometimes it can be more useful to understand everything as in transition, happening on a continuum, although this too has been proven problematic since it can then be used as a tool for manipulation and othering, as Johannes Fabian has demonstrated.<sup>364</sup> It is interesting then to note that the images shown in Duggan-Cronin’s volumes do not include specific dates and yet the project took place over a number of decades. Not only would one normally expect changes to occur over such long time periods, but also that the absence of dates would be considered important. One could also speculate that perhaps the project of recording would not have taken favourably to the differences in dates, for such a project and hence they were not included. Dates may not have been included also to correspond with the idea that these ‘tribes’ were, as traditions, unchanging, and hence the version Duggan-Cronin created would be fixed for him wherever and whenever he travelled around southern Africa and therefore this could go some way to affirming the problematic idea that pre-‘modernisation’ African cultures were static.

Despite this difficulty of attaching occurrences to times, I have yet to find an appropriate alternative since to remove it and come up with something new and useable immediately, is far beyond my brief here. Even if I were able to find an alternative, the conventional idea of time has become central to this study.

#### Where the projects are archived & where the exhibitions have been shown

Since part of my project here is to interrogate the process of creating an exhibition, its relationship to society, scholarly work, the photographs themselves, and the world, I am compelled to mention the archives of the exhibitions as coexistent with the original Duggan-Cronin archive. The most coherent records of the exhibitions I have explored are in their own catalogues and online reviews. Although the exhibition *Shared Legacies* has no catalogue, it does have the advantage of being well

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>364</sup> Johannes Fabian Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983)

'blogged' on the Albany museum blog and I have the advantage of being in conversation with the curators.<sup>365</sup> The record of *Shared Legacies* on the blog includes the inaugural opening speech, a general description and discussion, details on future projects involving the exhibition and engagements with the exhibition.

It is also pertinent to note the whereabouts of each exhibition since public spaces and places are inevitably influential over the outcome and response of each display, and indeed front the reputation. Three of the earlier displays I have referenced are significant for their presence at UCT. These displays, if understood in the context of the political history of the university, proved controversial, but could easily have been continued and are clearly understood differently according to different individuals and areas of the university. The contrast, then, of hosting the images in the South African National Gallery, as part of one of the largest South African photography exhibitions, is surely crucial and then to be displayed in the Castle of Good Hope Gallery as a monographic presence under sponsorship of one of the wealthiest companies in South Africa is a further significant indicator.<sup>366</sup> This then moves its status to a radical and duographical interpretation that began in the CAS gallery – an unknown, disrespected space – then moved to the McGregor Museum in Kimberly – home to Duggan-Cronin's permanent gallery space – then on to the Albany Museum in Grahamstown where it was part of the Grahamstown festival and had the greatest exposure. Then smaller selections are presented in England, one in a lesser known big-city gallery and the other in the internationally recognised Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Corinne Kratz' book *The Ones that are Wanted* contains useful speculation where she traces the movement of the same exhibition through different spaces.<sup>367</sup> She explains:

Where exhibitions are shown can affect how their representations are understood and created. Institutional approval and investment of space, personnel, and other resources lend certain kinds of legitimacy, expertise, and associations to the values and perspectives formulated through exhibitions. The very notion of "museum exhibition" conveys authority; images and interpretations presented are often assumed to be true and incontestable because museums are seen as important educational institutions.<sup>368</sup>

<sup>365</sup> [Albany Museum Blogspot](http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/). <<http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/>>

<sup>366</sup> De Beers Consolidated Mines supported the *Thandabantu* exhibition.

<sup>367</sup> Corinne A Kratz. *The Ones that are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of representation in a photographic exhibition*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002) 4.

<sup>368</sup> Kratz *The Ones that are Wanted*. 92.

Without a detailed knowledge of the history, exhibition repertoire, individual curators and details of each venue, it is difficult to project any understanding of the significance of each exhibition. It is hard to gauge the relevance of the ‘where’, but it is clear that the dispersal has been wide and also varied, with some being well-known, well-established institutions and others much smaller, each with associated implications, as Kratz professes. It would require further research to understand the diagnostics and distribution of the audience, which would perhaps constitute ‘valuable’ knowledge. I suspect a full statistical analysis might come to some interesting conclusions about these different spaces, but such numerical analysis is beyond the scope of this study. Other differences would also be entangled in different promotion strategies, individual relationships, availability, audiences and other details.

---

#### Avoiding difficult discourses

Some debate has asked for a reappraisal of work considered oppressive, colonial or anthropological, labels that are often referenced in the formal canon of work relating to Duggan-Cronin. Whilst this seems impossible, improbable and almost equally insulting, there is argument that space for such ideas needs to be made. However, where other interpretations have been invoked they are rarely successful in avoiding these difficult discourses, whether or not it is appropriate. It is possible to apply new labels such as ‘art’ or ‘documentary’ as alternatives but somehow one still ends up with colonial discourse relating to those ideas and thinking that surely it is for the ‘peoples’ of the pictures to decide because we *are* in a ‘post-colonial’ frame. ‘Taking back’ the photographs has been attempted and the debates roll on – debates that condemn the responses of those receiving the images, which I consider to be a continuation of behavior equally demeaning, presuming once again that ‘we’ in this day and age the ‘scholars’, know how and why ‘they’ are receiving the images in the ways that ‘they’ are. There other ways in which discussion and reconsideration can occur beyond exhibitions too. *The Colonising Camera* project, which started off as an exhibition, had other methods of returning photographs, and they experienced memories flowing and great debates through publishing images in local newspapers.<sup>369</sup> In a way this might link to the questions about the relevance of the ‘where’ of the exhibitions. For those people concerned with agency and identity, which many exhibitions seem to be, surely the audience needs to be extended beyond the stereotypical gallery-visiting types. In many senses some displays that have ‘changed’ intentions could demonstrate either ‘preaching to the converted’ or ‘going over the heads’. My knowledge of South African gallery visitors is not professional, but I am not alone in

<sup>369</sup> Ed. Hartmann *et al.*

noting this issue. Lambley asked of *Shared Legacies* to whom these questions were being asked.<sup>370</sup> The idea of publishing photographs in local newspapers perhaps conveys one possible alternative to the potentially pretentious displays made otherwise, but what else can be employed and to what ends, given the increasingly visual world, as worried on by Rosler.<sup>371</sup>

Ultimately, even if the usual difficult discourses can be avoided, there are still more that are then approached or exposed. Returning to the ideas of continuum and biography, I think this is one of the crucial realisations that needs to be made and enacted. One should not be attempting to fix any one thing to any other, but rather recognise fully that all that one researches, discovers and presents is just another stage in an infinite continuum and perhaps therefore the fewer repetitions of similar ideas, the better. Although often mooted, there rarely seems to be a space for this to be successful, since academia, especially academic writing, requires the use of parameters, focus, formulations and generalisations, conclusions and summaries and this takes time to filter through (perhaps less so today). This quote from a post-colonial discourse cites Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie which reasserts those same ‘changes’ that remain unchanging:

At first when I began reading ethnographic images I would first become extremely depressed and then recognition dawned. I was viewing the images as an observer, not as the observed. My analytical eye matured, I became suspicious of the awkward, self-appointed ‘expert’ narrative...That was a beautiful day when the scales fell from my eyes and I first encountered photographic sovereignty. A beautiful day when I decided that I would take responsibility to reinterpret images of Native peoples. My mind was ready, primed with the stories of resistance and resilience, stories of survival.<sup>372</sup>

Although Tsinhnahjinnie is ‘native’ too I find it hard to understand this behaviour as not permeating the same patterns of ‘knowing’ and ‘authority’. The patterns of power and presumption continue.

<sup>370</sup> Lambley.

<sup>371</sup> Martha Rosler cited in Gevers 95.

<sup>372</sup> Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie “When Is a Photograph Worth a Thousand Words?” *Photography’s Other Histories*. Ed. Christopher Pinney and Nicholas Peterson. (America: Duke University Press, 2003) 41.

---

 CHAPTER 4 | PHOTOGRAPHY & ITS FRAMES AND ANTHROPOLOGY & ITS PERSUASIONS
 

---

“A photograph is always a translation, distillation or filter of reality seen from the physical and conceptual standpoint of the person creating the image – as well as that of the viewer.”<sup>373</sup>

“...[ethnography] is always caught up in the invention, not the representation, of cultures.”<sup>374</sup>

As I began to approach in the introduction, there is plenty of debate surrounding both photography and anthropology, their methods and understandings. In many senses the intentions of anthropology are aligned with certain aspects of readings of photographs, perhaps due to my mode of research, but also due to the relationship between photography and anthropology. It is clear that there is no one way of reading and interpreting photographs and there is no one way of producing them either, as I have been acutely aware of throughout. Lambley states: “It is not merely the images alone that fashions the context of a photograph. And in this regard, nor is it merely the text. A photograph is governed by the reason why it was produced in the first instance – within a social environment which, like a blue print, can never be removed.”<sup>375</sup> In the case of anthropology, the processes are more articulate but what they intend to do and what is actually done can be found disparate and controversial. The methods of both anthropology and photography can be demonstrated through the work of Duggan-Cronin and the next chapter will cover the parallel comparison of exhibitions and curations which are guilty of the same charges (although at this point it is surely progressive to consider ‘the charges’ rather as alternatives than as a sense of ‘right’ or ‘wrong’).

In this chapter, I wish to engage with further relevant observations that have been highlighted concerning photography and anthropology. First, however, I wish to recognise that Duggan-Cronin’s work did not exist as an exclusive project.

---

### Comparisons

My project is focused on Duggan-Cronin’s photographs but it is helpful to understand to some degree the context in relation to comparable photographic projects, therefore this section makes an attempt to situate, particularly the re-emergences of, Duggan-Cronin’s work in relation to related projects or photographers, although arguably there are very few.

<sup>373</sup> Garb 9.

<sup>374</sup> Clifford Writing Culture 2.

<sup>375</sup> Lambley.

The idea of ‘recording the vanishing races’ is commonly referenced as a general theme in European anthropological practice, emergent in a particular trajectory of viewing the world from a Western perspective. Whilst there is significant evidence that this was a general trend, I have not found any examples directly comparable to Duggan-Cronin’s project which culminated in similar extensive volumes. The comparison could be extended to include the work of social workers such as E.G. Malherbe who conducted a report on the ‘poor white question’ in South Africa in the 1930s which, although text was given precedence, resulted in a substantial series of images too, for the Carnegie Commission of Investigation.<sup>376</sup> Considering others who recorded the ‘urban’ scene too might be more successful, as Darren Newbury implies.<sup>377</sup>

Godby and others have compared Duggan-Cronin’s project to Larabee, a female photographer from Cornwall, England, who also photographed ‘indigenous tribes’. Her work was arguably more experimental and one of the crucial framing differences is that Larabee was considered a documentary photographer or photojournalist, not ethnographic or anthropological.<sup>378</sup> Although she was acknowledged and known as such, she preferred herself to be simply ‘a photographer’ and it was the art of photography that was allegedly her passion. Newbury claims that it is her ‘tribal’ photographs for which she is best known, although she was also one of the few female photographers to photograph World War II.<sup>379</sup> Newbury also implies that her primary interest throughout was ‘the urban black man’ and much of her oeuvre expresses ‘every day life’ too, although these photographs were unpublished.<sup>380</sup> One can also argue difference from Duggan-Cronin in her more ‘modernist’ style, following her formal training in photography – such a style and training that Duggan-Cronin lacked.<sup>381</sup> Larabee also allegedly photographed what was there and constructed the literal frame, unlike Duggan-Cronin who supplied props and clothing. It could be argued that Duggan-Cronin and Larabee are comparable based on the idea of contemporary pressures being a determinate factor in their work, determining the presentation and construction of their works. At a coarser level, they did both *take* photographs of ‘indigenous’ people, but somehow Duggan-Cronin, perhaps because of the enormity of his project is more present,

<sup>376</sup> John Edwin Mason. “Poor Whites & Photography in South Africa: The Backstory.” John Edwin Mason: Documentary, Motorsports, Photo History. 23 October 2010. 30 September 2011.  
<[http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john\\_edwin\\_mason\\_photogra/constance-stuart-larabee/](http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john_edwin_mason_photogra/constance-stuart-larabee/)>

<sup>377</sup> Newbury 17.

<sup>378</sup> John Edwin Mason. “Constance Stuart Larrabee & the Ndebele Man in Riding Breeches.” John Edwin Mason: Documentary, Motorsports, Photo History. 11 August 2010. 30 September 2011.  
<[http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john\\_edwin\\_mason\\_photogra/2010/08/constance-stuart-larabee-ndebele.html](http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john_edwin_mason_photogra/2010/08/constance-stuart-larabee-ndebele.html)>

<sup>379</sup> Newbury 19.

<sup>380</sup> Newbury 18-42.

<sup>381</sup> Newbury 18.

particularly today. Larabee is also known to have photographed on the mining compounds in Kimberly, as did Duggan-Cronin.<sup>382</sup> Establishing Larabee as a *photographer*, Newbury then suggests a counterpart, Ellen Hellmann. As a social anthropologist, Hellmann fits more closely in to the trend of ‘social investigation’.<sup>383</sup> Newbury explains that her photographs were less well circulated and Newbury has much less to say about Hellmann, but as an anthropologist she would be more closely comparable to Duggan-Cronin. Hayes also cites Larabee and Hellmann as ‘early photographers in South Africa’ along with Duggan-Cronin, as well as Levson and Eli Weinberg, none of whom have produced anything like the project of Duggan-Cronin.<sup>384</sup> The CAS Gallery Facebook page provocatively compares the work to that of August Sander implying a connection and then removing it by meaningfully stating “Sander was, however, concerned with his own people.”<sup>385</sup> Hart suggests that Arthur Elliot, also from Britain, might be comparable since he too started a career in photography at around the same time as Duggan-Cronin.<sup>386</sup> As a primarily architectural photographer, the comparison is surprising but Hart’s reference is in relation to their foreignness, dates and self-taught photographic technique.<sup>387</sup> One could also add to the comparison their aim to record through their photographs, and their exhibition history. Hart also comments that they have both “left behind extensive collections of valuable photographs” and reminds us once again that Duggan-Cronin’s oeuvre was not just ethnographic and people-orientated but also includes other scenes: “In one respect their work overlaps namely in scenes of the Cape as it was in the early years of the 20th century. A photograph taken in 1908 by Duggan-Cronin called The South Easter is remarkably similar to one taken by Elliott captioned House at Sir Lowry’s Pass.”<sup>388</sup>

The other comparisons, almost stipulated by the McGregor Museum, are the photographers Elliot, Jean Morris and Alice Mertens. They are also included in the McGregor Museum’s collections and are aligned according to their photographing of indigenous people but up to 1980. Unlike Duggan-Cronin, interestingly, none of them have a great internet presence beyond the McGregor Museum’s website and *Ezakwantu*, an ‘African’ shop and information website.

Of course, Curtis the photographer incorporated with Duggan-Cronin’s work in the *Shared Legacies* exhibition, is comparable for the fact that his intention too was to record vanishing races and his

<sup>382</sup> Newbury 18-42.

<sup>383</sup> Newbury 41.

<sup>384</sup> Hayes “Power, Secrecy, Proximity” 143.

<sup>385</sup> “Flipping the Portrait”

<sup>386</sup> Hart [African Historical Photographic Archives](#).

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*

work was similarly extensive.<sup>389</sup> I have already noted that his photographs have had a different life to Duggan-Cronin's and have been displayed more frequently.<sup>390</sup> The book *Pictures Bring us Messages* explores another example – that of Beatrice Blackwood. Blackwood, an anthropologist at the Pitt Rivers Museum of the University of Oxford also recorded Native American Indians at the Blood Indian Reserve in southern Alberta, Canada in 1925 but her collection is of only thirty three photographs.<sup>391</sup>

It is worth noting that other photographs from similar times were taken by non-photographers such as missionaries and travellers, some have become more important than others. Sometimes their work was considered ethnographic and both photographic and written accounts have been used subsequently by trained anthropologists.

The other photographs that should be considered are those by the anthropologists themselves. What is interesting about these is that they are rarely displayed, especially not in the way that Duggan-Cronin's have been. The one exception to this that I have observed, perhaps the beginning of a trend, was the photographic exhibition held at the Iziko Slave Lodge in Cape Town, entitled *Siliva Zulu: Silent Pictures Telling Stories*, which included photographs by Lidio Cipriani. With a large timeline introducing the exhibition, it had a very historical, factual presence and most information was decisive in its presentation. It was clear that a careful attempt had been made to ensure there was no mistaking the exhibition for endorsing a fascist position – the position of Cipriani. The curators were careful to explain that the photographs taken, which appear to be ethnographic (as according to the fact that Cipriani himself did not reference their origins and considered them as such) were in fact taken during the filming of the movie *Siliva Zulu*, a fictional story directed and filmed by an Italian crew.<sup>392</sup> During the time of the filming, Cipriani was considered an anthropologist and is recorded as being such.<sup>393</sup> I would argue that the photographs are very aesthetically pleasing but also exhibit the standard photographic tools and compositions as commonly recognised in Western photographic trends.

The photographs by anthropologist Martin West present another example of anthropological photographs being represented in an exhibition. West was working on a PhD in anthropology in the 1960s and 70s and used photographs as part of his field recording process. The exhibition

<sup>389</sup> Ed. Cardozo.

<sup>390</sup> “Two Worlds Meet in a Snap”

<sup>391</sup> Alison Brown & Laura Peers. *Pictures Bring Us Messages: Photographs and Histories from the Kainai Nation*. (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 2006) 3.

<sup>392</sup> “Siliva Zulu: Silent Pictures Telling Stories” Exhibition at Iziko Slave Lodge, Cape Town, South Africa, 2011.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*

presented at CAS in 2011 was expressly styled as a ‘reimagining’. As well as being part of anthropological fieldwork, the images were also originally intended for presentation in the anthropological book *Bishops and Prophets in a Black City*, but Weinberg, the curator of this exhibition, staged them in an exhibition. Weinberg articulately affirmed and expressed his own impact on the images, their curation and captions. The exhibition was fairly ‘conventional’ (if one can use such a term) and it took the anthropological intent as accepted and interesting, presenting them in alignment with this intent. As a documentary photographer himself, Weinberg understands the photographs as aesthetically and technically pleasing but also socially important, in this case in demonstration of the possibility of presenting ‘the world’, here as a “window on a world that dances between indigenous values and Christianity brought by the colonial and settler communities”.<sup>394</sup>

The book *The Colonial Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History* represents an exhibition of the same name (albeit a ‘visual backdrop to a conference’) and also presents old, often colonial, photographs from a variety of backgrounds. It also references other uses of historical photographs being redisplayed in public places, notably the use of old photographs in current newspapers as a way of displaying the archive so that it can be responded to by a wider audience. Again, there is little online reference to the actual exhibition, although here it may be due to its nature as a ‘visual backdrop’ so details of the actual exhibition are only found in the book and a number of corresponding articles and presentations.<sup>395</sup>

It is difficult to discern exactly what else might be comparable to this focus on one photographer’s work, especially within the limitations of the project. One other important context in which this work must be considered, is that of today’s exhibitions and presentations. Although again restrained, I will examine other uses of these gallery spaces.

It is difficult to know where to start with this aspect. Ultimately, I should be examining the entire spread of exhibitions in the last decade but this is impossible in the circumstances. In spite of this impracticality, it is still necessary to bear in mind the range of exhibition genres that could be explored: photography exhibitions, exhibitions using ‘African’ photographs, displays of

<sup>394</sup> Paul Weinberg cited in Patricia Lucas “Celebrating Africa in the Midst of Apartheid” [News from Communication and Marketing Department, University of Cape Town](http://www.uct.ac.za/usr/press/2011/celebrating_africa.pdf). 06 June 2011. 06 December 2011.

<[http://www.uct.ac.za/usr/press/2011/celebrating\\_africa.pdf](http://www.uct.ac.za/usr/press/2011/celebrating_africa.pdf)>

<sup>395</sup> Patricia Hayes. “Photography, Memory and the Archive in Namibian History”

<[http://wiki.dcc.ufba.br/pub/Main/LivioSansone/Hayes\\_Phtography\\_memory\\_archive.pdf](http://wiki.dcc.ufba.br/pub/Main/LivioSansone/Hayes_Phtography_memory_archive.pdf)>

ethnographic objects, art exhibitions, exhibitions that explore ‘African identity’, exhibitions in South Africa and many more. .

The CAS gallery space has been used for other displays of so-staged ‘anthropological’ work but it has a complicated existence doubling up as a lecture and conference space, and displays are not necessarily archived or recorded. The Iziko spaces have numerous displays featuring a number of genres – recently there has been a focus on photography relating to *DRUM* magazine at the South African National Gallery. This is not the appropriate place to go into all the other spaces, but needless to say, exhibitions are many and varied – some are specifically used for ‘art’ displays and others are more versatile.

In the exhibition realm itself, curators are becoming more experimental in their attempts to recognise their role in allowing exhibition spaces to be spaces of questioning. *Miscast* is an important reference point for such exhibitions. One such exhibition that brings to mind *Shared Legacies* in its unexpected and potentially shocking approach constitutes ethnographic objects and is cited by Roberts in her chapter on exhibitions as ‘objects of knowledge’. The exhibition was called *Secrecy: African Art that Conceals and Reveals* and was held in the Museum for African Art in 1993.<sup>396</sup> Playing on knowledge gained during field research with the *Luba* the curator and researcher established a way of understanding the *Luba* culture such that they had specific regimes of knowledge dissemination, including regimes of concealment, which she endeavoured to convey this through secrets in her exhibition.<sup>397</sup> With this she had to, like a secret “announce the existence of hidden information, while withholding the same information”.<sup>398</sup> This kind of experimental curation is well aligned with the intentions and thought that went into O’Connell and Washkansky’s interpretation of the archive of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs.

It is important to draw attention to these interventions and displays in order to understand that the presence of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs in such a diverse range of presentations is not necessarily surprising. As will be explored further in the next chapter, the scope of curation is under pressure to rethink itself and, indeed, every stage in the thinking of the world’s developing collective consciousness which presents itself in all aspects of life and is made visible through cultural expressions.

<sup>396</sup> Roberts 172.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*

One query that is relevant here is the question of art objects. The *re*-emergence of Duggan-Cronin's photographs carries the potential for their being regarded primarily as 'art' objects. My observation is that 'art' objects can often fulfil a different kind of trajectory. Where they do re-emerge, it is due to a shift in their life of ownership or their presence in a different exhibition. However, one might also ask whether they take on new meanings in the same ways we are experiencing Duggan-Cronin's work to be to take on new meanings. It is also pertinent to consider how and when 'art' objects re-emerge in comparable manners.

### Consent & Participation

One of the contestations persistently returned to is the difficult relations between the photographer and the photographed in the various methods and tools of 'othering'. One of the counterarguments to this problem is the premise that photographs are only taken when consent is given by the sitter. Of course, many people were not willing to be photographed and Duggan-Cronin employed a local assistant so as to overcome these difficulties.<sup>399</sup> A potent visualisation and example of the very fact that even if consent is refused the 'observer' might still assume power can be found in the film *What About Me?* where the film-makers include footage of people from all over the world expressing their distaste at being filmed, saying that they never benefit from the films being made, they never get rich, they never even see the films.<sup>400</sup> Some of the reasons for the resistance of people to being photographed are presented by Michael Stevenson and Michael Graham-Stewart in *Surviving the Lens*, where they show that financial incentives or persuasive behaviour could overcome these worries.<sup>401</sup> Indeed it must be remembered that where photographic 'subjects' did have a 'choice', those in the photographs represent not the whole of 'that' society but those within the society who were prepared to be photographed, by persuasion or otherwise, and to be dressed and positioned accordingly. This surely presents quite a different tone to what are usually considered to be 'authentic' and un-engineered, and quite serious works! As Stevenson and Graham-Stewart highlight in their own debate: "A question that remains unanswered is what did the subjects receive in return for participating in the photographic process? Were they able to negotiate their presence and some compensation or did their subordinated status in the rigid colonial hierarchy preclude such bargaining?"<sup>402</sup> Would negotiation and compensation be relevant? What values were assigned to whom and what was negotiable?

<sup>399</sup> Jacobson 7.

<sup>400</sup> *What about me?* Dir. Duncan Bridgeman & Jamie Catto. 19 Entertainment, 2008.

<sup>401</sup> Stevenson & Graham-Stewart 27.

<sup>402</sup> Stevenson & Graham-Stewart 31.

Even if consent was allegedly given, my worry is that an understanding as to what exactly ‘they’ were consenting to was veiled or incomprehensible in any case. In both cases of consent and non-consent, if options were given, paid or unpaid, what the purpose was exactly would surely never be understood since the cultures involved were so radically different. They would be understood perhaps in personal ways only. I might be more willing to ignore the possible variations on a perception of photography if it were not for the following extracts which persuasively suggest otherwise:

In a famous experiment, the Me’en people of Ethiopia were presented for the first time with photographs of people and animals, but were unable to “read” the two-dimensional image. “They felt the paper, sniffed it, crumpled it, and listened to the crackling noise it made; they nipped off little bits and chewed them to taste it.” Yet people in our modern world easily equate the photographic image with the object photographed – even though the two resemble each other only in a very abstract sense.<sup>403</sup>

Recognizing Pablo Picasso in a train compartment, a man inquired to the artist why he did not paint people “the way they really are.” Picasso asked what he meant by that expression. The man opened his wallet and took out a snapshot of his wife, saying, “That’s my wife.” Picasso responded, “Isn’t she rather small and flat?”<sup>404</sup>

For the Me’en people there were no “photographs”, although they lay in their hands as plain as day. They saw nothing but shiny paper. Only through the conventions of modern life do we see the image in a photograph. As for Picasso, he was able to see the snapshot as an artefact, distinct from what it represented.<sup>405</sup>

These are different contexts and different times but they are very potent reminders that things are now necessarily what ‘we’ think and therefore it is not necessarily relevant to make negotiations based on our own understandings.

It is also necessary to re-approach the realisation that the judgements that ‘we’ place on the people within images in relation to their consent (and in other ways) need to be done very carefully or

<sup>403</sup> Deregowski 11.

<sup>404</sup> Heinz R Pagels. The Dreams of Reason. (New York: Bantam, 1988). cited by Nørretranders. The User Illusion 188. cited in Zander & Zander 11.

<sup>405</sup> Zander & Zander 12.

preferably not presumed at all, even with textual ‘affirmative evidence’. Speaking on a similar subject in relation to Harry Johnston’s photographs from the Caribbean, P. Archer-Straw suggests:

To judge the subjects of these photographs as innocent or complicit, or to paint Johnston as a typical “colonial”, short-changes a larger discussion about how whites and blacks negotiated each other’s identities during this era. Discomfort is an inevitable consequence of really “seeing” these images and the complex investigation they provoke.<sup>406</sup>

These debates also recall the way in which we, as observers, fluidly assign characteristics and emotions to subjects within photographs. Stevenson and Graham-Stewart’s comment here reinforces these motions whilst simultaneously questioning the relationship between ‘observer’ and ‘spectrum’:

...a dialogue develops in such photographs between the present-day viewer and the subjects, and one is repeatedly struck by the contained stoicism of the people in the images. They are rooted in their own lives. Even if quizzical or intimidated by the process, their body language and facial expressions suggest that they retain a high degree of dignity and self-possession. Usually the subjects look out at the photographer – and at the modern viewer – strongly and sometimes even defiantly. In our looking back, we seek to understand the dynamic connection (or disconnection) that existed between the subject and the photographer. What usually tells us most about this relationship is the sitter’s direct eye contact, which confronts and sometimes even subverts the photographer’s attempts to control and construct.<sup>407</sup>

These ideas of consent also correspond to the issues presented with, particularly ethnographic, anthropological research.

My process of understanding centres on the neutral act of participation, free from judgement and assumptions. From this premise, the irreversible action of taking the picture is what is dubious, not the photograph itself. I would argue that acknowledging and including the recognition of participation, in human terms, in whatever circumstances and with whatever understanding, encompasses the real essence of relationships between living things and non-living things. This has the effect of reminding us of our entanglement with the subject which ultimately is very important.

<sup>406</sup> P Archer-Straw. Photos and phantasms: Harry Johnston’s photographs of the Caribbean, (London, 1998) 10 cited in Stevenson & Graham-Stewart 31.

<sup>407</sup> Stevenson & Graham-Stewart 24.

Without these relationships between things, the definition of terms such as ‘object’ would have no significance and perhaps then things would be ‘bare non-life’, to refigure Giorgio Agamben’s use of Greek in his debate on Sovereign Power and Bare Life.<sup>408</sup> If it is the action itself, then photographers today must also take note, (that is, photographers who also excuse themselves with a miscellany of rhetoric comparable to the anthropological photographer) but those photographers who are engaging with the methods are still participating. This argument is still tricky as participation is also ‘abused’ or, rather, misunderstood:

Curtis often gathered ethnographic information in traditional ways – through research and formal and informal interviews – but he clearly believed the best way to learn about Indian life was to participate in its unique and powerful aspects. “I couldn’t make pictures of their religious ceremonies unless I entered into their inner life and understood it from their standpoint.”<sup>409</sup>

Despite this assertion, these images still comply to the counterargument for ethnographic work of being oppressive.

### Returning photographs

The exhibition and book *The Colonising Camera* is intrinsically linked to this, opening its intentions by expressing that “Connecting old photographs with stories of the past was the hope, if not the aim, behind the exhibition....The desire was to bring colonial photographs out of the archive and reconnect them with contemporary historical discourses in Namibia and elsewhere”<sup>410</sup> To both, the relationship between photographs and memoirs is made explicit.

In many debates in classes and research, the idea of returning photographs to societies has been mooted as a way of returning agency to the sitters. Often, when this has occurred, the responses are not quite in keeping with the ideas of the majority of scholars and they are generally very well received. This would seem to contradict arguments that believe the photographs have been taken in dubious circumstances.<sup>411</sup> In the case of the Navajo of North America they requested for

<sup>408</sup> Giorgio Agamben. Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998).

<sup>409</sup> Ed. Cardozo 95.

<sup>410</sup> Hayes *et al.* 2.

<sup>411</sup> Michael Aird, 2003: 25 cited in Ed. Morton & Edwards 7.

images to be returned so they could then be destroyed which of course went against Western notions of archive.<sup>412</sup>

In reference to Curtis' photographs, Joseph D Horsecapture describes people encountering Curtis' photographs in exhibitions:

Eventually I saw several Native America kids with their parents who were also looking at the photographs. I couldn't help overhearing their conversation and their fascination with the images. It was evident in their eyes that Curtis's work has survived not only as a testament to one man's vision, but also as a glimpse into the past for generations of Indian people.<sup>413</sup>

The same book cites:

The photographs, when returned, as in this case, are for me an example of the ways traditions are always transient, fulfilling the basic Native American Indian principles of ancestor communication Joseph D Horse Capture has explained how the photographs have become part of this ritual. This is a personal use of photographs, the exhibition is for a spectacle seeking audience.<sup>414</sup>

This further demonstrates the potential for photographs to simultaneously fulfil multiple roles according to multiple societies if boundaries are stretched and accessibility of images is prioritised and less related to power and domination.

The use of photographs as 'memory buckets' is widely referenced and can easily be experienced in many societies daily which has been acknowledged in the light of many of the exhibitions discussed above.<sup>415</sup>

In Duggan-Cronin's case there is the issue that many of the actual people in the photographs will have passed away but there would still be an attainable response. Indeed, the producers of *Life Less Ordinary* have learnt that there are, at least there were in 2009, people still alive who had been photographed by Duggan Cronin and, as previously quoted, some people have requested to have

<sup>412</sup> Pinney & Peterson 89.

<sup>413</sup> Joseph D Horse Capture. "A Personal Legacy." Ed. Cardozo 27.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>415</sup> Dr Alberta Mayberry. "Two Worlds Meet in a Snap"

copies of their images and even members of the royal families who were once photographed visit the Duggan-Cronin Gallery.<sup>416</sup>

Given O’Connell and Washkansky’s concern with the agency of sitters in the photographs, I wondered if they had considered returning the photographs not only to the areas of South Africa from which they came but also the mines. It is clearly not an alien idea, at least to O’Connell, since her current research is resultant precisely from an engagement with photographs of herself and her family and friends, many of whom have been recorded engaging with the photographs themselves. One might wonder at the reaction of sitters or their living relatives to learn that their photographs were turned to the wall in O’Connell and Washkansky’s curation.

Another returning of agency was experimented with by Rohde. In this example, a project was instigated which presented Namibians with their own cameras such that they could ‘represent’ themselves. These images were then presented in an exhibition. The explication of this exhibition in its accompanying book suggests that this takes “the ‘colonising camera’ into visual paradigms beyond colonialism”<sup>417</sup>

Both returning photographs to the colonially photographed and the notion of participation lead to Rassool and Hayes (and others) point about the issues of perpetuating problems by discussing them further.<sup>418</sup>

---

### Audiences

The project here is thankfully already endorsed by realisations, such as Tagg’s:

It is not enough to reconstitute the complex conditions, means and processes of production. The same analysis must be brought to bear on the mode of reception of the work. We must *historicise the spectator*, or, to make this more precise by returning to Berenice Abbott, we must also take care to specify *to whom* and under what conditions she thought her photographic images would *appear* ‘realistic’.<sup>419</sup>

<sup>416</sup> Douglas *Life Less Ordinary* 7.

<sup>417</sup> Hayes *et al.* 2.

<sup>418</sup> Rassool & Hayes 153.

<sup>419</sup> Tagg 156.

The preceding chapters have already, albeit sometimes indirectly, addressed the audiences, or 'spectators'. In the case of Duggan-Cronin's images, they were originally, mostly intended for an audience engaged with anthropological research. Certainly this audience was in America and Europe and possibly also a similar audience in Kimberly, though this audience also extended to an 'art' audience as well as appropriate local dignitaries and other known, invited, individuals. Now the projected audiences are gallery visitors and possibly those who wish to redress the situation of South Africa as part of a political move.

However, it is ever notable that photographs have a 'chicken-and-egg' dilemma and I understand a two-way relationship between the photographer producing work with a particular audience in mind whilst also creating work according to what they presume the audience to expect or desire. The impact of the work produced might conform to expectations, or might impact the understanding and views of the audience. Equally, sometimes an unexpected audience might view the photograph which could result not only in changed views and understandings for the audience, but also for the photographer. In the case here, I would argue that 'we', as visitors to galleries, are unexpected, unintended or even unanticipated audiences of historical photographs. Hayes *et al.* again provide a useful reference for this understanding formulating it particularly in the light of the form of presentation:

To spell out some of the implications: images travelled in different circuits according to whether they were produced as postcards, for example, or were part of a private collection in a family album. As a postcard or a collectable, numerous people would have seen the picture and it would have had an impact on public perceptions of a place, an event or the people photographed, especially if there was a caption with the original.<sup>420</sup>

A point cited by Brent Harris leads us usefully to our next section through a consideration of power-relations in images:

Prins suggests ... that it is neither the photographed nor the photographer who ultimately has power over the image. Rather, in the tripartite relation between photographer, photographed and audience, power rests with the audience which reads, interprets and utilises the photograph in the construction or support of a particular truth claim or belief.

<sup>420</sup> Hayes *et al.* 6.

This is true for the uncaptioned photograph, the photographic image that supplements or complements a written text, and the photograph that is supplemented by a written text.<sup>421</sup>

Even without a corresponding text it could be argued that the audience still imposes a significant pressure on the photographer, simply by the production of the image in the first place. If one considers today's 'market driven' economies this surely parallels the idea in terms of the photographs produced as consumable goods.

### Power & agency

Another subject that is bound up in both photography and anthropology and related to consent and participation and debated inconclusively is that of power and agency, both in photography and research. The debate is too large to include here in any detailed form but essentially there are concerns around the manner of production of both anthropological research and photographs. There have been many debates around the collection of objects and their ownership, control, understanding and hierarchy, amongst other things.<sup>422</sup> Many of these are issues approached by curations such as *Shared Legacies* but what has not yet been confronted are the power-relations that exist between the curator and these photographs and therefore by extension, those communities.

In both anthropological and photographic situations, the agency and power presumes to belong to the anthropologist or photographer, often and significantly, white and of European or American descent. There are questions, as Harris asks: "...who, in the taking of photographs, has the power: the photographer or the photographed?"<sup>423</sup> Harris goes on to demonstrate that perhaps it not as one sided as one might assume, although still not equal:

Prins shows that both the photographed and the photographer can imbue the photograph with a particular interpretation and, hence, gain some form of control over the image. However, the unequal relationship between the metropolitan (or settler) citizen and the colonial 'other' meant that the latter was far less likely to provide a public image with a particular interpretation or caption. The 'other' was at a disadvantage in the colonial discourse and, thus, at a disadvantage in its visual discourse as well. Furthermore, it was

<sup>421</sup> Prins 23.

<sup>422</sup> Lambley.

Stevenson & Graham-Stewart 31.

Hayes *et al.* 6.

<sup>423</sup> Harris *The Colonising Camera* 22.

more often than not the colonial ‘other’ that was being represented in colonial photography, and by colonial agents. Consequently, in the visual discourse of colonialism, the represented were in a far less powerful position than those who represented.<sup>424</sup>

The power plays within the field of anthropology could be considered fairly self-explanatory, particularly in the context of ethnography where an ‘outsider’ imposes his or herself on a society in order to engage with every aspect of their lives. As Stirrat explains it, cited by Rohde in relation particularly to ethnographic photography: “There are obvious parallels between the particular rhetoric of anthropology and the function of ethnographic photography, both of which have been crucially concerned with “claiming a form of authority, the ‘we have been there, we have seen it’ style, against which there is no argument”.”<sup>425</sup>

In preparation for discussion in the following chapter it is important to consider another sphere: that of power in curation. Where curatorial power is acknowledged, it is often in the form of recognising that curators have a role and an obligation to *guide* the viewers rather than it being seen as the curators taking a subjective and self-determined narrative. Although the books written to explain how to create a successful exhibition and how museums need to change their ways and displays are generally spoken of positively in the discourse of exhibition creation and curation, in this case I would argue for an alternative critique. It has already been proven that museums struggle to keep up to date with current ideas on museum and gallery practice and museums, and galleries have been extensively critiqued, especially in southern Africa, for being colonial and outdated. This then leads one to ask why the ideas surrounding curatorial power here have not also been critiqued as extensively. In fact they have been to some extent: the notion of displaying ‘living cultures’ and using ‘indigenous knowledges’ have been difficult to overcome and yet changes have been made according to these new ideas of incorporating other knowledges. These new ideas could be argued as stemming from a Western way of knowing and still impose deeply entangled power-relations on objects and humans. Another aspect that will become pertinent is that of the ‘power of art’ as explored by Firth and Alfred Gell among others.<sup>426</sup> Institutions withhold the power to determine what counts as ‘art’, as discussed by Goodnow and others, and what is worthy of archiving.<sup>427</sup> It is now commonly accepted that our contemporary analysis is already jeopardised by the situation of ‘archive’, as Edwards and Morton acknowledge in the

<sup>424</sup> Prins 22.

<sup>425</sup> Stirrat, 1995:14 cited in Rohde 188.

<sup>426</sup> Firth & Gell cited in Coote & Shelton.

<sup>427</sup> Goodnow *et al.* 10.

relevant case, “for this is the form that anthropology’s visual legacy comes to assume.”<sup>428</sup> This, as another hierarchical power, is a significant point as it inevitably affects results:

It is a historiographical commonplace that history is texted by the forms, practices and contexts of its archiving. Thus the archives of noted anthropologists....cannot be understood as unmediated deposits of anthropological activity itself, or an historically neutral resting-place for individually interesting images, but as being shaped by the processes and procedures of the institutions that curate them and the researchers who use them.<sup>429</sup>

The power of the archives is a strong influence. Aryan Kaganoff states “...the archive cannot be anything else but a conduit of Western ideologies. It employs Western systems of confining to textuality, of organising and arranging into systems and categories, of capturing in definitions, of fixing in codes”, and carries on “Leading South African archivist Verne Harris remarked that “instead of fixing meaning archival endeavour as a whole, should be about the releasing of meaning.””<sup>430</sup> Edwards comments:

There is a fluidity, heterogeneity and even serendipity to both making photographs and their preservation in ‘The Archive’, for neither making nor preserving is a unified practice. It is important to move away from the reiteration of an almost predictable catalogue of stereotypes, which frequently exaggerate the homogeneity of archival action and which confuse consumption with production. Such over determined models both reify ‘The Archive’ as an inactive space after the first act of appropriation, and at the same time, paradoxically, close precisely the space in which alternative voices might emerge, whilst doing nothing to displace or destabilise the power of ‘The Archive’.<sup>431</sup>

---

### Text & image

Encompassed in the lives of photographs, and also leading into the next section where I consider curation, is the ongoing interplay between text and images. There are, as always, many debates

<sup>428</sup> Ed. Morton & Edwards 8.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid* including Rose 2000, Edwards & Hart 2004

<sup>430</sup> Aryan Kaganoff. “Lizabe Lambrechts : The Music Archive as a Methodological Conduit of ‘Western-ness’.” *Kagablog*. 15 July 2011. 11 October 2011. Including Verne Harris 2002: 71.

<<http://kaganof.com/kagablog/2011/07/15/lizabe-lambrechts-the-music-archive-as-a-methodological-conduit-of-%E2%80%98westernness%E2%80%99/>>

<sup>431</sup> Edwards. *Raw Histories* 4.

about the use of visuals in relation to text, particularly in academic work. I have already referenced the early twentieth century expression of the preference for text over images in academic, specifically anthropological, research.<sup>432</sup> The relationship between text and image is often sticky and the chapter *The Visual in Anthropology* by David MacDougall exemplifies particularly the history of these frictions within the subject of anthropology.<sup>433</sup>

Hayes *et al.* have also noted the somehow unfulfilling presence of visuals in many earlier books related to Africa specifically, often just being on the covers of books and maybe nominally within a text to "...provide a 'feel' or 'atmosphere' for the period, to identify a person or place, or simply because of their outright quaintness".<sup>434</sup> They note the subordination of visuality to textuality which they say is "...grounded and empirically validated by reference to documents and sources from the privileged site of the archive" and consider this treatment of images condescending.<sup>435</sup> They continue:

Historians often regard the photograph as a mere 'illustration' to a more important textual reference, and treat it like a quotation. Quotation itself is often seen as self-evident, and not conceived as a 'language' which seeks to persuade, or which constitutes a discourse with its own structures of meaning.<sup>436</sup>

This stands in opposition to much of my argument in this study around the notion of images as 'self-evident' and non-persuasive.

One of the uses of text that is often utilised, especially in anthropological, and in another form - that of art - is a caption. In anthropology, captions for photographs are considered vital and are much debated. In a more general sense, Barthes suggests that "...the caption "burdens" the photograph "with a culture, a moral, an imagination" that directs the audience to a particular reading.<sup>437</sup> Harris suggests the caption assists the audience "to choose the correct level of perception", encouraging a focus of not only the gaze but also the understanding."<sup>438</sup> Of course

<sup>432</sup> Weitzner 542.

<sup>433</sup> MacDougall.

<sup>434</sup> Including Corinne Kratz. "On Telling/Selling a Book by its Cover." *Cultural Anthropology*. 9.2 (1994) 185 cited in Hayes *et al.* 2.

<sup>435</sup> Including Corinne Kratz. "On Telling/Selling a Book by its Cover." *Cultural Anthropology*. 9.2 (1994) 185 cited in Hayes *et al.* 2.

<sup>436</sup> Hayes *et al.* 2.

<sup>437</sup> Roland Barthes 1997:26 cited in Harris *The Colonising Camera* 23.

<sup>438</sup> Harris *The Colonising Camera* 23.

this is precisely the intention of the anthropologist since a ‘misreading’ would be considered problematic as MacDougall explains.<sup>439</sup>

The introduction to this project also cited a paper by Jenkins which usefully demonstrates the potential relationships between text and images, illustrating the pros and cons of each situation.<sup>440</sup>

The inclusion of this debate has surfaced particularly because of the formulation of the temporal movement of Duggan-Cronin’s images from anthropology to art which also signifies a shift from text to image. One notices that the exhibition catalogues have a disproportionately large amount of writing relating to Duggan-Cronin, even where his works are included as only part of a display.

This invokes a certain paradox that surrounds writing about photographs. In my own photographic work, albeit amateur, the images that I capture are taken so that I do not have to try to express my experiences and views in a vocal or textual way.<sup>441</sup>

As articulated in *Rethinking Visual Culture*, images allow a much greater flexibility than words and indeed, this could perhaps be the fear of the anthropologist who is aiming for clarity and distinction.<sup>442</sup> It could be suggested that it is unfortunate that we have learnt to manipulate this fluidity since there is such great potential in the image as a break beyond the restrictions of written academia and constricted disciplines. Where images remain unfettered by text, they will always hold uncertainties and potential, but when reined in by curation or text they become another part of the discourse which restrains the idea of continuous processes and learning. If one does not know for certain the full details of an image, surely nothing can be fixed or canonised, unlike texts that are fixed, finite and complete, and at least partly ‘fact’. As MacDougall puts it, “Words, on the other hand, have little more to say once you have written them.”<sup>443</sup> However, it is perhaps dangerous to be so liberal, as Barthes implies: “Photography transformed subject into object, and even, one might say, into museum object...”<sup>444</sup> A fitting conclusion for this chapter is a quote from Chevrier which also sets up discussion for the following chapter, reminding us that sometimes the text and or narrative is only applied later:

<sup>439</sup> MacDougall 289-90.

<sup>440</sup> Jenkins.

<sup>441</sup> I am tempted therefore, to write the required 25000 words in images (according to the now colloquial phrase ‘a picture speaks a thousand words’ this would only require 25 pictures)!

<sup>442</sup> Ed. Banks & Morphy.

<sup>443</sup> MacDougall. 283.

<sup>444</sup> Barthes 13.

A visual document is seldom 'eloquent' by itself, if it is not accompanied by a caption or supported by an argumentation. Moreover, a document, precise as it may be, is not addressed to anyone. A document may be addressed to a particular purpose, but the best documents are often unintentional productions, which found meaning afterwards. The document reveals its historical content to the eyes of the historian who has not produced it and who, so to speak, comes in the picture after the event. For photographers who are involved, sometimes blindly, in the present that they are recording or that they intend to depict, the documentary content of their pictures will only appear later on: they will know what they have photographed later on, and so they work in the future anterior. The dimension of *address* is on the contrary a component of the testimony. Whereas the document is at best waiting for the interpretative use that will give it a meaning, if not 'its' meaning, the testimony wants to be seen or heard immediately, even if the most significant (or most disturbing) testimonies have often, too often, been received with much delay.<sup>445</sup>

There is a hugely expansive collection of debate and context around both anthropology and photography, much of which is relevant here but is too broad to cover in its totality. However, I hope that what has been touched on above provides enough thinking spaces to widen the debate at least a little.

<sup>445</sup> Chevrier 54.

## CHAPTER 5 | THE ART OF CURATION

---

“...images are ‘dynamic objects with entangled histories whose surfaces reflect different meanings within different historical and cultural settings’”<sup>446</sup>

“Today it goes without saying, to paraphrase Adorno, that nothing concerning the world of art museums goes without saying.”<sup>447</sup>

I present this chapter as a space to understand curators as constructors, their role in making sense and in making ‘nonsense’ make sense. The critical role that curators play must be appreciated. They are constantly having to select and deselect – never can ‘the whole’ be incorporated or displayed, or even collected, kept or stored. For my purposes, curation is discussed here in relation to archives, individuals, museums, galleries, audiences, objects and more. There is, as I have already mentioned, debate around curation, the methods of, and critiques, of historical and current practice.

### Entanglements

Before delving into debates around curation let us make reference to the non-fixity of terms and spaces that relate to such debates. The idea of curation corresponds directly to exhibitions, curators of exhibitions, but also other ‘displays’. Every museum or gallery, often national institutions, have ‘curators’ who are responsible for the presentation and ‘care’ of collections. In my superficial research and understanding, I had forgotten that the existence of ‘galleries’ was not, in scholarly discourse of curation at least, necessarily completely distinct from ‘museum’. Understanding ‘art’ as newly produced visual and pleasure objects (in very simplified form), and museums as containing objects that may have had other functions or be naturally occurring, collected probably in times gone by where realms of acceptability were different, it took me some time to allow them to be synonymous.

It is perhaps significant, in this context, that this relationship is not discrete, since Duggan-Cronin’s work has been distributed, to some extent, between the two, with little bold acknowledgement. This perhaps reflects the equally synonymous relationship between art and

<sup>446</sup> James Ryan. Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire. (London, 1997) cited in Stevenson & Graham-Stewart 9.

<sup>447</sup> Adorno 1972 cited in Nick Prior. Museums & Modernity: Art Galleries and the making of Modern Culture. (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2002) 3.

anthropology in practice, before it is ‘collected’ or ‘archived’. Indeed the boundary between gallery and museum is so blurred that the authors of *Art and its Publics* “takes as its premise that museums are where the great majority of people in the West today encounter art”.<sup>448</sup> For a more more distinctive and useful approach see Goodnow.<sup>449</sup>

Concerned with ‘challenge and transformation’ in such institutions, distinctions are maintained and explored, and the history of these differences is also acknowledged:

They [Art Galleries] attract attention in part because they are historically associated with a different function from those of other museums. As D.F. Branagan notes, Italian noblemen in the 16<sup>th</sup> century would often have a room within the house in which older or exotic artefacts were gathered. This room was called the *museo*. A separate room would include paintings and sculpture, and the name of this room - the *galleria* – was given a name that had fewer connotations of the old or exotic, or of contemplative thought. The practices in these museums may appear to say less or imply less about divisions among people. They do, however, signal who counts: These are ‘important artists’, these ‘don’t matter’. They also make distinctions with regard to the value of various forms of artwork. This is ‘art’, this is ‘craft’. These works are ‘high culture’, these ‘popular culture’.<sup>450</sup>

It is important to highlight the formal understanding and recognition of the two (museums and galleries) as one, since much pertinent debate is framed in the sense of ‘museum’ and not ‘gallery’ and sometimes causes confusion because in some cases the distinction matters. I refer to this problem specifically because it requires clarification that is not always given. My own argument could potentially be reliant on their being discrete, hence it is also significant if they are not and lack of clarification becomes a problem. Curation still applies to all displays and therefore is a more useful term for my argument here.

---

#### A general understanding of curation

“An exhibition is event, object, and interactive process at one and the same time. The exhibition’s production, its travel to other venues, the ways information and impressions about

<sup>448</sup> McClellan xiii.

<sup>449</sup> L. Kelly & P. Gordon. “Developing a Community of Practice: Museums and Reconciliation in Australia” Rhetoric or reality? Museums as agents of social inclusion. Ed. R. Sandell. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2001) Goodnow *et al.* 28.

<sup>450</sup> Including D.F. Branigan. “The idea of a museum” Rare and Curious Specimens: an Illustrated History of the Australian Museum 1827-1979. Ed. A.R. Strahan. (Sydney, 1979) 1 cited in Goodnow *et al.* 29.

it circulate, the ways people experience and understand it – all these are complex processes. They take place at different moments, in varied settings, and bring into play diverse fields of social relations, but all are connected through the exhibition.”<sup>451</sup>

Roberts considers exhibition, specifically in the context of ethnographic museums, as “an arena for translation” and she argues “that exhibitions are never passive representations, but are themselves ‘objects of knowledge’”. Paul O’Neill states: “Exhibitions (in whatever form they take) are always ideological; as hierarchical structures they produce particular and general forms of communication.”<sup>452</sup> These understandings are persuasive and can be seen to be applied throughout curatorial history, with various acknowledgements by the curators and their societies. The book *Issues in Curating Contemporary Art and performance* indicates the more current critique, expressing itself as an exploration into “issues of curating as a form of critical intervention into ways of comprehending contemporary culture”, highlighting the current nature of curating as a *form* of critique in itself.<sup>453</sup> Many authors have expressed similar understandings to Wallis, who states: “Museums are central to the ways our culture is constructed. Despite the attention they now pay to spectacle and display, museums – like libraries, historical societies, and archives – are principally concerned with sorting and classifying knowledge.”<sup>454</sup> However, I would argue that one should remember to take care with such projections as there is what could be described as a ‘chicken-and-egg’ situation where museums and exhibitions can be understood as causing changes in society as well as reflecting them. In contradiction to this, Dr Colin Jones, in the preface to *Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney*, offers that:

In a world of increasing and intensifying change, people *turn* to those institutions which provide links to a past, less complicated time when, supposedly, people had a clearer understanding of the meaning of things. Museums are places in which meaning is sought, given and sometimes even found. In this sense museums are sacred spaces and those who work in them are a kind of priestly caste.<sup>455</sup>

Another understanding of Jones, although it might be regarded as overly idealistic, refers to the museum in relation to religion, citing Sacks’ explanation of a religion as ‘binding and forming

<sup>451</sup> Kratz *The Ones that are Wanted* 91.

<sup>452</sup> Roberts 171.

Paul O’Neill. “The Curatorial Turn: From Practice to Discourse.” *Issues in Curating Contemporary Art and Performance*. Ed. Judith Rugg & Michèle Sedgwick. (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2007; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) 14.

<sup>453</sup> Ed. Rugg & Sedgwick 7.

<sup>454</sup> Wallis 39.

<sup>455</sup> Own italics. Dr Colin Jones. “Preface.” Ed. Goodnow *et al.* 10.

people into community' relating it to Museum's relationship to a community's self-understanding and in contrast to politics.<sup>456</sup> One could see this as an idealistic alternative to politics, since politics, especially in South Africa, has become inextricably intertwined with museums in deep and important ways.

Bettina Messias Carbonell's anthology aims to:

...foreground the museum's identity as a domain of cultural practices, and a magnet for the average visitor's and the professional critic's responses to those practices. Museums explicitly and also often unwittingly offer the "material conditions of existence," the "representations which produce meanings" and the "modes of productions" and "signification" which constitute a sound bias for the study of culture.<sup>457</sup>

This is premised in the field of "cultural studies" which is apparently "comprehensively defined in terms of its commitment "to the study of the entire range of a society's arts, beliefs, institutions, and communicative practices."<sup>458</sup> Importantly Carbonell states: "Each museum site, whether it be the entire institution, the permanent collections and collecting policies, the special exhibitions, the individual galleries, the public programs, the retail store or the restaurant is, in the spirit of the preceding definition, a cultural "artefact"."<sup>459</sup>

### Acting as curator

It must be noted that during the course of this project I was involved in my own forms of curation, curating a photographic exhibition of my own work as part of a course I was taking in photography curation. This had a significant impact on my understanding of this subject. I became very aware of the fact, that depending on the material you are engaged with, one can get quite lost in the process of 'design', and forget, in subtle and nuanced ways, the impact and potential for reconstruction through your work, even though that is precisely what you are trying to deal with. One can slip into a process focussed on devising a functional and accessible narrative – directed entirely by that intent – instead of focussing on personal interests, important themes, or the photographs themselves. One can easily become distracted by the process of coercing things into

<sup>456</sup> Jones 11.

<sup>457</sup> Michèle Barrett *et al.* "Representation and Cultural Production" (1979) 10 cited in Ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell. Museum Studies: an Anthology of Contexts. (Malden, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 2004) 2.

<sup>458</sup> Cary Nelson *et al.* "Cultural Studies: An Introduction" (1992) 4 cited in Ed. Carbonell 2.

<sup>459</sup> Ed. Carbonell 2.

stories that might not be appropriate. This will depend on the circumstance of each exhibition, and my own engagement with this process was at an amateur level, and it is likely that experienced and professional curators have learnt to overcome these issues. It is however, a provocative observation when combined with the consideration of Duggan-Cronin's work as a product of external social pressures.

### Making Stories

“A great deal of effort often goes into maintaining the illusion that the form the finished exhibition takes is exactly what was intended all along, unmarred by compromise of indecision”<sup>460</sup>

It seems to be intrinsic in human nature to force our experience of the world into narratives – compartmentalising, creating patterns and story-telling. Rosamund and Benjamin Zander say: “Our minds are [also] designed to string events into story lines, whether or not there is any connection between the parts” and there are many theorists, such as Foucault, who have explored this pattern.<sup>461</sup> One of the fundamental positions underpinning my study is the understanding that exhibitions and presentations of Duggan-Cronin's work are subjectively constructed according to contemporary contexts within society – politics, individuals, aesthetics, and post-colonial theory. The ‘art’ of curation is an important reference for this exploration. This can be tied into these large current debates that surround museum display as approached by scholars, as well as its own debates that exist largely in a practical, art-related manner and included within that the use of photography. Exhibitions such as *Shared Legacies*, which are trying to expose the conditions of production of Duggan-Cronin's work, are performing their own conditions of production. These methods are recognised and displayed more explicitly in some exhibitions than. O'Neill references this shift in relation to Seth Siegelaub's term in the 1960s - ‘demystification’ - which was apparently coined to acknowledge just this shift; “whereby curators were beginning to make visible the mediating component within the formation, production and dissemination of an exhibition.”<sup>462</sup> In a similar vein, another tangential yet relevant observation was raised in a class with Julia Clark. In discussion of art and art critique Clark was noted that the role of art critic has shifted from being the occupation of journalists and art critics and moved to being the occupation of curators.<sup>463</sup> Clark then went on to describe both critics and curators as mediators and constructors of

<sup>460</sup> Muller, 1994: 14 cited in Kratz The Ones that are Wanted 99.

<sup>461</sup> Zander & Zander 12.

<sup>462</sup> O'Neill 13.

<sup>463</sup> Julia Clark. Lectures at Michaelis School of Fine Art, University of Cape Town, September 2011.

meaning, taking a position, presenting it and analysing it.<sup>464</sup> The intention of both now seems to be to make sense of the ‘deep entanglements’ between art, society and its institutions through processes of research, interpretation, analysis, writing, performativity and more.<sup>465</sup> Quoting Gillick, O’Neill presents the similar shift where writers who once used to be the critics are replaced by curators who have become the critics and the debates appear more in catalogues than magazines.<sup>466</sup>

In line with this, O’Neill observes a shift in the 1960s from critiquing artworks to critiquing curation.<sup>467</sup> He also suggests that the 1990s saw a shift in curation to being a platform for debate and critique instead of the media space for critique of curation.<sup>468</sup> This in turn has led to a conflict surrounding what exhibitions are about - are they about the individual, in this case artworks, or are they about the curator’s theme? If one accepts the curator as the creator of an artwork, and therefore the artworks within the curation as merely the medium and materials of the artist’s choice, do the contexts of those original ‘artworks’ become subservient to the overall art of the exhibition? If this were the case, any questions contained within the original artwork would run the risk of being discarded. As John Miller cites from Prior:

...such institutions often treat and address audiences as a concrete social constituency, whereby artworks are relegated to mere ‘raw material’ within the ‘total artwork’ of the exhibition, thus privileging the curator’s subjectivity, so that the outcome of the exhibition-form is naturalized as an organic inevitability within the organizations institutional framework producing an illusion of curatorial inspiration and genius.<sup>469</sup>

Wells extends this noting that using themes and constructing arguments as a curator is not to be taken lightly and will only work when done thoughtfully.<sup>470</sup>

If it was the case that the ‘theme’ was of superior importance and the content was merely the ‘medium’ then it might be possible to escape the problematics of the content and concentrate instead on the theme. In the case of *Shared Legacies*, the intention *was* to flip that hierarchy and

<sup>464</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>465</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>466</sup> L. Gillick. “Towards a Scenario: Debate with Liam Gillick.” De Appel Reader No.1: Modernity Today: Contributions to a Topical Artistic Discourse. (Amsterdam: De Appel, 2005) cited in O’Neill 14.

<sup>467</sup> O’Neill 13.

<sup>468</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>469</sup> John Miller. “The Show you Love to Hate: A psychology of the mega-exhibition” Thinking About Exhibitions. Ed. B.W. Ferguson, R. Greenberg & S. Nairne. (London & New York: Routledge, 1996) cited in O’Neill 18.

<sup>470</sup> Liz Wells. “Curatorial Strategy as Critical Intervention: the Genesis of *Facing East*.” Ed. Rugg & Sedgwick 31.

make the theme the priority over the individual images, while still respecting their content. But we will always require the media, or content. Indeed, as part of this way of understanding exhibitions I have found it interesting to note the correspondence to Weinberg's assertion, previously quoted: "The camera can be a way to shift consciousness and reflect on contradictions – but it can also be a way to celebrate the world around us."<sup>471</sup> If exhibitions, similarly, can be understood as methods for 'shifting consciousness' it must be acknowledged that this possibility is only realised by the existence of the photographs in the first place. Quoting Benjamin, Roberts furthers her translation paradigm stating that "through successful translation, an exhibition becomes an *active space of epistemological performance* wherein the original episteme is not merely replicated in another language, but significantly changed by the other." She adds Benjamin's quote: "The basic error of the translator is that he preserves the state in which his own language happens to be instead of allowing his language to be powerfully affected by the foreign tongue...[Instead,] he must deepen and expand his own language by means of the foreign language."<sup>472</sup>

Quoting Benjamin further:

...translation marks a stage of continued life and, in the process of translation, the original itself undergoes a change. Translation is never the sterile equation of two languages. Rather, part of a translator's mission is to watch over 'the maturing process of the original language, and the growth pangs' of the language into which the text is being transformed....the essential substance of a translation is not the imparting of information, but rather what it contains in addition to information as the unfathomable, mysterious, and poetic that a translator may only be able to reproduce if s/he is himself a poet. 'Yet any translation which intends to perform a transmitting function cannot transmit anything but information – hence, something inessential. This is the hallmark of bad translations.'<sup>473</sup>

Almost in contradiction to this idea, in relation to documentary photography and film and their curators, Scholten, as an artist and photography tutor, demands that the 'original intentions' of the photographer must be adhered to when attempting curations:

Documentary-makers will have to be clear about their intentions and the status of their images. What is the remit and context in which they wish to present their work? In what way and to what audience do they want to address themselves?

<sup>471</sup> Weinberg "Shifting Focus" 17.

<sup>472</sup> Walter Benjamin 1968 cited in Roberts 171.

<sup>473</sup> Benjamin 178.

The same applies to curators and (art ) historians. Work has to fit into the context of an institution, the concept for an exhibition or a presentation. As far as I'm concerned, curators should have to base their interpretation of work on the original intention of the creator and the position that the work occupied in the socio-cultural field.<sup>474</sup>

Scholten adds:

Work that has been created with a clear journalistic or documentary intent is difficult to place within the same context or presentation as the work of an artist. The one form does not suddenly (now or at a later point) become art and the other will never be able to lay claim to being credible journalism. A fantastically photographed documentary is still not art even when it's photographed really beautifully and the work of an artist can't gain the status of a documentary just like that. If there's a lack of clarity about the positions, the work is interpreted in the wrong way and the viewers become confused.<sup>475</sup>

One could ask what would happen if this view was translated onto Duggan-Cronin's work and whether such a view would apply. In this case, if one assumes the 'original intent' to be anthropological then it follows, by Scholten's suggestion, that the exhibition by O'Connell and Washkansky is invalid since they were intending to represent the photographs not only as art, but also as part of a discourse on the colonial gaze and the gaze in general, without engaging with the original contexts of the photographs. All of the other exhibitions also explored previously, although many cited their original contexts, were also presented in the 'art' realm, provoking the question of what this might do to our understanding. Of course the images could simply be accepted as originally transitional between the realms of art and anthropology in any case, and hence the action is not a change in original intention.

What is interesting then, in the case of O'Connell and Washkansky's composition, is that it not only led to lively discussions about the images and modes and methods of acquisition, but also of exhibition curation as a transient mode of communication. Here one can return to Godby's query as to whether it was rather an art installation in itself, which might therefore allow it to disregard the original intentions of the photographs since they were understood as anthropological.

<sup>474</sup> Scholten 62.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*

---

### Returning to the themes of power, authenticity & audience

The recurrent themes throughout this study – those of power, totalising, truth, authenticity and audience – have been central to guiding the direction of my research and the observations and conclusions I have made. These themes are ever present precisely because they are at the forefront of my mind and therefore my research technique, but also in part by chance, and because they are relevant in current and past debate.

The potential for multiple and diverse readings can easily be recognised in the context of audiences, Wells has demonstrated her own experience of the impossibility of catering for and predicting all reactions to displays, explaining that: “Spectators forge an independent sense of an exhibition; they bring their own subjectivity, desires, history and cultural experiences into play.”<sup>476</sup> Indeed, Wells is explicit in demonstrating that spectators relate directly to their own lives and memories that are often beyond the concept of the exhibition. In another vein Kratz suggests that “Exhibitions become an occasion and a medium through which people carry on social relations and through which they formulate particular cultural and political positions and understandings”.<sup>477</sup> This complements the observations made about Duggan-Cronin’s situation in society too. On the subject of ‘authenticity’ and, in relation, ‘totalising’, Carbonell hints at the difficulties through the example of her own collation of the anthology of writing, explaining that, in that anthology she intends only to “bring together here a representative, provocative selection of perspectives on the museum as (1) a literal gathering place for the representation and reception of histories, memories, natures, nations, cultures, and audiences, and (2) a topos or more abstract mental gathering place for analytical and creative thinking about our encounters with such representations.”<sup>478</sup> This study follows a similar vein, recognising that, although historically the intention has been for displays to be authentic and complete, changes in discourse are making it harder for such claims to be made. In terms of ‘genres’ or ‘namings’ debates around taxonomies and classification have been rife and inflicted change in some cases, including within the Duggan-Cronin collection. In terms of power and hierarchy, these mechanisms have been decisively exposed both by curations and discourse. For example, the idea of curatorship as hierarchical in itself, is discussed by Beatrice von Bismarck, quoted by O’Neill.<sup>479</sup> In an art context and in light of the comparison of curations as art objects in themselves, I would sympathise with the assertion

<sup>476</sup> Wells. “Curatorial Strategy as Critical Intervention” 32.

<sup>477</sup> Kratz The Ones that are Wanted 91.

<sup>478</sup> Ed. Carbonell 1.

<sup>479</sup> Beatrice von Bismarck. “Curating” MIB- Men in Black: Handbook of Curatorial Practice. Ed. C Tannert & U Tischler (Berlin & Frankfurt am Main, Künstlerhaus Bethanien & Revolver, 2004) cited in O’Neill 20.

that: “In contrast to the curator’s other duties, curating itself frees the curator from the invisibility of the job, giving him/her an otherwise uncommon degree of freedom [...] and a prestige not unlike that enjoyed by artists.”<sup>480</sup> The debates on power, pressure and hierarchies can also extend to ‘state’, and in the case of South Africa, the program of ‘nation building’, which ‘heritage institutions’ are now actively coerced into contributing to. Goodnow references that tricky balance of entertaining appropriate audiences:

Raised again are several of the issues raised by other museums: How, for example, to move toward inclusiveness in what is presented or in the people who come to see what is on display? That aim can present a special problem for places like art galleries, perceived by many as places geared toward ‘elite’ or ‘knowledgeable’ people. Highlighted as well is the need to break some traditional divisions (divisions, for example, between ‘art’ and ‘craft’, between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ culture) and the need, in these post-colonial settings, to ask how Indigenous art is treated.<sup>481</sup>

In the context of the UK, a similar pressure is exemplified by Richard Hylton in relation to funding possibilities for such institutions and McClellan also demonstrates the effects of other pressures that therefore might be seen to control the results of curation.<sup>482</sup> Again, all can be seen as problems resultant of white supremacist histories. With regards to text and image debates, already briefly mentioned, the following instance made for a compelling example, where an exhibition that was meant to demonstrate the processes of architects, accidentally turned into an art exhibition due to the decision not to label exhibits:

An important discussion focused on whether the exhibits required any written or spoken explanation, for example, in the form of accompanying statements drafted by the curator or narratives written by the architects. We both agreed that the exhibition was stronger visually without texts placed on the gallery walls. But in retrospect, in my opinion, this decision produced a problem. An art gallery setting expects and effects specific conditions, positioning all objects within its physical parameters as ‘artworks’ *Material Intelligence* was no exception. As a result, the artefacts exhibited were viewed as artworks not as part of architectural design process.<sup>483</sup>

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>481</sup> Including Branigan 29.

<sup>482</sup> McClellan 2.

Richard Hylton “Thoughts on Curating.” Ed. Rugg & Sedgwick 115.

<sup>483</sup> Jane Rendell. “Critical Spatial Practice: Curating, Editing, Writing.” Ed. Rugg & Sedgwick 64.

Another problem is the relationship of exhibition catalogues to the exhibition. Not everyone will read, or even see the catalogue. As was cited earlier, for Coetzee the exhibition *Figures & Fictions* was understood differently according to having the catalogue or not.<sup>484</sup>

The problems of text in curation situations also correspond to the problems of conveying the curators' intent within an exhibition since it is arguably only possible to explain these essentially abstract notions with words. As a curator Wells remarks:

Comments and feedback often surprise me. This encounter is ordered through the selection and juxtaposition of imagery within the specific gallery space which, in effect, results from dialogue between the curator and the works. It is also inflicted through interpretative indicators in accompanying labels of catalogue essays. Indeed, it is through installation, and through written contextualization (or gallery talks), that the critical intentions of the curator may become most evident. Curatorial strategy becomes most effective as critical intervention when it is intended not to close down exploration but, rather, to invoke a range of issues and emotions, representations and debates in order.<sup>485</sup>

This can be found to strongly contradict the intents of exhibitions and displays in Duggan-Cronin's time.

### Where are Museums from?

“In a climate of international brinkmanship and hyper-commodification art museums have become objects of intense scrutiny: academic, corporate, governmental, journalistic. They inhabit a space subject to the increasing excess of the late modern in all its ambiguity, enjoying unprecedented global growth yet also being transformed beyond the limits of the museological as it was shaped in the modern age.”<sup>486</sup>

Here I will consider the change over time in museum and exhibition display. The usually accepted 'origins' of the 'practice' in collections dates as far back, at least in China, as the eleventh

<sup>484</sup> Coetzee.

<sup>485</sup> Wells. "Curatorial Strategy as Critical Intervention" 42.

<sup>486</sup> Prior 3.

century.<sup>487</sup> More commonly referenced are the curiosity cabinets of the later centuries, formed by travellers collecting items of ‘curiosity’, and importantly, then, ‘organising’ them according to their own principles of classification, predominantly in a Western context. One could argue that, once upon a time, these displays were part of a showing-off of wealth, national achievement and spectacle, but also as ‘knowledge’, as suggested by Maxwell. Since then, there have been various transformations, more recently the move was towards the possibility of education through observation within these spaces. This is not in contradistinction to the idea of objects representing ‘knowledge’, but it should come into conflict since ideas of ‘knowledge’ are now being understood as alternative throughout societies. Thus, it follows that, generally, museum collections are only representative, or related to, the ‘knowledge’ associated with the collectors (usually white, male, Euro-Americans).<sup>488</sup> Equally there could be a strong argument for a recent return to ‘spectacle’, as Bann has considered, especially in the art world where artists frequently make headline news, and particularly in the ‘West’.<sup>489</sup> I have already drawn attention to this new trend to specifically expose these old intentions, as if our new appropriations are not a repeat of a corresponding pattern of ‘knowing better’.

By definition, public museums of art (but also natural history, science, etc.) have consistently manifested the rationality, integrity, and public dedication of their sponsor (the state or local civic authorities) though a systematic ordering of their contents. A rational, seemingly neutral classification and display of art yielding knowledge has long been viewed as the guarantee of the museum’s commitment to the public good. In the modern era, the rational classification of art has entailed the separation of art types and media, high from low, western from non-western, and organization by nationality, or “school,” and historical period. Disembodied and abstract, seemingly natural and imposed from on high, these norms of classification distinguish the public museum from private collections past and present....<sup>490</sup>

To take a cynical stance, seemingly existent due to elitist collection practices, roles have had to be devised for museums such that they have acceptable and relevant existence in the present day. Currently one of the popular notions, especially with regard to ethnographic collections, is the consultation of ‘source communities’, which appears to give agency to those communities from

<sup>487</sup> Marjorie Akin. “Passionate Possession: The Formation of Private Collections.” *Learning from Things*. Ed. David Kingery. (USA: Smithsonian Institution, 1996) 102.

<sup>488</sup> Graham Brown cited in Maxwell *Colonial Photography & Exhibitions* 1-2.

<sup>489</sup> Bann cited in Ed. McClellan xvi.

<sup>490</sup> Ed. McClellan xii.

which objects are known to have originated since it “It broadens the basis of knowledge and participation in exhibition development, creating new grounds for institutional authority.”<sup>491</sup> Another role of museums, although less traversed in discourse, is as a point of reference for ‘descendants’, as Douglas noted in relation to the Duggan-Cronin collection.<sup>492</sup> The McGregor Museum also records in its annual reports some of the personal enquiries from ‘the public’ for images of specific events, people and places. I have already mentioned the role of nation building and in this vein one can consider museums, especially local as opposed to state, as a place of repository for artefacts that seem to remain of value in some inexplicable manner, objects that seem not to have quite come to the end of their life and need somewhere to be housed in-case of value in the future. Today increasingly Museums are perceived as entertainment venues, perhaps a result of the increased need to ensure visitor numbers and in so doing to secure continued funding. There has always been a counterpoint between the visitors to museums and their existence be it concerning the ‘who’ is welcomed and encouraged to attend, or ‘how’ they validate themselves in today’s world.

It is pertinent here to refer back to the fact that ‘art’ collections were initially separate from museums and the labels of ‘art’ were only applied to certain objects, these labels being potentially different to what might be labelled ‘art’ today.<sup>493</sup> The manner of display of art is also visibly different now compared with then. Duggan-Cronin’s images were also once displayed in the French origin of ‘salon style’ which is now very much less prevalent, although sometimes still employed. The volume *Art and its Publics*, referenced earlier, considers museums (and their associated institutions) as the place where the public encounters art.<sup>494</sup> The introduction continues:

This statement hinges not just on patterns of leisure and tourism among the expanding educated classes, reflected in remarkable increases in museum attendance in recent decades, but also on semantics. Since their inception two centuries ago, museums have been vested with ever greater responsibility to define what qualifies as art. Art is what is shown in museums. Art may also exist outside of museums, of course, but its status as such may be questioned in a way it never is inside a museum, especially where abstract or conceptual works are concerned. At the same time and in direct proportion, a viewer’s confidence in passing aesthetic judgements decreases beyond a museums walls. The

<sup>491</sup> Kratz *The Ones that are Wanted*, 101-2.

<sup>492</sup> Douglas *Life Less Ordinary* 8.

<sup>493</sup> I wish there was space to consider the ‘African Art’ debates as discussed by Mudimbe, Landau and others. Mudimbe.

Ed. Landau. *Images and Empire*.

<sup>494</sup> Ed. McClellan xiii.

publics confidence in such matters is never great, but museums exist to provide essential guidance and reassurance and, by and large, the public is content to follow the lead of professional curators and educators.<sup>495</sup>

Note the intrinsic ‘power’ dynamics that this reference also highlights. Historically there are also references to the fact that since art was displayed in museums there was again an ‘elitist’ audience, even though ‘public’ art did exist. Even where art was more accessible, there were hierarchies within responses to it as McClellan explains, different responses from different ‘types’ of people are then just assigned labels of ignorance or ‘critically informed’ negating the change in placement.<sup>496</sup>

In the same way that scientific education and education in general have been the validating premises of other objects in museums, in the case of art the understanding is that art is of value due to its ‘life enhancing potential’ which is considered still validating (see more in McClellan).<sup>497</sup>

There is an emergent ‘public versus private’ dialogue within all of these discussions, particularly related to display. Apart from there being an apparent ‘instinct’ for the public display of items, whatever the presented reasons, there is always a relationship with ‘private’, be it with regards to ownership, finances, or otherwise. Entangled with ideas of personal (as different to private) and public reputation, profession and standing, I have not been able to consider the general practice of public display in greater detail in this study. One of the dichotomies that I did find was McClellan recognising that often museum institutions are faced with a tricky dialogue with the idea since they rely on private collections and private donations for their existence, which also exacerbates the hierarchical situation:

Try as they might to evolve towards an ideal of full integration with the public sphere, continued dependence on private patronage for financial support and gifts of art, and the need to reward those gifts with wall plaques and special events, compels museums to live in the shadow of their aristocratic past. As one hand invites the public to partake of its treasures, the other hand courts collectors and sponsors with a deference fit for the great Maecenas of old. For some the lingering aura of privilege is intimidating, but for just as

<sup>495</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>496</sup> Ed. McClellan 3-4.

<sup>497</sup> Ed. McClellan 1.

many it is part of the allure. Like it or not, there can be no denying that without the support of private benefactors there would be no public art museums.<sup>498</sup>

Another reference to the difference in spheres and their power-relations is cited by Maxwell who notes that photographers were reliant on different channels to reach the public sphere and these reflected the “...fluctuating dynamics of racial and cultural policy”.<sup>499</sup> This then provokes the question of whether I can presume that Duggan-Cronin’s collection has maintained a certain level of acceptance and acceptability in the realm of ‘the public’ over time.

Another tricky, seemingly contradictory, situation concerning ‘publics’ is also explored by McClellan:

...a closer look at mission statements reveals tensions within art museums that compromise their ability to fully extend themselves to the public, and any discussion of the museum’s publics must reckon with the implications of these tensions. First, public access is always paired with a commitment to preserve objects for posterity, and if obliged to compete with each other owing to the fragility and uniqueness of the object, preservation will always win out. In a sense, then, museums serve a notional future public as much as real visitors in the present. Moreover, to the extent that curators are trained and hired to care for their collections (and the word “curator” comes from *curare*, to care), they are drawn away from public service. Care for the public is left largely to educators and volunteers who occupy a lower place in the museum hierarchy. Present in all public collections, these tendencies are especially pronounced in art museums where the objects collected are rare and valuable.<sup>500</sup>

This observation also reveals yet another hierarchy in the institution.

In other recent terms, the sphere of ‘museology’ as it has become known, is critically engaging with itself as best it can.

O’Neill proposes a short history of contemporary curating by examining some of the issues that have emerged in curatorial discourse over the last ten years, including the ritualizing of the experience of art through exhibitions, the rise of ‘biennale culture’, the

<sup>498</sup> Ed. McClellan 2.

<sup>499</sup> Maxwell Colonial Photography & Exhibitions 96.

<sup>500</sup> Ed. McClellan 2.

expansion of the artist as a meta-curator and the large-scale curated exhibition as the new autonomous artwork. By articulating the inter-dependent relationship between academic research into the discursive field of contemporary curating and his own curatorial practice, O'Neill proposes an inter-related, performative position as a means of critiquing current issues of contemporary art curating.<sup>501</sup>

The redirection of museum presentations in recent years is directly related to the spread of post-colonial and post-modernist discourse. In South Africa this restructuring is particularly valiant and important, as Lambley explains in the context of the *Shared Legacies* exhibition. Lambley states that “museums are sensitised to the idea that things from the past have to be understood within the context of what we have learnt about them today, especially in light of the fact that traditionally, museums have played a guilty hand at ‘imperialistic collecting’ under the discipline of Anthropology”. Lambley further relates this to the changing state of anthropology itself which has developed reflexive approaches which, although attempting to redress the imbalance are unfortunately currently perpetuating the imbalance.<sup>502</sup> A report by Leslie Witz presented on National Heritage Day at the McGregor Museum provides a directly relevant example. Witz discussed how ten years ago, at a similar event, she and her colleagues were concerned with representing histories in the public domain, advocating a “much closer alignment between the designers and researchers, and that exhibition designers are more than visual functionaries following the historians script.”<sup>503</sup> They also “challenged the museum to break down the classificatory division that existed between the exhibitionary and ethnographic work of the Duggan-Cronin Gallery and the historical work of the former Sanatorium building of the McGregor Museum.”<sup>504</sup> At this time, Witz suggests that South African museums were “perhaps for the first time being placed in a position of having to develop [their] own collections and exhibitions in an inclusive manner.”<sup>505</sup> These motions reflected a more general theorising about museum practice and I can now acknowledge that the Duggan-Cronin collection has indeed been reconfigured. In an article presenting the “McGregor Museum’s Photographic Collection” to the World Library and Information Congress in 2007, Hart explains that the collection of historical photographs began in 1959 and was re-catalogued in 1969.<sup>506</sup> He also explains that recently (c.

<sup>501</sup> Judith Rugg. “Introduction” Ed. Rugg & Sedgwick 7.

<sup>502</sup> Lambley.

<sup>503</sup> Leslie Witz. “Museums, Sustainability and Memories of Apartheid.” Talk delivered on occasion of international museums day. McGregor Museum Kimberly 19 May 2008. 1.

<sup>504</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>505</sup> Witz 2.

<sup>506</sup> Robert Hart “The McGregor Museum’s Photographic Collections with Special Emphasis on the Historic Negatives.” World Library and Information Congress: 73<sup>rd</sup> IFLA General Congerence and Council. 18-24 August 2007, Durban, South Africa. 1.

2007) the Duggan-Cronin collection was moved to be part of the Photographic Collection using the rhetoric:

For many years it was treated as part of the ethnographic collection. A great deal of the material is 'ethnographic' (anthropological) but there is much else which is not and this is also of interest. Duggan-Cronin was not merely an ethnographic photographer. To view him as such does a disservice to the man. It is far better to consider the entire body of his work and look at it as an artistic and documentary collection. It is only by doing so that one can obtain a full and balanced view of Duggan-Cronin and his work.<sup>507</sup>

Witz also helpfully illustrates some of the other strategies in museums, particularly in South Africa, where post-apartheid museum space is opened up to being more inclusive in who it visualises, how and who see it.<sup>508</sup> Witz references here the relationship between museums and their roles in forming new publics too.<sup>509</sup> Witz continues:

... museums were part of creating in the nineteenth century a nationalized self-disciplined public citizenry. Of course, in late twentieth and early twenty-first century South Africa the idea of creating a nationalized public citizenry has been one of the foremost projects of the post-apartheid state. And museums, through their displays, collections, and activities, have been key institutions that have actually sought to construct this citizenry. There is of course a tension here between constructing a nationalized citizenry and ideas of democratic participation that is supposedly the hallmark of post-apartheid South Africa. I want to suggest that the most effective museums have been those which have challenged, questioned and opened to debate the limits and frameworks of the new national citizenry rather than merely sought to reflect it.<sup>510</sup>

For Witz, museums that challenge, question and open up to debate the frameworks and limits of national ideals, offer "far more effective development in that it creates more than a public citizen who is part of the nation, but a critically engaged citizen who constantly questions and queries the nation and its underlying assumptions."<sup>511</sup> It would not be too hard to argue that exhibitions are a

<sup>507</sup> Hart. Robert Hart. "The McGregor Museum's Photographic Collections with Special Emphasis on the Historic Negatives." 2.

<sup>508</sup> Tony Bennett. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995) 73 cited in Witz 4.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>510</sup> Witz 4.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*

useful medium for adhering to these reconstructions, especially those that appear more as art-works themselves.

Other changes in exhibition practice specifically are also noted by O'Neill. Quoting Ferguson, Greenberg and Nairne they explain: "Exhibitions have become *the* medium through which most art becomes known."<sup>512</sup> Although this may not be a huge shift in intent, much of the history of art and exhibition involves authorship which might be considered problematic in the context of artists who are dead and no longer present themselves as authors. This could imply that there is a desire for Duggan-Cronin's work to be known, since it has now been reframed as art.

Another observation that can be found reflected in the examination of the exhibitions described earlier, is the increase in 'group exhibitions'. O'Neill describes as these kinds of exhibitions as the "primary site for curatorial experimentation" since the late 1980s.<sup>513</sup> He explains: "By bringing a greater mix of people into an exhibition, it also created a space for defining multifarious ways of engaging with disparate interests, often within a more trans-cultural context."<sup>514</sup>

The manner of presentation within exhibitions is under constant transition and speculation. If one thinks about the possible contexts for Duggan-Cronin's original works in their contemporary context, one can understand their framing as educational, particularly in scientific and anthropological realms. This can be presented in not only a chauvinistic manner, but also as 'spectacle' in the spaces of Empire Exhibitions and Duggan-Cronin's own South African home. The tendency towards an art frame, or at least an articulation towards this end, in the current case of Duggan-Cronin, is something different. Duncan Cameron has presented two alternatives for museums: "... to become either a temple or a forum. The museum as temple is a place where people come to worship 'treasures' with pre-established values. The museum as forum is a place where people can encounter the unknown and which generates discussion and debate" a notion also alluded to by Clifford.<sup>515</sup> This theory can tentatively be placed into the world of exhibitions, and specifically the exhibitions discussed in this study. Whilst preferring to suggest that they demonstrate exhibition as forum within an art-driven directive, actually question what 'forum' might mean. If a forum is really a place where "people can encounter the unknown" and "generate discussion and debate" it is true that this can be achieved in an exhibition, but it seems

<sup>512</sup> B.W. Ferguson, R. Greenberg & S. Nairne. "Mapping International Exhibitions" *Thinking About Exhibitions*. Ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce Ferguson & Sandy Nairne. (London & New York, Routledge, 1996) cited in O'Neill 14.

<sup>513</sup> O'Neill 14.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>515</sup> Duncan Cameron 1972: 199 cited in Yoshida & Mack 168 including Clifford 1997. "Ethnographic Exhibitions Today" Kenji Yoshida.

unavoidable for the curators to determine exactly what kind of discussions and debates will arise. In this instance these exhibitions might be better suited to the idea of ‘temple’. It seems that Duggan-Cronin’s images are still ‘worshipped’ to a certain degree, in all of the frames in which they have been presented; worshipped under the pre-established value of ‘beauty’.

With these notions of exhibition in mind one can now address the question: do the exhibitions re-approaching Duggan-Cronin’s images (as parts of multi-layered archives) provide new and useful imaginings of his photographs taken in the 1900s. The answer would appear to be in the affirmative, since they all belong to a stream of representations in an ongoing conversation that questions not only artefacts themselves, in this case photographs, but also opens up forums for debate surrounding exhibition practice and even theoretical discourse. At the very least, these displays mostly exemplify the general shifts and changes occurring in curatorial practice following new conventions, and are thus appropriately aligned with current societal practice.

Returning again to the themes of the previous chapters, at this stage the issues of ‘consent and participation’ should again be addressed. Since, in the case of anthropology and photography, the consent is desired and claimed to come from the ‘subject’ of observation, one must consider where consent comes from in the case of exhibitions. In the case of documentary photography today the situation varies. At universities where students are required to do anthropological research or artworks using photography, there is a process including forms and signatures of consent, but in comparison little of this concern is broached in the case of display, presentation or printing of these images. The consent for use of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs in exhibitions today comes from the archive at the McGregor Museum, if from anywhere. If consent comes from the museum, it is not so much permission rather than the loan of the images, but this also acts as a kind of consent. The museum is in a position to refuse the loan of the images for use in an exhibition context which it might regard as inappropriate: for example, in the promotion of fascism. The exhibition at the Slave Lodge using Cipriani’s work, was carefully constructed to demonstrate that their own political position was *not* in line with Cipriani’s fascist status, but it is possible that other motives may be preferred.<sup>516</sup> One might ask whether the living relatives in Curtis’ work were ever confronted concerning their extensive display in a variety of contexts, or whether O’Connell and Washkansky asked the families if they minded whether their ancestors’ photographs were turned to the wall in a mark of respect.<sup>517</sup>

<sup>516</sup> “Siliva Zulu”

<sup>517</sup> Unfortunately it was not possible to ‘return agency’ to O’Connell and Washkansky on this point since they were extremely busy.

As discussed with regard to photographs, for the curator too, the audience can influence the decisions the curator makes because the audience have certain expectations. These expectations may in some way have been formulated through institutions and earlier societies. When contemplating the exhibition *Shared Legacies*, I came to wonder if whether ‘the public’ sphere is not yet the place where highly conceptual, thought provoking ideas such as these can be played out. As an academic and a researcher, the intention is to think differently and to explore new ideas and ways of looking and seeing, albeit in specific and possibly restricted manners. The public, especially tourists visiting exhibitions, might only be looking for an easy-ride – one that they can call educational but that matches their expectations and is not too mentally taxing for a casual visit. In the UK, Hylton hints at an effect, mainly resulting from funding policy, of ‘Inclusion Culture’ where ‘inclusivity’ has become of key importance to arts funders and governmental influence. This means that curators have to respond to this in creative ways, incorporating ‘everyone’.<sup>518</sup> Again touching on power, another of McClellan’s observations from his role as an educator in museums, recognises the difficult persistence of historical circumstance that cannot help but affect the world of museums today:

My own experience working with underprivileged school children at a public museum in London some decades ago taught me that free admission and liberal programming still competes with an aura of exclusivity inscribed in the museum’s walls. At the conclusion of their tour, I was expected to ask the children to whom the paintings belonged. The “right” answer was, of course, to them, the public, but a more common and common-sensical response was “the Queen”, for who else could have built such a magnificent palace and own such heavily guarded treasures? To realize that the visit was not only their first to an art museum but in some cases their first to the West End of London is to glimpse the larger obstacles to the creation of a common heritage centred on our institutions of high culture. Nevertheless, the idealism also built into the fabric of our museums will ensure that they will not cease in their effort to reach all those children.<sup>519</sup>

South Africa provides an even more visible example of such historical imbalances and one cannot help but become aware that even now, Duggan-Cronin is not necessarily breaking borders in his current presence, and is mostly still displayed to an exclusive, elite audience – except in considered circumstances. None of the exhibitions containing his work so far have followed post-modernists, literally, into the street in the current craze for exhibiting outside of the gallery space. There is,

<sup>518</sup> Hylton 115.

<sup>519</sup> Ed. McClellan 2-3.

however, an awareness concerning the imbalance of audience. The *Shared Legacies* exhibition has been one of these considered exceptions. In a blog report for the Albany Museum, it is reported that: “Catherine Lambley, the Albany Museum Education Officer, taught the Upstart group the meaning and the importance of the Shared Legacies Exhibition currently on at the History Museum.”<sup>520</sup> The report continues: “The group, accompanied by Shirleen Badat, was asked to look around, and try to get a better understanding of the pictures. Lambley then invited them to sit down and have discussion. The work of anthropologists became clear. Many asked why the names of the people are not part of their photographs. Cultural issues were also raised.”<sup>521</sup> In a previous blog post, one of Lambley’s voiced one of her concerns that the audience for the *Shared Legacies* exhibition might not be relevant. In questioning the intention of the exhibition, querying whether it intended to criticise colonialism and ethnographic collecting “‘freeing’ the subjects to the canon of ‘high’ art”, wondering whether it does not form a continuation of ‘othering’, Lambley wonders if these are the questions being asked, but then considers:

But to whom? The bulk of our guests visiting the museum are learners participating in our schools program – which includes the Shared Legacies exhibition – most of whom will be travelling from the local township area. This then makes it essential to answer some of the issues raised, especially in light of how these images are read in the context of what we know about Colonialism today. As Nordstrom qualifies: “The placement of the viewer, without comment, in a position analogous to that of the privileged, voyeuristic, and aloof image-maker is hard not to read as a romantic staging of the colonisers’ comfortable life rather than as a critique of it. We must consider the possibility that the exhibition of such stereotyped historical images reinforces the same stereotypes in current thought, or encourages a smugly uncritical “That was then and this is now” attitude that exacerbates the denial of present-day racism (1991).<sup>522</sup>

Having determined that, in fact, these ideas are all inextricable anyway, Lambley goes on to reference museum activities with just such an ‘audience’:

One of the topics that the Education Department tackled earlier this year with Grade 11 and Grade 12 students from Mary Waters High was The Question of Identity: Self and

<sup>520</sup> Upstart, the paper for the youth by the youth, is a youth newspaper project based at Grocott's Mail. Established amongst Grade 8, 9 and 10 learners in the historically disadvantaged high schools in Grahamstown. Zongezile Matshoba “Museum Shares Photographic Legacies with Upstart.” *Albany Museum Blog*, 25 June 2010. 06 December 2011. < <http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/2010/06/museum-shares-photograph-legacies-with.html>>

<sup>521</sup> Matshoba “Museum Shares Photographic Legacies with Upstart”.

<sup>522</sup> Lambley.

Culture – a two day art workshop dealing with portrait drawing. We hope to continue our work with the same set of learners extending it to include the Shared Legacies program – which will incorporate experiments with portraiture in terms of identity and representation. We hope to raise some of the issues discussed in a manner which can bring about critical reflection in terms of who represents the self and cultural identity and to what extent this still occurs within our society today.<sup>523</sup>

Catering for audiences and adapting activities according to audiences, are two separate behaviours. In Roberts' earlier example, she references the complications involved in curation that refer to the difficulty of complying to previous expectations of the audience, asking: "...how could I ever capture the multiplicities, disjunctions and intersubjectivities of lived experience in the format of an exhibition that demands coherence and clarity for the sake of the visitor's apprehension?"<sup>524</sup> It could be that O'Connell and Washkansky were less inhibited by this capitalist 'market demand' concept by way of their being both artists and from CAS, and hence not connected to some large institution that needs to justify its every move and record visitor numbers. Perhaps they decided that now was not the time for pandering to useless outdated ideologies and rather it was the appropriate time to break down these ideas in the general public and demand new ways of thinking in the collective consciousness.<sup>525</sup>

---

#### Observations from the case-studies

Ethnographic photographs have come to inhabit a new context within museum displays, more so as stand-alone graphic elements without labels, data and relevant information pertaining to the original context and purpose of the image that shifts the image once part of an ethnological collection to a work of art. As in the case of Shared Legacies photographs have been removed from their original book format to accommodate massive size banners – hung from museum walls in an interdisciplinary approach that amalgamates art history and anthropology, with the hope that this may re-contextualise them from their original intention and use. As Nordstrom reiterates; The voices of representatives of the depicted cultures in the interpretation and presentation of these pictures offer a similarly fresh and important perspective. The most inclusionary reading of these images is the most

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>524</sup> Roberts 175.

<sup>525</sup> I attempted to find out O'Connell and Washkansky's reactions to this statement but again they were extremely busy.

useful one; it affirms that there are many histories inherent in these fragments of our colonial past, present and future”.<sup>526</sup>

Having examined at length the broader issues, I will now turn their application to displays of Duggan-Cronin’s work. I need to consider their intentions and achievements, and whether they are re-framings or whether these photographs are hung in the same frames they were always hung in – colonial or anthropological frames. I need to determine whether *any* framings provide useful or new imaginings of the photographs.

Stevenson and Graham-Stewart say that:

Public galleries and museums are powerful catalysts in shaping perceptions of what constitutes ‘art’, and in other ‘new world’ countries art institutions have actively collected and exhibited nineteenth – and early twentieth-century photographs as an art form in their own right, and not merely as illustrations of the dress, lifestyles and landscapes of yesteryear.<sup>527</sup>

This context provides no debate around whether this is an appropriate redress, but it highlights the power of the institutions. (They do, however, explain that this is *not* done by south and east African institutions.)

Situating the exhibition *Shared Legacies* in a discourse of museum practice Lambley suggests:

In this instance, *Shared Legacies* signifies a shift from more traditional object-based exhibition to a metaphoric one – which includes the use of visual aids used in *Reflexive Museum Practice* as an attempt to guide or ‘action’ the viewer into a series of experiences which may or may not sit well with the visitor towards the end of the show.<sup>528</sup>

Lambley suggests that there is a need to assess the exhibition *Shared Legacies* particularly in a way that considers “to what degree the visual metaphors have been clearly articulated and if they signify a new trend in curatorship and museum practice that favours the curator as author” as she describes them, “the person who creates artistic discourse by exhibition”. I would consider many of the exhibitions discussed to reflect significantly the changes in curation discourse and within this, as Clark suggests, the move from art curator to art critic. Lambley also questions whether one

<sup>526</sup> Lambley citing Nordstrom (1991).

<sup>527</sup> Stevenson & Graham-Stewart 9.

<sup>528</sup> Lambley.

really can “fashion ethnographic images of the ‘other’ into Westernised notions of artistic aesthetics, given the parallel to Colonial-based relationships fashioned at the turn of the century.”<sup>529</sup> In this case it would be easy to argue, as Godby has, that the photographs themselves are already an example of the fashioning of ethnographic ‘others’ into Western notions of artistic aesthetic’. Even given that the poses and compositions used in the photographs are based on classical ideas, there is still a relevant application of Lambley’s debate. Indeed, a similar debate has surfaced in relation to African artefacts that have more recently been labelled ‘art’ objects, though due to the possessive nature of collection that befell many of these objects, they have no named artists and again can be argued to represent another western influence and power over Africa.<sup>530</sup>

It is clear that Lambley did not simply react to the exhibition but tried to understand it in a way that related to its presence in the exhibition and to the audiences that would engage with it. It is important that this happened and it is interesting that the audiences did try to understand and then incorporate their understanding. The extract cited previously, explained how the museum attempted to make the exhibition relevant to their visitors such that it was not just lost in a confusion of museological discourse.

As is course necessary for a ground breaking exhibition, appropriate officials are invited to make introductory speeches in order to reassert the proper value of the exhibition. The VIP guests for the *Shared Legacies* exhibition, in its Albany Museum edition, were recorded on the blog: Cllr Vumile Lwana, Executive Mayor of Makana Municipality, was invited to speak:

Whereas some of us always think of museums as places dedicated to old disconnected dusty objects or as institutions run by absent minded academics, this exhibition we are about to unveil today reaffirms the notion that museums indeed can contribute to social harmony. Social harmony can only exist when we begin to realise that we as the people of the world have so much more in common than differences.<sup>531</sup>

Lwana himself has brought the debate into the field of museum discourse as part of the reframing of museums as learning centres and spaces for social cohesion – as have many of the authors referenced here.

<sup>529</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>530</sup> See again ‘African Art’ object debates as per Mudimbe and Landau.

<sup>531</sup> “Mayoral Address: Opening of Shared Legacies Exhibition.” Albany Museum Blog, 24 May 2010. 06 September 2011. <<http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/2010/05/mayoral-address-opening-of-shared.html>>

Appropriately briefed, he mentioned all of the politically-correct intentions, including:

While celebrating the sheer beauty of the photographs, the exhibit also provokes a sense of discomfort, and raises questions about human rights and dignity. ... the curators successfully turned the ethnographic value of the photographs inside out, creating a powerful learning opportunity about the dynamics of subject-object and the notion of “the other,” important critical-thinking skills in a country emerging from a divided and unequal past.<sup>532</sup>

He follows: “Together and individually, the photographs in this exhibit inspire admiration for their artistry and vigorous discussion of their meaning.”<sup>533</sup>

He, or his advisors (who presumably museum or exhibition officials) state:

The title of this exhibition, Shared Legacies, speaks to larger questions of looking, of limitations of temporality and definitions of being human. It invites the viewer to step into the place of the dead, to articulate their silenced ghosts and to speak on their behalf. It is about connections, relationships and dialogue, so that out of this space, a new way of seeing and understanding may ensue.<sup>534</sup>

<sup>532</sup> “”Shared Legacies” Continues to Inspire Audience”

<sup>533</sup> “”Shared Legacies” Continues to Inspire Audience”

<sup>534</sup> “Shared Legacies.” [CuePix](#).

## CONCLUSION

Through this study I have explored the work of the photographer Duggan-Cronin and its trajectory from his own time into ours. As well as exposing certain qualities of narrative of that particular trajectory, it also made me aware of my own methodological practices as a member of my society, something that I became more conscientious about as my research progressed. I realised more articulately the interplay between my processes of study, the photographers, my interpretations, and other people's engagements. There are many more themes that could have been considered within this project, for example the combined notion of heritage as interlinked with 'state', and the idea of memory and photographs. Although I initially set out certain parameters for my research, other subjects emerged which I realised would also need confronting. Using my original outline as a starting point, I will summarise the conclusions in this final chapter.

One of the subjects outlined in the introduction, was to include an examination of the projected intentions of the recent exhibitions that included Duggan-Cronin's work, and their resultant achievements. When I devised that intention there were perhaps only three exhibitions that I was interested in, making it a manageable project. However, in the course of my research I encountered so much more important and relevant information, I decided to extend my study to cover a greater diversity of work which has in fact enhanced the patterns, interventions and similarities that can be seen. It also helped demonstrate fully that there has been an extensive engagement with Duggan-Cronin's work.

The expectation to consider the 'achievements' of the exhibitions, was a challenge from the outset since, as I experienced, it was sometimes a struggle to find any information on the exhibitions themselves, let alone responses to them. In any case, determining whether an exhibition was successful in its achievements is a subjective and hence problematic issue. One exception is *Sacred Legacies* which is well documented and it seems that the curators did achieve what they intended to, although it left many exhibition spectators baffled (as part of the curators' intention). According to their previously quoted intents, they do seem to have found "aesthetic commonalities" between Duggan-Cronin and Curtis' work and in one sense, at least, they did this against "the historic canon" thus allowing for a "recognition of the 'truths' and 'untruths'" of the images constructions. 'The gaze' was a strong theme, and this was very evident with or without reading the corresponding texts. Although this is an appraisal of the success of only one of the displays, it exemplifies how the intentions of the exhibitions can be integrated with surrounding debates and societal context.

In summary: Most of the exhibitions had constructed their narratives, in some way, within the broader subject of 'art', with the exception of the 'unofficial' displays at UCT and some of the permanent exhibitions, miscellaneous displays and references noted at the end of chapter 4. *Thandabantu* was concerned with Duggan-Cronin himself, autobiographically and chronologically, and, subject to opinion, with a concerted effort to realign any contentious origins with a new project that was in keeping with current day politics. One of the 'art' senses of this exhibition was simply in its presence at the Castle of Good Hope Gallery (with emphasis on the 'gallery'), but also an articulated 'aesthetic appreciation' attempted to keep the display neutral and manageable. *Lines of Sight* presented images as part of the development of South African photography as an art-form whilst bearing in mind the contextual environment within a stream of other photographers who did, and did not, align themselves with similar subjects and intents. Also presenting the work in collaboration with other artists *Persona* presented an eclectic mix of photography, paintings, etchings, sculpture and other media, both recent and old. It employed the theme of 'persona' in the sense of multiple identities applied by multiple people and importantly, within any one individual. Mofokeng, as an artist himself, also addressed identity and whose version of whose identity, presenting the self-fantasised identities of 'black' photo-albums in contrast with Duggan-Cronin's fantasised identities of his 'white' photo-albums of 'black' people, reminding us that there was not just one set of images from that time, other images coexist and should be noted. Also eclectic in their diversity were *Life Less Ordinary* and *Figures & Fictions*, both using South African artists' contemporary work in comparison to and contrast with Duggan-Cronin's work, but to different ends. *Life Less Ordinary* was concerned with 'difference' and particularly 'fictions of difference' in a way with similar intent to *Persona* where other forms of identity (apart from race) and existence were performed and illustrated. *Figures & Fictions* was concerned mainly with 'contemporary' works, and only photographs, as art, claiming to be a self-conscious engagement with the political and photographic past of South Africa. It was particularly concerned with 'the gaze' – 'the gaze' of the 'spectrum' returning that of the photographer, as further representations of bodies in South Africa which have shown minimal diversity in historical terms. The work of Putter gave further potential for Duggan-Cronin's work to open up questions in a very personal way addressing the accidental encounters of potentially inappropriate displays, resulting in changed perceptions, changing perceptions and the desire to change others' perceptions. Using a highly constructed and almost fantasy process, Putter intends to illustrate love and beauty through his inspiration from Duggan-Cronin's work and further, to inspire others to prioritise love. *Shared Legacies* somehow stands out from the other displays for its inventiveness in curation. Here, one was privy to the context of exhibition display in a very direct manner, approaching the matter of the gaze not only in thought but also in action, being forced to recognise our own part in the

production. The ‘art’ aspect was in recognising the works as portraits, but also arguably in being an ‘artwork’ in itself, such that it was in no way intending to be objective, but rather it intended to ask the questions itself instead of through the work as a self-reflexive presentation of art. This exhibition was one that certainly intended to question the photographs in themselves, whereas others were rather using them as illustrations of something past, which could be for conversational purposes or as an assertion of national heritage, or with no questions at all. Putter and Mofokeng also questioned the nature of the photographs in their interpretations.

Even if one cannot engage fully (and conventionally) with the intentions of each of these displays, they can at least be understood as an important collection of narrations that provide further insights into society, photography, post-colonial discourse, exhibitions and perhaps the world in general.

“If images of primitive Africa endure long after colonialism in Africa ended, it is perhaps because the images are not fundamentally about Africa at all. They arise from a Western bourgeois mythology of any and all wildernesses inhabited by creatures who are, alternatively, innocent and savage, naked and hairy, dark-skinned and ghostlike.”<sup>535</sup>

At certain points I have been tempted to be reductionist and generalise the subject, simply saying that Duggan-Cronin’s photographs present a manageable and accessible answer to curators’ needs, offering a canonical option for referencing the past – a past which might be past lives, past ways of looking and seeing, past ethnographies or past photographic work. The reasons for their endurance could also be reasonably argued as being due to practical issues such as the recent renovation of the collection, easy accessibility, use of the internet, printing technologies, mobility of people, exhibition frequency and culture changes, interest and individuals. In the current academic climate the colonial representations of Africans are being reconsidered and, in the concepts of Weinberg, as a practicing photographer now, ‘reimaged’ or ‘re-imagined’.<sup>536</sup> Discussions contemplating the methods and modes of production of images and the consequent interpretations straddle discussions in the problematics of coloniality, anthropology, viewers and viewed, as well as the dimension of photography as an action and expression. Not only does the current academic climate address coloniality but also photography, exhibitions, display and even academia, though this has remained a marginal subject within this project. These themes can in some way be related to the re-emergences of Duggan-Cronin’s work. In previous sections, other

<sup>535</sup> Deborah D Kaspin. “Conclusion: Signifying Power in Africa.” Ed. Landau *Images and Empire* 333.

<sup>536</sup> See Martin West exhibition as mentioned with comparisons for example.

potential explanations for the apparent re-emergence of Duggan-Cronin's work were explored, establishing that they too could be seen as illustrations of their own (sometimes political) themes, following general trends in the use of photography, changing exhibition methodology, changing understandings of photography, changing understandings of archives and past collections, changes in the amount and availability of visual material in the world, and a shift in South Africa's existence that requires it to have 'normative' reference points such that it can fit into other countries' patterns of existence and general shifts in societal consciousness. They might also be seen simply as a symptom of the iconic endorsement of the collection by Mandela. The photographs must also be considered in their temporal context, as part of the 'launching of African photography onto the world stage' in the 1900's.<sup>537</sup> From a more abstract stance, they might be seen as just part of a natural process of re-emergence that occurs dependent on individual encounters. Another possibility is that the re-emergences are reflecting a fantasy where one wishes these constructs of individuals *had* existed in reality, or a longing for not having destroyed that possibility. Concerning the photographic 'subjects', the photographs may be part of a process in realising that 'identity' and images of individuals are never simple and never static – multiple personas exist depending on the viewer and the viewed, both of which can morph into multiple alternatives as either. All of these considerations lead me back to the word 'compelling' because of the simple fact that Duggan-Cronin's pictures are continuously returned to as if they are something of significance.

Another of the themes of this project was to negotiate the apparent shift in priority of these images from anthropological presence to 'art' presence – I say 'priority' since I have come to understand that in Duggan-Cronin's time the images were intrinsically both art and anthropology at once, albeit seemingly paradoxical in today's paradigms. The shift in reference can again be read to follow general trends in photographic acceptance and its tricky negotiations within itself, world politics and (Western) social convention. This becomes especially apparent in the work of *Shared Legacies* since it so neatly fits into the current exhibition conventions, although it seems surprising that no-one has yet curated an exhibition through consultation with the descendants of the subjects, or 'source community'. The other trend mentioned was that of political intent, utilising the images to historicise the current national project of integration, which Godby claims 'flattens' Duggan-Cronin's project in the interest national fantasies.<sup>538</sup> It could also be projected as complementing South Africa's transition from apartheid to post-apartheid, either using them as a symbol of national pride and diversity, or to demonstrate 'progress'. Other spaces for the work might be 'exhausted'. It could be that the realm of anthropology has changed too much and

<sup>537</sup> Newbury 1.

<sup>538</sup> Godby. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)" 83.

washed its hands of its own problematic history, symbolised perhaps by the *donation* of the images from the anthropology department at UCT, to the art history department, in 1988.<sup>539</sup> This could be seen, through cynical eyes, as simply an effort to remove the images from the problematic discourse on anthropological methods, but if this were the case, what would the advantage be of presenting them in an artistic frame? My immediate response was to suggest that it is precisely because fine art images are *not* condemned in the same way that anthropological images and discourses are within the arena of ‘academic’ problematising. These debates could be reflective not only of anthropology’s rejection of those particular kinds of images, but also related to its general, on-going issues with visual imagery within its discourse. Throughout this study, I have considered that photography’s ‘museumification’ deprives its power to inform and makes photographs harmless since ‘art’ is for pleasure – a luxury (or at least it once was seen that way). Of course, aestheticising important subjects has always been contentious, but this could be the only suitable way to reconcile the images with the present. An unavoidable dimension is that this may be entirely commerce-based and related to artists’ and curators’ finances; after all, museums are under pressure to maintain and improve visitor numbers and curators are upheld with that responsibility, just as photographers need to make a living. It may be that, as Hayes *et al.* state, “In general, visuality is subordinated to textuality” and every response to his images seems to respond primarily to the visuality.<sup>540</sup> Perhaps art is the only space where the visuality is allowed to be of primary importance. At certain stages throughout this study, my understanding reached the bleak conclusion that there might just be a tendency to lump difficult subjects into the realm of ‘art’ where they would safely be under the umbrella of an acceptably un-resolvable entity. It might well be the situation that they have not ‘moved’ at all and rather I have narrated that ideal.

This question of what moving the images to the realm of art does (if indeed they have moved), has its controversies, especially considering the ‘state’ of art today and its apparent opposition to the project of record and science that seemed to be Duggan-Cronin’s original context. Art, as acknowledged already, is still considered as being for an elite audience, even though many attempts are made to broaden its audiences. However, as seen in the case of documentary, there are issues of ‘trivialisation’ being proposed in contrast to the possibility of images being ‘lost’ in an ever increasing expanse of imagery. It can also be argued that in the process of transferring importance to the ‘art’ aspect, a further (Western) power and authority is added to the work which surely enhances the contested power and coloniality of the images in their original context. The photographs seem to still be circling in comparable echelons of society throughout time,

<sup>539</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 79.

<sup>540</sup> Hayes *et al.* 2.

complementing the segregationist attitudes and superiority issues that colonialism embodied. I have discussed above how this shift could also be part of a move to remove South Africa's engagement with the particular and spread its wings into the 'universal', as Barnes considered.<sup>541</sup> Presumably this could be correlated with the post-apartheid opening up of international dialogue that reintegrates South Africa into the world at large. It is interesting, in light of the complicated debate surrounding anthropology and the visual, that it appears to be a shift to art, that inherently, in this day, contradicts Duggan-Cronin's project, and perhaps then this shift can be seen as part of a subconscious effort to resolve anthropology's own issues. It is interesting to note that whilst the exhibition curators were seemingly choosing 'art' as a neutral arena from which to include these seemingly compelling images, the ethnographic nature of the work was still normally referenced in some way, and the potentially non-artistic nature (in the *avant-garde* sense) went unheeded.

Considering all of this, in some way it seems that this (non)diversity of uses, represented by the exhibitions, not only illustrates the potential for multiple-apprehension of individual subjects, but also it begins to expose the multiple identities of 'art' that have been consistently emergent. I have noted that the aesthetic pleasure of viewing these images is not only controversial in terms of a colonial gaze, but also a Western notion of art which can be seen to complicate issues further, rather than allowing for any reconstruction. The gaze has been a persistent theme and an inconclusive debate since the gaze – seen and unseen, visualised and non-visualised – is always a prerequisite and in the 'art' world, as Lambley hinted, a further dimension is added. In addition to the photographers' gaze, there are the gazes of the individuals, the subjects, the audiences, the Western gaze and many other gazes. There is need to consider the re-presentation of photographs in relation to the debates around the re-presentations of anthropological and ethnographic objects as 'art' objects.<sup>542</sup> In this case of objects being translated into different realms, once again one should be wary of the power plays at work. 'Art' is still a Western construct and hierarchy in its most commonly recognised form. Some debates have questioned why these objects should be labelled as 'art' or 'African'; can they not transcend the boundary of requiring (loaded) labelled terms? It seems again to be a case of certain people presuming a status and an authority such that they can pretend to cover up for past mistakes with new versions of the same behaviours. These issues are beyond the scope of this project but they do serve to illustrate the bigger picture that

<sup>541</sup> Barnes 9.

<sup>542</sup> "In addition, historical southern African art produced by black people was confined to museums that had for more than a century focused on ethnographic and anthropological 'material culture'. But in the past decade the art galleries have recognised the significance and aesthetic merits of these works of the past, and they have been scrambling to rectify previous imbalances." Stevenson & Graham-Stewart 9.

branches out from these themes. The difference in this case is that the ‘objects’ in question were produced by the ‘West’ and hence perhaps are less contentiously transported to the ‘art’ realm.

When confronted with the realisations discussed above, I was forced to reconsider my own approach since my tendency, with the images in question, is to assign new terms and meanings to them and their reappearances. My concern is that ‘we’ (the scholars, curators, artists, audiences, and myself) are assuming a position of ‘strength’ and deciding on the ways that things should be displayed and presented, and ‘we’ have taken the same people Duggan-Cronin took and repeated comparable decision-making processes under our own premises and jurisdiction. In the case of *Shared Legacies*, I do not believe that any American Indians, Zulus, Swazis or other ‘subjects’ were given agency, or even given the opportunity to give consent (although whether living direct or indirect descendents would be the appropriate parties to give consent is another matter).

Following the thoughts of Rohdes, I considered trying to overcome these issues by placing myself firmly in the frame, investigating a project where I, as a photographer, would become the subject of every photograph I was taking, camera in hand. Pushing this idea to its unrealistic limits, I would take the Duggan-Cronin photograph collection along with hundreds of cameras, and take similar photographs in similar places; however, not only would I be taking the ‘subjects’ photographs, but also they would be given a camera with which to capture me taking a photograph of them. This illustrates directly (although in modern form) the sitters’ view – the strangeness of being photographed. This could even be approached as a ‘reconstruction’ with old-fashioned equipment akin to the time of Duggan-Cronin. Issues of practicality aside, these rather tacky, gratuitously conceptual notions would soon become outdated and impermissible themselves since they are still emerging from the same base point of ‘Western knowledge’.

“The archive is often associated with the closure of meaning, with disconnection, with forgetting. When photographs come out of storage, it is as if an energy is released.”<sup>543</sup>

Now it is possible to ask: what is the purpose of these engagements? Are they useful and fresh imaginings or are they further symptoms of a troubling history in South Africa? Has an energy been released, as Hayes *et al.* suggest, through the re-use of Duggan-Cronin’s photographs? Through their emergence from the archive? The archive was a very specific one – different to the one that Hayes *et al.* had embraced – and the audience for each re-emergence could be argued to be limited, but I would agree that energy was released and this energy has triggered a continuation

<sup>543</sup> Hayes *et al.* 2.

of interest and research, as demonstrated explicitly by Putter and his accidental discovery of the work. In my view, these reimaginings are simply a reflection of changing consciousness – a consciousness still largely based in Western origins. The exhibitions have opened up many theoretical debates surrounding revelations and concealments, narratives, fact, fiction and fantasy. The question as to what information is available with the images, and about the reinterpretations needs addressing – is it significant that usually only the catalogues exist textually to represent the exhibitions? Given the information available, I can ask: what do I really know about Duggan-Cronin? The exhibition *Persona* inspired thoughts about Duggan-Cronin as a person and identities in general. In Duggan-Cronin's photographs, as well as portraying *other* peoples identities as they appeared in his eyes (the eyes given to him according to the society around him), he was also performing his *own* identity in his eyes (again, the eyes given to him according to the society around him). Perhaps he too had multiple personas according to who was observing him – be it the girl being photographed or the royalty visiting the gallery. These reflections about Duggan-Cronin's identity and persona can bring into focus how one thinks about the society, performances and formalities he was a part of. One has to consider that the way information is presented, stored and preserved affects the stories one can later create, and our own performances in our own times. One must also bear in mind that all of our actions and objectivities are symptoms and results of our own time and our own identities, imagined or perceived.

Let us consider photographs, for the moment, in the way Weinberg talks about them: understanding that there is always a space between fact and fiction that is filled by creative people. This, in my mind, provides a space in which to accept certain things more comfortably. The exhibition *Figures & Fictions* alludes to a similar perspective stating: "One of the most compelling aspects of photography is its capacity to tangle fact with fiction" suggesting and accepting that photographs have an enigmatic relationship with the 'real' world.<sup>544</sup> Not forgetting that this is a more recent understanding of photography that is unlikely to have been accepted during Duggan-Cronin's time, this kind of fluidity could also just be an excuse to feign simplicity of something more complicated. In light of these thoughts, it seems to me that there is now a complex negotiation occurring where society is re-evaluating the value of 'fact' and 'authenticity' and the reality of both, which are perhaps not what one assume or what one want them to be.

In a colloquium held in January 1986 in the Beaubourg Centre in Paris, on the role of the contemporary artist and intellectual, one contributor, Maz Gallo, anxiously observed that we are living in a society 'traversed by an *imaginaire* which comes from elsewhere and which

<sup>544</sup> Garb 9.

we no longer master'. Seduced by the summary ideologies of the latest media cult or craze, we seem to have entered an age where reality is inseparable from the image, where the original has been replaced by its imitation, where our understanding of the world is preconditioned by the electronically reproducible media of television, cinema, video and radio – media in which every 'live' event or performance is capable of being mechanically recorded and retransmitted *ad infinitum*.... In short, the technological innovations in image reproduction have made the imaginary more persuasive than the real world. The citizens of our post-industrial society, as Danile Boorstin remarks, live in a world 'where fantasy is more real than reality, where the image has more dignity than its original. We hardly dare face our bewilderment, because the solace of belief in contrived reality is so thoroughly real.'<sup>545</sup>

One might say that a stage has been reached where the visual *is* the reality (or perhaps it has always been the case). This assertion can only be contested by secondary references.

Postmodern philosophies, as we shall see, reflect this crisis of the imaginary in a variety of ways. But we may say, by way of anticipation, that a central feature of such philosophies is the undermining of the humanist imagination understood as an 'original' creation of meaning. The postmodern philosophers deny the very idea of 'origin'. Meaning is deconstructed into an endless play of linguistic signs, each one of which relates to the other in a parodic circle. There is no possibility of a single founding reference.<sup>546</sup>

It seems that one needs to understand in-authenticities, myths and constructions *as* our 'modern' authenticity, in a sense then, re-understanding 'authenticity' to mean 'reference'. This should cause us to be more careful about what one creates or what our society causes one to create.

To refocus on Duggan-Cronin: what if Duggan-Cronin's work was adapted to our current-day ideologies and society – the dominant Western one? This would force us to ask the same questions that photographers today are asking of their own work: has Duggan-Cronin influenced the world, has he influenced the world of photography, what did his work contribute to? His work was once intended to contribute to an understanding and record of different tribes in southern Africa, but that project has become redundant through new thought. To push this further into the present, one might ask: does Duggan-Cronin's work contribute to our understanding of ourselves, our own

<sup>545</sup> Richard Kearney. "Postmodern Narratives: The Parodic Imagination." *The Wake of Imagination*. (New York: Routledge, 1988) 251-2.

<sup>546</sup> Kearney 252.

gaze, our own ways of imagining difference, or our understanding of the past, as the re-imaginings intend? It could be argued that the 'our' has changed since Duggan-Cronin's time, and therefore changed all the subsequent understandings.

In my own work, as a student of documentary and journalism photography, I was continually struck by the observation that when I was reviewing other people's photography, I would easily be sidelined by discussion around aesthetics and functionality rather than the discussion the photographer intended to provoke. As Weinberg often references when talking about his own intentions as a photographer, the purpose is to bring awareness to the world of often harmful and depressing situations. There are arguments that support and condemn this attitude but I see value in applying this approach to older photographs, making sure to consider what the photographer was actually trying to show and why this was so important at this time.

Early on in the project, I introduced Duggan-Cronin following the canonic information available. I established a coherent and predictable chronology that followed standard historical biography practice. I also introduced the nuances in rhetoric that are seemingly minor in existence but have a significant affect on understanding and thought. Moving from the connective subject being Duggan-Cronin himself, I then took the photographs in their original existence as the connective centre – the reference point. Here I gleaned certain information about their existence in the world at that time, responses to them, and the spaces they inhabited. These readings came from a distance in time which I acknowledge affects the way we can read them. My reading determined idiosyncrasies that led me to wonder if more was constructed than the scenes and attires in the photographs themselves. The information I was examining that led to this writing was constructing a certain image of a man, and a certain image of his work. This was not necessarily the certain image of himself or his work, or at least, was only *one* image of himself and his work. Just as one can assign terms such as 'dignity' and 'self-importance' to people in photographs, other words have been assigned to Duggan-Cronin and his work, with little regard for alternatives. In a paradox there is a tendency to objectify 'the photographer' as if he belongs to a different species of humanity and he can be assigned labels and terms that define what a photographer is or should be. Duggan-Cronin himself may not even have considered himself to be a photographer since he had no professional training. It is impossible to know whether he would give his consent to being made an example of in an exhibition, such as *Shared Legacies*.

As part of this discussion around Duggan-Cronin 'the man', I also came to contemplate that there are perhaps two enactments that were taking place within colonial discourse. It is apparent that

there was a very fixed, institutional direction and expectation of the manners and methods of anthropological research, but it has been asserted that the reality for the individuals – who were actually engaged in a relationship with ‘the natives’ – was more human, and very much less scientific in a lot of situations. As example from *Deep Histories* illustrate.<sup>547</sup> Combined with references to photographs taken by the public of the group of bushmen who were displayed at the exhibition in Rosebank, Cape Town, and the complete lack of scientificity that seemed to exist in them, is one permitted to wonder if the people engaged in these methods of research were not so different from ourselves. Were they merely interested in difference, amazed and impressed and simply ignorant of the enactments of power that they were imposing or if not ignorant, enjoying the performance of it? What I am suggesting is that there is a very fixed and formal method of perceiving things that existed in the ‘official’ realm, but it was not necessarily adhered to, or indeed real, in field examples. Whilst still methodical and aiming for these ideals, there was an act of improvisation that depended on humanness and individuality. The contradictions between official and personal paradigms of taking photographs can also be found in museology:

...while it [heritage] exists fundamentally as a corporate entity, as a set of values and objects held in common, it is always experienced from an individual standpoint. The notion of heritage hovers uneasily in the space between the individual consciousness and the collective, between the idiosyncratic and what is held in common.<sup>548</sup>

This also references our concerns about the requirement to generalise ideas and totalise the necessary and problematic situation.

“To say and to name is to know – but always to know in particular ways.”<sup>549</sup>

In the cases of ‘genre’, sequestering, taxonomies and discourse, I have travelled an unsatisfactory path. As I previously cited MacDougall saying: words, once written, have little more to say.<sup>550</sup> I am beginning to think that this is because we are trained not to hear. This reminds me that one should take care with how one pins down such words. They only actually represent that which one thought sounded eloquent, truthful and appropriate at the time. What they too conceal will always remain a mystery.

<sup>547</sup> Rassool & Hayes 143.

<sup>548</sup> Nick Shepherd. “Heritage” *New South African Keywords*. Ed. Nick Shepherd & Steven Robins. (Cape Town & Athens: Jacana Media & Ohio Press, 2008) 117.

<sup>549</sup> Ed. Shepherd & Robins 1.

<sup>550</sup> MacDougall 283.

My thematic words are no exception and I trundled along trying to make them work for me, knowing that they were not quite enough. One of the major trajectories of the life of Duggan-Cronin's photographs is the transition of their existence from an apparently anthropological context (as the public projection of them determined, but also including the political, aesthetic and other contexts that Godby has highlighted), into their current 'art' context. Art and science have been combined and conflicted in many circumstances and so it seems strange for them to converge in the example of these photographs. With 'art' and 'science' as recurrent words I questioned their prevalence in such a seemingly paradoxical situation. It has become apparent that, maybe only from my 'modern' view point, 'art' and 'science' are so distinct. I traversed some aspects of the history of their original union. Stevenson and Graham-Stewart suggest that anthropological and art photographs, especially of 'indigenous people', were received in much the same ways in any case (although differences depended on the format; postcard, book or other). This should not seem surprising since there are discourses on a science of art and 'the art of science'.<sup>551</sup>

Corresponding to these themes of 'art' and 'science', and also labelling and sequestering, I find that each discipline I have embraced has a difficult engagement with the genres of both 'science' and 'art'. None are comfortable in either, and yet their certainty, assurance and affirmation lies in the very fact of being one or the other. Photography is a particularly potent example of how one cannot be without the other, and in fact depends upon both in subtle and non-subtle ways. In further illustration, I cite this quote:

...it is often said that it was the painters who invented Photography (by bequeathing it their framing, the Albertian perspective, and the optic of the *camera obscura*). I say: no, it was the chemists. For the *noeme* "That-has-been" was possible only on the day when a scientific circumstance (the discovery that silver halogens were sensitive to light) made it possible to recover and print directly the luminous rays emitted by a variously lighted object.<sup>552</sup>

In the agency debate it could surely be argued that the namings (in the English language) are irrelevant anyway. Does it make a difference whether it is 'art' or 'science'? This is another kind of knowledge irrelevant to 'those' people. These debates themselves are probably barely relevant to 'them' (although this problematic to assume). It does not necessarily make much difference

<sup>551</sup> Stevenson & Graham-Stewart 21.

<sup>552</sup> Barthes 80.

whether one calls it ‘art’ or ‘science’ or any other name; these names come from a dimension that is far removed from the realm of those in the photographs, at least, I presume so for the time being.

Duggan-Cronin’s work seems to have straddled both art and science even though these subjects seem opposing at times. In today’s society these subjects are more diametrically opposed than they were then, and perhaps this goes some way to explaining the excess of frictions. It could then be argued to have less to do with Duggan-Cronin’s photographs particularly, and rather it is more generally ‘a sign of the times’.

Through all of this I have been wondering if I am, and all these reinterpretations are, simply perpetuating the same methods and modes of our colonial counterparts. This has been a concern of many authors, including Maxwell, and Rassool and Hayes.<sup>553</sup> With regards to the so-called ‘ethnographic’ gaze and the ‘objectification’ that this tends to imply, I am convinced that no amount of ‘re-looking’ avoids or overcomes these difficulties of observation, and I am not the first to wonder if the act of re-looking is not just a re-offence.<sup>554</sup> The ideas of ‘rehumanization’ and ‘reconstruction’, although idealistic and wonderful, are to me entirely impossible, as Rassool and Hayes reluctantly admit during their study of a ‘bushman’ woman named /Khanako:

...we are implicated in pushing these traces into yet more circuits of specularity, speculation and consumption over whose limits we have little control. Moreover, the mere reconstitution of /Khanako’s life through narrative, as an act of recuperation, would not go far enough towards an understanding of the meanings, power and violence of the visual representations of her body which have been, and continue to be reproduced.<sup>555</sup>

Later they state explicitly:

We are aware that there is a struggle over representation, between those who have the power to represent and those who get represented. This is not to say that there exists a simple dichotomy, for the workings of the visual economy are too complex and dynamic for such reductionism. But we have come to learn in the process of doing this research that a “rehumanization” or “reconstitution” of /Khanako, through an attempt to integrate

<sup>553</sup> Maxwell *Colonial Photography & Exhibitions* x.  
Rassool & Hayes 118.

<sup>554</sup> Rassool & Hayes.

<sup>555</sup> Rassool & Hayes 118.

the fragments and traces of her passing through South Africa in 1936-37, is idealistic and probably impossible. We cannot arrogate to ourselves such powers of redemption. The most we can do is to interrogate each process of representation and the states through which new meanings have been produced. In doing so, we must take full responsibility for the new circuits of representation which we have generated in our own academic genre.<sup>556</sup>

As I suggested in the introduction, there have been recent moves to expand the viewing scope of what constitutes 'archive', which has led to an interesting redress which overlaps with other moves to expand the spaces of 'knowledge'. As I see it, there are grey areas where it might be more destructive to force these 'subalternised knowledges' into 'normative knowledge' fields. Essentially, I believe the intention to be one of expanding ways of seeing and recognising that the academy panders to a particular way of seeing that hierarchises and constructs norms that might not be applicable the world over. The general understanding is that the subalternised must be allowed to climb up to the levels of the authoritarian – apparently whether they want to be or not. Nonetheless, there seems to be some value in the notion, and in any case, it gives us academics something to do.

Lambley quotes Nordstrom, asking of *Shared Legacies*: “We must consider the possibility that the exhibition of such stereotyped historical images reinforces the same stereotypes in current thought, or encourages a smugly uncritical “That was then and this is now” attitude that exacerbates the denial of present-day racism.”<sup>557</sup> There is a danger of this happening. My understanding is that any participation with these images is part of both the story, and the perpetuation. It was Duggan-Cronin’s act of photographing the people that is so crucial to the contention. The images themselves are merely (if I can use that term loosely) a trace of that action, that was a potentially victimising and problematic one. Similarly, the processes and practices of engaging with the images as curator and viewer are comparable to that of taking the photograph in the first place.

The condition of my exploration follows the very same themes and techniques. Although the study of reinterpretations might be considered a lesser-studied field, I have not come from another direction and another interpolation. I am still fixated on the visuals; the exotic, the 'ways' the 'methods' the 'logics' of an 'other'. To complicate my position, I am female, white and British.<sup>558</sup>

<sup>556</sup> Rassool & Hayes 153.

<sup>557</sup> Nordstrom 1991 cited in Lambley.

<sup>558</sup> Although should I find myself believing it is in fact only proper for me to follow these methods with strict adherence since it is considered my own cultural practice?

Whilst I have not intended to engage with the difficult racial discourse that could be entertained within this debate, it is an unavoidable debate, especially since it is likely that readers will still read this study in the frame of a post-colonial discourse, no matter how much I would wish to deny it this frame.

This exploration has become not only about Duggan-Cronin's work, but also about the correlations and entanglements of anthropology, art, photography, institutions, and curation. Although this is not a new combination of subjects, there is something more that needs to be re-constructed; perhaps involving further discourse by Foucault on power and disciplines. Through all of this I have been concerned that I might be accused of having attempted to traverse too many subjects, of not narrowing down or focusing on a single direction. I have been persistently uncomfortable with this contradiction of requiring this focus, whilst being a part of a so-called 'interdisciplinary' department. In any case, I persevered despite the obvious problematics of attempting such a feat. I acknowledge that I have not necessarily displayed expertise in any one particular field but I have also found that for myself, I have understood more fully why it is that the interdisciplinary is so complicated. This study has, I hope, exemplified the confusing and difficult associations and relationships between so many 'genres' and 'subjects', or perhaps 'domains', as they are determined conventionally, but I maintain that it would be useful, though impossible, to reject them entirely.

Having accepted that there are so many layers of examination – a stratigraphy that does not actually conform to any cohesive, comprehensive format – I wonder why I ever expected that there would be. I attempted to impose one, but with so much competing information, even where there was once clear structure, it became mixed and muddled. One thing I have become quite certain about is that authenticity, truth and stability do not necessarily exist in the ways that are expected. It is alarming how much 'unmediated' material is actually mediated and how much it is possible to still believe in the 'unmediated', objective situation; how much it is possible to believe in that possibility, because somehow it is possible to believe in its potential for clarity. This is why I have included so many speculations without conclusion. It is not due to an ignorance of the expectations of academic writing.

“The concept of Negative Capability is the ability to contemplate the world without the desire to try and reconcile contradictory aspects or fit it into closed and rational systems.”<sup>559</sup>

<sup>559</sup> John Keats “Negative Capability” Keats' Kingdom: The Best Keats Resource on the Web. 18 October 2011. <<http://www.keatsian.co.uk/negative-capability.htm>>

“...when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason...”<sup>560</sup>

“the objectivity of the photographer was ‘not the objectiveness of a machine, but of a sensible human being with the mystery of personal selection at the heart of it’.”<sup>561</sup>

Essentially this is what I have found: layers and layers of non-fixity, relationships, co-existence and simultaneity. Therefore, I have had to actively not look for anything; I had to avoid finding a point and having to make sense of it. Of course this goes against the genre of such writing, although if I were comfortable with that, the result would fit comfortably into John Keats’ notion of ‘negative capability’.

Considering keywords such as anthropology, art, photography, exhibitions, archive, academia, society, individuals and institution, one finds so many overlaps and uncertainties, some of which perhaps ought to bring clarity where overlaps in themes such as power, audience, gaze, authenticity, totalising and truth, can be coerced; however, there is something complicated about these relationships. All of this overlapping, multiplicity, coexistence and polyphony makes sense and is recognised and acknowledged. For example, Roberts comments:

A key point is that systems of thoughts in Africa – or anywhere else – are neither monolithic nor neatly coherent, and they never exist in isolation, for they always interact with adjacent and intrusive systems of thought. Pluralism and multiple voices of cultural interpretation, both by insiders and outsiders, are rarely reflected in writing or exhibiting on African art and culture....<sup>562</sup>

It may be frustrating that I am being conclusive in the way that any ‘good’ student should be (I have certainly found it frustrating, and still do!) I have come to the possibility that in order to illustrate my own construction, it actually makes sense to maintain some inconclusivity, otherwise this would be hypocritical since I consider that there should be a complex and conflicting mosaic of ideas that make up Africa, or anything.

<sup>560</sup> John Keats “Keats negative Capability” [MrBauld](http://www.mrbauld.com/negcap.html), 21 December 1817. 18 October 2011. <<http://www.mrbauld.com/negcap.html>>

<sup>561</sup> Berenice Abbot quoted in Valerie Lloyd c1930 cited in Tagg 154.

<sup>562</sup> Roberts 174.

There seems not to be any real, simple answer. A human mind naturally needs to organise and arrange experience into patterns and shapes that make understanding and comprehension possible according to one's own experiences of life, and also for the purpose of translating information to others. I would add that none of the interpretations can ever represent the kaleidoscopic reality that is, and these interpretations never should intend to and even less, pretend to do so. As Cooper states: "...history [and I would infer any other discipline] confines the zigzags of time into linear pathways..." the notion of 'confining' being the pertinent problem.<sup>563</sup>

This, for me, has always been a paradox. In order to understand something, even if one lives it or knows it well in lived terms, to articulate or describe it, one has to order it in some way, such that it fits the limited realm of language that exists, and the limited means of communication that are known. Whilst the world exists as a hugely complicated mass of confusions, there are constant efforts to force, or try to, align things and simplify them in order, to comprehend them in a manner that is translatable to others. In the process, it could be argued that this is done with a forgetfulness to understand that this is merely for the purpose of translation and not a representation. If this is the case, I should certainly commend any apprehension of combining something past with something new, and I would recommend reading conflicting stories and narratives on the same subject in parallel, with equal belief in each.

"At its deepest level, this project has turned out to be not about photographs at all, but about relationships – both the historic cross-cultural relationships documented in the photographs and the potential relationships which can be developed around such materials in the present. It is also about the current and future benefits of these new relationships both to First Nations communities and to museums and archives."<sup>564</sup>

Relationships have been a very important aspect of this study; not only real, human relationships between people, but also relationships between subjects, objects and people. Skotnes also brings up the subject of relationships: "This project, then, is about how different people encountered each other, and about some of the consequences of those encounters" and Guillory speaks about social relations in connection with canonic work.<sup>565</sup> Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff have also inspired me to bring relationships to the fore.<sup>566</sup> Photographs are, certainly in this case, about

<sup>563</sup> Cooper 402.

<sup>564</sup> Brown & Peers Pictures Bring Us Messages 4.

<sup>565</sup> Skotnes 18.

Guillory 56.

<sup>566</sup> Ed. Arjun Appadurai. The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1986)

moments of encounter. If I take this view of my study, I can perhaps be more critical about the kinds of reactions provoked and avoid antagonistic relationships – in my idealist world.

### My own curation

“...every decoding of a message is another encoding, all truth is subjective”<sup>567</sup>

I have had to remind myself throughout this project that I, too, am only representing (not necessarily with ‘authenticity’ and certainly not objectively) my own view on all of these reinterpretations. This view comes specifically from *my* eye, in a 2011 setting, with a BA (Hons.) in Visual Culture, engaged with a Masters in African Studies, with experiences living in Swaziland, England and endless non-reference-able, unclassified experiences. The view also comes in the context of a world – physical, literal, academic, art and other – that is in a constant state of transition and understanding of itself.

Throughout this project I have had to be aware and sympathetic to the position that I am projecting onto both the photograph, in *my* time, and the photographer, people and context of *that* time. From my own contemporary context, I have been projecting other, ‘modern’ conventions of seeing and thinking onto both the photographs and the original contexts.

Ultimately, my project here has metaphorically, and literally, curated a selection of works and thoughts articulated in text or image, that are related in some way to the work (nearly one hundred years old) of Duggan-Cronin. This curation is formulated to tell you, the reader – the audience, the spectator – that Duggan-Cronin has made a recent re-emergence in art spaces, and this is due to a number of different factors. I hope that rather than glossing over the potential problems with the narrative, my study has in some way allowed an open space for further questions to be addressed. I accept that it may also be read as “more of an artwork in itself than a critical appraisal of an historical body of work”; not that I intended it particularly as critical appraisal of the historical work, so much as the current works, and it is not necessarily intended as a critical appraisal of them either.<sup>568</sup> Like Duggan-Cronin, all of the projects I have examined, including this one, can be accused of constructing imagined and idealistic idylls – of constructing ideal images – but all of these reference, if only by existence, a reality of some form. Although this study may seem to go against many rules of academia, I intend it *only* as a discussion. This work as a curation in itself, is

<sup>567</sup> B. G. Trigger “Romanticism, Nationalism and Archaeology” 1995, 263 in Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology Ed. P.L. Kohl & C. Fawcett. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 263 cited in Cull.

<sup>568</sup> Godby. “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954)” 80.

also intended to reference the way in which photographs are open-ended and subject to multiple interpretations. By these means, it also reflects the multiple interpretations exhibitions are subject to.

There are many concepts and ideas within this project that I have found very difficult to articulate; they have the same feeling as when something is on the tip of your tongue but you just cannot quite spit it out. My feeling is that this is where these words will always stay; that the knowledge of some things lies in the fact that they specifically cannot be articulated, least of all by academics, and it is this mystery and difficulty that maintains authenticity.

There are debates that suggest a change in ‘type’ of photographs – the ways that photographs are perceived. In many ways this is inevitable, but also not necessarily ‘true’. My understanding, rather, it is public consciousness that changes. Slowly and subtly, changes in society inform how one sees; a premise underlined by the discussion in this study. It takes examples such as the *Shared Legacies* exhibition to make these changes and perform them, even to make them ‘public’, but they are inevitable changes and are always occurring.

Had I thought that I was going to unearth something interesting about the transition of Duggan-Cronin’s work into an ‘art’ realm, I would be disappointed. However, in terms of recognising the complicated structures that arrived at this study, directed it and confused it, it seems highly successful. With no answers, clarifications, certainties, entireties or generalisations I feel lost, but also satisfied that I have at once proved and disproved myself and my context.

APPENDIX 1

List of exhibitions post 1990 containing photographs by Duggan-Cronin

- 1997 | Johannesburg Biennale | The Black Photo Album/Look at Me | Santu Mofokeng
- 1999 | South African National Gallery; Bamako Biennale, Mali | African Contrasts in Lines of Sight: Perspectives on South African Photography | Michael Godby
- 2000 | University of Cape Town Department of African Languages | General Display
- 2001 | Workers Library and Museum | Compound to Kraal: Salvaging and Revisiting the Duggan-Cronin Collection | Santu Mofokeng & Thierry Secretan
- 2007 | University of Cape Town African Studies Library | General Display
- 2005/7 | Castle of Good Hope Gallery, Cape Town; McGregor Museum, Kimberley & MuseumAfrica, Johannesburg | Thandabantu: a photographic journey through southern Africa 1919-1939
- 2009 | CAS Gallery; McGregor Museum; Albany Museum | Shared Legacies | Siona O'Connell & Dale Washkansky
- 2009 | Djanogly Art Gallery, Nottingham, UK & Wales | Life Less Ordinary: Performance and Display in South African Art | Anna Douglas
- 2010 | Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954): The Construction of an Ambiguous Idyll (written work) | Michael Godby
- 2011 | Victoria & Albert Museum, London | Figures & Fictions: Contemporary South African Photography | Tamar Garb
- 2011 | Artworks, in progress | Andrew Putter
- 2011 | Johans Borman: Fine Art, Cape Town | Persona | Johans Borman
- Permanent exhibition | Phuthadikobo Museum, Botswana
- Permanent exhibition | McGregor Museum, Kimberley

BIBLIOGRAPHY

**Abu-Lughod**, Lila. "Writing Against Culture" in Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present. Ed. R.G. Fox. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1991.

**Ackerknecht**, Erwin H. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies. Volume III, SectionIV, The Nguni: Section IV, The Swazi. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin" The Quarterly Review of Biology. 23.1 (1948)

**Ackerknecht**, Erwin H. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies. Volume III, SectionII, The Nguni: Section II, The Mpondo and Mpondomise. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin" The Quarterly Review of Biology. 25.1 (1950) 121.

**Agamben**, Giorgio. Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998.

**Akin**, Marjorie. "Passionate Possession: The Formation of Private Collections." Learning from Things. Ed. David Kingery. USA: Smithsonian Institution, 1996.

Ed. **Appadurai**, Arjun. The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1986.

**Asad**, Talal. Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter. London: Ithaca Press. 1973.

Ed. **Banks**, Marcus & Morphy, Howard. Rethinking Visual Anthropology. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997.

**Barnes**, J.A. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies: Vol. III, Section V; Baca, Hlubi, Xesibe. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin" Man. 54 (1954)

**Barnes**, J.A. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies, Vol. III, Section II: The Mpondo and Mpondomise. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin" Man. 50 (1950)

**Barthes**, Roland. Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography. Translated by Richard Howard. London: Vintage c1981.

**Bell-Mulaudzi**, Amy. Personal communication: Email 18 November 2011.

**Benjamin**, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." (1936) UCLA School of Theatre, Film and Television. Transcribed by Andy Blunden 1998.

**Bensusan**, A.D. Silver Images: History of Photography in South Africa. Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1966.

Ed. **Borman**, Johans. Persona. Cape Town: Johans Borman Fine Art, 2011.

Dir. **Bridgeman**, Duncan & Jamie Catto. What about me? 19 Entertainment, 2008.

**Brown**, Alison & Laura Peers. Pictures Bring Us Messages: Photographs and Histories from the Kainai Nation. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 2006.

Ed. **Carbonell**, Bettina Messias. Museum Studies: an Anthology of Contexts. Malden, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 2004.

Ed. **Cardozo**, Christopher. Sacred Legacies: Edward S Curtis and the North American Indians. Italy: Verve Editions, 2005.

**Clark**, Julia. Lectures at Michaelis School of Fine Art, University of Cape Town, September 2011.

**Clifford**, James. The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Ed. **Clifford**, James & G. Marcus. Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkley: University of California Press, 1986.

**Coetzee**, Carli. "Various Artists at Victoria and Albert Museum." ARTTHROB: international reviews. 8 December 2011. <[http://www.artthrob.co.za/Reviews/2011/04/Carli-Coetzee-reviews-Figures-\\_and\\_-Fictions-Contemporary-South-African-Photography-by-Various-Artists-at-Victoria-and-Albert-Museum-%28V\\_and\\_A%29.aspx](http://www.artthrob.co.za/Reviews/2011/04/Carli-Coetzee-reviews-Figures-_and_-Fictions-Contemporary-South-African-Photography-by-Various-Artists-at-Victoria-and-Albert-Museum-%28V_and_A%29.aspx)>

**Cooper**, Frederick. "Postcolonial Studies and the Study of History" Postcolonial Studies and Beyond. Ed. Ania Loomba, Suvier Kaul, Matti Bunzl, Antoinette Burton, & Jed Etsy. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005.

Ed. **Coote**, Jeremy & Anthony Shelton. Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

**Cull**, Daniel. "Subjectivity as Treatment: Neurosis and the Roots of Contemporary Ethnographic Conservation." CeroArt: Conservation, Exposition, Restauration D'Objets D'Art. April 2009. 11 October 2011. <<http://ceroart.revues.org/1237>>

Ed. **Dell**, Elizabeth & Sarah Dudley. Textiles from Burma. London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003.

Ed. **Douglas**, Anna. Life Less Ordinary: Performance and Display in South African Art. Nottingham: Djanogly Art Gallery, 2009.

**Douglas**, Anna. "Alfred Duggan-Cronin" Figures & Fictions: The Ethics and Poetics of Photographic Depictions of People. Conference 24<sup>th</sup> June 2011.

**Edwards**, Elizabeth. Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums. Oxford, New York: Berg, 2001.

**E**, D. E. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Reproductions of Photographic Studies. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin" Man. 37 (1937)

**Ekeh**, Peter. European Imperialism and the Ibadan School of History. Buffalo: State University of New York, 1997.

**F**, W. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; The Bantu Tribes of South Africa Vol. III, Section III, Plates LXXXI-CXX. The Nguni. Section III. The Zulu by D. Mck. Malcolm" The Geographical Journal. 92.2 (1938)

**F, W.** “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; The Bantu Tribes of South Africa Vol. III, Section III, Plates LXXXI-CXX. The Nguni. Section III. The Zulu by D. Mck. Malcolm” The Geographical Journal. 92.2 (1938)

**F, E.N.** “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Reproductions of Photographic Studies. Vol. 1, Section 1. Plates I—XX by A. M. Duggan-Cronin” Geography. 15.3 (1929)

**F, H. J.** “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Vol. III. The Nguni. Section IV. The Swazi by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; Hilda Beemer” Geography. 27.1 (1942)

“Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Vol. 2, Section I, Plates I— XXVI. The Suto-Chuana Tribes by A. M. Duggan-Cronin.” Geography. 15.7 (1930) 608.

**F, H. J.** “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Reproduction of Photographic Studies. Vol. IV. Section I. Plates I-XL. The Vathonga by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; H.-P. Junod” Geography. 21.2 (1936)

**F, H. J.** “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Reproductions of Photographic Studies Vol. IV, Section II. Plates XLI-LXXX by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; H.-P. Junod” Geography. 21.4 (1936)

**F, H. J.** “Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Reproductions of Photographic Studies Vol. IV, Section II. Plates XLI-LXXX by A. M. Duggan-Cronin; H.-P. Junod” Geography. 21.4 (1936)

**Fabian, Johannes.** Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

**Fraser, Nancy.** “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy.” The Cultural Studies Reader. Ed. Simon During. London: Routledge, 1993.

**Garb, Tamar.** Figures & Fictions: Contemporary South African photography. Gottingen, Germany: Steidl; London: V&A Publishing, 2011.

**Gifford, E.W.** Review in American Anthropologist. 39 (1937)

**Godby, Michael.** Lines of Sight: Perspectives on South African Photography. Cape Town: South African National Gallery, 1999.

**Godby, Michael.** “Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin’s Photographs for *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (1928-1954): The Construction of an Ambiguous Idyll.” Kronos 36.1 (2010).

**Godby, Michael.** Personal Communication. Discussion 23 November 2011.

**Goodnow, Katherine, Jack Lohman & Jatti Bredekamp.** Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney. Paris: Unesco, 2006.

**Grundlingh, Geoff.** “Newsletter” Centre for Photography. June 1999. 21 November 2011. <<http://www.artthrob.co.za/99june/exchange.htm>>

**Guillory, John.** Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993.

**Hall, H.U.** American Anthropologist. 39 (1937)

**Halliday**, Amy. "Athi-Patra Ruga, Berni Searle, Pieter Hugo, Zanele Muholi and Nandipha Mntambo at Djanogly Art Gallery" ARTTHROB: international reviews. c2009. 20 September 2011.

<<http://www.artthrob.co.za/Reviews/Review-of-A-Life-Less-Ordinary-at-Djanogly-Gallery,-Nottingham-by-Amy-Halliday-at-Djanogly-Art-Gallery.aspx>>

Ed. **Hamilton**, Carolyn, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh. Refiguring the Archive. (Cape Town: David Philip. 2002)

Ed. **Hartmann**, Wolfram, Jeremy Silvester & Patricia Hayes. The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1998; Namibia: Out of Africa, 1998; USA: Ohio University Press, 1999.

**Hart**, Robert. "Flipping the Portrait" UCT African Studies Students: Gallery. 06 December 2011 <  
<[https://www.facebook.com/pages/UCT-African-Studies-Students/198968760114354?sk=app\\_10442206389](https://www.facebook.com/pages/UCT-African-Studies-Students/198968760114354?sk=app_10442206389)>

**Hart**, Robert. "Photographs: Chapter 16" McGregor Museum Annual Report. 2005/06. Kimberley: Gepubliseer deur die McGregor Museum, c2006.

**Hart**, Robert. "The McGregor Museum's Photographic Collections with Special Emphasis on the Historic Negatives." World Library and Information Congress: 73<sup>rd</sup> IFLA General Congerence and Council. 18-24 August 2007, Durban, South Africa.

**Hart**, Robert. "Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin: A Biography." Thandabantu: A Photographic Journey Through southern Africa 1919 to 1939. Cape Town: Scan Shop, 2007.

**Hart**, Robert. "The McGregor Museum Photographic Collections" African Historical Photographic Archives. 02 December 2011 < <http://www.ahparchives.org/index.php/archives-info/information-on-photographic-collections/5-the-mcgregor-museum-photographic-collections>>

**Hayes**, Patricia. "Photography, Memory and the Archive in Namibian History" <[http://wiki.dcc.ufba.br/pub/Main/LivioSansone/Hayes\\_Phtography\\_memory\\_archive.pdf](http://wiki.dcc.ufba.br/pub/Main/LivioSansone/Hayes_Phtography_memory_archive.pdf)>

**Hayes**, Patricia. "Power, Secrecy, Proximity: A Short History of South African Photography" Kronos 33 (2007) 139-162.

**Iziko**. "Siliva Zulu: Silent Pictures Telling Stories" Exhibition at Iziko Slave Lodge, Cape Town, South Africa, 2011.

**Jenkins**, Paul. "Everyday life encapsulated? Two photographs concerning women and the Basel Mission in West Africa, c.1900 ." Journal of African Cultural Studies 15.1 (2002) 45-60).

**Kaganoff**, Aryan. "Lizabe Lambrechts : The Music Archive as a Methodological Conduit of 'Western-ness'". Kagablog. 15 July 2011. 11 October 2011. Including Verne Harris 2002: 71. <<http://kaganof.com/kagablog/2011/07/15/lizabe-lambrechts-the-music-archive-as-a-methodological-conduit-of-%E2%80%98westernness%E2%80%99/>>

**Kant**, Immanuel. Critique of Judgement. Trans. James Creed Meredith. Revised, edited and introduced by Nicholas Walker. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

**Kearney**, Richard. "Postmodern Narratives: The Parodic Imagination." The Wake of Imagination. New York: Routledge, 1988.

**Keats**, John. "Negative Capability" Keats' Kingdom: The Best Keats Resource on the Web. 18 October 2011. <<http://www.keatsian.co.uk/negative-capability.htm>>

**Keats**, John. "Keats negative Capability" MrBauld. 21 December 1817. 18 October 2011. <<http://www.mrbauld.com/negcap.html>>

**Kratz**, Corinne. The Ones that are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of representation in a photographic exhibition. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002.

**Lambley**, Catherine. "Shared Legacies Exhibition: The "Other" on Show?" Albany Museum. 18 June 2010. 6 September 2011. <<http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/2010/06/shared-legacies-exhibition-other-on.html>>

Ed. **Landau**, Paul. Images and Empire: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, c2002.

**Lucas**, Patricia. "Celebrating Africa in the Midst of Apartheid" News from Communication and Marketing Department. University of Cape Town. 06 June 2011. 06 December 2011. <[http://www.uct.ac.za/usr/press/2011/celebrating\\_africa.pdf](http://www.uct.ac.za/usr/press/2011/celebrating_africa.pdf)>

**M**, J. L. "Review: The Bushman Tribes of Southern Africa. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin D. F. Bleek" Man. 43 (1943)

**Mahashe**, George. Conversations 2011.

**Marien**, Mary Warner. Photography: a Cultural History. London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd. 2006.

**Mason**, John Edwin. "Constance Stuart Larrabee & the Ndebele Man in Riding Breeches." John Edwin Mason: Documentary, Motorsports, Photo History. 11 August 2010. 30 September 2011. <[http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john\\_edwin\\_mason\\_photogra/2010/08/constance-stuart-larrabee-ndebele.html](http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john_edwin_mason_photogra/2010/08/constance-stuart-larrabee-ndebele.html)>

**Mason**, John Edwin. "Poor Whites & Photography in South Africa: The Backstory." John Edwin Mason: Documentary, Motorsports, Photo History. 23 October 2010. 30 September 2011. <[http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john\\_edwin\\_mason\\_photogra/constance-stuart-larrabee/](http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john_edwin_mason_photogra/constance-stuart-larrabee/)>

**Matshoba**, Zongezile. "Many Came to Share Legacies" Albany Museum Blogspot. 21 May 2010. 06 September 2011. <<http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/2010/05/who-is-who-of-grahamstown-graced.html>>

**Matshoba**, Zongezile. "Museum Shares Photographic Legacies with Upstart." Albany Museum Blog. 25 June 2010. 06 December 2011. <<http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/2010/06/museum-shares-photograph-legacies-with.html>>

**Maxwell**, Anne. Colonial Photography & Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities. London & New York: Leicester University Press, 1999.

**Maxwell**, Anne. Picture Imperfect: Photography and Eugenics, 1870-1940. Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2008.

**Maynard**, Kent & Melisa Cahnmann-Taylor. "Anthropology at the Edge of Words: Where Poetry and Ethnography Meet." Anthropology and Humanism. 35.1 (2010) 2-19.

Ed. **McClellan**, Andrew. Art and its Publics; Museum Studies at the Millennium. Malden, Oxford, Victoria, Berlin: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 2003.

**McGregor Museum**. Thandabantu: A Photographic Journey Through southern Africa 1919 to 1939. Cape Town: Scan Shop, 2007.

**Mofokeng**, Santu. "The Black Photo Album/Look at Me: 1890-1950." Contemporary African Photography from the Waltheur Collection: Events of the Self Portraiture and Social Identity. Ed. Okwui Enwezor. Göttingen: Steidl, 2010.

Ed. **Morton**, Christopher & Elizabeth Edwards. Photography, Anthropology and History: Expanding the Frame. Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate publishing Limited, 2009.

**Mudimbe**, V.Y. The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge. London: James Currey, 1988.

**Newbury**, Darren. Defiant Images: Photography and Apartheid South Africa. Pretoria: Unisa Press, c2009.

**Nørgaard**, Mads. "Documentary Photography and The African Continent" Mads Nørgaard | Photographer. 17 February 2011. 02 December 2011  
<[https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note\\_id=182307905144483](https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=182307905144483)>

**Norman**, Jeremy. "25000 BCE to 8000 BCE Timeline." Jeremy Norman's: From Cave Paintings to the Internet: Chronological and Thematic Studies on the History of Information and Media. 2004-2011. 08 January 2012. < <http://www.historyofinformation.com/index.php>>

Ed. **Nuttall**, Sarah. Beautiful Ugly: African and Diaspora Aesthetics. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

**O'Connell**, Siona. Personal Communication. Discussion 16 September 2011.

**Pearce**, Susan. On Collecting: An investigation into collecting in the European Tradition. London: Routledge, 1995.

**Peers**, Laura & Alison Brown. Museums and Source Communities: a Routledge Reader. London: Routledge, 2003.

Ed. **Pinney**, Christopher & Nicholas Peterson. Photography's Other Histories. America: Duke University Press, 2003.

**Prior**, Nick. Museums & Modernity: Art Galleries and the making of Modern Culture. Oxford, New York: Berg, 2002

**Putter**, Andrew. "Status Report: Better Late than Never" Archive and Public Culture Workshop, UCT, Cape Town, 27-29 July 2011.

**Putter**, Andrew. "Spread Your Love: Volunteer to be Part of an Important New Artwork" Call for models October 2011. Unpublished.

**Putter**, Andrew. "Biographical Sketch of Duggan-Cronin." Unpublished 2011.

**Putter**, Andrew, personal communication. Email: 11 December 2011.

**Rassool**, Ciraj & Patricia Hayes. "Science and the Spectacle." Deep Histories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa. Ed. Wendy Woodward, Patricia Hayes & Gary Minkley. Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2002..

**Rautenbach**, Anneke. "Shifting Focus: Stories that make a difference" The Cape Town Globalist: UCT's Student International Affairs Magazine. Drugs need a light? 6.2. (2011) 17-18.

**Roberts**, Mary Nooter. "Exhibition Episteme: African Art Exhibitions as Objects of Knowledge." Preserving the Cultural Heritage of Africa: Crisis or Renaissance? Ed. Kenji Yoshida & John Mack. South Africa: James Currey, Unisa Press, 2008.

Ed. **Rugg**, Judith & Michèle Sedgwick. Issues in Curating Contemporary Art and Performance. Bristol: Intellect Books, 2007; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

**S**, R. U. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin" Man 34 (1934)

**Schneider**, Ard & Christopher Wright. Contemporary Art and Anthropology. Oxford: Berg, 2006.

**Shepherd**, Nick. "When the Hand that Holds the Trowel is Black...?: Disciplinary Practices of Self-Representation and the Issue of 'Native' Labour in Archaeology." Journal of Social Archaeology 3 (2003)

**Shepherd**, Nick. "Heritage" New South African Keywords. Ed. Nick Shepherd & Steven Robins. Cape Town & Athens: Jacana Media & Ohio Press, 2008.

**Shepherd**, Nick. Lecture at Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 13 September 2011.

Ed. **Skotnes**, Pippa. Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1996.

**Smith**, E.W. "Review: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Vol. I, Section 1, the Bavenda, Vol. II, Section I the Suto Chuana Tribes, Sub-Group 1, the Bechuana. by A. M. Duggan-Cronin" Man. 30 (1930)

**Sontag**, Susan. 1979. Photograph of a sign in *Shared Legacies* exhibition. 21 July 2011.

<<http://www.modernoverland.com/south-africa/northern-cape/kimberley/duggan-cronin-gallery/>>

**Stevenson**, Michael & Michael Graham-Stewart. *Surviving the Lens: Photographic studies of South and East African People, 1870-1920*. Vlaeberg: Fernwood Press, 2001.

**Tagg**, John. The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories. Hampshire & London: Macmillan, 1988.

**Wallis**, Brian. "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes." American Art. 9.2 (1995)

Ed. **Weinberg**, Paul. Then & Now: Eight South African Photographers. Johannesburg: Highveld Press, 2007.

**Weinberg**, Paul. Presentation in class. 11 August 2011.

**Weinberg**, Paul. Personal Communication. Discussion 16 September 2011.

**Weitzner**, Bella. American Anthropologist. 39 (1937)

Ed. **Wells**, Liz. The Photography Reader. London: Routledge, 2003.

**Wilman**, Maria. The Bantu Tribes of Southern Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. Vol. I, Section I, Plates I-XX: The Bavenda. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd. 1928.

**Witz**, Leslie. "Museums, Sustainability and Memories of Apartheid." Talk delivered on occasion of international museums day. McGregor Museum Kimberly 19 May 2008. 1-14.

**Zander**, Rosamund Stone & Benjamin Zander. The Art of Possibility: Transforming Professional and Personal Life. USA: Harvard Business School Press, 2000; New York: Penguin Books, 2002.

"Documentary Now" Contemporary strategies in photography, film and the visual arts. Reflect #04. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005.

---

#### Un-authored website articles

"Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin 1874-" WorldCat: Identities. 06 December 2011.  
<<http://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n86-852813>>

"Images that capture a bygone tranquillity – Alfred Duggan-Cronin" Iziko museums of Cape Town: Press Releases. 14 March 2011. 02 December 2011.  
<<http://www.ndstest.co.za/iziko/iziko/press/20070314b.html>>

"Listings" ARTTHROB. June 2001. 16 December 2011.  
<<http://www.artthrob.co.za/01june/listings-gauteng.html#workerslib>>

"Compound to Kraal: Salvaging and Revisiting the Duggan-Cronin Collection." WorldCat. 6 December 2011. <<http://www.worldcat.org/title/compound-to-kraal-salvaging-and-revisiting-the-duggan-cronin-collection/oclc/048834527>>

"Mayoral Address: Opening of Shared Legacies Exhibition." Albany Museum Blog. 24 May 2010. 06 September 2011. <<http://albanymuseum.blogspot.com/2010/05/mayoral-address-opening-of-shared.html>>

McGregor Museum Kimberly. 02 December 2011  
<<http://www.museumsnc.co.za/other/SateliteMuseumInfoPDF.pdf>>

“News from the Mission: “Shared Legacies” continues to inspire audience.” United States Diplomatic Mission to South Africa. 16 July 2010. 06 September 2011.  
<<http://southafrica.usembassy.gov/news100719a.html>>

“Old Masters to be Hung Facing Wall.” The Guardian. 4 August 2004. 16 October 2011.  
<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/aug/04/arts.southafrica>>

“Shared Legacies” CuePix. 16 June 2010. 06 September 2011.  
<[http://cuepix.ru.ac.za/main.php?g2\\_itemId=57005](http://cuepix.ru.ac.za/main.php?g2_itemId=57005)>

“Two Worlds Meet in a Snap” UCT Daily News Archives. 20 October 2009. 21 September 2011.  
<<http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=7162>>

## A Curation of Duggan-Cronin's Photographs

On the following pages are a number of photographs by the photographer Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. They are of course not original prints by Duggan-Cronin himself, but they are photographs taken, by the author of this dissertation, of the plates included in the published volumes *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin*.

The images also include a photograph of the front cover of the very first volume in the series, as well as an insert that I found in the first few pages of another volume. These two images are included in acknowledgement of the experience of viewing the volumes in the archive of the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town. This was a significant experience, especially in the age of technology where tactile experiences are becoming fewer.

There is an overlay page covering each of Duggan-Cronin's images. These intend to act as 'agency awareness' tools. In the dissertation that follows this curation, the issue of agency is highlighted and it is with reference to these contentious debates that these overlay pages have been included.

I have not denied my presence in the images. My shadow is visible, my aim is not perfectly square to the image, the page not perfectly flattened by my hand and even occasionally my fingertips appear. Although I understand that conventionally this behaviour would not be considered acceptable for a Masters level dissertation, it is intentional. My presence in the images, in any form, acts as an acknowledgement of my participation in encountering, viewing and engaging with these images.

The selection of photographs included is supposed to be random.<sup>1</sup> In reality it is only a purposefully non-thematic selection. We will explore in the dissertation itself the difficulties of using photographs, selection processes and the uses of photographs in exhibitions. The exhibitions we will later explore all selected images according to particular themes and criteria, in order to tell particular narratives. The images selected here are also selected to tell a particular narrative, but it is closer to an anti-narrative since it is more concerned with deconstructing the way's in which narratives are conventionally constructed and formulated, than it is with understanding the photographs or making comparisons.

---

<sup>1</sup> To make the selection I flicked gently through the volumes and stopped the pages every now and then to take a picture. I took three to five per volume and then once they were on my computer narrowed them down by process of elimination, partly due to quality of photo quality and partly subjective choice selecting those that demonstrated variety or features I found interesting or beautiful.

In the process of my anti-selection it was extremely tempting to ensure that I at least included one image from each volume, of each tribe. I was also desperate to include at least one landscape, one musician, one image of children, one of a chief, and one of each of the other themes that occurred systematically in every volume. Another temptation was to include images that contradict the common cannon surrounding Duggan-Cronin's photographs, for example by including many of children and men, those showing 'modern' dress and those that seem not to demonstrate any agency or power from the sitter. It was also difficult not to be biased towards images I considered beautiful or interesting. One rule that I did succumb to was only including images from the Bantu volumes. I could have taken images from the Bushman volumes, and with more difficulty other photographs from the collection at the McGregor Museum. This decision was based on convenience, again, not conventional but intentional.

The reasons for inclusion of this curation are threefold:

Firstly it is included in reference to exhibitions. Since the dissertation is concerned with exhibitions and their archiving in exhibition catalogues, in a sense this study is also a catalogue belonging to an exhibition. It was not possible for me to stage an actual exhibition to hand in with my dissertation, so the following curation represents an alternative to that.

Secondly the manner of this curation, as already noted, is intended to reference certain debates within the dissertation itself (e.g. agency).

Thirdly, it would be impossible to present the following dissertation without some inclusion of the photographs in question, or the reader would be at a significant disadvantage for not knowing, in some way, how the images appear.

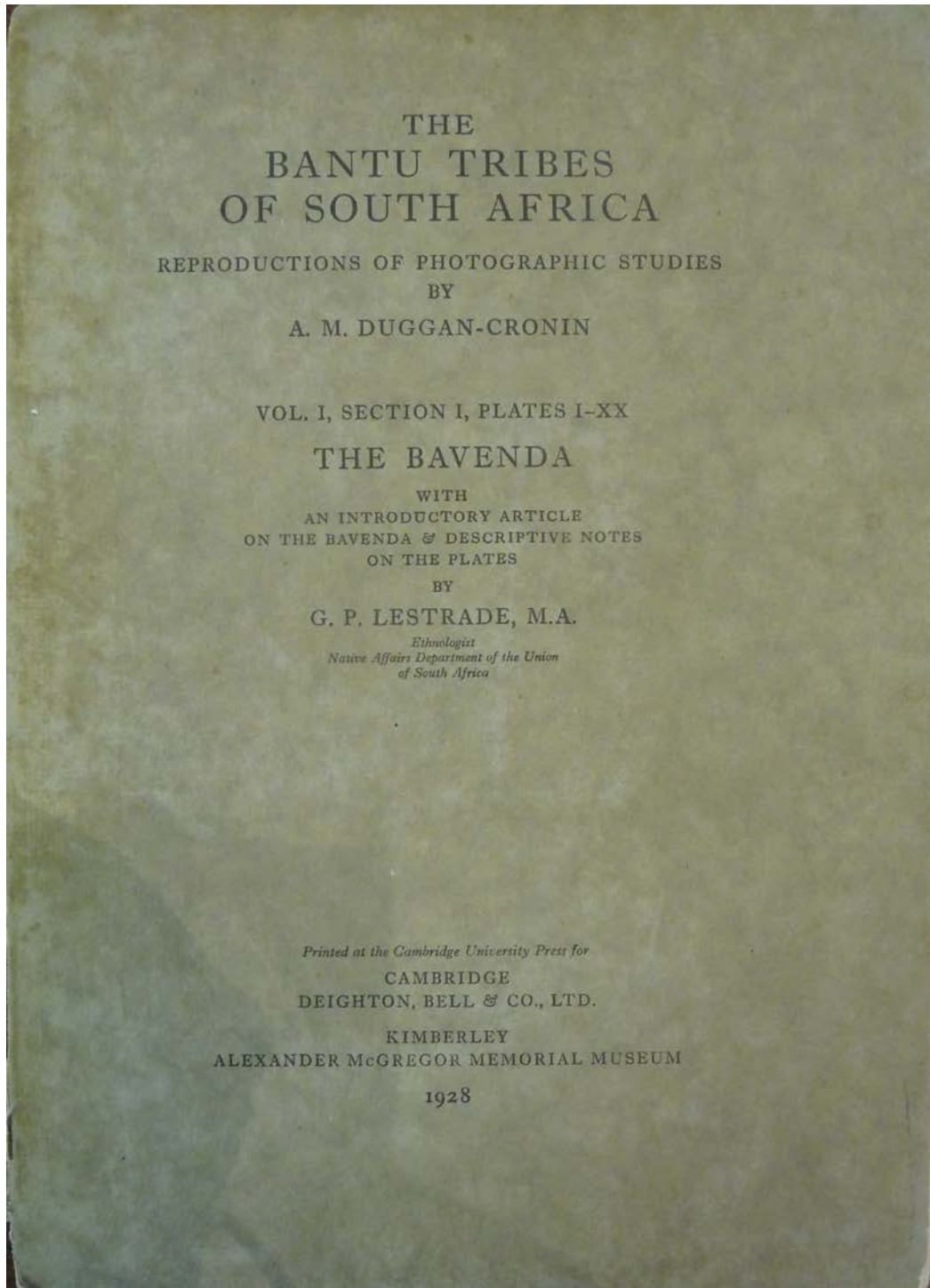


Figure 1.

Front cover of the first volume of *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies* by A.M. Duggan-Cronin.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1928)

Vol. I, Section I, Plates I-XX: The Bavenda, with an introductory article on the Bavenda & descriptive notes on the plates by G.P. Lestrade.

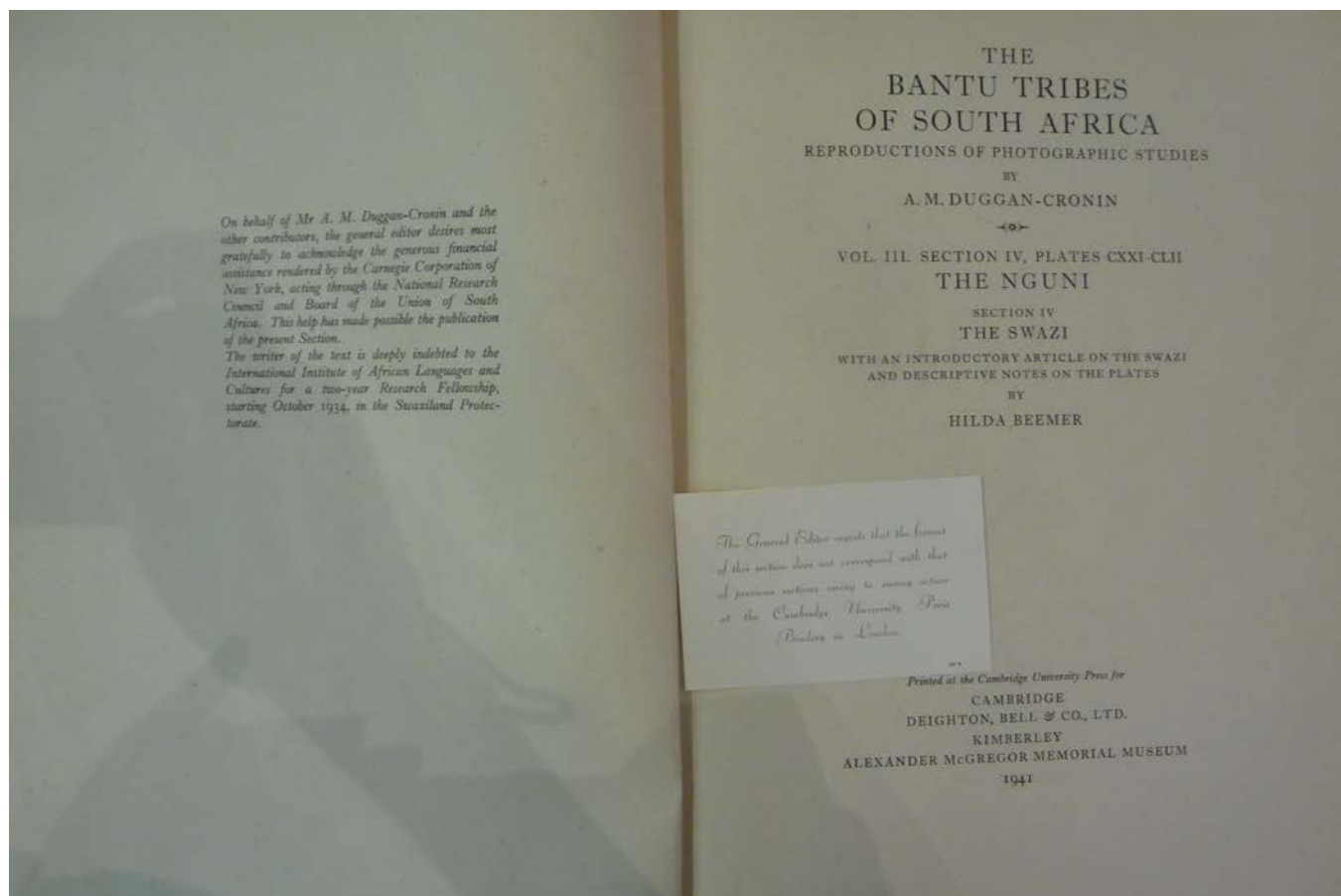


Figure 2.

The introductory pages from the first volume of *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies* by A.M. Duggan-Cronin with an insert stating “The General Editor regrets that the format of this section does not correspond with that of previous sections owing to enemy action at the Cambridge University Press Bindery in London”.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1941)  
 Vol. III, Section IV, Plates CXXI-CLII: The Nguni, Section IV, The Swazi, with an introductory article on the Swazi and descriptive notes on the plates by Hilda Beemer.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933.

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1949)  
Vol. II, Section II, Plates XXVII-LII: The Suto-Chuana tribes, sub-group II: The Bapedi (Transvaal Basotho), with an introductory article on the Bapedi and descriptive notes on the plates by Werner Eiselen.



Figure 3.

PLATE XLIX | YOUNG PEDI GIRLS | Their attire shows that these girls are marriageable. It will be seen that, through they all wear similar garments they nevertheless affect a personal note by means of varying decorative designs.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1929)  
Vol. II, Section I, Plates I-XXVI: The Suto-Chuana tribes, sub-group I: The Bechuana, with introductory articles on the Suto-Chuana tribes and the Bechuana by G.P. Lestrade and descriptive notes on the plates.

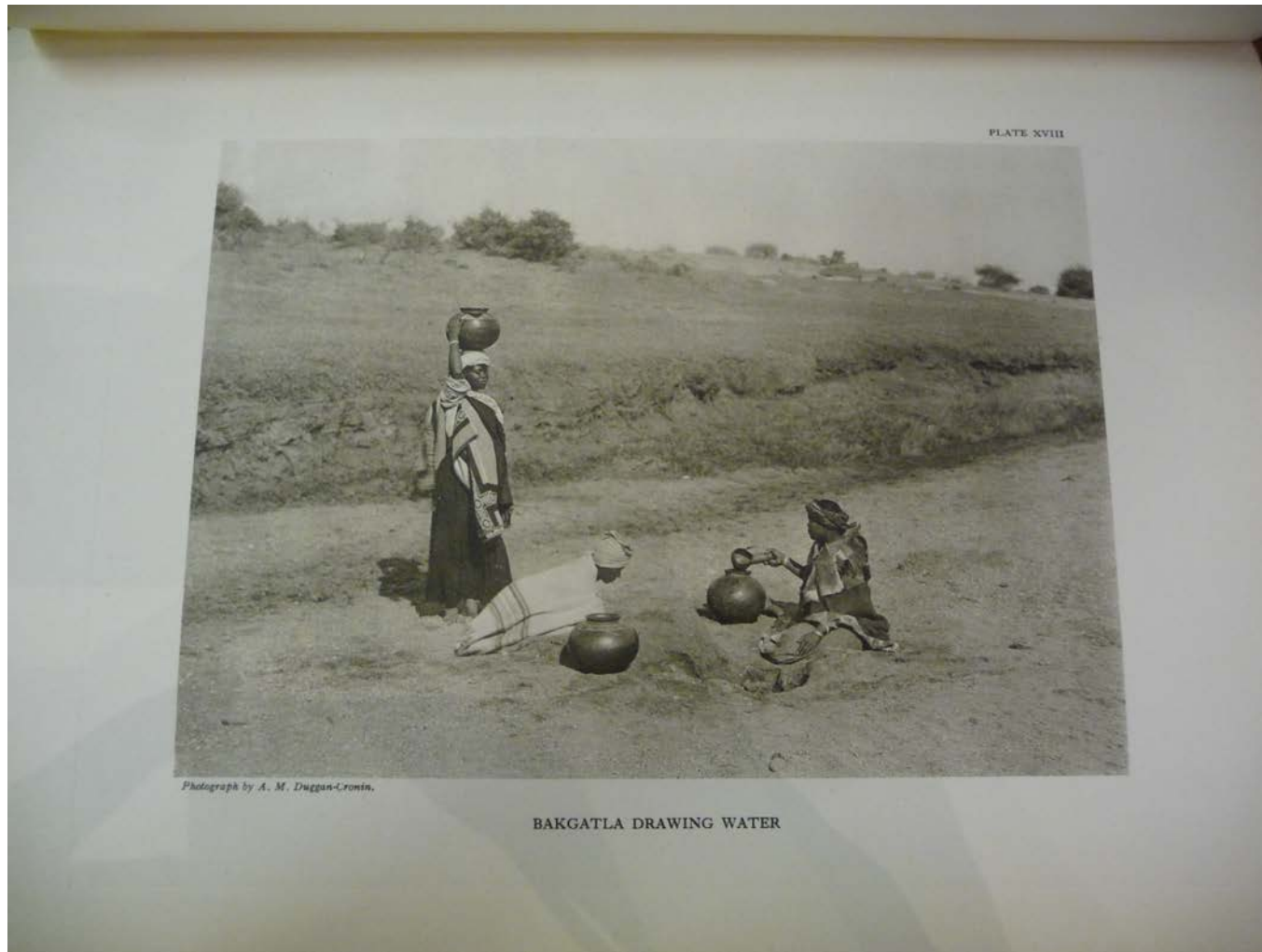


Figure 4.

PLATE XVIII | BAKGATLA DRAWING WATER | The women are drawing water from holes dug in the dry bed of the Moshupa river. For this purpose the useful calabash is used as a scoop. Leaves are often placed on top of the water in the pot, to prevent it spilling as a result of the bearer's movement in walking. A great portion of the Chuana woman's time, at least in winter, the dry season, is spent in fetching water, often at a great distance from her home.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1931)

Vol. II, Section II, Plates XXVII-LII: The Suto-Chuana tribes, sub-group II: The Bapedi (Transvaal Basotho), with an introductory article on the Bapedi and descriptive notes on the plates by Werner Eiselen.

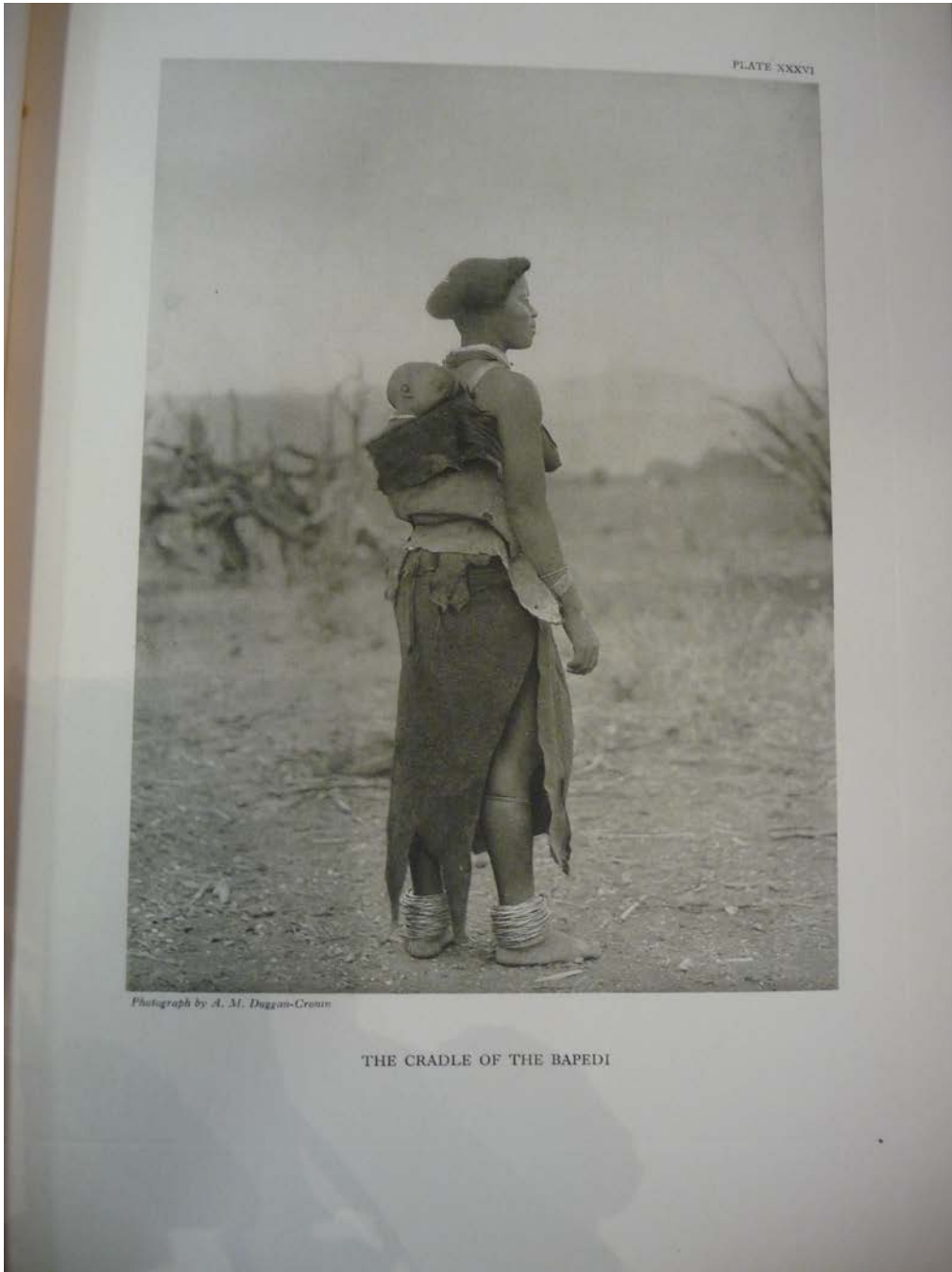


Figure 5.

PLATE XXXVI | THE CRADLE OF THE BAPEDI | The Pedi baby is carried on the mother's back in a *thari* made of goat-skin. The *mosese* or rear garment is cut from ox-hide.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1933)

Vol. II, Section III, Plates LIII-LXXVIII: The Suto-Chuana tribes, sub-group III: The Southern Basotho, with an introductory article on the southern Basotho and descriptive notes on the plates by G.P. Lestrade and a bibliography of the southern Basotho by I. Schapera.

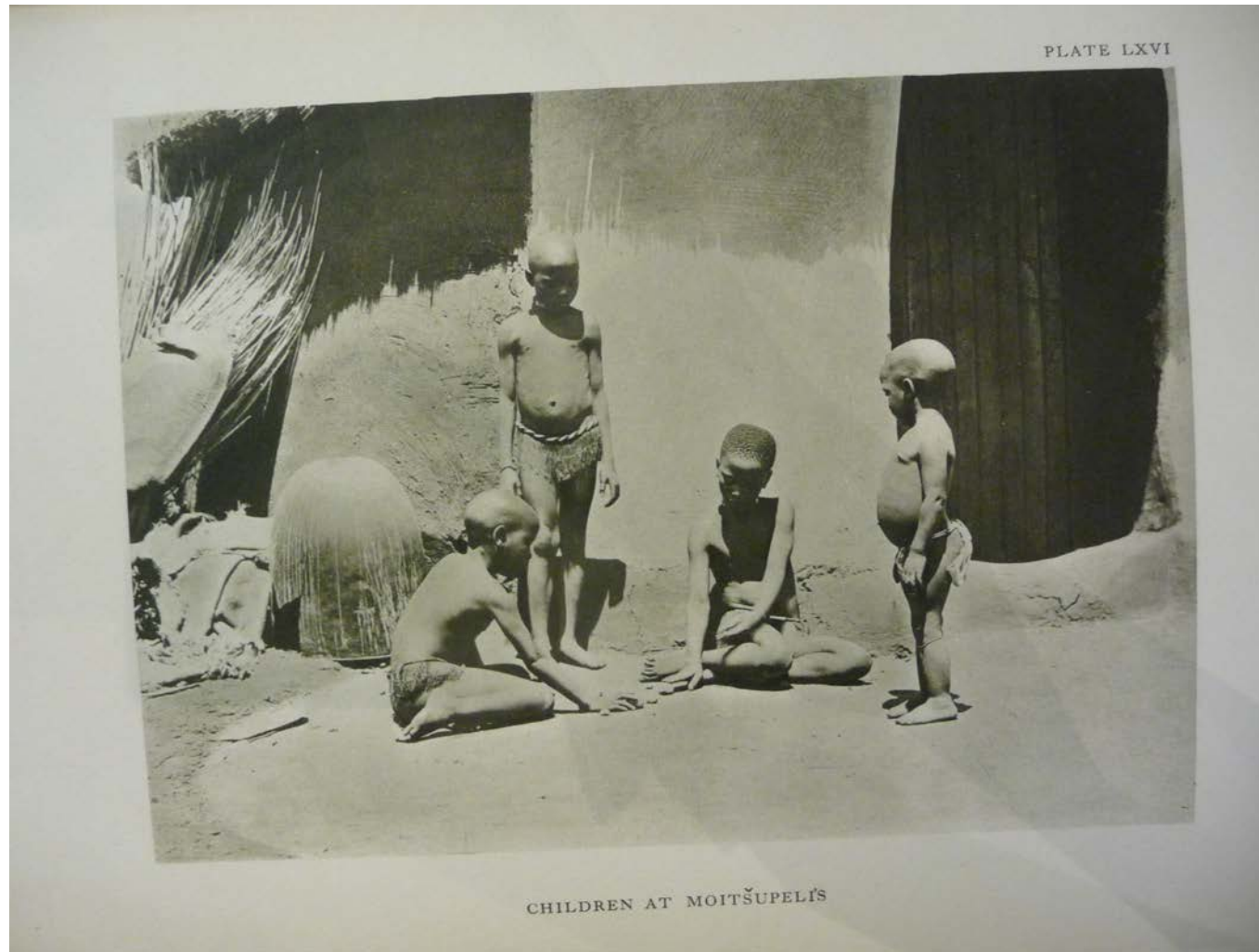


Figure 6.

PLATE LXVI | CHILDREN AT MOITŠUPELI'S | the girls are playing the game of *ho keta*, the Sotho equivalent of the game of knuckle-bones. The one standing in the middle shows to best advantage the attire of girls of this age, a loin-band decorated with beads, and a fringe hanging therefrom. The distended pot-belly of the young spectator on the right is probably due to a considerable amount of stuffing with food, which Sotho mothers practice upon their smaller children. The utensil of the left is a beer-pot.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1936)

Vol IV, Section II, Plates XLI-LXXX: The Vachopi of Portuguese East Africa, with an introductory article on the Vachopi, and a bibliography, and descriptive notes on the plates by Henri-Philippe Junod.



Figure 7.

PLATE XLVII | TWO LITTLE KHOKA FISHERMEN AT MAXIXE | Fish is plentiful in the bay of Inhambane and along the coast generally, as well as in the inland waters. These boys are carrying their catch to market.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1933)

Vol. II, Section III, Plates LIII-LXXVIII: The Suto-Chuana tribes, sub-group III: The Southern Basotho, with an introductory article on the southern Basotho and descriptive notes on the plates by G.P. Lestrade and a bibliography of the southern Basotho by I. Schapera.

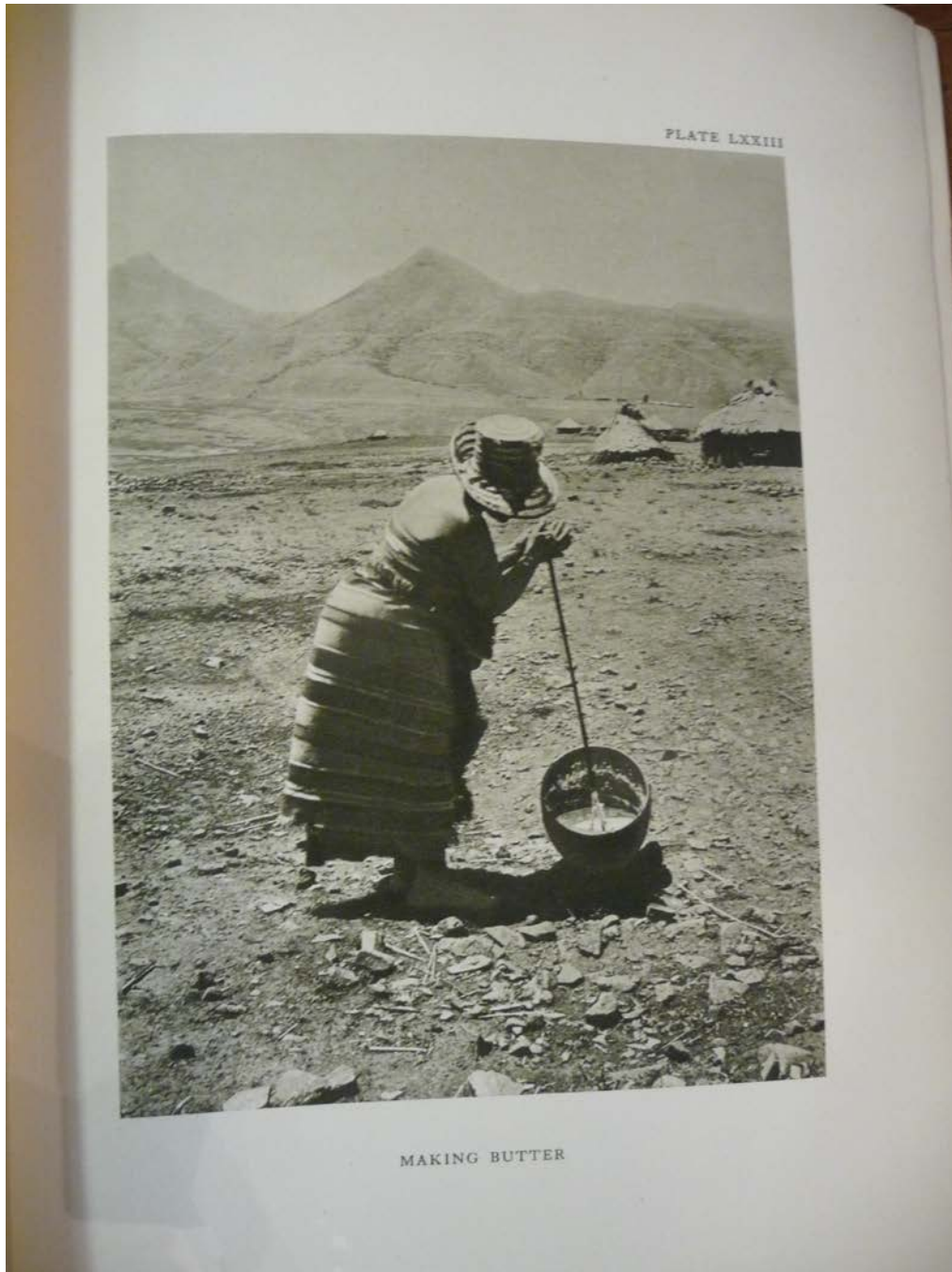


Figure 8.

PLATE LXXIII | MAKING BUTTER | The butter is churned with the aid of a twirling-stick (*leféblo*), on to one end of which little cross-sticks are set at various angles. The butter is used chiefly by young people for rubbing on to their bodies for cleansing purposes and to give them a glossy appearance.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1941)

Vol. III, Section IV, Plates CXXI-CLII: The Nguni, Section IV, The Swazi, with an introductory article on the Swazi and descriptive notes on the plates by Hilda Beemer.

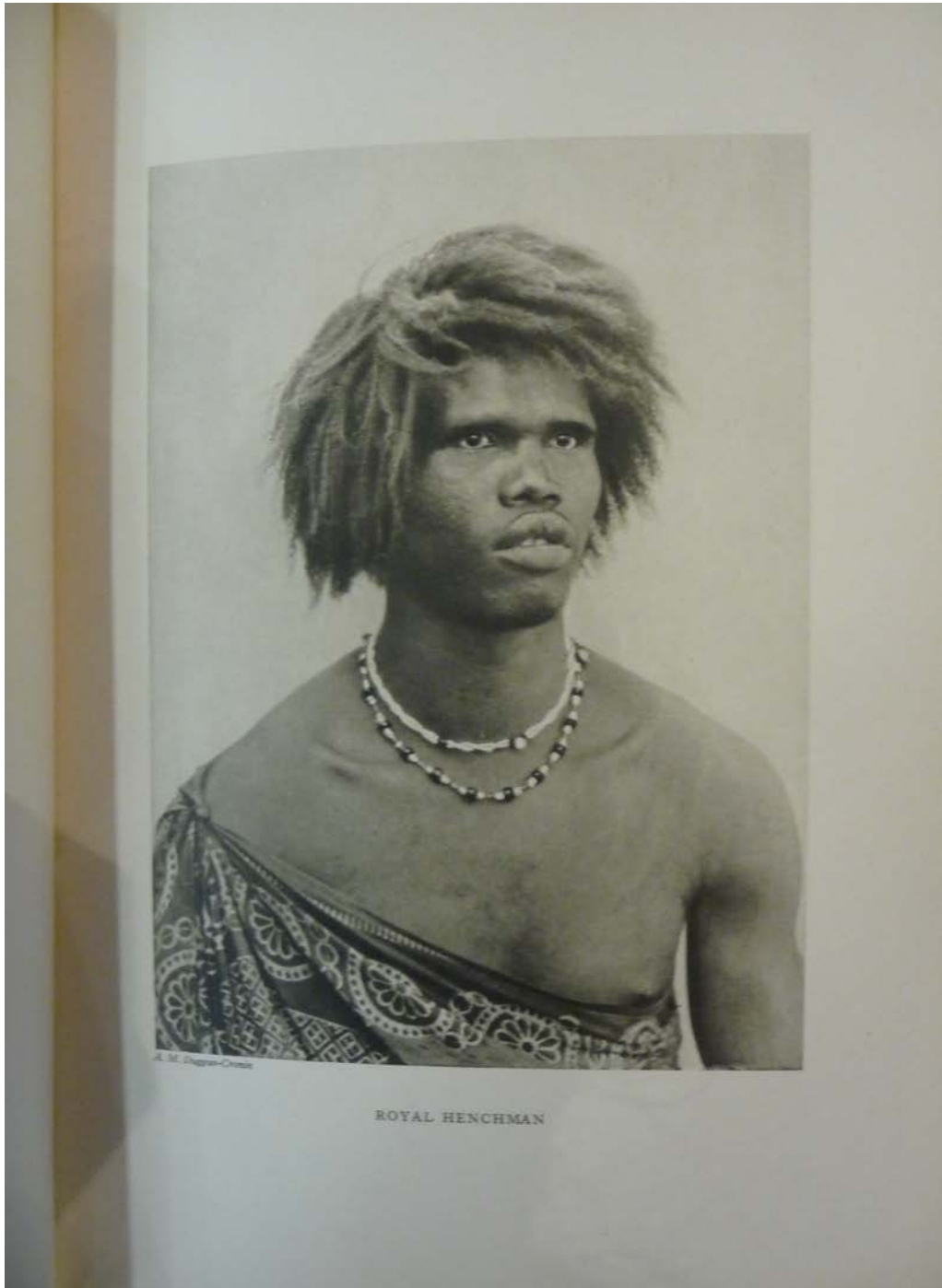


Figure 9.

PLATE CXXIX | ROYAL HENCHMAN | A member of the late queen mother's bodyguard. Most of the Swazi people do not consider him good looking because of his thick lips and flat nose. He is said, however, to be kind, industrious, and loyal.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1931)

Vol. II, Section II, Plates XXVII-LII: The Suto-Chuana tribes, sub-group II: The Bapedi (Transvaal Basotho), with an introductory article on the Bapedi and descriptive notes on the plates by Werner Eiselen.

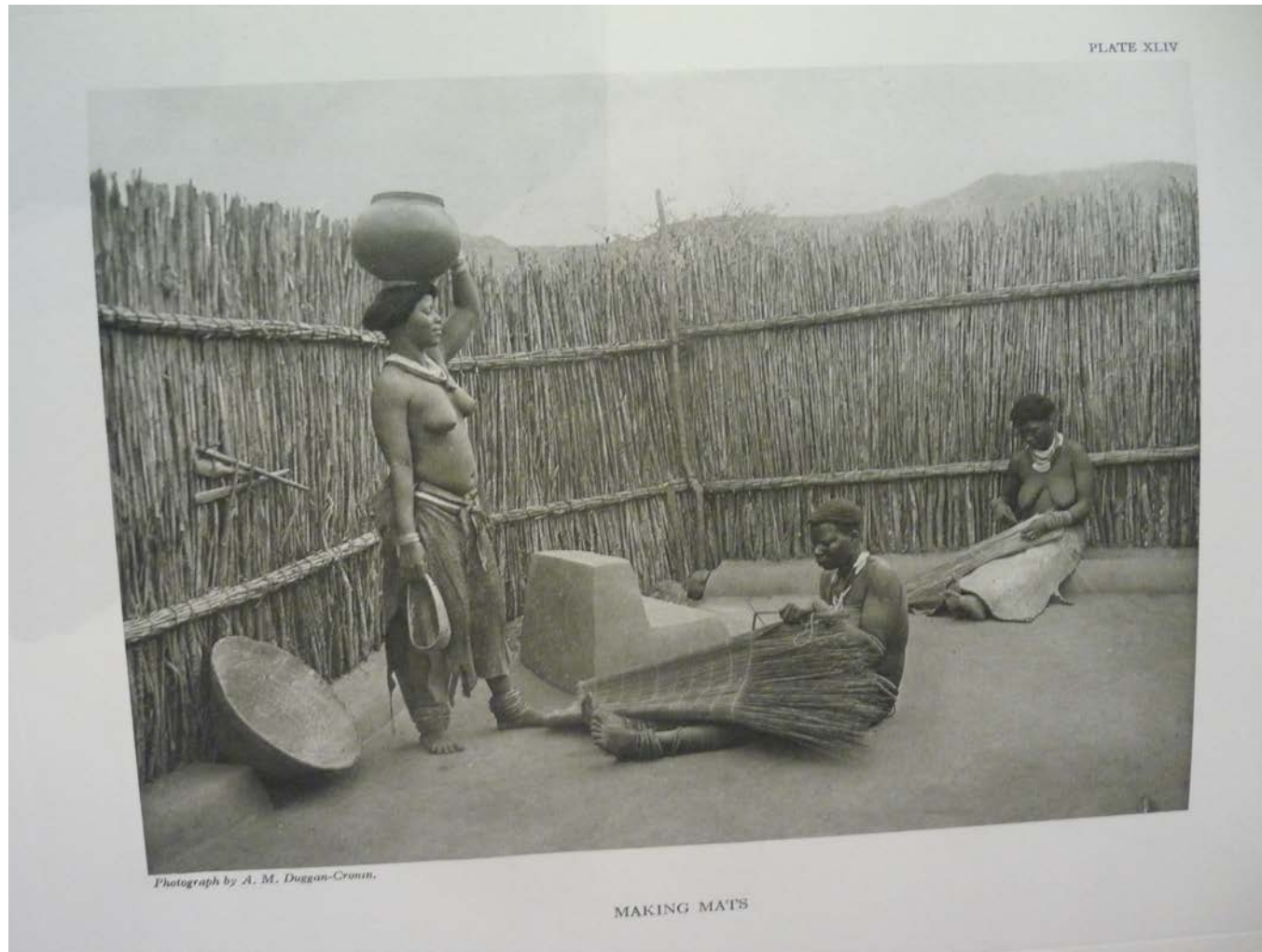


Figure 10.

PLATE XLIV | MAKING MATS | One of the women has just returned from the fountain; in her hand she is holding the small calabash with which she has filled the pot. Note that spoons and other household utensils are stuck in the fence. While the art of basket-making is practised by men, all mats are made by women.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1939)  
Vol. III, Section I, Plates I-XL: The Nguni, introductory article on the Nguni by N.J. van Warmelo, the Ciskei and southern Transkei tribes (Xhosa and Thembu) by W.G. Bennie and a select bibliography by I. Schapera and W.G. Bennie.



Figure 11.

PLATE V | XHOSA WOMAN | This is a woman of middle age. She wears a “sleeve” of brass rings, which, as she grows stouter, constricts the flesh, as the picture shows. The pipe is of the heart-wood of the *umtholo*, with a mouth-piece of *idywadi*.  
*Acacia caffra*, Willd.; *Lycium tetrandrum*, Thunb.

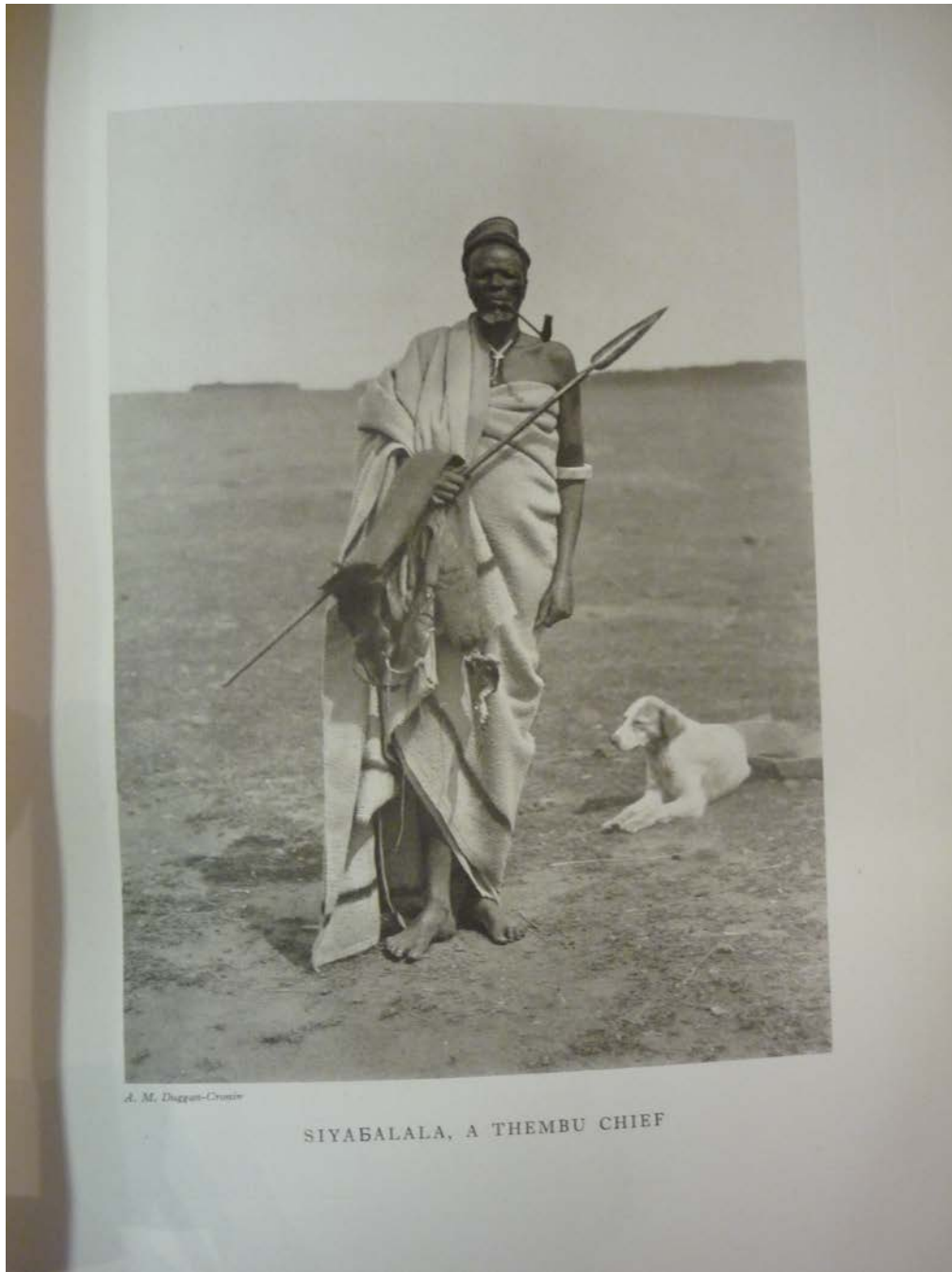
The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1939)

Vol. III, Section I, Plates I-XL: The Nguni, introductory article on the Nguni by N.J. van Warmelo, the Ciskei and southern Transkei tribes (Xhosa and Thembu) by W.G. Bennie and a select bibliography by I. Schapera and W.G. Bennie.



*A. M. Duggan-Crosby*

SIYABALALA, A THEMBU CHIEF

Figure 12.

PLATE XXV | SIYABALALA, A THEMBU CHIEF | Siyaḁalala is chief of the Ndungwana clan of the Thembu, who live in the district of St Mark's.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1929)

Vol. II, Section I, Plates I-XXVI: The Suto-Chuana tribes, sub-group I: The Bechuana, with introductory articles on the Suto-Chuana tribes and the Bechuana by G.P. Lestrade and descriptive notes on the plates.

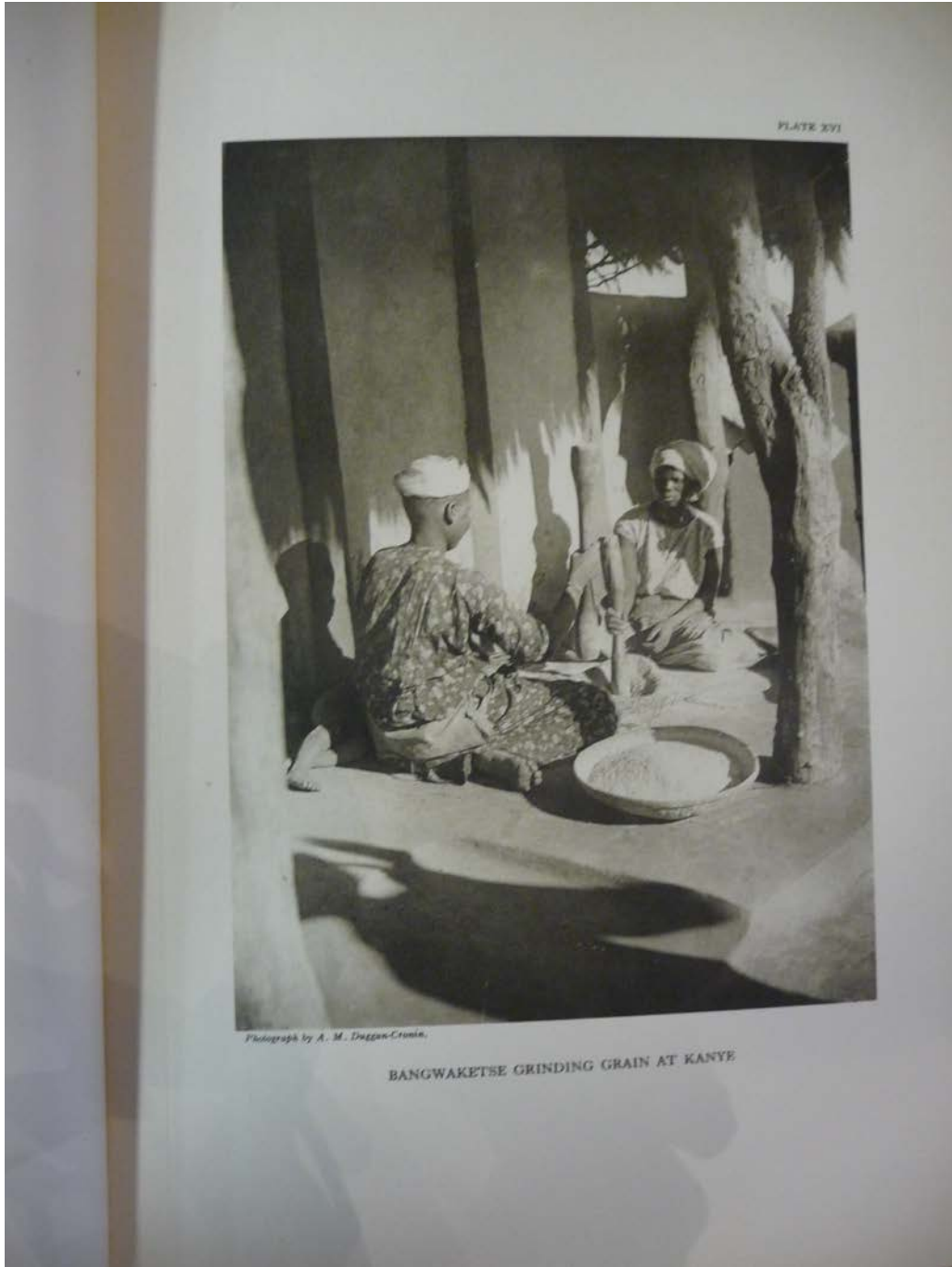


Figure 13.

PLATE XVI | BANGWAKETSE GRINDING GRAIN AT KANYE | A stone mortar (*lebudu*) is being used. At one time the *lebudu* was frequently seen, especially when wood was scarce, but now it is disappearing. This one is sunk into the ground.

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1954)  
Vol. III, Section V, Plates CLIII-CXCVIII: The Nguni, Section V, Baca, Hlubi, Xesibe, with an introductory article on the Baca, Hlubi and Xesibe, a bibliography, and descriptive notes on the plates by W.D. Hammond-Tooke.



Figure 14.

PLATE CLV | THE GREAT PLACE, LUGANGENI | The capital of the Makaula chiefs. This view gives a good idea of the simplicity in which the Baca chiefs live. There is nothing to differentiate this homestead from those of commoners. One of these huts contains the horns of sacred medicines used by the chief at the annual feast of the first fruits (*ingcube*).

The photograph beneath this page was taken by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin between the years 1918 & 1933

Duggan-Cronin is considered a colonial, ethnographic photographer.

This curation is concerned with agency. Because today such images are considered to have been taken under oppressive circumstances you, the viewer, must consent to full participation and your complicity before turning the page and viewing the image.

Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies by A.M. Duggan-Cronin. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Ltd; Kimberly, South Africa: McGregor Memorial Museum, 1936)

Vol IV, Section II, Plates XLI-LXXX: The Vachopi of Portuguese East Africa, with an introductory article on the Vachopi, and a bibliography, and descriptive notes on the plates by Henri-Philippe Junod.

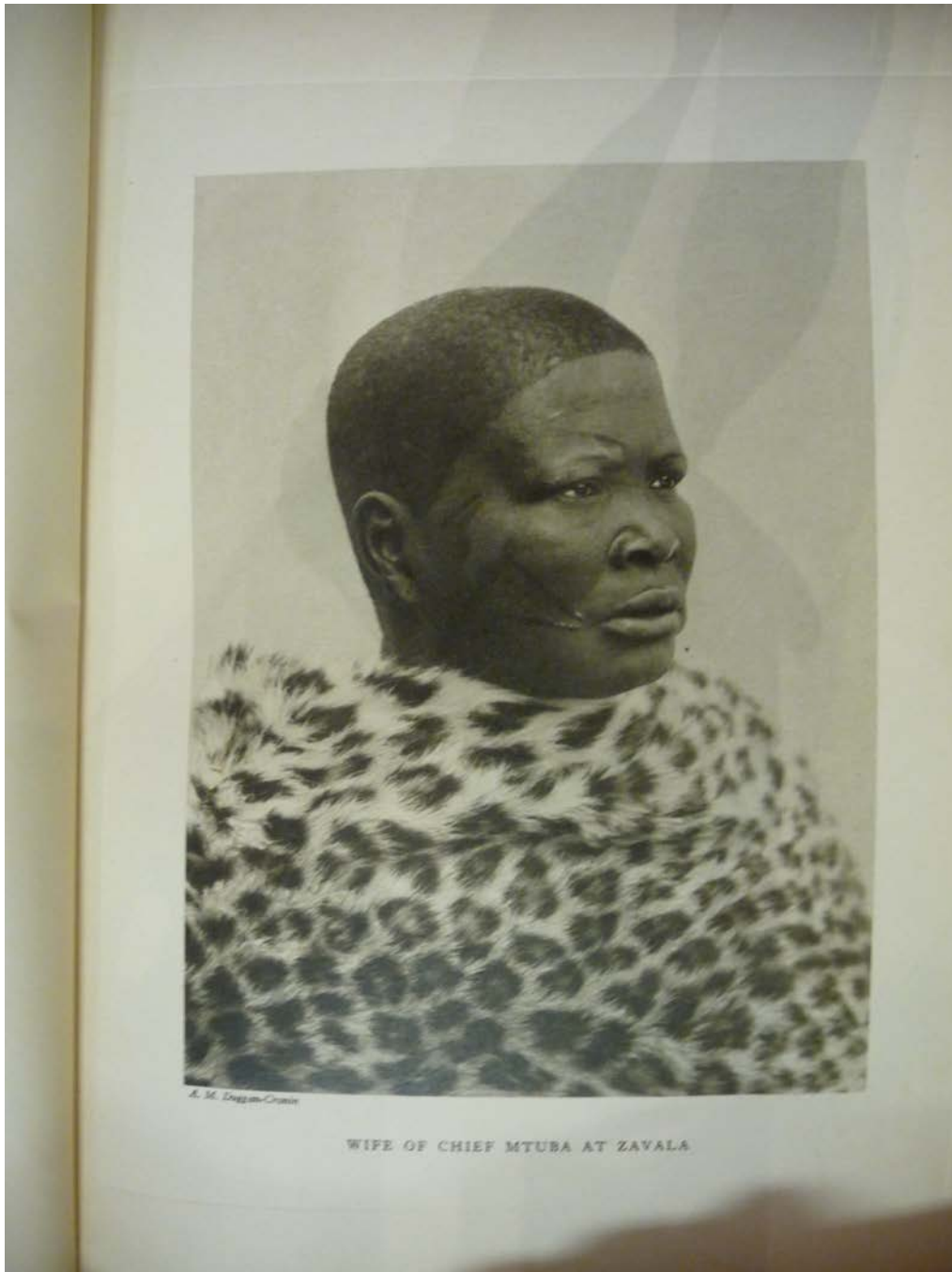


Figure 15.

PLATE LX | WIFE OF CHIEF MTUBA AT ZAVALA | Her face is typically Chopi, the type negroid. The fierce expression is by no means uncommon. Note that the lobe of the ear has only a small perforation.