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1. THE VILLAGE CHIEFDOM OF WEH AS SEEN FROM THE BASEL MISSION STATION, CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS. PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, CA. 1934. SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELUSOFON ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

# Missionary Photography

## *Private and Public Readings*

CHRISTRAUD M. GEARY

Missionary photography in Africa belongs to the larger framework of the colonial discourse about the "Other,"<sup>1</sup> a discourse that was pursued in the West in many different forms of cultural production, such as travel accounts, scholarly ethnographies, popular writing, world fairs, and pictorial representation. Book illustrations, drawings, paintings, and photography were among its most influential components. Missionary societies and missionaries actively participated in and shaped this discourse when popular-

izing their achievements in word and image. The missionary enterprise, first and foremost dedicated to the dissemination of Christianity, paralleled ideals of the colonial enterprise, for the expansion of Civilization and the advance of Progress were the goals of both (Mudimbe 1988:47). The depiction of constant progress toward these goals was at the heart of missionary writing and image production.

These propagandistic and ideological aspects of missionary writing and pho-

tography have been widely recognized, and the stereotypical and conventional character of missionary imagery has been examined in several recent publications (Brown 1981, Corbey 1990, Jenkins 1990, Müller 1984, Thiel 1987). Most of these analyses, however, are based on the public or official record, for example missionary postcards, lantern slides for lecture series, and pictures published in missionary journals and books. Seen from the perspective of what these images tell us, they are acknowledged as valuable sources on the perceptions of missionary producers themselves and of the readers/viewers of the time, but they give fewer clues about the Africans pictured in them. Taken by themselves, there is little doubt that their scope as historical sources on Africans and things African beyond the confines of the missionary enterprise may be quite limited. Contrary to received wisdom, however, I would suggest that official images may also be a limited and sometimes inaccurate reflection of the producers' perceptions and their experiences. Private photographs in the possession of the families of missionaries frequently turn out to be excellent and rich sources of information about both producer and subject. This situation has been stressed by the few scholars who have explored such visual sources.<sup>2</sup>

In the following, I will try to broaden our understanding of missionary pho-

tography by demonstrating why and how producers' perceptions and experiences may have become obscured in the official imagery. In order to do so I will contrast public, that is, official, images with the private holdings of missionaries, which either were never intended to be seen by the public or never entered the public domain. An image may be characterized as "public" or "official" if the image-maker created it with an official function in mind. "Public" or "official" also refers to the way in which the pictures are disseminated—in publications and in the form of postcards—or where they can be found—for example in institutional archives. I consider most archival records as part of the public domain. Aware of the official character of the archives, missionaries would carefully select what they sent there: in other words they would choose the "best" in terms of subject and quality. The missionary employees who maintained the archives would in turn prefer and encourage the depositing of certain imagery (see also Wagner 1990:466). In short, any image in an archive, reproduced in a publication or as a postcard, had been the subject of more than one screening process.

Another key to distinguishing between those two types of images, besides their form of dissemination and actual location, lies in the relationship that the viewer established with them. The viewers of the private images would be the missionary and his immediate family, while the audience for the public imagery would be the larger public or particular interest groups within this public. It has been suggested that the private image acts as a sign that stands for itself. In this case, the viewer perceives the pictorial elements as "the direct appearance of some concrete phenomenon," capturing personal experiences (Albers & James 1990:347). The private picture is largely viewed and understood by the people who knew the subject; they draw its meaning from this relationship between photographer and photographed. The public photograph by contrast acts as a metaphor, for to the audience it "represents an appearance which through analogy stands for something other than itself" (Albers & James 1990:347). When one takes this distinction into consideration, it becomes clear how an image takes on metaphoric properties as soon as it moves from the private into the public domain, and becomes part of the more generalized discourse. In the process it loses part or all of its specificity; the photographer becomes invisible, and the time, place, specific circumstances of its production, and identity of the subject disappear. Exactly this loss is the precondition for its new incarnation as a visual metaphor.

A case in point is missionary postcards, a highly conventionalized and stereotypical pictorial genre.<sup>3</sup> Similar to most published missionary writing, published images, such as illustrations in books and journals and above all these postcards, monotonously repeat established tropes, revolving around and articulating the ideals of the colonial/missionary enterprise. They construct binary oppositions of a political and racial nature between the white missionary and his charges, repeating in essence one of the salient characteristics of the Africanist discourse, which was built on dichotomies such as "savage"/"civilized," chaos/order, naked/clothed, and perhaps the most persistent of all, dark/light (see also Müller 1985:14 ff., Wirz 1982:58). These oppositions find their visual expression in careful photographic arrangements, such as that in a postcard produced for Les Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie en Mission (Zaire) showing a nun reading from an illustrated book to her female charges (Fig. 2). The caption "CONGO—'Annoncez la bonne Nouvelle'" (Announce the good news) refers to the spreading of God's word. While intended to be a representation of the good and compassionate work of the missionary sisters, this image contains additional subtle messages to the viewer. Its composition also expresses a clear hierarchy and power relationship between nun and children. The nun's patronizing smile and pointing finger reinforce this impression. The pose of the girls, eagerly surrounding the nun and one of them sitting at her feet, emphasizes the centrality of the missionary. Their clothing, smocks of a pat-

tern worn by female converts all over Central Africa, speaks of their progress toward Christianity, and, from the missionaries' point of view, decency and civilization. The contrast between the nun, a white apparition, and the black children is striking, repeating and reinforcing the notion of race.

Other missionary postcards allude to the powerful "savage"/"civilized" dichotomy, often expressed in temporal terms—the before-and-after photographs of the missionized. The depiction of "unenlightened heathens" contrasts with images of "advanced Africans," such as the remarkable postcard of a Christian family in Zanzibar (Fig. 3), which can be dated by the painted studio backdrop to the last two decades of the nineteenth century. This backdrop, reminiscent of the setting in a European garden, places the subjects in a "civilized," controlled, and orderly setting. The family, consisting of husband, wife, and two children, reflects the Western ideal of monogamy and thus moral decency, which is clearly expressed in the arrangement of the subjects and the nature of the family's clothing. Both husband and wife are wearing local-



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3. UNE FAMILLE CHRÉTIENNE À ZANZIBAR (AFRIQUE ORIENTALE) (A CHRISTIAN FAMILY IN ZANZIBAR [EAST AFRICA]). ISSUED BY THE MISSIONS DES PÈRES DU ST-ESPRIT, LIÈRE, BELGIUM. THE PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN BEFORE 1900, ALTHOUGH THE POSTCARD MAY HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED SOME 20 YEARS LATER. POSTCARD COLLECTION, ELIJOT ELISOFON ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

2. CONGO—"ANNONCEZ LA BONNE NOUVELLE" (CONGO—"ANNOUNCE THE GOOD NEWS"). ISSUED BY LES FRANCISCAINES MISSIONNAIRES DE MARIE EN MISSION, BELGIAN CONGO, CA. 1920. POSTCARD COLLECTION, ELIJOT ELISOFON ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.



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style garments—the *kanzu* and fez for men, and cloths elegantly tied around the body and a headtie for women. The two boys are clad in Western suits, one even with a bow tie, and sport handsome, Western-style caps. The general caption, “A Christian family in Zanzibar (East Africa),” stresses the stereotypical nature of the scene, even though it is highly likely that this photograph might have had a more personalized meaning to the photographer, who may have known the subjects.<sup>4</sup>

Other popular themes—pictures of missionary stations and churches—“proved” the advance of Christianity and material progress, as did equally common photographs of baptisms, weddings, and preaching to the “heathens.” Photographs of schools and the teaching of particular crafts denote the instilling of proper skills, such as reading and arithmetic, into young men and women. The classroom depicted in Figure 4 could have been in Belgium. Dominated by a crucifix, portraits of King Albert of Belgium and his wife, and two big maps of Africa and the Belgian Congo, familiar symbols of appropriate learning and progress are everywhere: the blackboard with the African student writing on it, the globe, and what seems to be the life of Christ in pictures. Two African teachers in Western-style clothes watch the male students, an indication that the numbers of mission-trained indigenous

teachers had grown by the 1920s, when this image was taken.

Taken together, these elements in postcards and other published images form a powerful narrative structure to which the viewer/reader can easily relate (Corbey 1990:461). It becomes evident that published images are deliberate constructions of the missionary experience along the lines of a pervasive narrative and a one-dimensional ideological representation of the Other, which permeated the colonial discourse as well. For the viewer who is part of the public, these pictorial elements thus allude to, indeed construct, meanings outside the actual picture, as in the case of the missionary postcard with its restricted repertoire of themes. As sources on the African experience and African culture, such images tend to be narrow, although, depending on the kinds of questions asked of them, they can provide important information on the missionary effort.<sup>5</sup>

Private holdings may tell a much different story. Their very nature—namely that they are largely viewed and understood by people who know the photographic subject and who draw the image’s meaning from this relationship between photographer and photographed—makes them excellent historical sources, if these meanings can be revealed. Personal missionary collections of photographs are fairly common to this

4. NELLE ANVERS—LA MISSION LA CLASSE (NEW ANVERS—THE MISSION THE CLASS). NOUVELLE ANVERS, BELGIAN CONGO, CA. 1920. POSTCARD COLLECTION, ELIJOT ELISOFO ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

day, yet only under the most fortuitous circumstances will scholars have access to them while they are still in the private domain. By the time such collections arrive in repositories, their creators have mostly passed away; unless the missionary has left extensive notes with the materials, it is often impossible to explore private meaning and retrieve detailed information about the subject matter of the images. I had the good fortune, however, to work with one such personal collection while it was still under the care of the missionary photographer himself. This collection, the photographs and private writings of Wilhelm Schneider (1902–1990), came to the Eliot Elisofon Archives at the National Museum of African Art in 1991.<sup>6</sup>

The collection itself is relatively small, numbering 148 black-and-white photographs. Schneider, a member of the Basel Mission, took them between 1930 and 1940, while stationed in the Grassfields of Cameroon. Over the years he sent prints of a few of his photographs to the Basel Mission, but the majority of his photographs remained with him. My involvement with these materials dates back to 1975, when I visited Schneider and his wife Maria after carrying out

TOP: 5. BUILDING WILHELM SCHNEIDER'S OFFICE AT THE WEH MISSION. THE MISSIONARY STANDS ON THE ROOF OF THE UNFINISHED STRUCTURE, WHICH IS IN THE WEH ARCHITECTURAL STYLE. PHOTOGRAPHER: MARIA SCHNEIDER, 1934. SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIJOT ELISOFON ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.



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BOTTOM: 6. THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW CHURCH IN WEH, BUILT IN THE WEH ARCHITECTURAL STYLE. THE WALL PAINTINGS WERE APPLIED AT THE REQUEST OF WEH CHIEF NDSE-BII-NDUMM. PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, 1935. SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIJOT ELISOFON ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.



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fieldwork in Weh; he had been the first missionary in Weh, serving from 1931 to 1937. He generously allowed me to have prints of his photographs made and to use them in publications. In 1983-84, I took his photographs back to Weh and discussed them with many old people. In 1985, Schneider shared with me all of his personal notes and official reports on his stay in the Grassfields.<sup>7</sup> Several interviews I taped with him and his wife gave me some idea about their backgrounds and lives.

In order to fathom and appreciate the nature of Wilhelm Schneider's experiences as a missionary in Cameroon, it is crucial to devote a few paragraphs to his background. He grew up in Tieringen, a small town in Württemberg, Germany, among farmers and workers. At the age of fifteen, after finishing elementary school, Schneider became a farmhand for a rich farmer in his hometown. He then went on to Ebingen, where he worked for a while in a factory producing scales. But he wanted to further himself, and one way to do so was to join the Basel Mission, as had many young men in this region



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which was the stronghold of German pietism. In fact, the majority of Basel missionaries hailed from this part of Germany. Schneider thus had roots in the rural environment, among devout and industrious people, a fact that may account for his empathy and sympathy for the Africans he was to encounter in the villages of Cameroon. He spent four years in Basel, finishing secondary school and missionary preparation before he left for the Cameroon Grassfields. It was October of 1930, and he was twenty-two years old. Basel missionaries had been active

7. THE SCHNEIDERS' SON KARL WILHELM AND AN ORPHANED LITTLE BOY IN A BABY BUGGY, BEING PUSHED BY A BABYSITTER. WEH, CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS. PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, 1935. SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIJOT ELISOFON ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.





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8. THE CHIEF OF ZUA, CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS, WITH A RETAINER  
 PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, CA. 1936  
 SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFFON ARCHIVES,  
 NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

in the Grassfields since 1902, when they founded the first missionary station in Bali-Nyonga.

For eleven months Schneider stayed in Bali-Nyonga, but later he was assigned to Weh, a small village chiefdom in the northern periphery of the region, where he arrived in October 1931. The evangelist Daniel Foningong, a Meta<sup>8</sup> man, who had worked in this area for several years and whose name is familiar to Weh people to this day, showed Schneider the site selected by the chief for the mission station—a hillside overlooking the village (Fig. 1). With the help of several Weh men assigned to him by the chief, Schneider immediately went to work and built the first provisional houses. A few months later, Schneider's fiancée, Maria, arrived in Cameroon. The young couple got married in Bali, and Maria joined her husband in Weh in May of 1932, the official date of the establishment of Weh as a missionary station. Typically, missionaries in these outposts lived in isolation, with few European visitors coming through (Wagner 1990:467).<sup>9</sup> Schneider, a pious young man full of energy and enthusiasm, and his hard-working wife would stay in Cameroon until 1940, when they and their two children had to leave the area because of the Second World War.

A self-taught photographer, and an accomplished one at that, Schneider and occasionally his wife took photographs, some on glass plates, others on celluloid film. Some of the images document the growth of the congregations and missionary activities in the Weh area, and parallel in their emphasis the standard missionary narrative. Although Schneider clearly intended them to be official representations, they allow private readings as well, as will be shown below. However, there is another side to Schneider's photographic work. Pictures of African celebrations and rituals, and frequently of Africans at work in their fields and compounds, demonstrate his interest in aspects of the everyday life of these farmers. He never perceived these photographs as a systematic effort to document the culture and art of those among whom he lived. For Schneider the images were first and foremost a personal account of his experience.



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9. THE CHIEF OF WEH, NDSE-BII-NDUMM, WITH SOME OF HIS CHILDREN  
 PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, 1936.  
 SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFFON ARCHIVES,  
 NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

10. MAN WITH ONE OF HIS WIVES AND TWO CHILDREN.  
KOM, CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS.  
PHOTOGRAPHER, WILHELM SCHNEIDER, CA. 1934.  
SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFOV ARCHIVES,  
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Schneider's curiosity about the people among whom he lived is also obvious from his writings. He delved into local culture in order to understand which elements would facilitate or stand in the way of conversion. While his private notes show that to some degree he shared the paternalistic attitudes of his contemporaries, most of these writings are straightforward accounts—without much ornate wording and only occasional contemplation of the "darkness surrounding the heathens" he intended to missionize. Schneider was first and foremost a practical man who, as he stated in the 1985 interview, "really liked the Weh people," traditionalist or Christian. This may explain why to this day people in Weh remember him fondly, while many of the later missionaries are all but forgotten.

In contrast to his private writings, Schneider's monthly, quarterly, and annual reports follow the official requirements and contain formulations that were an integral part of the missionary genre of writing, of constructing the missionary narrative. This discrepancy between his personal and official texts is reminiscent of an observation about missionary writing in general, namely that some missionaries not only aspired to effective expression of their observations in the missionary context, but also wrote in the "objective" ethnographic genre (see also Thornton 1983: 507). Monographs such as Anna Rein-Wuhrmann's account of the Bamum (1925), or the writings of the Baptist missionary Paul Gebauer, who created a systematic and comprehensive body of photographs and scholarly writings on the peoples in the Grassfields (1979), are conscious efforts in what I would call genre-switching. Schneider, however, had no aspirations to produce official ethnographic accounts. Like the photographs, his private records grew out of the lived experience.

Some photographs in Schneider's private collection were clearly intended for the official record, but nevertheless admitted private readings. Among them are images of life at the mission station and the beginnings of the new congregations, such as the building of the different houses of the new station. Figure 5, a photograph taken by Maria Schneider, shows her husband up on the roof and several older workers and young boys who attended the mission school making clay to plaster the walls of the building. Judging by Schneider's



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official annual and quarterly reports, building activities took up much of his time and energy. While he tried to use as much in the way of European materials as possible, in particular corrugated iron roofs, the remoteness of the Weh station forced him to modify elements of Weh architecture to suit his needs. Thus he early on developed an interest in and an appreciation of the local architecture. As one would expect, some of these "building activity" photographs made it into the Basel Mission Archive, for they clearly enhance and parallel the missionary narrative.<sup>10</sup>

Descriptions of construction with unusual materials and under adverse circumstances is a common feature in the official reports from most missionary stations and in published accounts. Like the story of the hard voyage to the place of one's calling, they belong to the missionary narrative that casts the protagonist in difficult situations away from civilization, gaining the first foothold through establishing a house fit for human (i.e., European) habitation. Not unexpectedly, the house thus stands as a metaphor for taking hold in the wilderness, for progress to come. Hence building pictures are common in many official and private missionary photographic collections.

Both private and public collections abound with depictions of the new churches and the congregations. Among Schneider's personal pictures were several that showed one of the most important and proud moments of his life in

Weh, the dedication of a new large church in 1934. He sent some of these more conventional images to the Basel Mission Archive. As one of these photographs (Fig. 6) demonstrates, the church was built in the Weh architectural style, although it was larger than the average house. A central beam supported the grass roof. Considering for a moment whether this image tells us anything about Weh culture beyond the notion of accommodation of the Christian mission, one is struck by the painted walls, which are quite unusual for this area of the Grassfields. According to Schneider's recollection and notes, this decorative element had been added by Chief Ndse-Bii-Ndumm:

...the chief himself had put his hand to it in praiseworthy manner and built the platform for the table [altar] himself. He also designed the drawings for the outside coat. The door frames and the table top were carved by one of our friends<sup>[11]</sup> in the village. Thus the church became an indigenous work of art and the most beautiful and largest house in the village. It has 250 seats, which is presently enough for the needs here.

(Schneider 1935:268;  
my translation)

From an art historical point of view, the wall paintings are thus the most interesting feature of the new church. Ndse-Bii-Ndumm mandated that black



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11. WOMEN THRESHING MILLET. MODELLI (ALSO KNOWN AS IDE), CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS. PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, CA. 1935. SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFFON ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.



PHOTO COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART

12. POTTER PRODUCING A UTILITY POT FOR RAFFIA PALM WINE. MUNKAP, CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS. PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, CA. 1935. SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFFON ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

circles be drawn with the help of imported enamel dishes. He applied similar geometric patterns to the walls of his palace. According to old Weh people's testimony, which I collected when discussing images with them, the stimulus for this art form came from the chief's personal experiences. A former soldier in the German army, Ndse-Bii-Ndumm had seen the world outside Weh, and when he returned, he began to emulate some of the splendor he had encountered in other chiefdoms to the south and east. Partaking of the material forms of expression common among more influential chiefs of the Grassfields also included putting up figurative pillars in the palace (Geary 1985). Ndse-Bii-Ndumm's half-brother, the chief of Zua, a hamlet near Weh, followed similar strategies of legitimizing his rule through

material symbols of chiefship common in other parts of the Grassfields; he had the walls of one of his houses painted, and posed in front of it (Fig. 8). None of the wall paintings have survived into the present, and the practice has been abandoned. Schneider's images of the church that were officially deposited in the Basel Mission Archive—and some of his private ones as well—thus capture a fleeting moment in regional artistic expression. They also attest to the effort by Ndse-Bii-Ndumm to use the missionary's project to further his own political and social agendas.

Private images often allow candid glimpses into the daily life of the missionary families. As opposed to the ones in the archives, which may capture formal activities such as the missionary wives helping the sick or instructing local girls and women in sewing, and missionaries teaching in schools (Figs. 2, 4), the personal pictures often focus on the mundane, such as missionary wives feeding chickens or working in the kitchen. Images like the depiction of the Schneiders' first-born son Karl Wilhelm,

which has the characteristics of a snapshot, are rarely found in archives (Fig. 7). To today's viewer this photograph seems ironic, even amusing, and it certainly can be read as a metaphor. The contrast between the little nanny in Weh attire, which for women consisted of a beaded string around the waist, and the overdressed little white boy in a knitted sweater and cap who is tied firmly into the baby buggy once more conjures up the dichotomy between "savage"/"civilized," black/white, and servant/master. To the Schneiders there are private readings of the same photograph, which draw on their relationship with African children. The little fellow, for example, who shares the baby buggy with the Schneider boy was among the many orphans or sickly children taken in by the family. Since there were at times too many orphans to be cared for by Mrs. Schneider, she requested that the families of the orphaned children send older girls, like the one in the picture, who would watch the little ones during the day, thus acting as what is known in Pidgin English as a "nurse baby."

Both official and private missionary collections share an emphasis on depictions of chiefs on whose graces the missionaries depended, if they wanted to carry out their work successfully. Ar-

chives and publications of all kinds abound with formal portraits of chiefs often accompanied by written accounts of their support for the missionary cause. In Schneider's pictures the chiefs assume formal poses, as in the photographs of the chief of Zua with his retainer (Fig. 8), the Weh chief and his children (Fig. 9), and a Big Man (important compound head) in the neighboring kingdom of Kom, who is surrounded by his subservient wife and children (Fig. 10). The photographs of the Weh and Zua chiefs pose an interesting question of photographic convention. When Grassfields chiefs present themselves to the camera, they prefer the formal, symmetrical, and frontal portrait.<sup>12</sup> Therefore both Figure 8 with the smiling chief and Figure 9 with the chief looking into the distance are somewhat unusual. It may speak for Schneider's ingenuity as a photographer that he chose a side view over the more commonly found frontal depiction. However, it may also demonstrate that chiefs in this peripheral region of the Grassfields were not as familiar with the photographic product as their neighbors and had not yet imposed their preferences on the photographer.

Some of these formal pictures of chiefs, which follow the conventions of the missionary narrative, allow quite

13. COOKING PALM KERNELS FOR THE PRODUCTION OF PALM OIL. ESIMBI, CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS. PHOTOGRAPHER WILHELM SCHNEIDER, CA. 1936. SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFOU ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.



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unexpected private readings that get lost in their transformation into official records. For the Schneiders, the image of Chief Ndse-Bil-Ndumm with several of his children captures one of their biggest achievements in Weh—combating infant mortality caused by ritual practices after childbirth. Schneider's notes and remarks during the interviews show that he had carefully studied the reasons for the high death rate. A description referring to childbirth in Befang and Modelli (also known as Ide) in the Metchum valley demonstrates his interest. He observed that after the umbilical cord had been cut, an infant was immediately fed a piece of plantain that had been chewed by the mother (Schneider 1934:233). As soon as he discovered that newborns everywhere were given solid food, he convinced the Weh chief that this was a harmful practice. Ndse-Bil-Ndumm ordered his wives to discontinue it, and from then on many more of his children survived. Thus for the Schneiders, the emphasis of this picture was not on the chief but rather on the children who had survived the first years of their lives. Weh people who saw this image focused both on chief and children—trying to identify them—and on the architecture and features of the palace where the image was taken.

Most of the images in Schneider's private collection, though, do not address the themes one would expect to be emphasized in missionary photography. They depict a wide range of subjects, from everyday activities of men and women to rituals. Many pictures show men and women at work in the fields and in their compounds. Working the soil, planting, and harvesting—a woman farmer's task is documented in some detail. We see women walking to and from their farms, often many miles away from the village, carrying heavy loads, or working in the fields with their short-handled hoes, covered by local umbrellas made from raffia and reeds.<sup>13</sup> Figure 11 shows women threshing millet, a sight one does not encounter anymore because the women farmers many years ago abandoned the labor-intensive planting of millet in favor of growing maize. In this picture as in so many others, Schneider seems to have captured his subjects unaware, attesting to his inconspicuous presence. A fixture in Weh and the surrounding areas for many years, he was familiar with the people, and his photography rarely interrupted them in their endeavors.

In the Grassfields, as elsewhere in Africa, there was a strict division of labor along gender lines. Women did the farming except for the heavy clearing of fields and carrying home very large loads. The latter were men's tasks, along with cultivating trees, caring for the raffia palms that provided building materials and the much cherished raffia palm wine, maintaining the buildings in the compounds, and engaging in crafts such as smelting and smithing, carving, and in some places pottery making (Geary 1976:54 ff.). In his photographs Schneider paid equal attention to the domains of female and male work. An interesting picture, for example, shows a potter in the vil-

lage of Munkap located north of Weh in the Fungom region, where men produced large pots for the storage of raffia palm wine and for festivities when abundant quantities of wine had to be served. In the photograph a man is forming such a pot and creating the pattern typical of these vessels by pressing its surface against a coarse raffia weave draped, according to Schneider's description, over a grinding stone (Fig. 12). Sturdy Munkap pots, which could reach enormous sizes (up to 90 cm. tall), were a much desired commodity and traded widely in the region.

Schneider's interest in farming and other work processes manifests itself in



14. WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN KOM,  
CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS  
PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, CA. 1936  
SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFON ARCHIVES,  
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many of the photographs. This preoccupation with work might be understood if one takes his background into consideration. Schneider had worked and lived among farmers and craftsmen before he joined the mission, and seemed to relate to their way of life. A series of pictures taken among the Esimbi in the Metchum river valley recounts the steps in the production of palm oil, the major commodity of some low-lying areas in the Grassfields, which linked them in well-established trading networks to their neighbors residing at higher altitudes. Palm oil is a key ingredient in cooking in the Grassfields, and since the oil palm only grows below an altitude of 1,300 meters, its exploitation is a regional specialization (Warnier 1985:15 ff.). This series, of which only one image is represented here (Fig. 13), is one of Schneider's most accomplished from a photographic point of view. It shows the harvesting and the different stages of cooking the palm kernels in huge pits and in large pots. This particular image of a man silhouetted against the steam from the boiling palm kernels is an arresting composition as well as a valuable document.

Photographs of men, women, and children demonstrate the missionary's interest not only in their everyday life, but also in the appearance of people around him. Taken with obvious empathy, the pictures seem to reveal little in the way of the before-and-after documentation one associates with the missionary visual narrative. These are straightforward depictions, some in the form of snapshots, such as an image of women and their children (Fig. 14). There are no close-up portraits; rather, people are "doing things." Equally missing are pictures of the anthropological "type" variety. Schneider never singled out people as specimens, although this photographic practice still existed to some extent in the 1930s.<sup>14</sup>

This is not to say that there are no posed or exotic images among his photographs. A portrait of a woman in Befang clearly demonstrates Schneider's awareness of pose and sense of composition (Fig. 15). Someone who did not know his complete photographic record would probably be misled by this image, which is reminiscent of exotic-erotic photography by other European photographers in Africa. It is worthwhile to point out that, on the one hand, this particular picture provides valuable ethnographic evidence on the adornment of Befang women—the sculpted coiffure; the ear, nose, and lip plugs; the



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beaded necklace; the belt with cowries and buttons that holds tufts of grass in the front and rear; and the metal bracelets and leg rings. The woman's back seems to have been rubbed with camwood, usually applied for ritual occasions. On the other hand, the photograph falsifies the record, for the woman is sitting in a field—and clearly she is not ready to do any farming. Surely she would not have sat there in the first place had the photographer not requested her to do so.

When I showed these photographs to men and women in Weh, the most common reaction among the younger generation was amazement at their forebears'

lack of clothing. One comment in Pidgin, often repeated, summarized most everybody's sentiment: "How we don walk empty so!" (How did we walk around naked like this!) Local reading of the photographs primarily focused on their individuality, on the specific nature of what they told about the people in them, a reading not unlike that elicited by an album of family photographs. Older people would reminisce about their youth and deplore the fact that many of the old skills shown in the pictures had vanished. Most viewers tried their best to recognize the people in the pictures, and in many instances those depicted were indeed identified.<sup>15</sup> As mnemonic

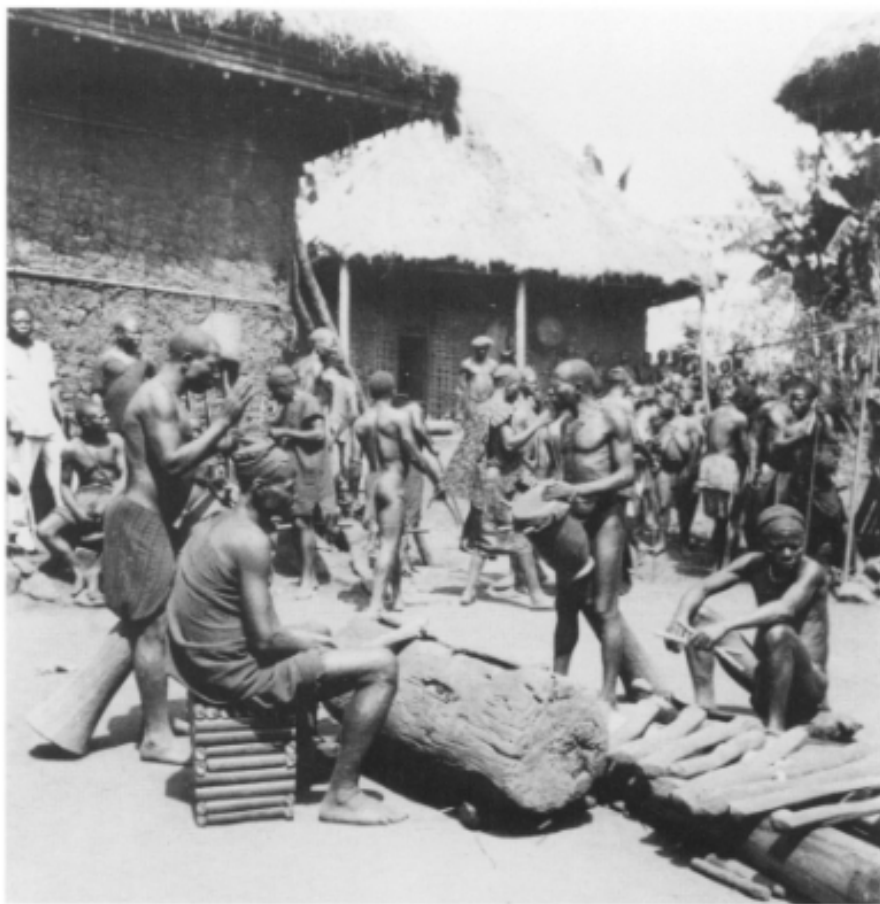


PHOTO COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART



PHOTO COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART

devices, the photographs triggered accounts of great value to the researcher.

Schneider's photographs of festivities and rituals capture entertainment dances (Fig. 16), the solemn dances of members of the women's Kefab society (Fig. 17), and some mask performances, and culminate in a series taken during a man's funeral (Figs. 18, 19). One of the photographs of dances clearly struck a cord with older Weh people (Fig. 16). According to Joseph Kwe, it shows the dance *kennjom*, performed by the *waa Nenngetou* (the children [lineage] of Nenngetou). The man at the left, playing the drum, is Ket Mue Tshue; the man playing the second drum toward the center of the picture is Kuu-Mbang. Joseph Kwe did not recognize the xylophone and the slit-gong players. In any event, the photograph led to interesting information about the origin and diffusion of *kennjom* in the Weh region.

One of the most dramatic sequences depicts the funeral of a Weh compound owner (Figs. 18, 19). It was taken during the funeral of Njong Nzue in the village quarter of Usu—an identification I received from his son, Shapia Njong, who during the funeral attended to his deceased father and is seen in Figure 18 sitting in front of the corpse. Judging by Schneider's notes and his remarks during interviews, he was profoundly interested in mortuary rites and the role different secret societies played during such events. His written accounts of what other missionaries might have condemned as "sinister pagan rituals" are descriptive rather than derogatory or prejudicial. As in every other case, he turns out to be a sympathetic observer when he describes the appearances of the Kweifo society, a powerful men's secret society in charge of carrying out its deceased members' funerals (see also Geary 1990b:300). *Mambu*, the herald mask that announces the arrival of *nko*, the wild and terrifying mask that will ultimately carry the deceased to his grave, is among the main protagonists during the burial.

A brief quote from a lengthy account by Schneider on death and burial in the Cameroon Grassfields shows that he was well aware of what he photographed. He writes about the

TOP: 16. KENNJOM, A DANCE FOR ENTERTAINMENT  
WEH, CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS.  
PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, CA. 1935.  
SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFFON ARCHIVES,  
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

BOTTOM: 17. MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S SECRET  
SOCIETY KEFAB PERFORMING THEIR SOLEMN DANCE  
AT A WOMAN'S FUNERAL.  
WEH, CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS.  
PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, CA. 1935.  
SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFFON ARCHIVES,  
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.



TOP: 18. THE FUNERAL OF NJONG NZUE IN THE VILLAGE QUARTER OF USU. THE MASQUERADER NKO' OF THE MEN'S KWEIFO SOCIETY ATTENDS TO THE DECEASED. IN FRONT OF THE DECEASED SITS SHAPIA NJONG, ONE OF HIS SONS. WEH, CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS. PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, 1935. SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFOF ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.



PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART

BOTTOM: 19. THE FUNERAL OF NJONG NZUE IN THE VILLAGE QUARTER OF USU. THE MASQUERADER MAMBU (SEEN HERE FROM BEHIND) OF THE MEN'S KWEIFO SOCIETY EXECUTES HIS DANCE. DRESSED IN A FEATHER GOWN AND WEARING A HORIZONTAL MASK WITH ANTHROPOMORPHIC FEATURES, HE HERALDS THE ARRIVAL OF NKO' AT THE FUNERAL SITE. WEH, CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS. PHOTOGRAPHER: WILHELM SCHNEIDER, 1935. SCHNEIDER COLLECTION, ELIOT ELISOFOF ARCHIVES, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.



PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART

#### performance of *mambu* and *nko'*:

The Quifo [*kweifo*—he means in fact *mambu*] is a man of the secret society with a long gown studded with feathers. He is armed with a stick and spears. He dances wildly around the deceased. Misfortune to the woman who falls into his hands. She is beaten unmercifully. Therefore the women wildly dash away before he appears.

Yet another being appears with the Q. [*kweifo*], this is the Ko [*nko'*]. This one has a huge mask and has a raw gown made from bark and a stuffed monkey on its back. Like a crazy person he rushes towards the deceased, shouts at him and yells into the grave, runs into the house and pulls some of the grass [roof] down. He acts like a madman or a wild beast. This is obviously what he represents, or more likely a force which unchecked causes much harm. Therefore he is tied at each arm with a long rope held by one man each.

(Schneider, n.d.:24–25; my translation)

Rarely have missionaries documented African funerals in such detail, unless they specifically wrote in the ethnographic genre.<sup>16</sup>

Juxtaposing these few examples of Schneider's images and their private readings with official missionary imagery should suffice to elaborate on some issues raised at the beginning of this essay. Clearly, images are superior sources on the missionary experience as well as African culture, if their private readings have been documented or can be revealed. Yet it was pointed out that some of Schneider's pictures, especially the ones that made it into the Basel Mission Archive, had achieved official status, and that some of the private pictures lent themselves to be read as metaphors, for they fit the missionary narrative. Their multiple meanings thus put the burden of decoding them on the present-day viewer.

If, as I have shown, an official/published image works as a metaphor because it has been stripped of personal meanings, then one might assume that this process is reversible. In fact, to reinsert official images into the private domain, to transform them into signs and to fathom their private meanings through accompanying documentation, is at the heart of some of the recent interpretive exercises of photographs, among them the remarkable exegesis of two missionary images by Paul Jenkins (1990). In discussing a photograph showing young women knitting socks and another one of a woman using a spinning wheel, he demonstrates how accompanying records allow a private reading of the photographs. To introduce the private readings by those people pictured in the images or by their descendants represents an additional, much needed, and most useful step in interpretation.

This provokes some final thoughts about the locus of production of the mis-

sionary and by extension the colonial discourse. Is it the author/photographer who was shaped and constrained by a particular world view, not to say ideology, and who in turn shaped and promulgated it? Not entirely! If this were so, why do we stress some photographers' unique and often unexpectedly sympathetic view of Africans, especially that of those image-makers whose work has been studied, such as Torday, Lang, Wuhmann, Thorbecke, and others?<sup>17</sup> It seems that the missionary discourse and by extension the colonial one was the result of a process of construction that only began with the photographer. It relied above all on the increasing transformation of the lived, private experience into the stereotypical, be it through archiving or through different forms of dissemination. The missionary discourse as embodied in photographs ultimately evolved along the continuum from private to public, from sign to metaphor. □

Notes, page 98



## LATIN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY; PARACAS TEXTILES

Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum  
Gothenburg, Sweden

## THE INDIANS IN NORTHERN AMERICA

Folkens Museum-Etnografiska  
Stockholm, Sweden

## AFRICAN, OCEANIC, AND NATIVE AMERICAN ART

Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel, Switzerland

## PRESENTATION OF THE COLLECTION

Musée Barbier-Mueller, Geneva, Switzerland

## AFRICAN ART

Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, Switzerland

## AFRICAN AND OCEANIC ART

The von der Heydt Collection  
Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Switzerland

## africa

### EXHIBITION OF TRADITIONAL SOUTHERN AFRICAN ART

November 6, 1991-March 29, 1992  
Johannesburg Art Gallery  
Joubert Park, South Africa

### continuing exhibitions

(by country)

### AFRICAN ARTIFACTS

African Heritage, Nairobi, Kenya

### AFRICAN ART AND ANTIQUITIES

Primitive Art and Antiquities  
and Totem-Meneghelli Gallery  
Johannesburg, South Africa

### TRADITIONAL AFRICAN ART

National Museum  
Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN ART

Pretoria Art Museum, Pretoria, South Africa

### EX AFRICA SEMPER ALIQUID NOVI

Totem Sancton/Totem Carlton/Totem Rosebank  
Johannesburg, South Africa

### AFRICAN ART

Les Art International, Saxonwold, South Africa

### PERMANENT COLLECTION

National Gallery of Zimbabwe  
Harare, Zimbabwe

## australia

### FLASH PICTURES

### BY ABORIGINAL ARTISTS

November 1991-March 1, 1992  
Australian National Gallery, Canberra, Australia

### continuing exhibitions

### ART OF CENTRAL AND WEST AFRICA

Australian National Gallery, Canberra, Australia

## middle east

### FAITH-DORIAN AND MARTIN WRIGHT

### GALLERY OF AFRICAN ART

Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Israel

## south america

### ACERVO AFRICANO E AFRO-BRASILEIRO

Museu de Arqueologia e Ethnologia  
São Paulo, Brazil

## notes

### GEARY, "Old Pictures, New Approaches":

Notes, from page 39

1. For an excellent summary of recent research see Scherer's introduction and the articles in a special issue of *Visual Anthropology* entitled *Ficturing Culture* (1990). An almost encyclopedic study of historical photography of non-Western peoples is presented in the exhibition catalogue by Thomas Theye (1989).
2. Among historians studying and using photographs from Africa are Killingsray and Roberts (Killingsray & Roberts 1989; Roberts 1988), and Heintze (1990).
3. The most outspoken representative of this school is Raymond Corbey, whose work appears in Dutch and English (1989, 1990a, b). Other studies that grew out of the ethnohistorical tradition of German anthropological scholarship include Krech (1989) and Wiener (1990). While not written from a postmodernist point of view, their general approach resembles that of postmodernists in that they deconstruct the text, visual and written.
4. The *African Studies Information Resources Directory* is an alphabetically organized guide to collections and information services in libraries and repositories, and public and private institutions and organizations. It includes references to museum, missionary, and other collections, emphasizing paper records. Although photographic collections are occasionally mentioned, this dimension of the guide is little developed.
5. Philippe David has painstakingly catalogued the Fortier and other postcard collections. His work is exemplary and provides scholars of postcards with a model by which to approach the immense numbers of postcards in a systematic fashion. For references to David's work, see those listed in Prochaska's notes.

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### PROCHASKA: Notes, from page 47

The University of Illinois and United States Information Agency provided support for research in Dakar. I thank Dr. Christraud Geary for her valuable comments on an earlier version, Irving Elchinger for his help with the photographic research, and Prof. C. C. Stewart for his help with matters Senegalese.

1. Philippe David has spent more time than anyone else collecting and commenting on postcards from colonial West Africa. He has spent more than ten years reconstituting the postcard output of Edmond Fortier, which he has published in a series of catalogues.
2. I thank Prof. Martine Astier-Loauit for kindly giving me these cards originally purchased by her.

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### GEARY, "Missionary Photography":

Notes, from page 59

The final version of this paper has greatly benefited from helpful comments by Roy Sieber, National Museum of African Art, and Patrick McNaughton, Indiana University. I thank both of them for their suggestions.

1. The term "Other," coined by postmodernist anthropologists, nowadays raises a few eyebrows, because it is seen as simply replacing a string of previous derogatory terms describing non-Western peoples. However, I use it here in the sense that Stocking outlined in his introduction to *Objects and Others*. He defines "Others" as human beings "whose similarity or difference is experienced by alien observers as in some profound way problematic" (Stocking 1985:4). Given this definition, we are the "Others" of the "Others."
2. The most interesting essay along these lines has been published by the German historian Wilfried Wagner, who compares images in archives with photographs in the possession of missionaries, in this particular case his parents, who were missionaries in the Mentawai Islands in Dutch Indonesia (Wagner 1990). Other writers have contemplated the difference between private and public images as well, among them Corbey 1990 and Geary 1986, 1990a.

3. The postcards illustrated here form part of the historical Postcard Collection at the Eliot Elisofon Archives of the National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution.

4. It was typical for personal names to be dropped when a photograph was published. I can think of one such example, although there may be many more. A postcard published in the 1920s by the Missions Évangéliques in Paris shows a young man described as "Sans Souci," un de nos élèves instituteur" (*Mores et enfants* 1979:39). In fact, it is a print of a photograph taken by Anna Wuhmann in 1914, representing Daniel Pam, one of her students. The original is in the Basel Mission Archive (no. K 2271). Wuhmann, who worked for the Missions Évangéliques in 1920-21, probably provided the photograph.

5. The value of postcards as evidence depends on their accurate dating and on clues concerning the subject matter. It is my experience that area specialists can set at least some of these images into the proper context, which makes them more meaningful as historical sources.

6. When Schneider passed away in November of 1990, his family decided that the Eliot Elisofon Archives would be an appropriate repository for these materials. I would like to thank in particular his daughter, Dr. Maria Petzold of Reutlingen, and his son, Walter Schneider of York, Pennsylvania, for generously donating the photographs, thus carrying out their father's wishes.



7. I thank Günther W. Mühle of Westerhappeln, Germany, for transcribing the mostly handwritten notes.

8. The Meta live west of Bamenda, in an area where the Basel Mission began to missionize intensify after the First World War.

9. In the 1985 interview, the Schneiders mentioned that other missionaries rarely came to Weh. The British district officer who was stationed in Bamenda passed through only once a year on his official inspection tour.

10. When I reviewed Schneider's materials in the Basel Mission Archive, the photographs, like many of the images that had come in between the two World Wars, were unsorted and mostly unclassified. I remember having seen only a very few "official" ones. Schneider later confirmed that he kept most of his images. In the meantime, the Basel Mission Archive under the guidance of Paul Jenkins has embarked on a major automation project, putting its holdings onto digital disk. The materials that came in between the two World Wars are included in this project.

11. According to my findings in Weh, his friend was Geh-Mbi, also known by the nickname of Ndonngedzu (Pointed Mouth). He was a carver and frequented the church, although he did not convert to Christianity. Known to be a "witch" by the Weh people, he remained a traditionalist and polygamist until the late 1970s, when he converted on his deathbed. The friendship between the traditionalist craftsman and artist and the missionary throws an interesting light on Schneider's interaction with the Weh people.

12. This observation also holds true for other parts of Africa. A recent exhibition at the National Museum of African Art presented contemporary photographic portraits by Vera Viditz-Wand of chiefs in Sierra Leone. Viditz-Wand encouraged the chiefs to choose their poses, and virtually all of them selected this pose (*Paramount Chiefs of Sierra Leone*, 1990). See also Geary 1988:48, and Sprague 1978a, 1978b.

13. See also Geary 1987, an article in which the majority of the photographs came from the Schneider Collection.

14. Anthropological "type photography" had its heyday during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, although this practice can be found in later photographic collections as well (see also Edwards 1990, Banta & Hinsley 1986:22 ff.). While mostly practiced by anthropologists, the idiom was sometimes adopted by photographers of other backgrounds as well.

15. This led to a constant stream of visitors through my house and to some disappointment among those who did not find themselves in the photographs. One man searched in vain for a photograph of his father. He felt that Schneider had not been fair in neglecting to take a picture of his father, who had worked for Schneider for many years.

16. Among Schneider's photographs are several others showing members of the Kwofo secret society with their paraphernalia. Following the wishes of Chief Simon Nji of Weh, they have not been published here, because they would reveal esoteric knowledge accessible only to Kwofo members.

17. On Torday see Mack in this issue, on Lang see Schildkrot in this issue, on Wuhmann see Geary 1988:119 ff., on Thorbecke see Geary 1990c.

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## contributors

### articles

**CHRISTRAUD M. GEARY** is Curator of the Eliot Elisofon Archives at the National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and a Consulting Editor for *African Arts*. She has written extensively on the art of Cameroon and specializes in the history of photography in Africa.

**JOHN MACK** replaced Malcolm McLeod in January 1991 as Keeper of Ethnography at the Museum of Mankind, The British Museum, London. He is the curator of the current exhibition at the Museum of Mankind, "Images of Africa, Emil Torday and the Art of the Congo, 1900-1909," and author of the associated catalogue. Since 1984 Dr. Mack has been conducting fieldwork principally in Madagascar.

**DAVID PROCHASKA** teaches history at the University of Illinois, Urbana. His book on French settler society and culture in Algeria, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bone, 1870-1920*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 1990. He has published on Algerian resistance, colonial photography in Algeria, and the recent Persian Gulf war.

**ENID SCHILDKROT** is Curator of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, New York. With Curtis A. Keim, she is the curator of the exhibition "African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire."

### departments

**ROWLAND ABIODUN** is a Professor in the departments of Fine Arts and Black Studies at Amherst College in Amherst, Massachusetts.

**ELISABETH L. CAMERON** is a doctoral candidate in art history at UCLA.

**HENRIETTA COSENTINO** is the Editor at the Fowler Museum of Cultural History, UCLA.

**AMY DONOHUE** has a B.A. in Interdepartmental Humanities from the University of Iowa, Iowa City. She is currently working at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California.

**CORINNE A. KRATZ** is a Research Associate at the University of Nairobi and a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study and Research in the African Humanities at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

**FRANK WILLETT** is an Honorary Senior Research Fellow, formerly Director of the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, at the University of Glasgow.

**ROSALINDE G. WILCOX** is a doctoral candidate in art history at UCLA.

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MACK: Notes, from page 69

1. There are two substantial archives of photographs associated with Torday. One is that held by the British Museum's Department of Ethnography (the Museum of Mankind) and covering the whole of the period of Torday's work in Central Africa in association with the Museum. The second is that of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, which appears to have been deposited there by M. W. Hilton-Simpson, who accompanied Torday only on the last of his expeditions, that between 1907 and 1909. This, and the fact that letters from Hilton-Simpson discuss the problems of photography in Central Africa, strongly suggests that he, rather than Torday himself, more or less acted in this latter period as expedition photographer. There is considerable overlap in the holdings of both institutions.

2. These letters together with original handwritten fieldnotes (which Joyce organized into publishable form) constitute part of the archive held by the British Museum. A field diary written by Hilton-Simpson and covering the 1907-1909 period is held in typescript by the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, though other versions also exist, for instance in the National Museum of African Art in Washington, D.C. This typescript is the basis of Hilton-Simpson's own published account of his expedition with Torday (Hilton-Simpson 1911).

3. In addition to the British Museum collections, other collections of objects went to the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, the Neprajzi Museum in Budapest, and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The collection of Sir Henry Wellcome also included a substantial holding of Torday objects. These have subsequently gone to a wide variety of museums in Britain and elsewhere with the dispersal of the ethnographic material of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in London from the 1950s onwards. Hilton-Simpson's personal collection was also disposed of at his death, most going to the Powell Cotton Museum at Birchington-on-Sea, Kent, England.

4. A fuller account of Torday's life and work is to be found in my *Evil Torday and the Art of the Congo, 1900-1909* (1990).

5. Norman Hardy, a painter of journalistic images for the *Illustrated London News*, only remained with the Torday expedition for the earlier part of its 1907-1909 work. He left subsequent to a visit to the Kuba Ngongo, before they visited the Bushong and before Torday returned to the Kwilu.

6. The figure was restored by the British Museum prior to its display in the Ethnography Galleries before the First World War. All subsequent illustrations of the piece show it in its restored condition, though minor differences in the coloring of the restoration of the arm—in accord with good museum practice—remain to indicate the extent of the reconstruction that took place.

7. The following few paragraphs originally prepared for inclusion in this paper are also reprinted with appropriate illustrations in J. Mack 1990.

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SCHILDKROUT: Notes, from page 85

I am grateful to the following individuals who read, commented, and in other ways helped with this paper: Christraud Geary, Curtis Keim, Sheila MacCormick, Thomas R. Miller, John Van Couvering, Andrea LaSala, Barbara Mathe, Dennis Finnis, and Jackie Beckett.

1. Leopold II, King of the Belgians, ruled the Congo Free State as a private estate from 1885 to 1908. After international protests about alleged atrocities in the Congo Free State, the Belgian government took over the administration of the Congo. Belgian colonial rule lasted until 1960. The country adopted its present name, Zaire, in 1971.

2. Herbert Lang was born in Germany in 1879 and came to the United States in 1903 after receiving training in taxidermy in Paris. He was employed by the Museum as a taxidermist in the mammalogy department when he was asked to lead the Congo Expedition, having previously accompanied a wealthy game hunter and Museum donor on an expedition to East Africa. After the Congo Expedition, Lang became an Assistant Curator of Mammalogy and went on another American Museum expedition to Angola. Lang left the Museum in the late 1920s and moved to South Africa, where he married and became a wildlife photographer.

3. We have been able to locate a reference to this particular set, but not the set itself.

4. Some prints were left behind and have surfaced in several other collections of people who visited the area later. One image, the portrait of Queen Nenzima, was used as the model for a Zairian painting of Nenzima made in the 1960s.

5. Lang and Chapin brought back tens of thousands of specimens for many departments in the American Museum of Natural History. Today these collections form a significant part of the holdings of the departments of anthropology, mammalogy, ornithology, entomology, ichthyology, and invertebrates.

6. The number of pictures Lang took is not known for certain; the number usually cited is 10,000, although in an interview with Lang (Wisehart 1922:61) the number given is 15,000.

7. Lang's native language was German, although he spoke English and French fluently. As is the case here, his word order sometimes betrays the fact that English was not his first language.

8. Esther Paszkory raised this issue when I presented a paper to the Seminar for African, Oceanic, and Native American Art at Columbia University in 1989.

9. Frederick Starr described in his fieldnotes how he posed people in costumes and positions to recreate particular roles and scenes (F. Starr, unpublished papers, Rugenstein Library, University of Chicago, Schildkrot 1990).

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KRATZ: Notes, from page 88

Thanks to Robert Leopold, Mary Jo Arnoldi, and Roslyn Walker for helpful discussions while preparing this review.

1. Other versions of the show, with a different selection of photographs and different captions, have been shown at University of Tulsa, Indiana University, and Wabash College.

2. One final comment on the textual representation of paramount chiefs. Because of the exhibition's geographical organization, women chiefs of Southern and Eastern Provinces did not appear until half-way through (although they were encountered earlier through the other entrance). A final wall text in the third room discussed women as paramount chiefs, but their existence might have been noted in the introductory text and discussed briefly in the illustrated brochure. All wall texts were reproduced here except that one. Women chiefs are not only of great interest to an American audience, they are ethnographically quite unusual. This broader context might have been noted, along with the distinctiveness of this region for women's secret societies that are of equal status to men's and wear masks of equal power.

3. The chiefs' poses were another choice, apparently not debated. Nonetheless, Viditz-Ward's research on the history of photography in Sierra Leone might have illuminated postural conventions in the portraits. Only one chief breaks the formality of pose: Chief Magona of Barri Chiefdom sits askew in his wooden throne, leaning in a more relaxed posture.