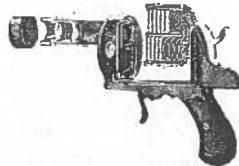


Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen
ed. Pippa Skotnes (1996) Rondebosch: U of Cape
Town Press

pp 129-141



With Camera and Gun in Southern Africa: Inventing the Image of Bushmen, c.1880 to 1935

Paul S. Landau

Visual literacy is not a luxury, but an essential ingredient of modern life, affecting every member of society. Photography should therefore be popularised as an art form, and should be placed higher on the agenda of the arts. (ANC Draft of National Cultural Policy, October 1994)

The way non-bushmen have imagined 'bushmen' has changed several times. Noble, bestial, vanishing, autochthonous, stone-age, little, impoverished: each attributed quality touched the fate of real peoples, in large and small ways. Not only did words and images affect imperial and settler policies, but they also helped determine which diverse groupings of people were visualised as 'bushmen' (Wilmsen 1989). Being a 'bushman' was, among other things, a mode of expression about disempowered people. As Coetzee (1988) and Pratt (1992) have shown, the necessities of imperial and settler policies plotted the general directions of such imaginings, just as they were shaped by them.

The discursive construction of bushmen, and the material interests of their observers, thus corresponded to each other: however, they did not make a closed system. Art is never closed. Speaking and picturing draw on a universe of potentiality, and beneath each dominant pattern are contrasting ones. The question is why some images persist in people's minds and actions, while others are ignored.

A critical, and surprisingly unexamined, dimension to the imaging of southern African bushmen is their actual picturing. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, and alongside various consumer trends of the Victorian *imperium*, photography began to affect Europeans' idea of Africans. Intersecting with 'exhibitions', travelling shows, and museum displays, photography

let great numbers of Western, urban people 'see' Africans living in far away, 'natural' habitats.² Previously, only travellers or academics could advance apparently well-informed opinions about 'remote' people in Africa; but now that pool was greatly expanded. Postcards, magazines, books by big-game hunters, illustrated travel stories, all ensnared Westerners in Africa's remit, and all did so in the metropolitan living-room and study.

This essay may also be read in the privacy of one's home. In it I attempt to locate the depiction of bushmen within a reasonably broad survey of this pictorial and consumer web. My central problematic is that bushmen, as they began to be viewed in photographs, changed their image among Europeans. They moved from appearing bestial and depraved, to become gentle, "harmless people" (Thomas 1959).³ I wish to show that an important well-spring for the shift was the connection between photography and naturalists' valorisation of wild animals. I try to trace the shift mainly in two overlapping genres and the pictures in them: the twentieth century African travelogue, and the narratives of white hunters.⁴ My argument is that the medium of photography helped to trap the image of bushmen in a discourse in which 'natural' animals and people both, were valued and worth preserving. Thenceforth bushmen stayed in a 'natural' aspect for the Western imagination—a position maintained, against all odds, even today.



Figure 1 Kolb 1741:288 (approx. 100x80 mm)



Figure 2 "Hottentot". Daniell 1820: no. 2 (approx. 160x140 mm)



Figure 3 "T'Kaness". Daniell 1820: no. 25 (approx. 160x140 mm)

Picturing and writing

Before the advent of the photograph, positive notions about bushmen depended on not seeing them. The essential quality of bushmen was that they were forever 'vanishing.' One can even treat this as the *sine qua non* of the definition of the 'truest' bushmen: they are never actually encountered. From the seventeenth century, as Cape settlers conquered inland groups, they disparaged the people they drew into their predatory economy. More remote groups, in contrast, were 'pure' and exemplary. In this sense, what was positive in the discourse of being bushmen progressively replaced that for 'Hottentots', who were ever better known as they were killed, impoverished, and subjected by specific legislation. In the early travelogues the distinction between 'Hottentot' and bushman is one of status, sometimes language, but rarely generic or absolute (Dubow 1995:32-70). It became so later, through Europeans' ability to envision and racialise those people who lived far away from them.

A common motif in the representation of bushmen is an odd tension between text and picture. The idea of the 'noble savage', present in Montaigne's sixteenth century writings⁵ but elaborated in the eighteenth century, was only sometimes applied to descriptions of bushmen. For example, as Van Wyke Smith shows in an excellent article (1992), the eighteenth century traveller Peter Kolb deliberately repudiated the romance of 'savagery' in his harsh description of bushmen as naked and filthy, clucking like "turkeys". Yet at the same time his illustrations betrayed his text, by ennobling bushmen (Figure 1).

Bushmen still met with warm appraisals in the nineteenth century when imperial observers like John Barrow wished to compare them with Boers. Alongside his depiction of Khoe and others as vanquished people, for instance, Barrow's illustrator Samuel Daniell drew highly sympathetic sketches of them (Barrow 1801; Pratt 1992). However, in 1820 Daniell published his drawings accompanied by text that glossed "bosjesmans" as "the lowest of the Hottentot race"; and he cojoins a comely young man (Figure 2) with Barrow's words describing Khoisan faces as "extremely ugly".

Daniell's drawings speak in a classical, painterly idiom, touched by the practices of contemporary portraiture. Compare Daniell's 1820 picture of "a Korah girl" (Figure 3) with a photograph of one of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd's bushmen from the 1870s and 1880s (Figure 4).

In it the same conventions, now a staple of Victorian portraiture, are used: a three-quarter facial tilt and surrounding accoutrements.⁶ More coquettish poses of African women appeared, especially in postcards, and, of course, the same theme persists today.

There were other popular iconographies as well. The book *Africa Illustrated* (1895) consists of a remarkable set of stazy, composite photographs, essentially duplicating the look of dioramas of an imperial exhibition. Its imputation of nobility to 'primitives', propelled by the liberal missionaries' milieu behind its production, may even be seen in pictures that are demeaned by their captions. The combination demonstrates the anxiety of lionisations of black male bodies, which were at the time a common show in circuses, exhibitions, and adventure stories (Coombes 1994:97). Its implicitly threatening 'virility' is extended to 'a real bushman' in Figure 5.

Behind such differing studio techniques lay a desire to 'preserve' a record of the present in an era of dizzying change. The iconography of this preservation tapped art-historical roots. For instance, shortly before the development of photography, the realist painter William Holman Hunt demanded that the Pre-Raphaelites travel around (Hunt went to the British 'Orient') and "see for themselves". As Hunt wrote to Rossetti, "Think how valuable pictures of the social life of the tribes of men who are in this age undergoing revolutions would be in aftertimes" (quoted in Landow 1982:653). Picturing was part of the Victorian drive to classify the world. The dawn of accessible, dry-plate photography only expanded the project. From Paul Augustus Martin's photos of 'London types' (Flukinger 1985:130), to Edward Curtis's creation of the 'American Indian' in his studios (Lyman 1982), nineteenth century photography obligingly followed Hunt's advice, and it drew on the prior iconography of depicting the human form.

Collodion dry-plates, prepared in advance of their use, were made in 1864, and in 1871, R. L. Maddox developed the gelatin dry-plate process (Jenkins 1975; 1977; Coe 1977). Only in 1878 were such plates rendered sensitive to snapshot speeds. Then came the first stage in the radical transformation of photography. Middle-class amateurs began to buy dry-plate cameras and take pictures (Sieberling & Bloore 1986; Tagg 1988). New cameras, often called "detective" cameras, were able to freeze movement outside the studio. The notion of "shooting" a picture, like shooting in a hunt, then commenced. In the studio, one had one's picture "taken", the verb lying passively with the hiring of the service. Outdoors, one "shot" pictures: the verb was active.

The best-known mobile photographers tended to make pictures in two places: in working-class city slums, and among non-Europeans of the new imperial world. Popular photography thus bore a complex relationship to colonial conquest. When reformers travelled to poor neighbourhoods to give salutary "magic lantern lectures", both pictures of labourers and pictures or 'specimens' from the colonised world,



Figure 4 !Kweiten ta //ken Bleek & Lloyd 1911 (140x96 mm)



Figure 5 "A Real Bushman" *Africa Illustrated* 1895:8 (136x93 mm)

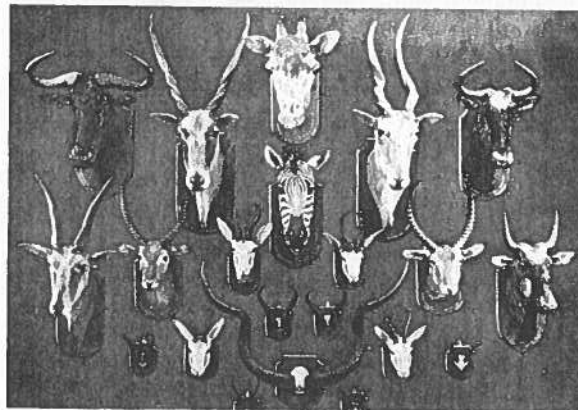


Figure 6 "Some Heads of Game Shot on Botetli River Expedition 1800" Bryden 1893:486 (125x152 mm)

sometimes also appeared on screen (Landau 1994b; Pinney 1991). The imbalance of power in publishing photographs of various 'others' for middle class consumption, together with the realities of colonial exertions, eased the embrace between early investigative photography and coercive violence. And so photographers, already implicitly familiar with force (as argued below), accommodated the racist interest of Victorian science (McKenzie 1987). From the 1860s, the increasingly invasive views of 'physical anthropology' were aided by photos for visually typing aborigines in Australia, for instance (Edwards 1988). Cousin to the police "mug shot" (Tagg 1988), the anthropometric photo mapped measuring grids on bodies in a cartography of biological conquest (Banta & Hinsley 1986).

The point of such work continued to be to freeze images of 'primitive' people who were supposed to be disappearing in the path of universalised forces, as Holman Hunt had suggested to Rossetti. Now, however, science made things out of people. Such efforts reached an early peak in Watson & Kayes eight-volume *The Peoples of India* (1868-75), with seemingly exhaustive descriptions of every group and caste, and over 400 photographs. Francis Galton's book of racial composition: photos, *Inquiries into Human Faculty*, came out in 1885, accelerating similar works. In 1904 Dudley Kidd published *The Essential Kafir*, with 100 of his own photographs. Such books provided the pattern for other articles and books concerned with racial identity. Their picture collections often have the feel of a trophy wall in a hunter's den (Figure 6).⁷

The parallel is more than fortuitous. In the middle of the nineteenth century, bushmen sometimes received high marks because they helped European hunters shoot elephants for ivory, and ostriches for feathers, north of the Orange River and up through Hereroland in the Kalahari. Few of the early explorers deplored bushmen's "bestiality". For example, Livingstone's artist Thomas Baines (1864:97, 116-29), while he evinces many prejudices, represents bushmen as useful fellows, and depicts them as similar to other Africans in his engravings. As Rob Gordon (1992a) has shown, especially the so-called 'pure' bushmen were valued as aides-de-camp, and hunters such as Gordon Cummings (Tabler 1973) held them to be better than "lazy" pastoralists. They were "excellent trackers".

Then, around 1880, the textual depiction of bushmen plummeted. As the ivory and ostrich feather trade decayed, the desire and price for bushmen's labour fell. Having outlived their usefulness, they were disparaged. Some white travellers began to denigrate them in animal terms, much as Boers and other settlers had long done. Frederick Sealous pronounced them "utter savages—joyless, soulless animals—believing nothing, hoping nothing . . . [often]

the prey of the lions and hyenas that roamed the deserts as well as they" (Sealous 1893:112). After the turn of the century, the growth of banditry among bushmen prodded Namibian whites into adopting newly virulent practices and expressing the sentiments to justify them (Guenther 1980; Gordon 1992a:58, 101 ff.). Some of them, as well as some BaTswana and colonial officials, began increasingly to hunt and kill bushmen themselves with firearms.

In such a context, bushmen were cast as parasites, feeding off the mobile edge of civilisation, much as if they were animal 'vermin'. At the same time, most colonial writers felt that bushmen were vanishing "as a race", probably along with the peoples sometimes cast as their near relations: pygmies in central Africa, and aborigines in Australia (Schwarz 1928:144, 152). After the new imperialism of the 1890s hit its peak, with the erasure of southern and south-central African kingdoms by force of arms, bushmen seemed like a left-over component of a doomed ecosystem. The naturalist George Stow and the historian George McCall Theal pronounced an evolutionary typology in which Bushman, Hottentot and Bantu succeeded one another, all implicitly cued to make way for white men (Dubow 1995:117). Theal's 1911 introduction to Bleek and Lloyd's book of bushman folklore compares bushmen to baboons (1911:xxxv ff.), a sentiment Bleek himself had certainly not shared in the 1860s.

It is critical to the argument here that the reader recognise that, although the image of bushmen subsequently 'improved' (begging the question of value for a moment), their comparison to animals never again ceased. One may sample any book on bushmen for zoomorphic tropes, and the issue is taken up below. Instead, it is the context for such comparisons, the meaning of 'nature' and animals, which shifted. Secondly, both bushmen and animals were shot, and both were exhibited, and continue to be so today. But the quality of the shooting changed, moving from the mortal to the representational.

Photographing and shooting

As photography flourished in the great stretches of territory taken by Europeans, it naturalised the 'possessibility' of those spaces. At the same time, from roughly 1885 to 1930, during the heart of the New Imperialism, photography changed in its practices and conventions. The photo was institutionalised in those professions that required the establishing of visual 'facts': the news media, law enforcement, and medicine. Photographs circulated among urbanites and reinforced the idea that accompanying texts were privileged and incontrovertible. The photograph became the ubiquitous 'truth-telling' thing that we know today.⁸

At the beginning of this period, in the 1880s, the way travelling photographers thought about cameras, and the way they made use of them, drew heavily on the use of firearms. The methods of sequencing exposures on the new plates were sometimes based explicitly on the mechanism of the Colt revolver (Lothrop 1982: no. 25). E. J. Marey created his stop-action "*fusil photographique*" in 1882 (Frizot n.d.: 27). Much has been made of indigenes' fear of photos "stealing their souls", but people such as 'bushmen' were likely to have recognised metal devices as essentially aggressive (Sontag 1977: 4, 7); again, in the colonial world, the same people who would be shot with cameras were shot with rifles. If one looks at hunting and travel literature in Africa from this period, and compares visual 'encounters' with bushmen and with animals, one finds a shared field of appropriation, a shared language of activity between killing and picturing.

G.A. Farini's book *Across the Kalahari Desert* offers such evidence. Farini's was perhaps the earliest account of the Kalahari (albeit a partly fraudulent one) to include illustrations based on photographs.⁹ Farini was an American showman who in 1885 journeyed from Europe to the Kalahari to capture bushmen for a sideshow, to look for ranch land, and to search sensationally for diamonds (Clement 1967). In his text, his son, "Lulu", uses the camera as a substitute for the gun. Several times Lulu "levelled the camera" at people as they ran away, frightened (Farini 1886: 124).¹⁰ As in Lucy Lloyd's and W.H. Bleek's very different work, however, the pictures reproduced from Lulu's photos have not yet claimed a separate status as bearers of truth. They therefore perform diverse functions: they are variously stark (Figure 7), idyllic or picturesque, and irrelevant (Figure 8).

Farini portrays bushmen drinking fermented melon in this way: "drunken howls [made] the night hideous as they staggered around the fire . . . if there had been any hyenas or jackals looking on, how proud they must have felt by comparison" (Farini 1886: 344). Bushmen are explicitly made verminous and bestial; they are game, and indeed Farini describes shooting one with a rifle (347).¹¹ Thus, while the iconography of bushmen photos in the 1880s was still incoherent (if also derogatory), Farini alerts us to the new attitude of travel photography (as opposed to Bleek and Lloyd's studio prints): its aggression. The pictorial effects of that aggression soon became commonplace and so, unnoticed. In the 1880s, however, portable cameras (with dry plates) were yet novel.

Aside from the influence of patterns of design, why did the gun impose its practices on the camera? There were very few hand-held mechanical devices for the colonial traveller before the 1880s. Field-glasses and firearms ranked foremost. The entrepreneur George Eastman, from early in his career, recognised

photography's lack of portability as the signal obstacle to its achieving mass ownership. In the 1870s there were ever more exciting places 'open' to Western travel (including the American continent), and yet in contrast to the lightweight, new repeating rifles, a camera rig was quite unwieldy (Ackerman 1930: 23). The solution was film. When Eastman developed his famous roll-film camera, he initially described it in terms of weaponry: "You pull the trigger, we do the rest" (Brayer 1994 personal communication). The term "snap" and "shot" both already had military currency (Brit. War Office 1892: 110).

Until the later advent of the Leica, however, still photography was not best at capturing violent action. Some touring photographers therefore went to great lengths to introduce the violence of cinema into the photo shoot. Guy Scull's (1911) solution was to depict the action of the American rodeo in his absurd book *Lassoing Wild Animals in Africa* (Figure 9).

A similar effort led Farini deliberately to make play with the camera-as-gun; "Lulu" is charged by a lion, and while he is "making another exposure", Farini shouts ambiguities: "You fools! Fire! Shoot, or you will both be killed" (Farini 1886: 307-8). More in the vanguard, C.G. Schillings in *With Flashlight and Rifle* (1905) aimed to capture African animals in their momentary disposition, in motion. His (relatively poor) "camera shots", which suffered "no retouching", required shooting in dangerously close quarters, which he touted as evidencing their authenticity.

Guns and cameras turned emblems of the wild over to urban consumers. Like the gun, the camera made its subjects safely motionless. Like breech-loading bullet cartridges, the photographic "cartridge" of 1888 soon removed the mess from the hands of the operator. Shooting was made hygienic. The entire process of photographing, and the power it implicated, was seemingly reduced to a single, repeatable action. Afterwards one sent the film or the whole camera away, and received pictures back. Eastman-Kodak's brilliant marketing redefined the nature of 'making a photograph', so as to obscure the manual labour involved.

In the Kalahari Desert, 'bushman trackers' hired by gentleman hunters understood this principle well. They insisted on carrying their employers' rifles, as they led the way to game, but then handed the gun to the white hunter whereupon he performed the action. Afterwards, it was often bushmen who stripped and transported the skins of game, out of view of the relaxing shooters. Early travel photographers also had bearers for cameras as well as guns (for example, Stoneham nd.: 11). Kodak appropriated the same issue—a labour issue—and obscured it beneath a spurious identity: the moment of capture as the



Figure 7 "King Mapaar and Wife" Farini 1886:223 (160x95 mm)



Figure 8 "A Group of Kalahari Flora" Farini 1886:180 (121x105 mm)



Figure 9 "Roping a Serval Cat—A Difficult Task, As This Animal Travels Close to the Ground". Scull 1911:40 (409x140 mm)

complete episode of the hunt. This was marketed to the consumer, who in turn became the sole subject of the action.

Animals and people

By reading the meaning of 'shooting' in terms of class and violence, one may better understand why the late Victorian pictorial collection of 'vanishing types' paralleled the ongoing effort to collect 'specimens' of wildlife, and particularly, fine African trophies. Hunting big game simultaneously enacted the domination of Europe and America over their Empires, and the domination of men of leisure over Nature (Beinart 1990). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Victorian ideas about animals shifted to accommodate such power: wild beasts lost their independent ability to do harm, and became entirely dependent on the "stewardship of men" (Ritvo 1987:252, 287). Animals, even dangerous ones, became acceptable—and even more, charming—in much the way that unseen, far away bushmen were. 'Nature' was that which utterly resisted the advance of Europe, and so it held out hope, in case modernity turned out to be a horrible mistake. Thus the cult of the lion in England hinged on a longing for the wildlife England had destroyed; and the valorisation of bushmen relied on whites' longing for a simple communal past. It was only when the 'natural' spaces on Africa's map had been entirely surveyed that 'real' nature (in other words, a nature forever gone) required protection. And it was only when the bushmen's physique had been surveyed that 'he' disappeared. Searching for 'true' bushmen took on the aspect of searching for any rare specimen, any talisman, of the 'lost world' (Wilmsen, forthcoming).

It was in such a context that white hunters started to become naturalists. Many hunters explicitly allied themselves to 'science', and sought to bring home 'new' species for zoos and museums (Heuvelmans 1965) as well as more perfect examples of existing species (Mackenzie 1988:139). These men took their modern rifles, shot animals in proper "sport", brought back carcasses or heads, and mounted or restored them to a copy of life. Their activities were usually understood as part and parcel of wildlife preservation, an extension of the founding of game preserves, the first of which appeared in the 1890s (MacKenzie 1987; Stevenson-Hamilton 1974). At the same time, photographers took pictures of human 'types' in those inaccessible places described as 'natural'.

Henry Anderson Bryden exemplifies this sort of trend. In his book *Gun and Camera in Southern Africa* (1893), Bryden creates a world of noble, anthropomorphised animals, all paired with official, scientific names—while he calls his servants "Piccanin", Dottie and Horse ("Pitse"). Steenbuck have "slender legs and

feet, delicate heads and dark, melting eyes" (Bryden 1893:58) and giraffe, upon which he expatiates for a whole chapter, are "beautiful", "extraordinary", and have eyes of "melting tenderness" (Bryden 1893:328). It is the relentless hunting and killing of just these animals that fill the pages of Bryden's long book. At its end he weighs in for wildlife preservation, somewhat ashamedly. Yet the real problem is "the Boer, the skin-hunter, and the native sportsman . . . [who] have no aesthetic sentiments or compunction to hinder them" (Bryden 1893:487).

In contrast, the middle-class European drive to represent the remaining animals (and people) to itself, the middle class, was seen as unimpeachable, whether with their skins or their photos: it was one and the same thing (Bryden 1893:327-8) (Figure 10). As Michael Taussig has argued in another context (1993:ch. 4 & 102), mimesis is the "skin" of the thing represented. At the end of his book Bryden is a small step away from grouping bushmen with other vanishing life. Assuming an elegiac tone, he writes of "silent waterless forests of the Northern Kalahari—fitting sanctuary for the tall giraffe [of which Bryden kills four], the naked primitive races . . . and the wild, houseless Bushman hunters" (Bryden 1893:410-11) (Figure 11).

The prolific writer and hunter Denis Lyell exemplified Bryden's form of sentiment in the 1910s and 1920s. In Lyell's hunting "code," the proper hunter was an aesthete, capable of appreciating the beauty and "life force" of the animals he wanted to kill. "He should never succumb to 'buck fever' or ever fire indiscriminately into a herd" (MacKenzie 1988:299, citing Lyell).¹² Rather, the proper hunter handicapped himself in small but symbolic ways. It was but a small step to take from self-limited killing to no killing. As simple wildlife 'preservationism' bloomed into the colonial science of 'conservation,' photography, in its past collection of human 'types', was well positioned as a substitute for hunting. From the start Europeans had supplied pictures of the game they hunted alongside the people who came to their attention. The camera offered itself to the science of collecting both people and animals, since it killed no one. Moreover, from the 1890s on, photography staked an unmatched claim to accuracy, which the computer's collages and morphing have only begun to dispel today. In one of his later books (1924:112), Lyell turns on Gordon Cumming and accuses his painted illustrations (Ritvo 1987:250) of exaggerating his exploits. Not so with photography, Lyell hints. His own photos serve the pedantic idea of ritualised, yet accurate and taxonomic, hunting (Figure 12).

From the 1890s through the 1920s, cameras and guns jostled one another in wildlife books. Teddy Roosevelt's *African Game Trails*, illustrated with his son Kermit's photos, ends with scientific identifications of all the bagged game, down to *rodentia*

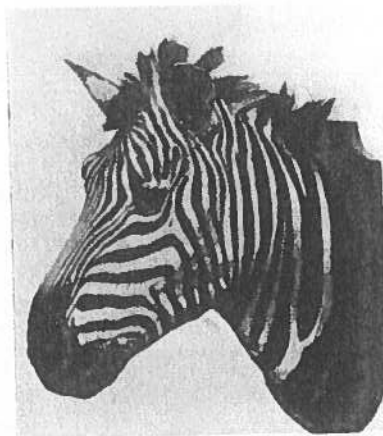


Figure 10 "Head of Burchell's Zebra". Bryden 1893:380 (111x151 mm)



Figure 11 "Berg Damara and Bush Boys". Bryden 1893:414 (111x151 mm)



Figure 12 "A Massive Bull Elephant". Lyell 1924: facing 90 (112x155 mm)



Figure 13 "Masarwa Bushmen". Bryden 1893 292 (110x153 mm)



Figure 14 "A Half-Caste Bush Girl". Jones & Dokes 1937: plate 50 (84x102 mm)

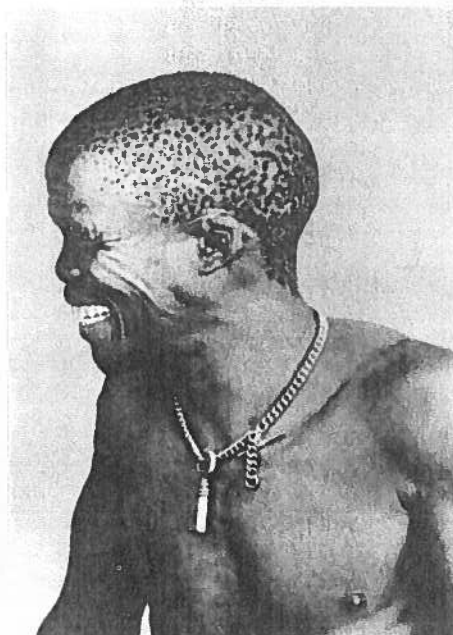


Figure 15 "Xam Man Taken at De Beers Mines, Kimberley". Duggan-Cronin 1942:IV (160x105 mm)

(Roosevelt 1910). By the 1920s a popular guide to "hunting with a camera" (Nesbit 1926) recommended "converting" from the gun.¹³ Thus by 1920 an essential shift in the Western apprehension of 'the wild' was manifest.

Bushmen in pictures: the divergence of images from text

We may recall that it was the same period, 1880 to 1920, which also saw the most sustained abuse of bushmen, and the most committed attacks on their claims to be fellow human beings. While Bryden zoologised bushmen, others killed them as bandits. After 1900, scientific racism, eugenics, and the growth of vaudeville all accelerated and legitimised earlier racisms. The worst excesses of German and South African settlers in Namibia fell in the first decades of the century. Bushmen were also affected by larger shifts in the colonial mind-set. Whites' class-based phobias were freshly augmented by sexual and pathological models, out of which were constructed the view of the 'essentially' different African (Curtin 1964; Gilman 1985b; Comaroff & Comaroff 1992; McCulloch 1995).

Not every stereotype can be reduced to 'better' or 'worse', and many of them brushed each other at the edges. Still, on the whole, the bushmen's visual image, when presented to the world, spoke a language very removed from the hostility of settlers and the South African state, and far more like that evinced by H.A. Bryden. In part, the divergence must be connected to the fact that publishing and science—the two enterprises responsible for proliferating information on both animals and bushmen—were internationalist concerns. And yet this key difference in prejudicial interests was obscured by virtue of the great power of publishing and science to cultivate an image of 'the bushman', even in the minds of South Africans who would otherwise never see a 'real' one. This image, as was suggested above, diverged from earlier stereotypes of bestiality in that bushmen, like wild animals in the European view, lost their capacity for doing evil. In this context, anthropologists like Raymond Dart and Matthew Drennan provided a bridge to the new thinking in seemingly reactionary statements. Bushmen were, Dart argued, not only "survivals of humanity's infancy," (Dart radio broadcast, 27 April 1931, cited by Dubow 1995:46), but, according to Drennan, were themselves a "foetalised" people, forever stuck in a racial immaturity. It was such a paradigm that travel photographs of Kalahari-dwellers followed, in a delayed and sometimes diffuse fashion.

To state this central point a bit more sharply: although bushmen were hunted down and killed as predatory bandits by white settlers, they were not pictured as dangerous for audiences in Europe, America,

and even South Africa; instead, they were drawn into a wider conservationist discourse about African flora and fauna. Moreover, even where period texts attack the supposed savagery or stealth of bushmen, pictures of bushmen do not convey such messages. We have noted similar discordances between textual descriptions and pictures in earlier centuries. The same rupture was abetted by the specific parameters of the photograph. It is thus the nature of photographs of bushmen that must now be discussed.

Africa meant animals to most Europeans and Americans, and still does; nature means animals to most South Africans. Photographs tamed the animals they touched, and made the unknown familiar. Bushmen lived, by the implicit definition of the term 'bush', in the spaces whites and many Africans designated as wild. Therefore, bushmen were brought to heel merely by existing in accessible images. Both photographs and trophies caressed their subjects, framed them, and set them down before the observer, safely flattened, or dead, or both (see Figures 10, 12 & 14). The elephant and the bushman left their visual mark in the same formats, the same books and magazines one might handle in a sitting-room.¹⁴ In his work on bushmen's material culture, E.J. Dunn (1931:6-8), recalling his experiences in the 1870s, writes about bushmen precisely as hunters wrote about their quarry: in the male singular, regardless of number. "I saw him in 1872 after there had been no rain for more than a year, and he was on the verge of starvation." Just as if he were mentioning gemsbok, Dunn is here referring to no particular individual. "The homing instinct was strong with the Bushman," he notes, because prisoners at the Breakwater made a habit of escaping (Dunn 1931:8). By placing 'true' bushmen on the 'natural' horizon, they were given over, in the Western mind, to the same space occupied by animals. All too typically, Bryden's later book *Wildlife in South Africa* (1936) sandwiches "Masarwa Bushmen and the Kalahari desert", Chapter 21, between two chapters on kinds of water fowl. Such examples could be duplicated. They rendered 'nature' accessible.

Secondly, and relatedly, the conventions peculiar to colonial photography did not permit bushmen to be presented as dangerous killers, or as sneaky or bandit people. Simply put, white men with cameras frightened rural southern Africans (for good reason). Photographs then displayed their expectant faces as if this were their normal disposition. As John Tagg writes, "the transparency of the photograph is its most powerful rhetorical device" (Tagg 1988:56, 35). For this reason it is difficult to analyse photographs, because they threaten to merge with the real.¹⁵ What seems obvious, what has been most naturalised, often escapes analysis. But this is much the point! People and events were arrayed around the invisible photog-



Figure 16 "Five-foot Osa lifts a Pygmy, the mother of five children". Johnson 1940:311 (115x155 mm)



Figure 17 "Family of IKuribe". Jones & Doke 1937: pl 61 (84x102 mm)



Figure 18 "Ao //ein Maiden". Fourie 1928:97 (156x84 mm)



Figure 19 "Mosarwa". Shapera 1930: X.140 (147x93 mm)



Figure 20 "Bushmen wearing the Qhuai, or Apron. The woman in the centre is a San". Schwartz 1928:132 (90x105 mm)



Figure 21 "Bushman Types". Photographs by A.M. Cronin. Dorman 1925: Figure 72 (160x102 mm)

rapher, seemingly at his command; and the resulting tableaux were taken as 'just how things are' (Figure 13).

Finally, in Tagg's words, what photographs picture is "measured against an ideal space: a clear space, a healthy space, a space of unobstructed lines of sight, open to vision and supervision" (Tagg 1988:64). It is significant that the openness of the Kalahari seemed especially to elicit this ideal, and that bushmen's lack of encumbrances and their mobility seemed to preclude any concerns about privacy. To an extent the same was true of other Africans, but bushmen were so thoroughly denied a productive life, not only in their image but often in their lived realities, that to Westerners they seemed to retain the totality of their 'culture' even as they were ripped from their homes. Their pictorial removal, in other words, paralleled their actual dispossession. (For another sort of 'removal', that of the exhibition, see Coombes 1994: 88ff.; MacKenzie 1986; & Gordon n.d.)

In this connection one must note again that photos can undermine textual discourses as well. People's facial expressions sometimes show fear (Vernay 1931:266) or disdain (Figure 14) or humour (Figure 15). Some contemporary viewers of the photo of Osa Johnson holding a Twa woman in the Ituri forest in 1929 (Figure 16) must have noticed that every face but hers registers disgust, in a silent indictment of her callousness.¹⁶ Secondly, consider the following pictures, both of which could easily be multiplied: a seemingly nuclear family of bushmen posed in front of their house (Figure 17), and an attractive woman in a seductive portrait (Figure 18). Using pictorial conventions common to Western experience may, as Derridan scholars have argued, provide a discourse for allowing viewers to recognise 'differentness'. But surely they do not 'alterise' the subject as much as getting *rid* of familiar conventions would do. They say: bushmen are not so very other from 'us'.

Bushmen in pictures: the reconvergence of image and text

Without a doubt, however, by the 1920s and 1930s, with the further growth of photography, the conventions of 'encounter' pictures of bushmen began to congeal. Eventually, they drew various textual depictions into a new sort of discourse. What did this pictorial discourse do? First, it robbed its subjects of the attitude of agency, indeed of social intercourse, in making them serve illustrative projects. Increasingly, few bushmen were pictured talking to or 'acting upon' other people. Instead, small groups are often captioned according to their observed behaviour (the hunt, skills, dance, motherhood) in ethnographic fashion (Figure 19).

In many cases bushmen are visually subordinated by being low to the ground. When individuals are pictured who are perceived to be 'domesticated' to the needs of European or American parties, they are figures of scorn. The 'truer' the bushman, the more he or she corresponds to the ideal of being unrepresentable in socialised space. The 'truer' the bushman, the more scarce he or she must be. Just as naturalists searched for the best lion or most authentic silverback gorilla (Harraway 1989), Schwarz (1928:131, 147) pinpoints a few "true" San, distinct on grounds, among "ordinary" bushmen (Figure 20); and Hastings (1936) makes similar judgements in his vaguely comical *Search for the Little Yellow Men*; and still today. Even Duggan-Cronin's (1928-41; 1942) excellent pictures (see Figure 15), in which individuals' personalities often seem to jump from the page, are to be understood as specimens of racial forms (Figure 21).

Perhaps it was inevitable that the 'snapshot', in its great plenitude, would disrupt such ethnographic norms. In this regard it is instructive to compare W.T. Makin's book *Across the Kalahari Desert* (1929) to previous tour books like Bryden's, or Farini's. In contrast to Bryden's attention to species, local politics, required equipment, and so on, Makin lounges through the Kalahari with ironic detachment. For him the desert is a big spectacle, flitting past like a cinematic show; he is unsure even where he is, confusing the Protectorate with South Africa (1929:38, 56). His overriding aim is to find some cigarettes. In his casual racism, Africans are half-civilised figures of fun, and Kalahari whites merely pathetic. Makin wryly notes (1929:279) that even in the 1920s, bushmen were attracting a superabundance of photographers (like himself). Yet, in contrast to Farini, he feels it unnecessary to dwell on bushmen as a presence in themselves, and lumps them together with animals and fossils (Makin 1929:27-8). Most of Makin's pictures seem random in an oddly modern way: his terrier, some children, the Tawana chief, Millington the lorry driver washing his feet (Figure 22), a Kalahari woman (Figure 23).

Photography as a 'serious' ethnographic tool had been given over to the experts, while what was left was a new form of amateur, naturalist pictorialism. Makin's 'snapshots' (Makin 1929:232) illustrate the subjectivity and random apprehensions of Makin's own personal experience.

Isaac Schapera offers further evidence of a fragmentation of the 'text' of colonial experience, and therefore of photographic practice. He is content in his book *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* (1930) to use pre-existing anthropometric-type photos, some by the anti-preservationist Leonard Schultze (Gordon 1992a:63). They rob bushmen of their personhood in an ugly way (Figure 24). Yet Schapera's own pictures



Figure 22 "A Desert Bath" Makin 1929:180 (140x87 mm)



Figure 23 "The women of the Kalahari grow old quickly, but never lose their sense of humour". Makin 1929:168 (136x98 mm)

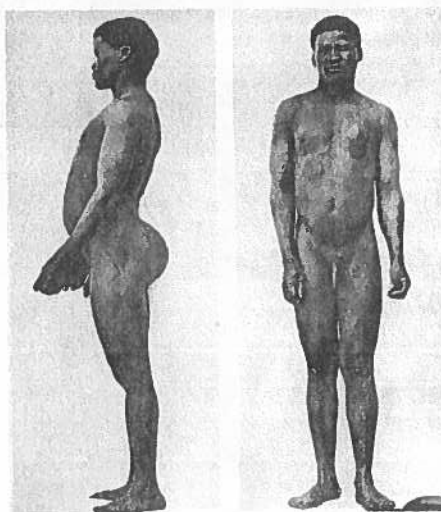


Figure 24 "Auni Bushman". Schapera 1930:1 facing 32 (143x102 mm)



Figure 25 "Our Bushmen Trackers" Shapera 1932:281 (60x90)



Figure 26 "One of the wretched Hottentots of the Richtersveld" Green 1936:55 (111x70)



Figure 27 "Kun Bushmen and their wives". Dornan 1925:128 (110x152)

are different. In his chronicle of "A Lion Hunt" (Shapera, 1932) Schapera includes this image embedded in his text (Figure 25). It shows different 'races' of Africans standing up together, with two men shouldering weapons in a non-threatening manner. Like many of his photographs (at the Royal Anthropological Institute in London), it is a modern snapshot.

Nevertheless, when pictures focused on 'bushmen' *per se*, both informal and formal accounts of the Kalahari now displayed them as 'vanishing' wildlife. It is interesting, for instance, that while Dornan (1925) refers to Bleek's (Bleek & Lloyd 1911) very early pictures of bushmen convicts wearing shirts and pants, Dornan shows his readers only photographs of bushmen in a 'natural' state, with foliage and rocks, grass huts and skins. Schwarz (1928), Schapera (1930), Vernay (1931), and Bain (1936) similarly naturalise or desocialise bushmen's environs. In contrast, 'Hottentots' were soon separated entirely from bushmen. They were typified by their poverty, shown in their torn clothes and their desire for piece-work. How different were imagined bushmen, who eschewed European accoutrements entirely—we have come far from Lucy Lloyd's early photographs—and salved European consciences. To put the point differently: by divesting bushmen of the impoverishing marks of 'civilisation', and imagining 'them' far away, European observers firmed up the degraded margin of the colonial economy. It became an absolute border between the secular and the sacred other; between the present and the past; and between the social and the natural. Such clarity was comforting, in light of the actual ambiguity ("hybridity" is the term favoured by Bhabha [1984, 1985] and his followers) that bedevilled the colonial relationship. The 'true' (that is unseen and unreal) bushman was a form of hope; actual marginalised people, Khoe and otherwise, were a rebuke. Compare Lawrence Green's 1936 photo of a 'Hottentot' (Figure 26) with Dornan's 1925 picture of bushmen, an image which later photographers only refined (Figure 27). The two pictures differ as death differs from birth.

Concluding thoughts

Once images get put into circulation, they move out beyond the orbits in which their initial meanings had placed them. Naming 'bushmen' within a discourse also generates facsimiles of the named status outside it (Wilmsen 1989:4). Commodity capitalism accelerates these detachments, tearing images from their previous contexts and making them serve first one master, then another.

Thus, 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

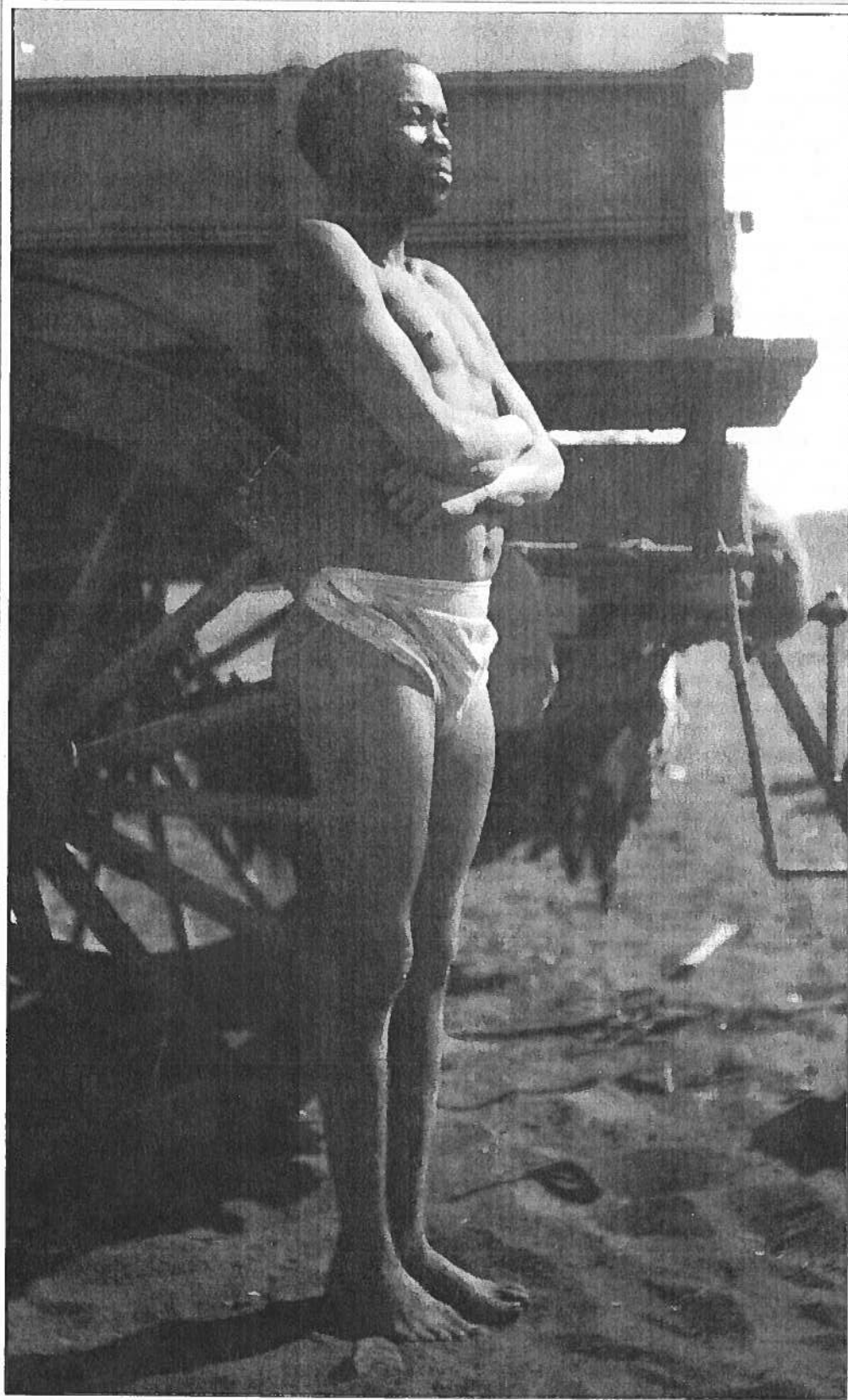
powerful or fraught way before they say anything specific (say, "Bushmen are elegant people"). The initially specific 'messages' of pictures can then be silenced or even reversed. Pictures of bushmen served the 'bushman discourse' in this unpredictable way, carrying their pictorial properties forward 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 communicate on a different level than the text beside it.

Hence the iconography of bushmen's 'naturalness' never entirely disappeared, even though it was depreciated and attacked with a zoological topology. Soon after, the supposed animality of bushmen was exhibited in their iconography, animals themselves came to be held dear, as the differences between Farini (1886), on the one hand, and Bryden (1893) and Makin (1929), on the other, suggest. Conservationism enfolded both the hunt and the camera-shoot in Africa. In effect, changes in European ideas about nature itself made animals precious, and also made bushmen worth "saving". The aforementioned time lag between pictorial discourse and text assisted this process. Subsequently, this essay has argued, the particular properties of visual images, and especially photographs, helped contain bushmen within certain parameters. Photographs tended to subvert the textual depiction of bushmen as depraved savages or as vermin. They subverted the fear of the unknown by familiarising the looker with the subject. They subverted objectification by allowing human expression to creep in. But most of all, photography placed people and animals in a common space, and normalised their removal to the comforting home of the observer. The

camera, like the gun, isolated and stilled its objects, and rendered them discrete from their environments. Since bushmen appeared to float on top of their habitus anyway, they seemed especially easy to remove.

Representing 'the bushmen' as pristine people served to obscure a reality which was increasingly unpleasant for them. Photos recreated bushmen outside the inter-social relationships ensnaring Khoe, San and other people, relationships that some scholars (Schrire 1984; Wilmsen 1989; Gordon 1992a) hold produced bushmen as a *people*, not merely as a visual and textual category. Largely unrelated pastoralist, forager, and bandit peoples, it is argued, were marginalised in the colonial era, so that together they became 'bushman'. If colonialism thus racialised an impoverished status, photography played an important role in creating it. After all, it is photographed bushmen, far more than any coherent group of real men and women, that have been popularly granted the homogeneous ethnic status 'bushman'.

As the 1930s passed, the visual 'effect' desired for bushmen was only that they stay true to this form. The specific sub-racial 'types' put forth by so many writers all faded, and gave way before the generalised Hunter and his blushing Gatherer, epitomised by the so-called !Kung, but scattered ahistorically all across the Kalahari.¹⁷ The picture of bushmen settled in the groove of a *necessary* fauna, part of an elemental landscape. As they would soon be described by indefatigable post-war authors, bushmen dug roots in bleached landscapes, ran and hid, laughed and told stories, and enjoyed an easy life 'out there', albeit a vanishing, hermetic form of life. The common bond amongst these coffee-table-book peoples, however, was that they scarcely existed. Their image survived whatever component reality it had once, perhaps, reflected.



Masarwa man photographed by Dorothea Bleek in front of her wagon, Botswana c. 1910–20 SAM 1559

wide-spread practice, Bulwer carefully acknowledges that the Jews were not simply imitating neighbouring peoples: "Not that the Hebrews took this fashion from the Egyptians, but from the Covenant God made with Abraham, Genesis 16. "But the Circumcision of Abraham was not new, but at length approved of and sanctified by God" (1630 ed.:210-11). Similarly, he cites the moralisation of circumcision in attempt to explain the departure from nature: "As for Circumcision commanded by God, it was for a moral reason, and had an expresse command; otherwise, as a Grave Divine expresseth it in the case of Abraham, as a natural man, it would have seemed the most foolish thing in the world, a matter of great reproach, which would make him, as it made his posterity after him, to seem ridiculous to all the world" (214).

The Self Image of Jacob Adams Robert Ross Notes

1. As formulated, Moodie's essentialist, racist view is both unacceptable and false. Philip's more sociological position is basically right, but heavily exaggerated.
2. Case 13, 16 June 1768, ARA VOC 10968.
3. The documents on this case, some 500 pages long, are to be found in ARA VOC 10952, and also in the Cape Archives.
4. There is one other uncertain case. Heese (1994:227) refers to a certain Kees, sentenced in 1787, as a "Hottentot-Boesman." As I read the case, "Boschman" refers not to a social category, but to an individual with that name. See ARA VOC 10986.
5. Unfortunately it is not clear which of the three missionaries, Bonatz, Kühnel and Kliest, then present at Genadendal held the conversation, but as they all worked very closely together, and were of much the same mind, this blemish is not very serious.
6. Presumably the modern Bamboesberg, the most south-westerly outlier of the Drakensberg escarpment, between modern Steynsburg and Sterkstroom.
7. This is clearly a translation of "Bosch", which in South Africa is normally rendered as "Bush".

Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San Alan G. Morris

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those curators of institutions in South Africa and around the world who have allowed me access to their osteological holdings and to the written documentation about the specimens. Rosemary Powers of the British Museum (Natural History) was especially helpful in providing me with a wealth of information about the origin of many of the Khoisan individuals stored in London. Professor Johannes Raum of Munich was kind enough to alert me to

Lakeman's description of the boiling of skulls, and Mrs Elise Fuller of the University of Cape Town was most giving of her time to help in translation. Professor J.C. de Villiers was not only willing to search his own files about Namaqualand history, but was also very kind in gathering information from Dominee Moller. Stella Branca, her brother Willem Steenkamp and her nephew (also Willem Steenkamp) provided invaluable assistance in tracking the events which led to the arrival of Koos Sas's skull in Stellenbosch. Mrs Branca deserves special thanks for being kind enough to read through the manuscript and provide critical comment. She has also provided permission for the publication of Willempie's photographs of the dead Koos Sas.

Notes

1. From the original letter dated 9 November 1847 from Whittle to his parents. Letters are the property of Gordon Everson of England and the quotation concerning the heads was sent to me by Mr Denver Webb of King William's Town.
2. Steenkamp, W.P. & Branca, S. (1978) "The half century", unpublished manuscript, property of Stella Branca of Mowbray, Cape Town.
3. Dominee Moller's testimony is in the form of a letter to Professor J.C. de Villiers dated 27 April 1995. The translation from Afrikaans was kindly provided by Mrs E. Fuller of the Department of Anatomy & Cell Biology.
4. The original transcript of this interview is in the possession of Professor J.C. de Villiers, and was signed by G.J. van Zyl on 5 October 1962. Again Mrs E. Fuller did the translation.

A Tale of Two Families: Wilhelm Bleek, Lucy Lloyd and the /Xam San of the Northern Cape Janette Deacon

Acknowledgements
I should like to acknowledge with thanks the financial assistance received for this project from 1985-8 from the Centre for Science Development, Pretoria, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, New York, and the Swan Fund, Oxford. It was a pleasure working with Helen Barlow, Harriet Deacon and Hannali van der Merwe while compiling information from the Cape Archives and the Jagger Library Manuscripts; and with Peter Beaumont, David Morris and Alfred Mngqolo of the McGregor Museum, and numerous friends and students who assisted me in the field. I thank them for their help. Elaine Eberhart and Leonie Twentyman-Jones were particularly helpful at the Jagger Library and Dorothea Bleek's niece, Dr Majorie Scott, née Bright, gave me information and photographs of the Bleek family. I would like to thank them for their patience and interest. Finally, my field-work could not have been done without the active and enthusiastic assistance of many residents in the Kenhardt and Carnarvon dis-

tricts. I thank them all for their help, in particular Mr Hendrik Goud, Mr Abraham Berend, Mr and Mrs J. Hendrikse of Katkop, the Van Wyk family of Springbokooog and the Reichert family of Arbeidsvreugd.

Images of //Kabbo Michael Godby

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Pippa Skotnes for her encouragement and support of this paper; and to Alex d'Angelo for producing the illustrations and for other kind acts of assistance. I am grateful to Martin Hall for identifying the photographer of Diätkwain; to colleagues in the Department of History of Art at the University of Cape Town for comments made at the presentation of this paper at a staff/student seminar; and to Sandra Klopper for her many useful comments on reading the text. I acknowledge with gratitude the generous assistance I have received from archivists and librarians at the following institutions: Elizabeth Edwards of the Pitt Rivers Museum; Anne Barrett of the Imperial College archives; Leonie Twentyman-Jones and colleagues of the Jagger Library, University of Cape Town; Karel Schoeman and Mrs J.A. Loos of the South African Library; and Erica Leroux and colleagues of the State Archives.

With Camera and Gun in Southern Africa: Inventing the Image of Bushmen c.1880 to 1935 Paul S. Landau

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to the George Eastman House in Rochester, New York; the Royal Anthropological Institute, in London; Nhlanhla Maake, Hilary Sapire, and *The Journal of Southern African Studies*; Robert Gordon, Margaret Jean Hay, Patricia Hayes, Ciraj Rassool, Pippa Skotnes; and the staffs of the following libraries: Avery (Columbia University), Mugar (Boston University), Seeley-Mudd, and Beineke (Yale University). The sixty-year copyrights of the photographs reproduced here have expired, with the exception of those of the following figures, whose publishers are hereby noted with thanks.

- Figs. 14 & 17: Jones & Doke, 1937. Jhb.: Witwatersrand University Press.
Fig. 15: Duggan-Cronin, 1942. Kimberley: Alexander McGregor Museum.
Fig. 16: Johnson 1940. New York: J.B. Lippincott.

Fig. 26: Green 1936. London: Stanley Paul.

Notes

1. For the purpose of this paper I adopt the word bushmen without the exculpatory quotes, along the lines advanced by Gordon (1992a), not for people—I do not want to give a name to anyone—but for the *images* of various people in the perceptions of others. Bushmen thus includes not only many "San" and indigent Khoe-speakers, but "Sarwa"

people (Motzafi-Haller 1994), some Nama, subordinate BaKgalagadi, and other ethnic mixes. Bushmen did not mean San. Where necessary I have used the term "Hottentot", in quotes since it is universally considered offensive. But with "bushmen", too, I wish to stress that I am not discussing the attributes of the actual people. If readers, feeling constrained and yet implicated by the word, detest its use, then let them consider that this essay is a contribution to understanding why.

2. For a very useful overview, incidentally noting the dearth of studies on travel photography, see Roberts (1988a). Geary (1988) remains the most impressive specific study of photography in Africa. For South Africa, Bensusan (1966) is not very helpful. It must be noted that a signal lacuna in the material of this paper is the postcard. Due to various constraints, I could not attempt to treat this important medium for the southern African photograph's disbursement (Roberts 1988b).

3. Mathias Guenther (1980) has treated the topic, and especially the denigration of bushmen, but he has less to say about why the supposedly *bestial* became "harmless". Maughan-Brown (1983) sees the shift as cloaking whites' racism from their own consciences.

4. By hunting literature I refer to the abundance of volumes devoted to southern and central African hunting, which form the sub-genres sampled here. "Travel" literature is a more permeable rubric, whether in books or magazines. I wish it to signify a narrative perspective centered in mobility through an African landscape, mostly (but not necessarily) chronological in progression, and in which other people are "encountered" as objects of attention. It is in the same aspect, i.e. the "encounter", that such people are photographed—not, for instance, as personalities.

5. Montaigne, *Essays* (bk. 1, dated 1572–4), no. 31, "Of Cannibals".

6. Bleek died in 1875, and most of the photos (of Cape Town prison labourers) date from the mid 1880s. *Bushman Folklore* (1911) was a posthumous collection.

7. For more on the relationship between photography, "anthropometry" and colonial anthropology, see Pinney (1992) and in general Edwards (1992), Wright (1987), and especially Banta & Hinsley (1986). For typologies of the British, see John Beddoe's *The Races of Britain* (1885). *The Peoples of India* was compiled by John Forbes Watson & John William Kaye; see Flukinger (1985: 53); Pinney (1991, 1992); and Washbrook (1982). Sieberling (1986:47) describes the effect of such pictures as similar to an antiquarian's portfolio, but some of the more egregious examples surpass such an analogy by their violence.

8. See Sekula (1989) for a thorough discussion here; Tagg (1988); and Bourdieu (1990) [1965] whose argument foreshadows Tagg's. Sekula, Tagg and Umberto Eco strongly imply that because "the photograph" is subject to cultural definition as an "incomplete" message in a

larger system of signs, it follows that verisimilitude cannot be said to exist as an independent quality. I disagree with this view.

9. It was economical to copy photos via lithography or etching before the introduction of the half-tone plate, which occurred about the time Farini's book was published.

10. Some girls fetching water, for instance, "dart[ed] into the bush as if shot" (214). Cf. Gibbons (1898:270) and Hunter (1952:232).

11. As if to put his action in contrasting perspective, Farini (1886) shortly draws attention to the "war of extermination" supposedly waged against Koranna by Bastaards, and comments that they "looked upon the killing of a black with no more compunction than on the destruction of some vermin" (369–70). Farini's real name was William Hunt. Hunt adopted an "ethnic" *nom de guerre* after he crossed Niagara Falls on a tightrope. Having seen one of the travelling bushman "exhibits" at Coney Island (cf. Parsons, 1992; Gordon, forthcoming), in 1884, the showman charged a shilling to view his own bushmen at the Royal Westminster Aquarium (Clement 1967:1).

12. T.R.H. Owen, in his 1960 book *Hunting Big Game with Gun and Camera in Africa*, calls for sportsmanship (meaning effort) in photography as well as hunting! "Each weapon has its peculiar fascination . . ." (1960:9–11).

13. Yet, tellingly, the section titled "Who's who in nature photography" included Teddy Roosevelt, who loved the gun, not the camera (ix, 191).

14. Both the photo and the trophy pointed iconically toward nature and the animal's or the person's 'natural' fellowship in 'the wild': they shared actual characteristics with the real beings far away, and so harkened toward them. But *indexically*, meaning as traces or imprints, the photo and the trophy diverged. The trophy was a "trace" left by the herd, a single being from a wider moment. The photo could and did bear the imprint of the entire environment.

15. For all its great merits, Lutz's and Collins's (1993) *Reading National Geographic*, is at times hurt by readings in which every pictorial element, even incongruous and contradictory ones, is seen to have hegemonic functions. Yet it is also good to bear in mind Patricia Hayes' general point that colonial photographs mostly display moments selected from the outcome of imperialism, not taken from its rougher establishment (Hayes 1994).

16. Thus photographic subjects participate in making photos, a point Jan Vansina raises (Vansina 1992). But a more significant issue here is that it does not really matter for our purposes whether the Ituri people were actually disgusted. They appear so to a viewer. Thanks to Tracy Jean Boisseau for this insight. Although it is not my focus here, a full analysis of gender in pictures of bushmen is called for, a point made separately by Deborah Posel and Patricia Hayes.

17. Those interested in the further elaboration of the figure 'bushmen' after the war should see Barnard (1989), Harraway (1988), and Wilmsen (forthcoming) for trenchant analyses.

The Proximity of Dr Bleek's Bushman Martin Hall

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Gavin Lucas for assistance with archival research, to the staff of Manuscripts and Archives of the University of Cape Town, the South African Library and the Cape Archives for their help and for photographic prints, and to David Bunn, Carolyn Hamilton, Michael Godby, Sandra Kloppes, Paul Landau and Pippa Skotnes for invaluable discussions. Brenda Cooper read and re-read versions of this paper, and improved it immensely with her comments.

Notes

1. Diary of Sir Thomas Maclear; Cape Archives A515/72.
2. "Traverse of the Roads between Mowbray and Wynberg, shewing the Principal Residences." A.A. Morshead, District Adjutant, 24th Regiment. Published by Sam Solomon and Co, Steam Lithographers, Cape Town. Cape Archives D1991/2134.
3. *Cape Argus*, 19 August 1875.
4. The only explicit criticism we have been able to find was by John Merriman in 1879. In the parliamentary consideration of the Estimates, Merriman objected to the continuation of Bleek's annual grant: "Mr Merriman objected to the item of £150 grant to Dr Bleek for prosecuting Bushman researches", which he thought very nonsensical and absurd. "The money would be far better spent in keeping the sons of three Kafirs at school." *Cape Argus*, 24 June 1875.
5. Bleek, writing to Ernst Haeckel in Germany in April 1871: "In the parcel you will also find a hamper for bottles, which our young Bushman carried during our expedition" (UCT/BC151/C12.12.1). The "young Bushman" was Aikunta.
6. Letter from Bleek to Sir George Grey, 21 April 1875. South African Library MSB 223/19A.
7. Bleek to the Governor, 23 August 1870. UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC151/C11.6.
8. 20 December 1870 Bishop Colenso to Bleek. UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC151/C13.129.
9. Lucy Lloyd to Dr Felice Finzi (Florence), June 1871. University of Cape Town Manuscripts and Archives BC151.
10. Bleek to Sir George Grey, 12 April 1872. South African Library MSB 223/19A.
11. Bleek to Colonial Secretary, 9 April 1872. Cape Archives CO 4172/B42.
12. Selkirk was a partner in the firm of Lawrence and Selkirk, which had been formed in Cape Town in 1866. Lawrence had gone north, diamond prospecting, in 1869 (Bull & Denfield 1970). As Michael Godby shows (this volume), Selkirk was also respon-

