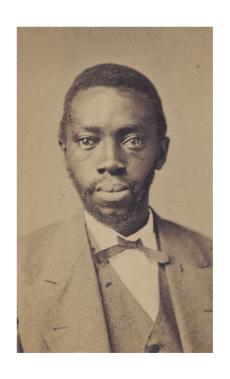
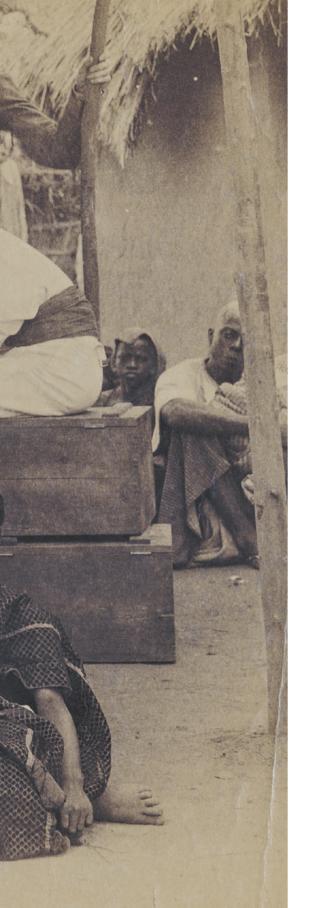
Broad sunlight



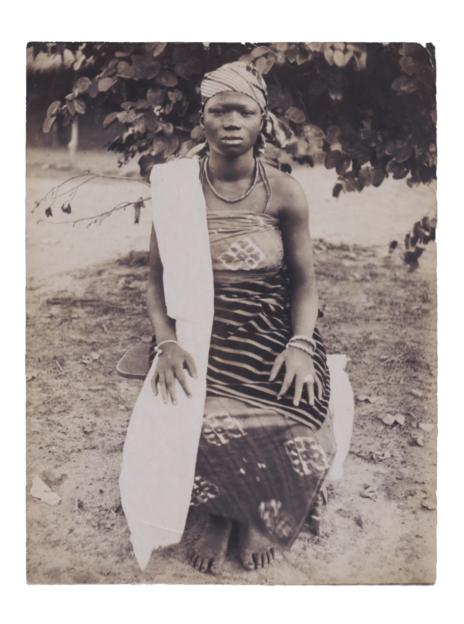




Broad sunlight Early West African photography

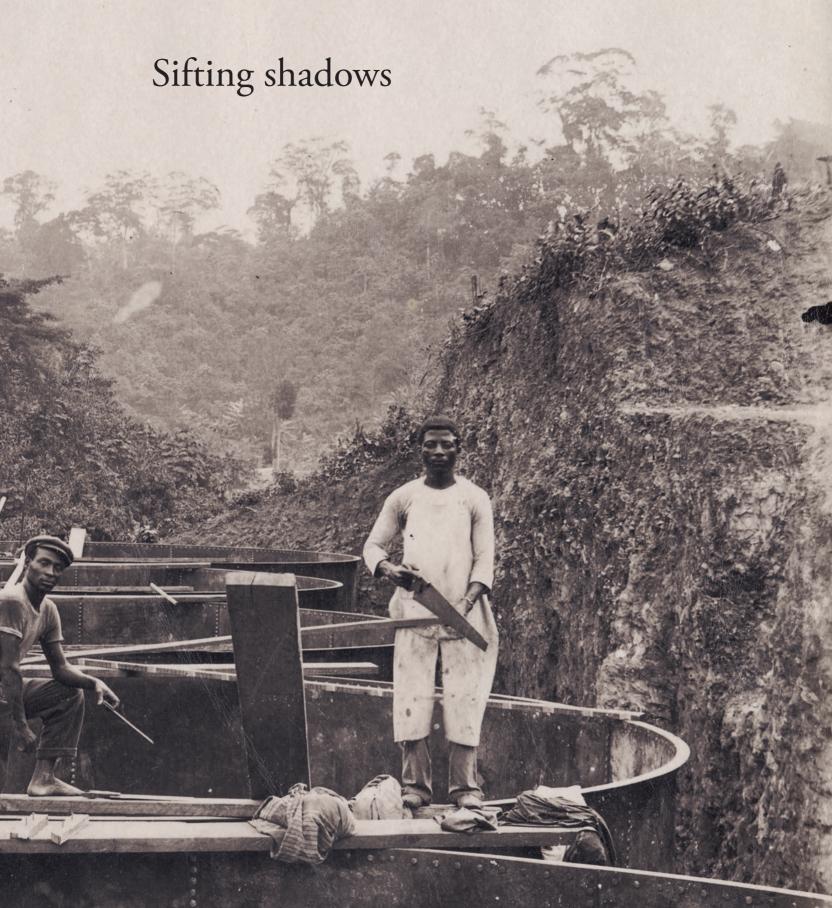
Michael Graham-Stewart and Francis McWhannell

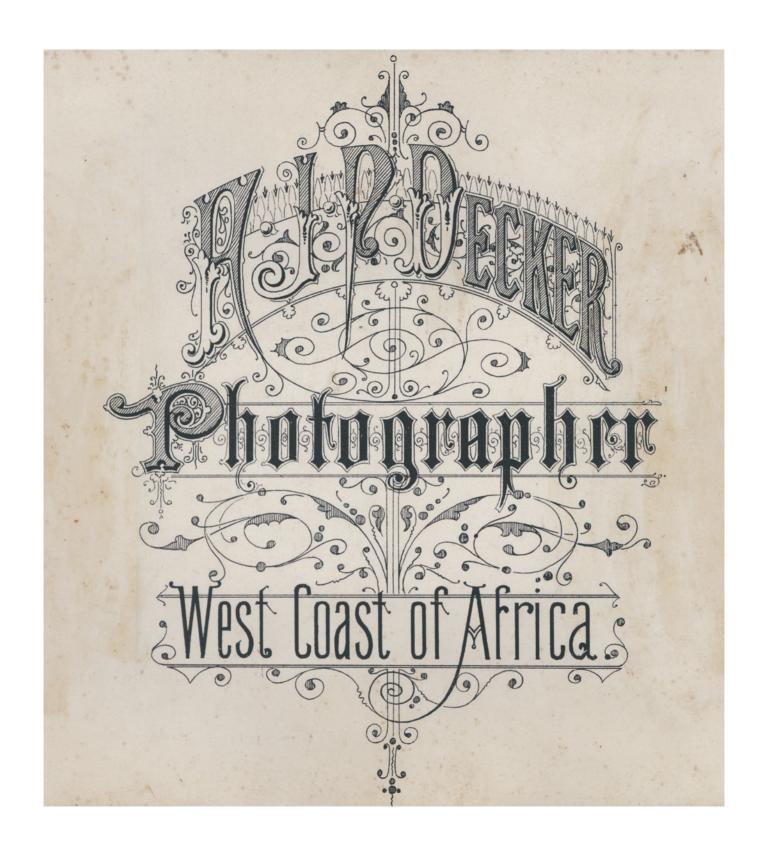




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road sunlight samples a collection of prints, albums, postcards, and lantern slides assembled haphazardly over the past decade or two. In attempting to make some sense of the image-objects, we have found ourselves gravitating towards the people who made them, wanting to know their stories and the stories of their contemporaries. Our resources have been limited. especially for research into photographers based in Africa. Memoirs, obituaries, and caches of negatives are few and far between. Alas, it appears that no one thought to interview surviving major players, like A. A. Acolatse and A. Lisk-Carew, in the mid twentieth century. There are ultimately just a few articles, books, databases, and theses to which to turn—and their reliability is not always absolute.

The register provided here hints at the big picture. It represents a preliminary attempt to identify the key photographers active before 1920 in West Africa, or the region encompassed by the Senegal, Niger, and Congo Rivers. We have also included a more or less representative sprinkling of minor players. We have not aimed for a complete listing—a fool's project, particularly after the advent of the box camera in the late 1880s. Among the entries, you will find more European than African photographers, not least due to the comparatively strong paper trail left by the former. By contrast, the catalogue that follows features twice as many local practitioners as foreigners, a state of affairs that reflects the make-up of the base collection, as much as our desire to ensure that earlier and more serious photographers be given appropriate prominence.

Attribution has not always been easy. Prints on branded backing cards or bearing stamps are relatively straightforward, notwithstanding the possibility that negatives were passed from one photographer to another or pictures pirated. Curiously few photographs are signed in the image (a common practice elsewhere), the only examples in the catalogue being by Dionysius Leomy. We have often been forced to rely on insubstantial and unsubstantiated evidence: the occasional inscription, say, or the repeated appearance of a backdrop or prop

we must hope was unique. Scores of pictures remain anonymous, because identifiers have been obscured by the pasting down of prints prone to curling and damage, or because they were bought for subject matter rather than artistry or authorship. We have elected to reproduce just a few uncredited images. These must stand in for many more worthies.

The photographic materials we have drawn from were mostly preserved by Europeans for whom they held some personal significance. One might reasonably assume that—as with collections of a similar sort relating to Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa—what we have here is another view that is, at heart, colonial. But the situation is rather more complicated than that. While the first known photographic images of West Africa were created by Europeans, such as the Dutchman Heer ('Mister') Sorin and the French naval captain Louis Édouard Bouët-Willaumez, locals soon took up the camera too, becoming the most prolific photographers in the region.

The practice of photography initially centred on coastal settlements, sites of both wealth and cultural exchange. Some of these, such as Elmina (in present-day Ghana), where Sorin was active, had been trading posts for centuries, frequented by Europeans dealing in gold, ivory, and, notoriously, slaves. Others had developed in response to the Atlantic slave trade. Freetown in Sierra Leone came to house a population of Krio (or Creole) people, made up of black Londoners, former United States slaves, and 'recaptives' freed from slave ships by the British Navy. Among its early photographers was F. W. Joaque, a descendent of liberated Africans. Liberia and its capital, Monrovia, were founded by the American Colonization Society (ACS) and settled by free African-Americans, including Augustus Washington, who practised as a daguerreotypist and visited several parts of the West Coast.

Many early West African photographers were peripatetic, setting up studio wherever there was demand, despite cumbersome wet-plate materials. A prominent example is J. P. Decker, whose itinerancy obscures his origins. Often listing their location as

'West Coast of Africa' or similar, such practitioners continued something of a local tradition. Travel had long been common in West Africa. Kru people were particularly mobile, working on ships and along the coast. Some elite West African families sent their children abroad for education. In 1789, fifty such children were being schooled in Liverpool alone (Fyfe 1962, 11). The flow of people and information only grew easier over time. In 1852, the African Steamship Company (later Elder Dempster and Company) began operating a regular service, connecting Britain and ports from Gorée (off Dakar) to Fernando Po, and transporting goods, mail, and passengers.

Until the late nineteenth century, European populations in West Africa were small and transient. This state of affairs was due in large part to the 'disease barrier': the prevalence of yellow fever, sleeping sickness, and especially malaria. Mortality rates were high: for instance, over sixty percent for those Europeans serving in the First Anglo-Asante War between 1824 and 1826, and fifty percent per annum for those stationed in Sierra Leone between 1817 and 1838 (Headrick 2010, 236, 250). The use of quinine as an antimalarial—both prophylactic and post-exposure—was well understood by the 1850s, yet quality dosages were not widely available until the 1890s (about the same time Italian scientists established that mosquitos were the vector).

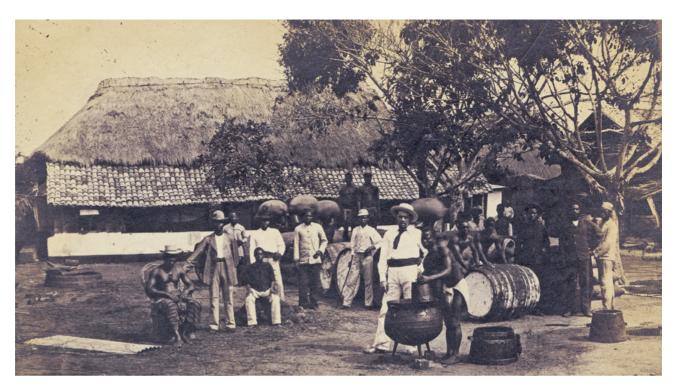
The 1880s brought a new wave of colonial incursion, formalised in such events as the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. A key incentive was the opportunity to gain greater access to lucrative commodities like palm oil (used to make industrial lubricant, soap, et cetera) and rubber, which had filled the gap left by the Atlantic slave trade, while often entailing similar human atrocities. European powers were also motivated by expansionist tendencies, sometimes excused as concern at the expansionist tendencies of others. Britain bedded in its control of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria. Leopold II of Belgium came to personally—and infamously—rule over the 'Congo Free State'. Germany took charge of Togo and Cameroon. France harboured great

ambitions for a vast swathe of territory, including Senegal, French Sudan, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, and French Congo.

Colonial capitals, such as Brazzaville in French Congo, were established, with a rotating cast of officials. The activities of traders, nonindigenous clergy, military (equipped with the latest smokeless repeating rifles), and 'explorers' accelerated. Most every mission or campaign or expedition had a photographer or two, there to record unfamiliar landscapes and people, as well as the march of European 'progress'. On an 1898-99 French expedition aimed at planning a railway system for the Ivory Coast, no fewer than six participants carried cameras (Houdaille 1899). Typically, such photographers were amateurs: doctors, engineers, scientists, or surveyors with an adjacent skill set and an interest in documentation, whether for posterity or for profit.

Permanent populations remained minor in most places. For example, in 1891, Europeans made up less than half a percent of the inhabitants of Lagos (Gore 2013, 287). African photographers still dominated the industry. Indeed, until the twentieth century, there might not have been any foreign professionals based in West Africa, except at its north-western extremity (here, there was little or no local competition for Blaise and Félix Bonnevide, Jean Lascoumettes, and, later, 'postcardistes' like Edmond Fortier). To the east, the first resident commercial photographer from Europe in this book is the German Joseph Eberhard, active in Cameroon from about 1909. The rest are hobbyists, missionaries, or passers-by.

Although they enjoyed access to mobility-friendly dry-plate technologies, West African photographers of the late nineteenth century travelled less than their forebears. Some, such as Lisk-Carew and H. S. Freeman, benefited from official endorsements. It seems probable that a good number retained negatives of photographs commissioned in the first place by locals, turning to these in order to fulfil the growing demand from European expatriates and visitors alike. No doubt this was the case with J. A. Green, whose images of elites of the Oil Rivers



area of what is now Nigeria also made it into the albums of Europeans active in the palm oil trade.

Photography was not restricted to trained professionals. A note in an 1888 issue of *Photographic News* (6 April 1888, 216) makes mention of an individual who is sending 'cheap amateur photographic outfits' to Central Africa to supply a population 'mad' on the art form. Five years later, we find the Accra-born, Lagos-based N. W. Holm commenting in *Practical Photographer* (1 August 1893, 211), 'Since the [recent] introduction of dry plates, West Africa in general has placed in the field some eighty professional and amateur photographers.' Holm and other professionals, including Lisk-Carew, actively facilitated the work of amateurs, selling them equipment and developing their pictures (Crooks 2015, 21–22; Gore 2015, 10).

By the 1890s, the nature and role of photography had begun to shift. Photographs could now be reproduced in halftone in print publications. Outsiders, it seems, increasingly came equipped with Kodaks—though the results of roll film

would remain hit and miss for a long time, due to extreme climatic conditions and a limited number of commercial processors (Jones 1985, 64). The postcard craze of the turn of the century changed the market further. African studios—like those of Acolatse, Holm, and Jacob Vitta—adapted by having collotypes printed in Europe. The popularity of original prints was on the wane.

The years after 1920 fall outside the scope of this volume, but West African photographers presumably continued to supply domestic and foreign demand. Edward Harland Duckworth, founder of *Nigeria* and its editor from 1933 until 1953, favoured filling the pages of the magazine with his own photographs. Despite extensive coverage of the arts, West African photography was not elevated. Only relatively recently has the art world accorded due recognition to twentieth-century practitioners such as Felicia Ansah Abban of Ghana and Seydou Keïta of Mali. Scholarly attention, meanwhile, has begun to turn in earnest to the complex traditions out of which these individuals grew.



There will always be limits to what we can find out. It is curious to think that even a wellstudied figure like Green, who practised for some fourteen years, has thus far been credited with a mere 200 images. We might never learn the identity of the Monrovia-based photographer praised as 'sehr gut' by Johann Büttikofer (1890, vol. 2, 97). But we have undoubtedly come a long way. We can dismiss the ill-informed assertions of earlier writers such as A. D. Bensusan, who indicated in the 1960s that 'apart from Sir John Kirk's pictures of the River Niger in 1895, the camera was introduced [in Nigeria] only comparatively recently' (1966, 82). Flourishing photographers like Green and Holm put paid to that notion (to say nothing of Daniel West, who made daguerreotypes in Abeokuta and Lagos as early as 1856).

Today, we are in a position not only to correct inaccuracies but also to make and shore up connections. Take, for example, the functions and meanings of photography for Yoruba people. Ulli Beier, who worked in Nigeria in the 1950s and 1960s, has commented that his priestly sitters 'did not like snapshots, because they felt that catching a fleeting moment would produce an irrelevant and false image' (2004, 4). He further notes, 'As I got ready to take each picture, complete calm would descend on the priest's face. It was a state of mind that the Yoruba people refer to as *tutu*, meaning cool, quietly concentrated, centred. His eyes looked straight ahead, but they did not focus on me' (4).

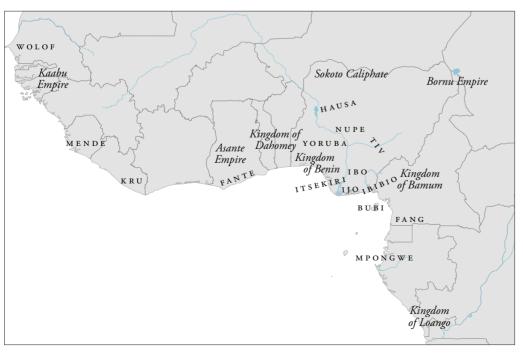
Stephen Sprague has famously observed that for Yoruba people the formal portrait is 'meant to memorialize the subject in terms of how well the individual has embodied traditional Yoruba ideals and fulfilled his given traditional position' (1978, 10). He posits a relationship between the photographic portrait and the concept of *Ifarahon* ('visibility'), achieved through the use of a neutral ground and the inclusion of dress and objects expressive of the sitter's position. Beier and Sprague are talking about the mid twentieth century, but analogous qualities of composure and legibility

are clearly discernible in a number of much earlier photographs reproduced in *Broad sunlight*.

There are many other West African photographic cultures and histories to consider: early peripatetic photographers, expeditionary photography, studio photographers, missionary postcard-making, the accomplishments of particular families. This book does not attempt to address any of these subjects in detail. However, we hope that by corralling some of the more reliable information about some of the more salient individuals known it will prove of use to those wishing to delve deeper. With digitisation of photographic and textual archives continuing apace, opportunities to discover and recover stories are demonstrably increasing. Fresh explorations—especially those undertaken by African scholars and in Africa—promise to shine more light, helping to reveal patterns and intricacies that have lain in relative obscurity for too long.

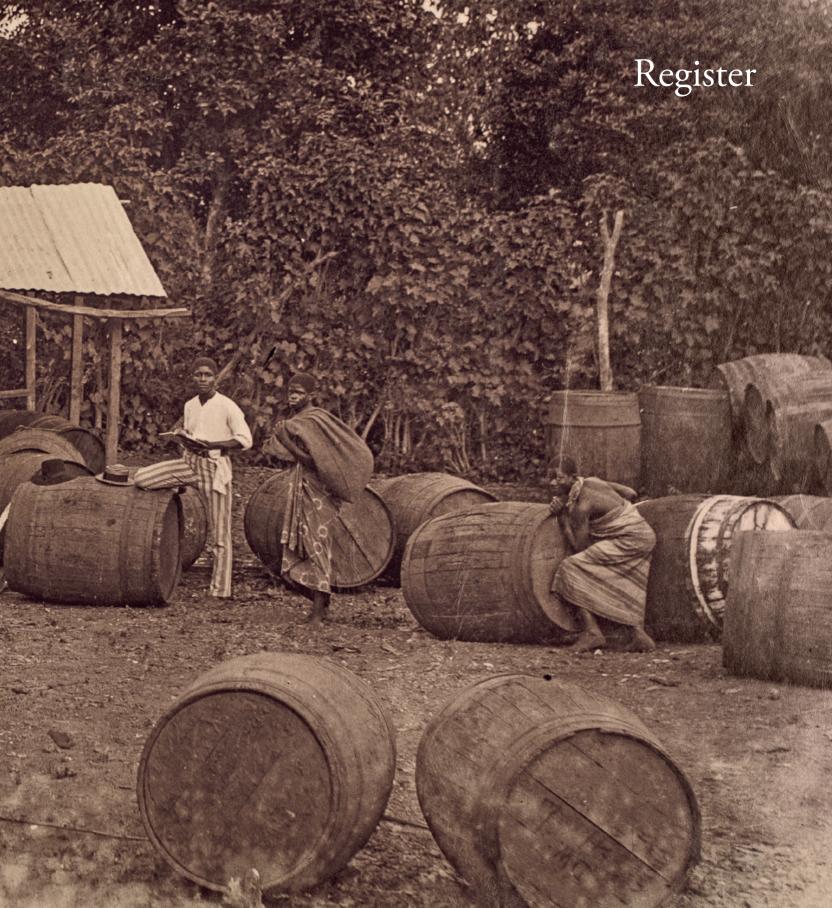
Michael Graham-Stewart and Francis McWhannell











Photographers in CAPITALS appear in the catalogue that follows this register.

A

Abbat, Emile Louis (1867–1916)

French military officer. In French Sudan between 1894 and 1898. Visited Ouagadougou from 1897 to 1898.

Accra Studio

Studio of E. P. Lutterodt.

ACOLATSE, Alex Agbaglo

Acolatse, Benjamin

Likely relation of A. A. Acolatse. Active in Lomé (Haney 2004, vol. 1, 61).

Adams, Ennome

Based in Elmina, Gold Coast, by 1896 (Haney 2004, vol. 1, 60).

Adcock, H.

British engineer. Worked for Gold Coast Government Railway about 1900.

Adela (Portrait) Studios

Studio of N. W. Holm.

AGGREY, R. S. G.

Aguiar, Cosme, Damiano, and Jacinto

Brothers. Ostensibly of Afro-Brazilian/former slave heritage. Arrived in Lomé from Lagos about 1900 (David 1999, 44).

AKINROSOTU, S. E.

ALBARET, A.

ALLDRIDGE, Thomas Joshua

Allégret, Elie (1865-1940)

French missionary with Société des missions évangéliques de Paris (SMEP). Travelled to Congo region in 1889. Based at Talagouga station, Gabon, from 1892 to 1903, when he returned to France. Dispatched to Cameroon in 1914. Photographs purportedly reproduced in Kingsley (1897). Bibliothèque du Défap holds various prints, many in 'Album gris Gabon', ostensibly compiled by Allégret and his wife, Suzanne (GA.PP.063).

ALLISON, J. F.



Allison, Jeremiah Diibo Amakiri

Possibly another name for J. F. Allison.

Allman, Robert

British medical officer with 1897 'Punitive Expedition' to Benin City. Photographs reproduced in Roth (1903).

Alluaud, Charles (1861–1949)

French itinerant photographer and naturalist. Active in various parts of Africa. In Ivory Coast in 1886. Bibliothèque nationale de France holds collection of prints (ark:/12148/btv1b7702074h).

ANDERSON, C. B. S.

André

Presumably French. Active in French Sudan, Togo, Dahomey, and Cameroon in early twentieth century. Photographs published as postcards.

Ankermann, Bernard (1859-1943)

German ethnologist with Museums für Völkerkunde Berlin. Visited Cameroon Grasslands between 1907 and 1909.

Arkhurst, Frédèrick H. W. (circa 1880-1969)

Nzema timber trader from Gold Coast (Tirefort 2013, 27). Arrived in Assinie, Ivory Coast, about 1900. Later based in nearby Grand-Bassam. Died in Abidjan. Published postcards (Collection Arkhurst, etc.).

Armstrong, William Douglas

British missionary with Congo-Balolo Mission. Based at Bonginda, Congo Free State. Associated with Congo reform campaign. Photographs purportedly reproduced in Morel (1904).

Aubert, Eugène (1869–1915)

French trader. Active in Ivory Coast in early 1900s.

Aubert, Paul Louis René

French military officer. Photograph of Béhanzin of Dahomey, taken in Cotonou, reproduced as engraving in *Illustration* (12 March 1894).

Audema, Jean François (1864–1936)

French administrator. Active in French Congo, including Gabon. Joined colonial service in 1894 and was posted to Loango. Returned to France on sick leave in 1905. Published postcards (Collection J. Audema). Photograph reproduced in Dennett (1898, opp. 18). Subject of chapter seven of MacDougall (2006).

Augouard, Prosper Philippe (1852–1921)

French missionary with Congrégation du Saint-Esprit. Travelled to Africa in 1877. Explored Central Africa, charting Congo and Ubangi Rivers. Settled in Brazzaville in 1887 and was appointed Bishop of Brazzaville in 1890. Returned to Paris in 1920. Photographs published as postcards (by François Leray).

B

Bacot, Lieutenant

Possibly Tibetologist Jacques Bacot (1877–1965). French military officer and explorer. Active in French Guinea about 1900. Photographs reproduced in Ollone (1901).

Bailie, Archibald

British missionary with Qua Iboe Mission from 1888. Known to have given lantern-slide shows. Photograph reproduced in McKeown (1912, opp. 103).

BANFIELD, Alexander Woods

Barbier, Joannès

French. Active in Senegal in 1880s. Organised 'Senegalese-Sudanese village' at 1894 universal exposition in Lyon in collaboration with his brother, Louis. Photograph reproduced in Frey (1890, 128).

BASEDOW, Wilhelm

Béchaud, Auguste (1874-1912)

French military officer. Active in Ubangi-Shari about 1910. Photographs published as postcards.

Beith, A.

Captain. Apparently worked for Elder Dempster and Company in early twentieth century. Photographs of Gambia and Gold Coast reproduced in Macmillan (1920).

Benyoumoff, J.

Published postcards (Collection J. Benyoumoff) of Senegal from about 1910.

Berger, Jakob/Richard

Missionary with Basel Mission. Active in Gold Coast in early twentieth century. Basel Mission (BM) Archives hold several photographs, including examples taken in Asante.

Besson, E.

Published postcards (Collection E. Besson) of Dahomey in early 1900s.

BLAIR, John McCarthy

Blondiaux, Paul (1867-1941)

French military officer and explorer. Led 1897 expedition to delimit boundary between Liberia and French possessions. Photographs reproduced in Zimmerman (1899).

Bobzin, H.

Photographer on voyage of SMS *Gazelle* from 1874 to 1876. Visited Monrovia and Congo region.

BONNEVIDE, Blaise and Pierre Félix

Bouët-Willaumez, Louis Édouard (1808-71)

French naval captain. Produced daguerreotypes along coast of West Africa in early 1840s (see, for example, Schneider 2014, 317).

BROWN, E.

Bruel, Georges (1871-1945)

French administrator and geographer. In French Congo, including Gabon and Ubangi-Shari, from 1896 to 1911. Also visited French Guinea. Photographs published as postcards and in Fourneau (1932). Bibliothèque nationale de France holds collection of prints (ark:/12148/btv1b7702185n).

Bürgi, Ernst (1859–1925)

Swiss missionary with Bremen Mission. In Togo from 1879 to 1921. BM Archives hold several photographs, most of Amedzofe (today in Ghana).

Büttikofer, Johann Jakob (1850–1927)

Swiss zoologist. Carried out two expeditions to Liberia, first from 1879 to 1882, second from 1886 to 1887. Büttikofer (1890) illustrated with his own photographs, taken during second expedition, and sketches based on same. Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern, and Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, hold prints. For further information, see Dop and Robinson (2013).

Büttner, Richard

German naturalist. Participated in 1884–86 German Congo Expedition. In Togo from 1890 to 1891.

\mathbf{C}

Camus, Ernest

French military officer. In French Sudan and Ivory Coast between 1898 and 1905. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, holds photographs 'taken by and for' Camus as part of ACHAC collection (970031).

Cann, Robert (1870-?)

Born in Saltpond, near Cape Coast. Worked as agent for European trading firms, including in Kumasi. Described by his contemporary C. F. Hutchison as 'an excellent man with photography for a hobby' (Doortmont 2005, 170).

Cardinall, A. W.

In Northern Territories, Gold Coast, in early twentieth century. Cardinall (n.d.) illustrated with his own photographs.

CAREW, Alfred Ferdinand

Castellani, Charles (1838-1913)

Naturalised French artist, dramatist, and explorer. From 1896 to 1897, participated in first part of expedition to French Congo led by Jean-Baptiste Marchand, getting as far as Bangui. Also visited numerous sites along West Coast. Castellani (1898) illustrated with his own photographs and those taken by others.

Cauvin, Monsieur

French naval surgeon. In Senegal and Gabon in early 1860s. Photographs reproduced in *Monde illustré* (9 July 1864, 17) and Griffon du Bellay (1865, 292).

Clark, Joseph

American missionary with American Baptist Missionary Union (ABMU). Based at Ikoko, Congo Free State. Two photographs reproduced in Starr (1912).

COLEMAN, T. Hamilton

HAMILTON COLEMAN, PHOTOGRAPHER AND LANTERNIST,

Cottes, Augustin Marie Antony (1871-1913)

French military officer. Led expedition to South Cameroon from 1905 to 1908. Musée du quai Branly—Jacques Chirac holds many negatives, prints, and slides.

Crosse, William Henry (circa 1859–1903)

Medical officer with Royal Niger Company from 1886 to 1895. Photographs reproduced in Robinson (1900). Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, holds large collection.

CREPPY, J. Kuevi

D

Da Costa, George S. A. (1853-circa 1929)

Born in Lagos. Östensibly of Afro-Brazilian/former slave heritage (Haney 2004, vol. 1, 61). Manager of Church Missionary Society (CMS) Bookshop from 1877 to 1895, subsequently moving into photography. Worked in partnership with Vincent Freeman out of N. W. Holm's former studio for brief period in 1897 (Gore 2013, 289). Later set up studio on Ricca Street, Oke Popo. Visited Kano. Many photographs reproduced in Macmillan (1920). This also includes biography and portrait (116, 118).

Da Costa, T. Victor Ade

Likely relation of G. S. A. da Costa. Elected member of Royal Photographic Society (RPS) in 1911 with address listed as Oke Popo, Lagos. Address listed as European Hospital, Port Harcourt, in 1917.

Da Silva, B. A.

Active in Lagos in early twentieth century.

Danel, Henri (1878-?)

French administrator and businessman. Joined colonial service in 1900 and was posted to Kayes, French Sudan. Quickly returned to France due to ill health. Back in French Sudan by 1902, settling in Djenné. Left by 1907. Published around sixty postcards between about 1904 and 1905. For further information, see Richemond (2008).

Danielsen, Daniel Jacob (1871-1916)

Faeroese missionary with Congo-Balolo Mission. Stationed at Bonginda, Congo Free State, from 1901 to 1903, working as engineer. Employed by British Consul Roger Casement in 1903, skippering his vessel during his investigation into atrocities in Congo Free State. Aided considerably with same. Became active in reform campaign, corresponding with key figures, such as Casement and Edmund Morel, and giving lectures, some illustrated using his own lantern slides. Likely took photographs later attributed to others. For further information, see Jacobsen (2012).

DAVIS, C. C.

Decampe

Active in Saint-Louis, present-day Senegal, in 1860s (Hannavy 2008, 16).

Decker, A. J. P.

Possibly another name for J. P. Decker or little-known relation.

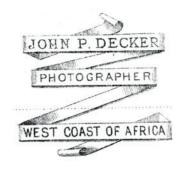
Decker, FitzJames Parkes

Possibly another name for J. P. Decker (Gore 2013, 287).

DECKER, Geo. Parkes

GEO. PARKES DECKER, PHOTOGRAPHER, WESTERN AFRICA.





DECKER, John Parkes

Delafosse, Maurice (1870-1926)

French administrator and ethnographer. Participated in 1901–3 expedition to delimit border between Gold Coast and French possessions. Delafosse (1908) illustrated with his own photographs.

DELANNEAU, Pierre Léon

Demeuse, Fernand Alexandre Robert (1863–1915)

Belgian naturalist and explorer. Active in Congo region in 1890s. Photographs published as postcards (by Nels, Brussels) and in *Congo illustré* (Geary 2002, 32).

Dennett, Richard Edward (1857-1921)

British trader and writer. Travelled to Congo region in 1879. In Nigeria from 1902 to 1918. Friend and confidant of Edmund Morel of Congo Reform Association. Dennett (1906) illustrated with his own photographs and those taken by others. Royal Anthropological Institute, London, holds glass plates. For further information, see Ayres (2011).

Deschacht, A.

Active in Conakry and environs about 1915. Used blind-stamp. UC Santa Barbara Library holds album (Bernath Mss 471).

Didier, Kair

In French Sudan about 1898. Created album of 'views and types of Kayes' dedicated to his friend A. Rodez.

Dinklage, Max

German botanist, businessman, and diplomat. Investigated commercial prospects of plants in Cameroon for C. Woermann. Appointed director of that company (which published postcards in early twentieth century) in Liberia in 1894. Mostly based in Monrovia for rest of his life. Served as Liberian Consul General to Germany in early 1900s. Photographs reproduced in Johnston (1906).

Diouf, John P.

See Joof, John P.

Disnematin-Dorat, Charles

French resident in Porto-Novo from 1884 to 1886. Photographs reproduced in Frey (1890).

Djalleman

Active in Lomé (David 1999, 44).

DODDS, Charles John

Doering, Richard (1868-1939)

German medical doctor. Participated in 1894–95 German Togo Hinterland Expedition. For further information, see Riesz (2011).

Duala (Photographic) Studio

Associated with several members of Lutterodt family, including E. P. Lutterodt, F. R. C. Lutterodt, and G. L. Lutterodt.

E

Eakin, W. C. W.

British missionary with Qua Iboe Mission from 1905. Photographs reproduced in McKeown (1912).

EBERHARD, Joseph

Edwards, H. C.

Based in Lagos. Photographs reproduced in Macmillan (1920).

Elliott, I. Banks

British. Possibly timber trader. Active in Gold Coast in 1880s. Bodleian Library, Oxford, holds collection of photographs showing factories, markets, towns, and people (GB 0162 MSS. Afr. s. 1956).

Erdmann, Mister (?-1904)

German trader. Based in Lagos. Took photographs in Benin City in 1897 (Dennett 1906, 188). Two reproduced in Luschan (1919, 4).

Erhardt, Wilhelm (1873-1963)

German missionary with Basel Mission. In Gold Coast from 1899. Travelled widely, visiting Togo. Interned in 1917. BM Archives hold around 200 photographs, including examples taken in Accra, Odumase (Krobo), Anum, Kyebi, and Kpalimé. BM Archives also hold two near-identical photographs attributed to his wife, Anna (D-30.06.023 and D-30.06.024). One is captioned (in translation) 'Worship under the palms in Odumase'. For further information, see Jenkins (2005).

Estebanito

Active in Saint-Louis, Senegal. Photographs published as postcards between about 1908 and 1911. All known pictures taken outside.

Étienne, Élie Joseph (1855–1920)

Belgian medical doctor. In Congo Free State from 1888. Died in Banana. Photographs reproduced in *Congo illustré* (Geary 2002, 32).

Eysséric, Joseph (1860–1932)

French artist and explorer. Undertook expedition to Ivory Coast from 1896 to 1897. Photographs published as postcards and in Zimmerman (1899). Eysséric (1900) illustrated with his own photographs.

F

Falkenstein, Julius (1842-1917)

German medical doctor and zoologist. Participated in 1873–76 German Loango Expedition.

Famin, André Adrien (1857–1922)

French military officer. Participated in 1887–88 French Sudan campaign led by Joseph-Simon Gallieni. Photographs reproduced in Gallieni (1889; 1890). Bibliothèque nationale de France holds collection of prints (ark:/12148/btv1b77021187).

Faure, Félix (1872-1941)

French missionary with SMEP. Active in Gabon in early twentieth century. Bibliothèque du Défap holds small number of cyanotypes.

Firmin, Cecil H.

British engineer. In Sierra Leone about 1903 with Government

Railway. Also visited Liberia. Photographs reproduced in Johnston (1906) and Johnston et al. (n.d.).

Firmin F.

Possibly same as Cecil H. Firmin. British engineer. In Southern Nigeria about 1910 with railway. Photographs reproduced in Morel (1911).

Fisch, Rudolf (1856-1946)

Swiss medical doctor and missionary with Basel Mission. In Gold Coast from 1885 to 1911. Travelled widely, visiting Togo. Fisch (1911) illustrated with his own photographs. BM Archives hold over 1,000 photographs, including examples taken in Gambaga, Yendi, Odumase (Krobo), and Accra. For further information, see Jenkins (2005).

Foà, Édouard (1862–1901)

French. Travelled to Porto-Novo in 1886 to manage trading post. Explored Dahomey and other parts of West Africa until 1890. Authored several books on Africa. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, holds seven albums of photographs taken or bought by Foà (93.R.II4).

Forfeitt, William Lansberry (1861–1939)

British missionary with Baptist Missionary Society (BMS). Based at Bopoto (Upoto), Congo Free State, from 1889 to 1923. Photographs reproduced in Bentley (1900), Hawker (1909), Johnston (1908), and Starr (1912).

FORTIER, François Edmond

Fraser, Donald B.

Active in Congo region in 1880s. Photographs reproduced in Dennett (1887).

Frederick Studio

Studio of Alfred Mamattah.

FREEMAN, H. Sanya

Freeman, Richard Austin (1862-1943)

Medical officer and writer. In Gold Coast from 1887 to 1891. Freeman (1898) ostensibly illustrated with his own photographs.

Freeman, Vincent

Apprenticed to N. W. Holm, running his studio during absence in 1894 (Gore 2015, 10, 15). Worked in partnership with G. S. A. da Costa out of Holm's former studio for brief period in 1897 (Gore 2013, 289).

Frobenius, Leo (1873-1938)

German ethnographer. In Nigeria from 1910 to 1912. For further information, see Kuba and Hambolu (2010).

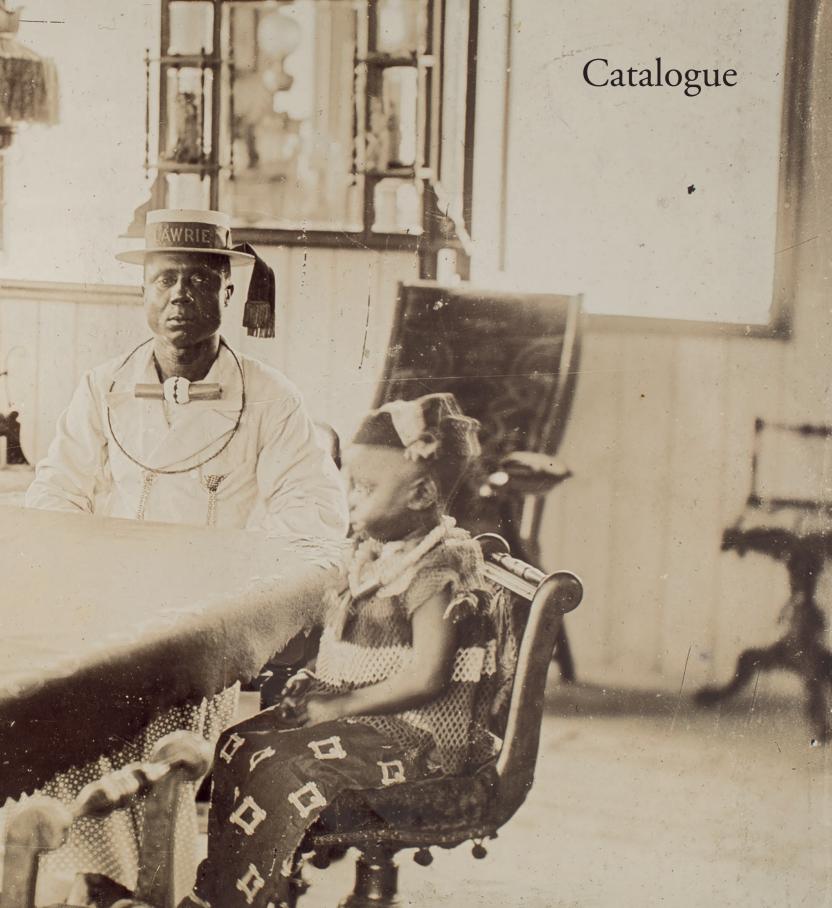
Frost, Herbert

Missionary with Congo-Balolo Mission. Based at Baringa in early twentieth century. Associated with Congo reform campaign. Photographs purportedly reproduced in Morel (1904).

Furse, George Armand (1834–1906)

British military officer with 42nd Highlanders. In Gold Coast with Asante Expedition of 1873–74. Henry M. Stanley notes that Furse took photographs, calling him 'one of these geniuses, who, like the natives of Connecticut, are so ready-handed and ready-knacked' (1874, 160).







Alex Agbaglo Acolatse (1880–1971/5)

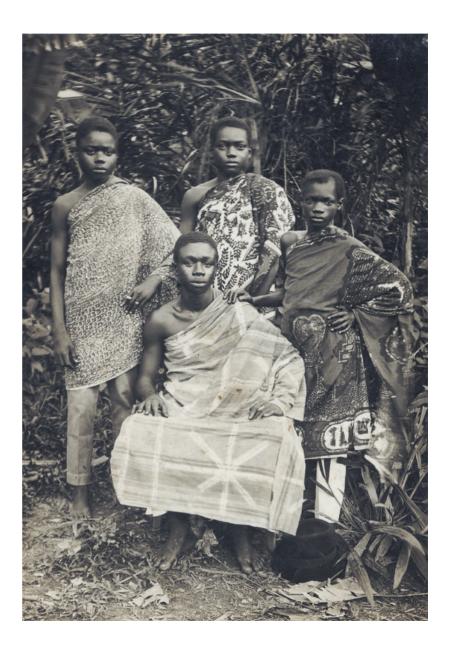
Acolatse was born in Kedzi, present-day Ghana. Terence A. Dickinson indicates that he was from the ruling family of Keta (Quittah), where the above photograph was taken (2003, 9). He was apparently trained by F. R. C. or E. P. Lutterodt (Haney 2004, vol. 1, 129). About 1900, he moved to Lomé, beginning his solo career as a photographer. He served as president of the Association of Professional Photographers in Togo. David notes that he published a series of eighty postcards (1999, 44). The Metropolitan Museum of Art holds a number of his images, including a purported self-portrait (2015,499.32).

For further information, see David (1992).



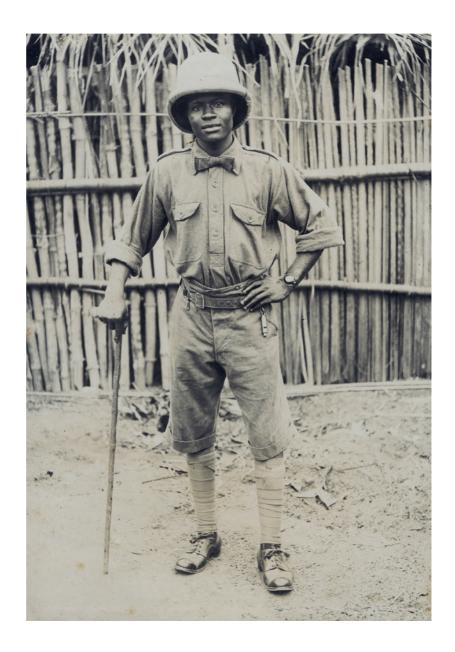
R. S. G. Aggrey

Érika Nimis indicates that Aggrey was from Sierra Leone and one of the first photographers to work in Kumasi, Gold Coast (2005, 116). By 1915, he was publishing postcards showing the goldmines of Prestea, where he was based for an extended period, and where this photograph might have been taken. Another picture, taken by Aggrey in Kumasi in July 1924, is held by the Royal Commonwealth Society Library at Cambridge University Library (Y30448L). This shows a group of Asante chiefs with Philip Crampton Smyly, Chief Justice of the Gold Coast, and several others.



S. E. Akinrosotu

Akinrosotu was active in Nigeria in the early twentieth century. Little else is known about him. This photograph, taken about 1910, might depict J. A. Ladega.







John Parkes Decker

Christopher Fyfe famously identified Decker as Gambian, though the source of the information remains unclear (1962, 362). He is also said to be Sierra Leonean (see, for example, Gore 2013, 287). The earliest known reference to any Decker working as a photographer on the West Coast is an advertisement in the *Moniteur du Sénégal et dépendances* (15 January 1867, 484), in which 'P.-J. Decker' expresses his gratitude to the inhabitants of Saint-Louis before his departure for Gorée. It has generally been assumed that this refers to J. P. Decker, who certainly visited Senegal.

A more concrete reference appears in 1871, when Decker was initiated into the Freemasons' Gold Coast Lodge in Cape Coast Castle (or Cape Coast). A Decker carte de visite from the Gold Coast—which shows Johann Jakob Weiss, his wife, Catharina Weiss-Christen, and

two unidentified 'servants'—is held by the BM Archives (QS-30.029.0012). This is datable to about 1869 on the basis of Johann's appearance in an 1867 photograph (D-30.20.011) and the fact he and Catharina were married in May 1868.

Two engravings after photographs by Decker appear in the *Illustrated London News* (26 July 1873, 88–89) in connection with the Asante Expedition of 1873–74, otherwise known as the Third Anglo-Asante War. One shows an 'Ashantee war-dance', the other 'The king of Ashantee and his executioners'. A trio of images in a later issue of the *Illustrated London News* (20 December 1873, 596) are based on photographs acquired in Cape Coast in 1869 'from the photographer there, who is a native of Sierra Leone'. Jürg Schneider observes that this might refer to Decker or to F. W. Joaque (2010, 146n44).

A portrait of J. H. Glover, special commissioner at Accra, in the *Graphic* (6 December 1873, 527) is demonstrably based on a picture by Decker. This might have been taken in the Gold Coast or in Lagos Colony, of which Glover had been administrator. Schneider credits Decker with another image in the same issue showing Glover's 'Houssa troops trained at Lagos' (2018, 30).

Decker appears to have been based for a time in Lagos. Spencer H. Brown notes that a J. P. Decker was 'inspector of nuisances' in that city at some point between 1877 and 1880 (1992, 355). *The Anglo-African Who's Who and Biographical Sketch-Book* mentions the marriage, in June 1897, of Samuel Herbert Pearse and 'Constance, eldest dau. of J. P. Decker, of Lagos' (Wills and Barrett 1905, 127). These three images show people from Abeokuta, some way to the north.





The above photograph was ostensibly taken in Senegal. The one at right shows 'heathen' carvings surrendered to Bishop Samuel Crowther.







This photograph shows the Governor's House in Freetown, Sierra Leone. It is one of a series of images that have often been attributed to Decker following Christopher Fyfe, who notes only that 'views of the main public buildings in Freetown [were] probably taken by J. P. Decker' (1962, 362).



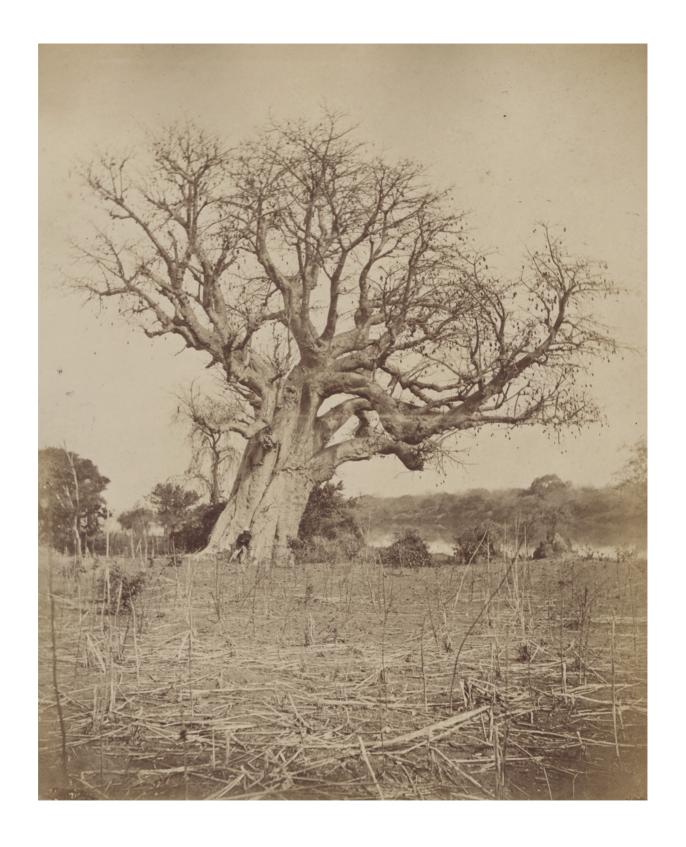
Pierre Léon Delanneau (1846–1913)

Delanneau was a French military officer active in Senegal, French Sudan, and the northern Ivory Coast throughout the 1880s. He participated in several military missions aimed at developing a railway to connect the Senegal and Niger Rivers, including those led by Joseph-Simon Gallieni (1880–81) and Gustave Borgnis-Desbordes (1882 and 1883). His photographs are reproduced as engravings in Gallieni (1882; 1883), often without credit.

A large number of negatives, prints, and slides are held by the Musée du quai Branly—Jacques Chirac. The Bibliothèque nationale de France holds several collections of photographs by Delanneau and at least three others attributable to him (see, for example, ark:/12148/btv1b77020340). An album of images dating to between 1888 and 1891 is held by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (97.R.4).

These two photographs were taken in the Kayes region of French Sudan in 1880. The one at

right shows a baobab near Bafoulabé. The one at left likely shows the wife of Ousman—an interpreter from the village of Médine—and her *griot* ('praise-singer'), being so described in various manuscript captions. It is reproduced as an engraving in Gallieni (1882, 280), where it is accompanied by a different description. Copies of both photographs are held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (ark:/12148/btv1b7702013t), which erroneously dates them 1886–87.





Neils Walwin Holm

(1865/6-circa 1927)

N. W. Holm was born in Accra. He left school in 1883 and was apprenticed to cousins who were professional photographers (Gore 2015, 9). He settled in Lagos Colony about 1886 but maintained connections with his home country. Charles Gore indicates that he 'rapidly built up a successful photographic business, initially gaining many commissions from the colonial administration' (9). In 1891, he accompanied Acting Governor George Chardin Denton-a keen amateur photographer—on expeditions into the Yoruba-speaking interior (Gore 2013, 285-86; 2015, 17n12). Denton compiled an album containing twenty-four photographs taken by Holm in Igbesa, Ilaro, and Ado. This he later presented to the Royal Geographical Society. Unfortunately, all that survives is a note dated 24 July 1948, which states that the prints were destroyed, since they had badly faded.

In 1893, Holm visited London, where he was 'active in British photographic circles' (Gore 2013, 287). He registered four images with the Stationers' Company and contributed a short article to *Practical Photographer* (1 August 1893, 211), in which he explained that it was easier to work in Lagos than in the Gold Coast, owing to the abundance of free fresh water in the former. He also noted, 'Since the introduction of dry

plates, West Africa in general has placed in the field some eighty professional and amateur photographers. Amongst these there are quacks and price-cutters, but a good photographer is respected and recognized by all classes of people.'

Holm returned to Lagos in early 1894. In the Gold Coast Chronicle (11 August 1894, 1), he advertised the availability of photographic supplies from his Adela Portrait Studios on Odunlami Street, along with subscriptions to Practical Photographer and the newly established Photogram 'for those who wish to go forward with the broad Sunlight' (see Haney 2004, vol. 2, 21). By this time, he was using the sobriquet 'The Native Photographer'. He was elected a member of the RPS in 1895, becoming a fellow in 1896. In December that year, he relocated his business to Wesley Street, setting up in a building he named Daguerre House (Gore 2013, 289). Printed material from this time calls the firm Holm's Limited and advertises activity in the 'Gold Coast, Lagos and Districts' (288, 295). It also refers to 'Native Photographers', suggesting the presence of assistants or apprentices. Gore notes that Holm trained Vincent Freeman and A. A. H. Obafemi (2015, 15).

Holm attended the inaugural Pan-African Conference in July 1900, later being appointed secretary representing Lagos Colony for the short-lived Pan-African Association that grew out of it. In the early twentieth century, his images featured on postcards, both anonymously and under his trade name, Photoholm. Gradually, however, he began to move away from photography. Between 1910 and 1917, he trained at Middle Temple, London, as a barrister. He left his photographic firm in the hands of his son, J. A. C. Holm, who would continue in the profession. On his return to Lagos, he established Lagos Chambers. He does not appear to have resumed work as a photographer.

Many of Holm's photographs of Lagos are reproduced in Macmillan (1920). This also includes a biography and portrait (60, 132). Several photographs are reproduced in Dennett (1910).



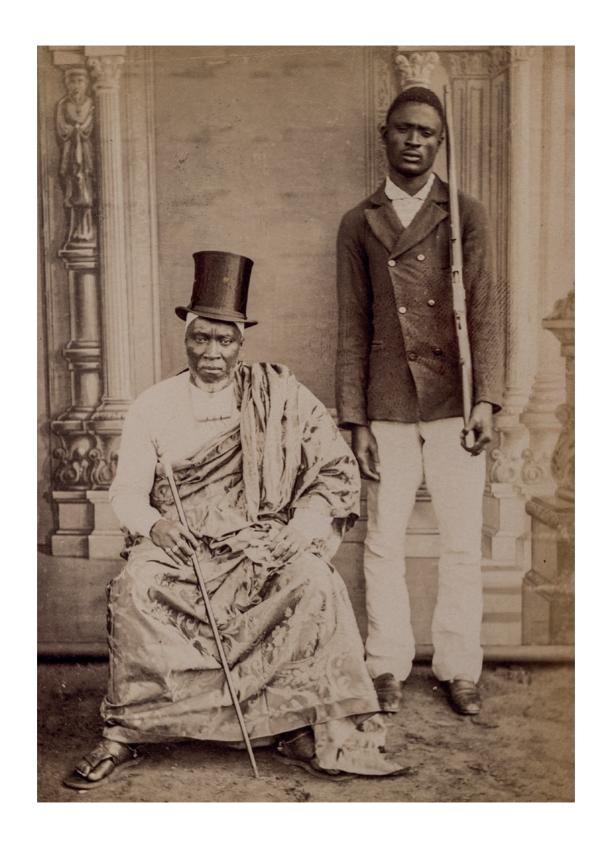


This photograph shows important Lagos personalities-businessmen, officials, and philanthropists—at the opening of the Shitta-Bey Mosque in 1894. Standing second from left is the administrator and diarist John Augustus Otunba Payne, who also appears in the photograph overleaf. Standing at centre, wearing a turban, is Mohammed Shitta-Bey, for whom the mosque was named. The next three men standing at the front are, left to right, Captain J. P. L. Davies, J. S. Adelabu Leigh, and Richard Beale Blaize. Seated at left is Prince Oyekan, Oba ('ruler') of Lagos. Seated at right is Edward Wilmot Blyden, a diplomat, educator, politician, and writer often considered the 'Father of Pan-Africanism'.

Also present at the opening of the Mosque was Governor G. T. Carter. Michael J. C. Echeruo indicates that it was generally recognised and accepted that Islam was destined to become the primary religion in the Colony and in the wider Yorubaland area, noting that Yoruba conversions to Islam outnumbered those to Christianity twenty to one in the 1880s (1977, 87). He suggests that the popularity of the faith is reflected in the work of Blyden, who was a keen promoter of Islam in Lagos Colony as elsewhere (87).

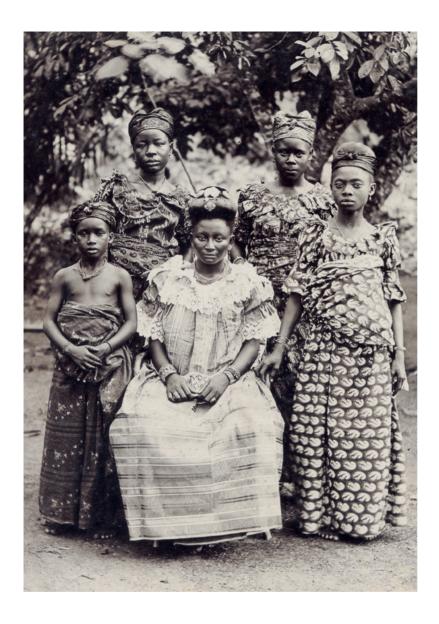


This photograph shows a group associated with the Ijebu Kingdom of southern Nigeria. Seated at centre is the 'Prince of Ijebu'. Standing at right is J. A. Otunba Payne, described by Holm in his *Practical Photographer* article as 'an African to the backbone'.









George Hughes

Hughes was based in Cape Coast. An article in the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* (16 August 1897) suggests that he took photographs of a whale beached at Amanfur (see Haney 2004, vol. 1, 131). In the preface to *The Gold Coast: Past and Present*, George MacDonald credits many of the illustrations in the book to 'Messrs. Skuse [presumably T. M. Skues] & Hughes, Photographers, of Cape Coast Castle' (1898, v). Erin Haney notes that a George Hughes was part of a deputation of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society that travelled to England in 1897 to protest the Lands Bill (2004, vol. 1, 155).



Francis Wilberforce Joaque (circa 1845–95)

F. W. Joaque was born in Freetown. His father, Richard Vincent Joaque, was described in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (24 June 1899, 2) as 'a prominent member of the offspring of Liberated Africans' and his paternal grandparents as belonging 'to the Popo and Ijessa [or Ijesha] tribes' (see Schneider 2013, 46). R. V. Joaque's father had been sent to a Spanish colony as a slave and had ended up working on a slave ship. When this was captured by the British, he was delivered to Freetown, where he became an auctioneer, a profession continued by his son (Schneider 2014, 327).

Following an education at the CMS Grammar School, F. W. Joaque trained in navigation aboard HMS *Rattlesnake*, serving on the vessel for two years before working on the *Corra Linn*. About 1869, he travelled to the island of Fernando Po (today Bioko, Equatorial Guinea), then under Spanish control. There, Joaque met the missionary Henry Roe, who assisted in his marriage to Drucilla McAulay in 1870. Roe subsequently included an account of the

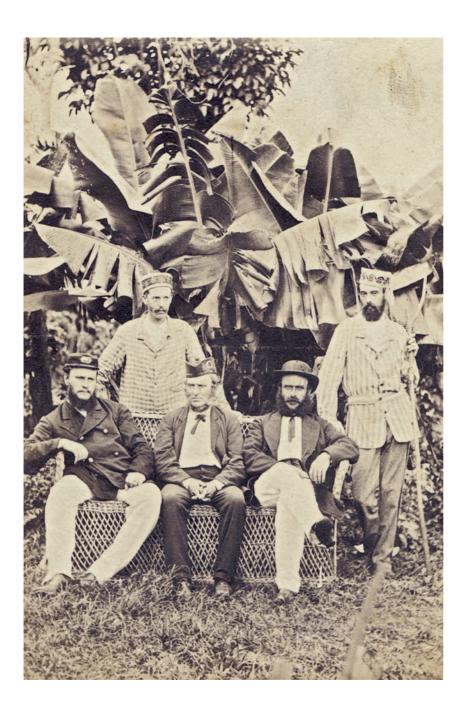
ceremony and engravings from two photographs by Joaque in his book *Fernando Po Mission* (1882). Roe describes Joaque as a 'travelling photographer', and wonders, 'Did the heart of the wooing begin in the art of his calling?' (41). He notes that the bride was 'led to the table' by the British trader John Holt, who appears in the photograph overleaf (41).

For much of the 1870s and 1880s, Joaque worked on the mainland, where the above picture was likely taken. The print is inscribed verso 'Batanga', this being the name of a people and region of present-day southern Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea, as well as a settlement (Grand Batanga) in that region. Joaque's success in Gabon is attested by various backing cards that include his well-known device of a photographer taking the picture of an elephant, as well as references to a silver medal awarded to him in 1887 by the Exposition Coloniale et Agricole du Gaboon Congo (see, for example, Schneider 2013, 51). Jürg Schneider notes that he subsequently won a bronze medal at the

1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, although his works were difficult to see due to their high placement (2014, 333–34).

Joaque's photographs circulated widely. Examples are reproduced in Compiègne (1875) and, without credit, in Frey (1890). A series of prints attributed to him—centring on the principal buildings of Libreville—are held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (ark:/12148/btv1b7702092f). These were donated to the Société de Géographie in 1887 by Noël Eugène Ballay, Lieutenant Governor of Gabon, further suggesting Joaque's commercial success and the high esteem in which he was held by persons of influence.

By 1890, Joaque was back in Freetown. His death on Friday I November 1895 was announced in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (9 November 1895, 6), which gave his profession as surveyor (see Schneider 2014, 334).

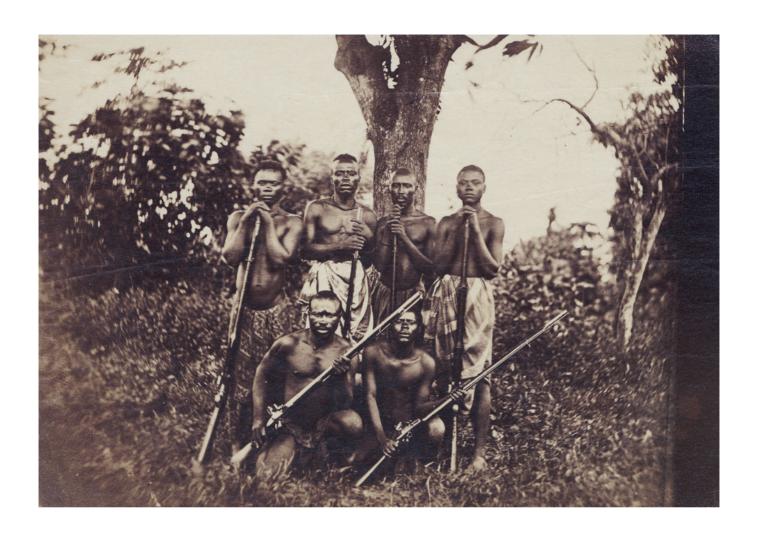


This photograph was taken on Fernando Po. Standing at left is a man called Lyon, an agent with 'Taylor Laughlin Co.' Standing at right is Frank Wilson. Seated, left to right, are a Spanish officer, a pilot to nearby Calabar, and John Holt. From the late 1860s, Holt began building a trading empire that would eventually spread throughout West Africa, surviving to the present day. A number of Joaque's prints appear in an album created by him now held by the Royal Commonwealth Society Library at Cambridge University Library (Y3043PP). Joaque's association with Holt may have facilitated the former's access to commissions beyond Sierra Leone and Fernando Po.



This photograph shows Kru men at Santa Isabel (today Malabo), Fernando Po. A copy was sent to Madrid in 1875 by the Governor of Fernando Po, Diego Santiesteban Chamorro, along with thirteen other photographs taken in the same town, the purpose being to give the Spanish authorities an understanding of a largely overlooked but worthy possession (Schneider and Vilaró i Güell 2014, 38).

Jürg Schneider and Miquel Vilaró i Güell note that Kru were normally contracted for a year, 'engaged on the spur of the moment in Cape Palmas and vicinity (an area known as Kru Coast) by the captains of Spanish ships, or else they would arrive on Santa Isabel on their own initiative on board Portuguese and British ships' (51). Here, the men stand in front of barrels of palm oil, the production of which was a key industry at the time and no doubt one that Santiesteban wished to promote to his superiors in Spain.



These two photographs were ostensibly taken in Gabon. The one above probably shows Mpongwe men. Jürg Schneider suggests that it was 'commissioned as a personal souvenir by the German traders Schultze and Rusmann, directors of the Hamburg trading company C. Wörmann [or Woermann], during their trip on the Ogowe river' (2013, 54). The picture is reproduced as a wood engraving in Compiègne (1875, vol. 1, opp. 156). There, it is captioned (in translation) 'Pahouin hunters, come to Gabon to sell ivory.'



William Stephen Johnston

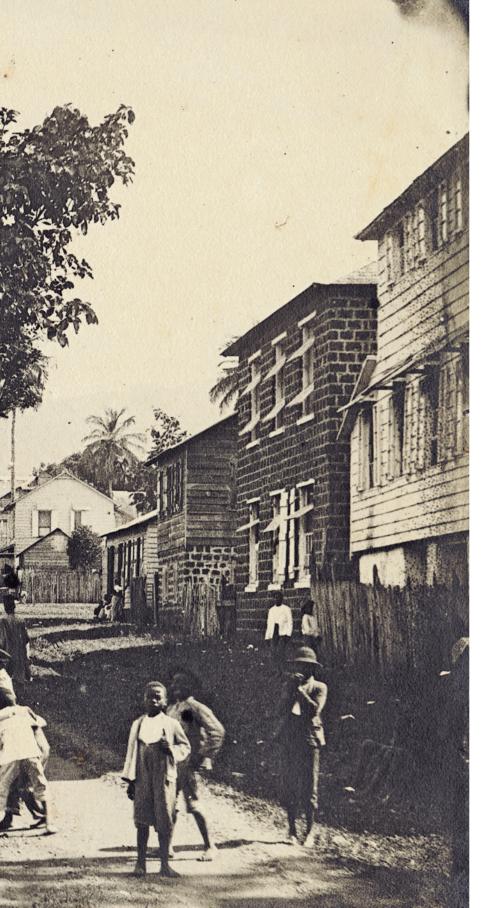
Julie Crooks maintains that Johnston was born in the Gold Coast, where this picture, showing Tarkwa, was taken (2014, 62). In 1893, he travelled to Freetown. An advertisement in the Sierra Leone Times (6 May 1893, 1) announced that his visit would 'only extend to a few weeks', inviting sitters to his residence on Howe Street (see Viditz-Ward 1987, 514). The advertisement also suggests that Johnston had already taken photographs in Sierra Leone, Lagos, and the Gold Coast. Johnston subsequently settled in Freetown. Crooks indicates that he set up studio on Kissy Street (2014, 62, 78). It would appear that he was based at various times on Garrison and Howe Streets in the same area of the city. From about 1906, he published postcards, including in colour (Dickinson 2013, 37).

Crooks cites newspaper advertisements from 1910 and 1911 that proclaim Johnston's long and high standing in Sierra Leone, referring to him as 'The old established photographer to the Imperial Government' and noting that he was 'Patronized by Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co. and by various missionary societies' (2014, 63). About 1912, his studio was renamed W. S. Johnston and Sons, although he appears only to have had the one son, W. S. 'Kwesi' Johnston (63). Later postcards refer to the firm as 'art photographers' (Dickinson 2013, 40). According to Crooks, Johnston moved back to the Gold Coast in 1915, 'where he became a publisher at the Gold Coast Nation newspaper and served as secretary to the Aborigines Society' (2014, 63). His son apparently continued as a photographer in Sierra Leone until at least 1919 (63-64).









This photograph shows East Street, Freetown.

Shadrack Albert St. John (circa 1847-?)

St. John was ostensibly Krio (Crooks 2014, 86; Viditz-Ward 1987, 521). He was initiated into the Hervey Lodge of the Freemasons in Fulham, London, in 1878, giving his profession as merchant and his place of residence as Lagos. By 1881, he was working in Freetown, as evidenced by an advertisement in the *Watchman* (25 October 1881), which lists a remarkable array of available photographic processes, including the 'Gelatine Instantaneous Process', the 'Improved Daguerreotype Process', and the 'Imperishable Carbon Process' (see Viditz-Ward 1987, 512–13). The advertisement also indicates that he was trained in London and took photographs in the Gambia.

In a later advertisement in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (4 October 1884, 1), St. John refers to himself as a 'photographic artist' and signals his association with the British firm Maull and Fox (see Crooks 2014, 59). Citing an article in the *Weekly News* (29 August 1891, 5), which describes him as an 'army and navy photographer', Julie Crooks suggests that he might have held a position in the military (2014, 59). This picture was taken about 1899. The men standing are Corporals Davies and Unwin. Nothing is known about the son referred to on the backing card.



W. J. Sawyer

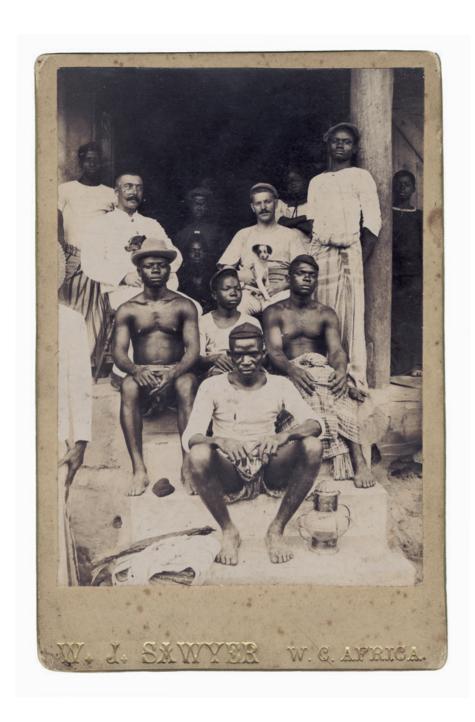
Curiously little is known about Sawyer. In 1883, he took several photographs on Fernando Po, having been commissioned to do so by a Spaniard, Lieutenant Commander Francisco Romero. Jürg Schneider notes that Romero 'returned with 14 images of the interior of the small colony', together with 'other images of interest such as "the second king of the island, Bottey Moytade" with his wives, men of his villages working in the yam fields, and the village of the king's residence' (2014, 320–22). The photographs were shown at the International Colonial and Export Exposition in Amsterdam and were reproduced in *Ilustración española y americana*.

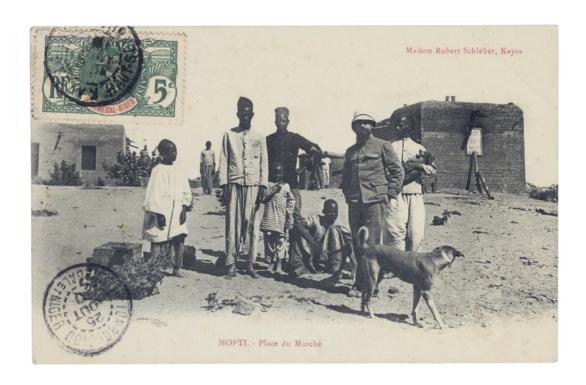
A photographic Christmas card issued about 1900 situates Sawyer in (Old) Calabar, as does a backing card bearing the logo of an elephant (Gore 2015, 16). The Red Book of West Africa includes various photographs taken by him in that city (Macmillan 1920, 52-55). The British Museum holds several of his prints previously owned by Manuel Ramon Menendez, who was based in what is now Nigeria from 1894 until at least 1908. The picture at right might be a selfportrait. The two overleaf show Ovonramwen, Oba of Benin (in present-day Nigeria). They were presumably taken following the British 'Punitive Expedition' of 1897, which saw Ovonramwen's capture and exile to Calabar, where he died in 1914.











Joseph Robert Schléber (1868–1914)

Schléber arrived in Senegal from Alsace in 1883. By about 1900, he was based in Kayes, French Sudan. He was the proprietor of a trading house and boulangerie called Maison Robert Schléber, which also published postcards, presumably from photographs taken by him.

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Broad sunlight

Early West African photography

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