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# *Decolonizing the Camera: Photography in Racial Time*

MARK ANTHONY SEALY

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Photographic References – List of Images as they appear in text.

Decolonising the Camera: Photography in Racial Time

By Mark Sealy

Chapter 1: *The Congo Atrocities, A Lecture To Accompany a Series of 60 Photographic Slides for the Optical Lantern.* By W.R. (Revised by Mr E.D. Morel and Rev. J.H. Harris.) Price 6d.

Fig. 1  
Alice Seeley Harris with a large group of Congolese children. Alice Seeley Harris and her husband John Harris were missionaries in the Belgian Congo at the turn of the century. Photo held as part of the Congo Reform Association Campaigns in the Archives of Anti-Slavery International, London.

Date c1905

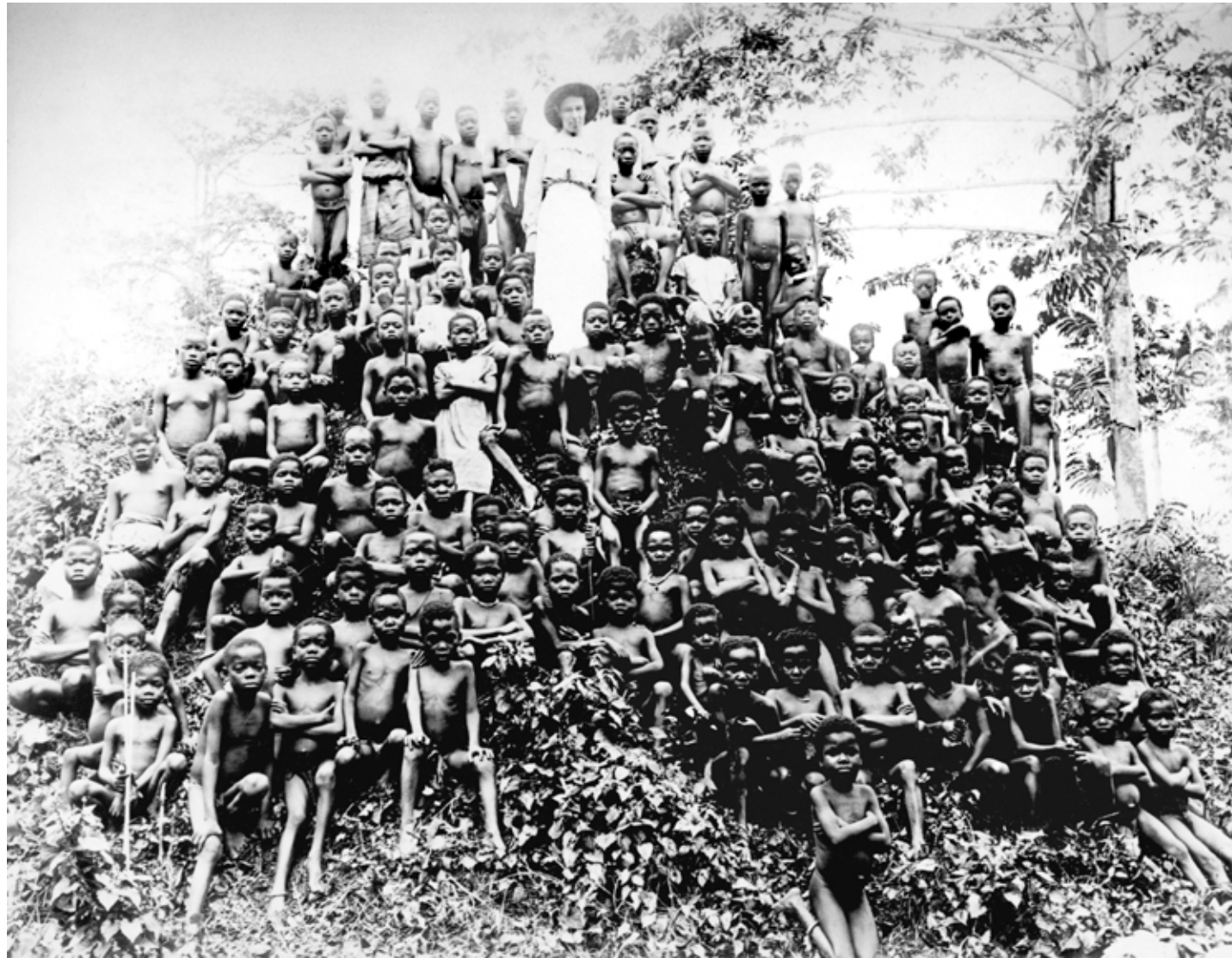


Fig. 2

Lantern slide Image of H. M. Stanley.  
Photo held as part of the Congo Reform  
Association Campaigns in the Archives of  
Anti-Slavery International, London.

No Caption. Circa late 1890s

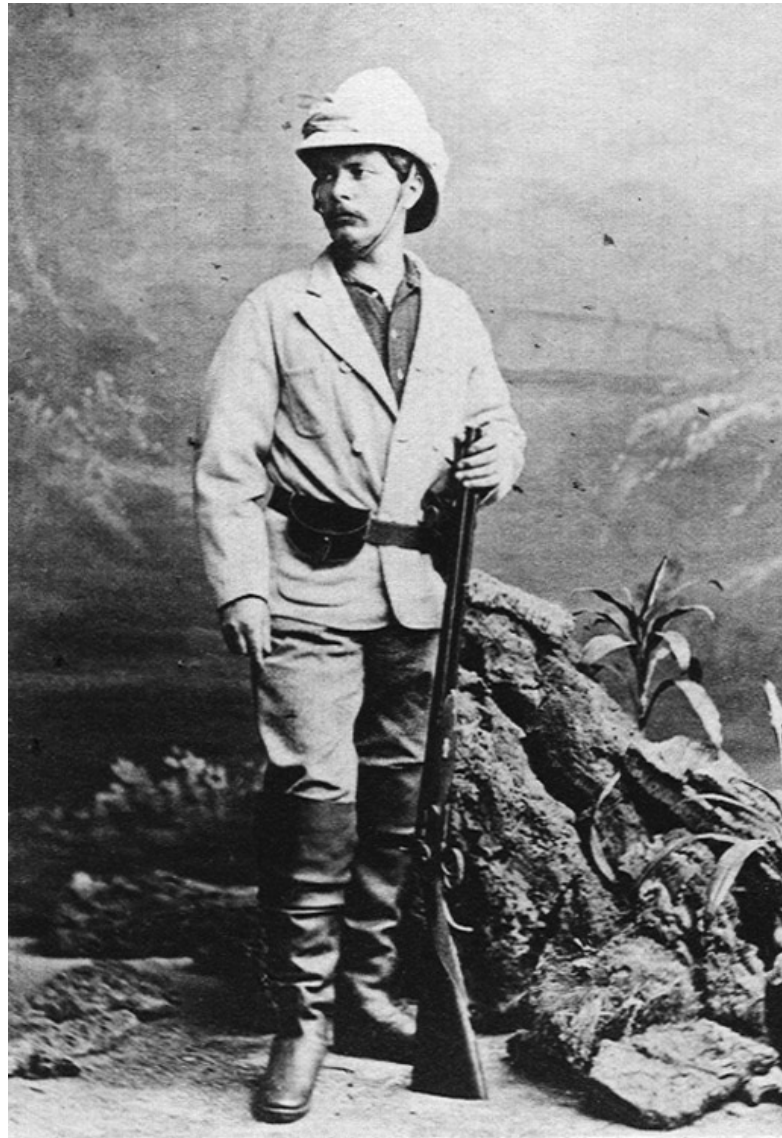


Fig. 3  
Original Lantern slide Photo held as part of the  
Congo Reform Association Campaigns in the  
Archives of Anti-Slavery International, London.  
Slide shows two dead baby elephants in the  
Congo Circa 1904



Fig. 4

Photo held as part of the Congo Reform Association Campaigns in the Archives of Anti-Slavery International, London.

Caption Reads

'Woman with amputated foot, mutilated by sentries from a rubber concession.' 1905



Fig. 5

Photo held as part of the Congo Reform Association Campaigns in the Archives of Anti-Slavery International, London.

Caption Reads  
'Lokonal, Three head sentries of the ABIR with a prisoner. 1905'



Fig. 6

Photo held as part of the Congo Reform Association Campaigns in the Archives of Anti-Slavery International, London.

Caption Reads

'MR.E.D.Morel'

'No date' Circa 1904



Fig. 7

Photo held as part of the Congo Reform Association Campaigns in the Archives of Anti-Slavery International, London.

Caption Reads

'Nsongo District Nsala of Wala with severed hand and foot of his five year old daughter murdered by BAIR militia. This was all that remained of a cannibal feast following the murder of his wife, son and daughter. 1904'



## Chapter 2: Race, Denial and Imaging Atrocity

Fig. 8 *Life* Magazine Vol. 18, No 19 May 7, 1945

Page 32 Atrocities Feature

Life Magazine. Left Hand Page Photograph By George Rodger

Page 33

Right Hand Page Top Left Photo By George Rodger Right Hand Page Top Right Page George Rodger

Right Hand Page Bottom Right Page Photo By Margaret Bourke-White Bottom Right Hand Page Photo By Margaret Bourke-White



A SMALL BOY STROLLS DOWN A ROAD LINED WITH DEAD BODIES NEAR CAMP AT BELSEN

32



Dying women huddle on the ground behind the barbed-wire enclosure at Belsen. A British army doctor estimated that 30,000 prisoners had died here in the past few months from disease and starvation.



Dying men stretch out on a dirt bank behind one of the Belsen barracks. Last week the inmates, too far gone for Allied medical help, were still dying at the rate of 500 a day.

## ATROCITIES CAPTURE OF THE GERMAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS PILES UP EVIDENCE OF BARBARISM THAT REACHES THE LOW POINT OF HUMAN DEGRADATION

Last week the jubilation of impending victory was so-bered by the grim facts of the atrocities which the Allied troops were uncovering all over Germany. For 12 years since the Nazis seized power, Americans have heard charges of German brutality. Made skeptical by World War I "atrocity propaganda," many people refused to put much faith in stories about the inhuman Nazi treatment of prisoners.

Last week, Americans could no longer doubt stories of Nazi cruelty. For the first time there was irrefut-

able evidence in the advancing Allied armies captured camps filled with political prisoners and slave laborers, living and dead. Touring newspaper editors and reporters from the U. S. and Britain made reports based on firsthand observation. Representative John Keenan of Pennsylvania said reporters, "Anything you hear about conditions . . . will be understatement. The full truth would get . . . so far you couldn't print it." The members of Britain's Parliament declared, "The memory of what we saw and heard will haunt us in-

ferably for many years. Such camps as this Buchenwald mark the lowest point of degradation to which humanity has yet descended."

With the armies in Germany were four LIFE photographers whose pictures are presented on these pages. The things they show are horrible. They are printed for the reason stated seven years ago when, in publishing early pictures of war's death and destruction in Spain and China, LIFE stated, "Dead men will have indeed died in vain if five men refuse to look at them."

In the barracks at Buchenwald, near Weimar, emaciated prisoners stare from their hard beds at the Americans who liberated them. They were so hungry that the first U. S. food ration made them sick.



Deformed by malnutrition, a Buchenwald prisoner leans against his bunk after trying to walk. Like other imprisoned slave laborers, he worked in a Nazi factory until too feeble.



CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE 33

Fig. 9 *Life Magazine* Vol. 18, No 19 May 7, 1945  
 Page 34-35 Atrocities Feature  
 All Photographs by William Vandivert



**At Gardelegen, near Berlin, the Nazis set fire to a warehouse full of political prisoners. The man was trying to reach the overturned can of water when he was burned to death.**



**Trying to escape the flames, a young political prisoner separated head and arms under wooden door of warehouse. The rest of his body was burned. Many corpses were found in trash around warehouse.**



**Charred head and shoulders of a prisoner lie on top of the body of another victim. Most of the men who escaped from the building were recaptured by waiting Nazi guards.**



**Smoke still rises from a smoldering pile of charred bodies although the warehouse where they were trapped was set after four days before this picture was taken. The prisoners were of many nationalities.**



**The holocaust of Gardelegen took place on Friday, April 13. German SS guards tried to burn are approximately 130 corpses on the warehouse floor. In the background are three soldiers of the U.S. Ninth Army who took Gardelegen on April 17 and found the building still burning.**

Fig. 10 *Life Magazine* Vol. 18, No 19 May 7, 1945  
 Page 36 Photographer Johnny Florea  
 Page 37 Photographer George Rodger



**At Nordhausen** bodies of about 3,000 slave laborers are laid out along a barefoot street before buried by U.S. troops. These dead men worked at the Nordhausen underground factory which made parts for V-1 and V-2 bombs. The plant was started in September 1942 and its construction probably cost the lives of 20,000 slaves who died from starvation, overwork and beatings.



**TWO GERMAN GUARDS**, knowing its desecrating fate will come, had hidden this place in the Hildesheim green. The half-headed SS officer worked at the camp before its capture by the British in early April. He is assisted by strong-armed German SS girl wearing leather jack boots. British Tommy forced German to dig the girl and bury the mutilated corpse.

Fig. 11

Cover *Life* magazine May, 7, 1945  
The German People  
Photograph By William Vandivert

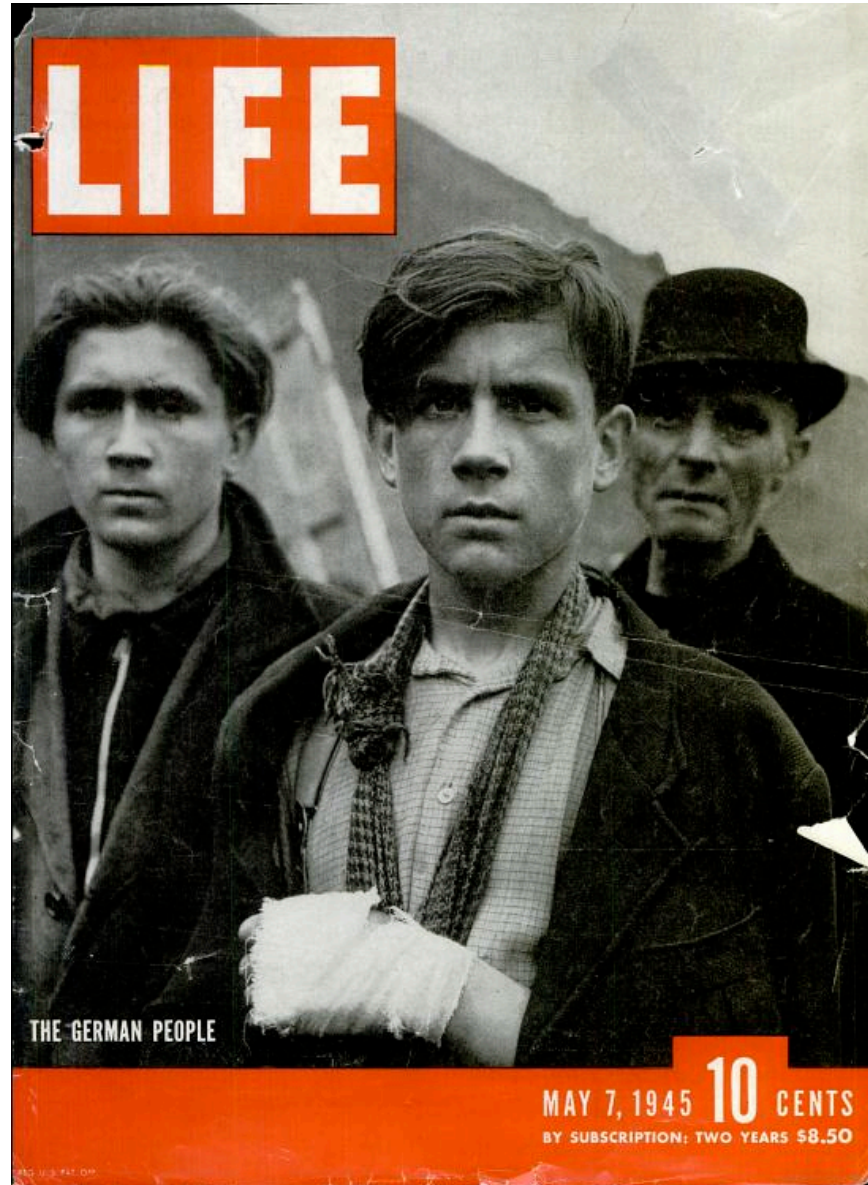


Fig. 12 *Life* Magazine Vol. 18, No 19 May 7, 1945  
 Feature Title,  
 San Francisco Security Conference Starts  
 Page 38  
 Photographer Ralph Crane  
 Page 39  
 All Photographs Ralph Crane



CONFERENCE OPENS IN SAN FRANCISCO OPERA HOUSE.



U. S. S. R. FOREIGN COMMISSAR V. M. MOLOTOV TELLS THE CONFERENCE THAT HIS COUNTRY BELIEVES IN A SECURITY ORGANIZATION AND WILL HELP SET IT UP NOW

## SAN FRANCISCO SECURITY CONFERENCE STARTS

With the end of the German war at hand, the United Nations Conference on International Organization opened April 25 in San Francisco. Amid a typically American setting of elaborate arrangements, public excitement and swarming cameramen, the delegates' mood was serious, solemn, much like the mood of World War II—a war without bands, parades, songs. The stage of the Opera House, remade by famed theatrical designer Jo Mielziner, was set with the flags of the United Nations and lined with representatives of the American armed forces. U. S. Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. opened the meeting at 4:30 p. m. and introduced President Truman, who spoke by telephone to more than 300 delegates from 46 nations. The Conference's task is not to write details of the

coming peace, but to draw up a security organization strong enough to keep that peace. Last week the eyes of the Conference and the world turned toward the Russian delegation and its chairman, Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov (*above*). The success of the Conference depended to a great extent on them. Mr. Molotov showed himself a master of both subtleties and compromise. He insisted that the office of Conference Chairman be filled not by one man (Stettinius), but by four men representing Great Britain, the U. S., Russia and China. He proposed that the Soviet Union get three votes instead of one in the General Assembly. In both cases he won his points. But in the case of the Conference Chairman he was willing to compromise and allow Stettinius to become

chairman of the important Steering Committee. And when his request to invite the Lublin Poles to San Francisco was rejected, he did not insist on it. By this action he made sure that the tough Polish problem, while still unsolved, would not disrupt the Conference. In the most eloquent speech Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, reminded the big powers of their responsibilities to the world and suggested that, with blank events crowding "upon us every hour," the Conference should complete its work in four weeks. To do this, major difficulties will have to be met. Chief among them, the position of France as possible leader of a small-country bloc; the make-up and voting procedure of the Security Council in which most of the real powers of the peace organization are to be tested.

DELEGATES AT THE FIRST SESSION APPLAUD ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY GOVERNOR WARREN OF CALIFORNIA. IN FRONT ARE THREE OF THE DELEGATES FROM BRAZIL.



Fig. 13 *Life* Magazine Vol. 18, No 19 May 7, 1945  
 Feature Title,  
 San Francisco Security Conference Starts  
 Page 40  
 Photographer Ralph Crane



San Francisco Conference CONTINUED

Addressing the Conference, Anthony Eden, British Foreign Minister, declares that "no war aimed at solving disputes by agreement. Before T. Y. Soong, Chinese Foreign Minister, says that "China, perhaps more than any other nation, understands the necessity for the success of this conference."

## THE RUSSIANS

A LIFE editor finds they got off on the wrong foot because they didn't understand Americans  
 by FILLMORE CALHOUN

SAN FRANCISCO For reasons of which they seem entirely unaware, the Russian delegation at San Francisco started out by losing friends and jeopardizing its influence at topkagan speed. Either the State Department, their own people who have lived in the U. S. or a competent public relations man should have filled them in on a few facts. What they probably needed was a little booklet similar to those which introduced the GIs to various European countries, titled *The Americans, a Strange People*.

From an American viewpoint the Russians have done almost everything wrong with the exception of one stimulating and eminently satisfactory press conference (see page 37) at which Molotov charmed and impressed his questioners. But the other delegates gave an unfortunate impression of being afraid of affront or even assassination.

The trouble began when word got about that the Russians had brought an entire shipment of vodka and caviar for their own pleasure. The "pistol" was that anyone could go to the top of Telegraph Hill and see the ship at anchor. Actually the ship was there primarily for examinations and to provide living quarters for some of Russia's delegates, but the overbearing secretiveness of the Russians made it all seem mysterious. Life-tongues chuckled.

Then came an incident which angered even Roosevelt. This was the kicking about that the press received when Commissioner Molotov flew into town. Molotov himself was gracious but the arrangements for his reception nearly resulted in a riot. After an hour of furious milling about at the airport it was finally determined that a "pool" of cameramen would be allowed to cover the arrival. U. S. Army MPs kept the others overboard until it was noted that Russian photographers had been allowed far forward at the hangar. One of them even strolled over to take a picture of the Americans. This was too much. Someone of rage asked, "Is San Francisco running this conference or is Moscow?" Just before Molotov's plane did arrive the whole mob was allowed to move out to take their pictures where they wanted to, each and every individual feeling he had struck a blow and rearing back for liberty.

A note of forewarning in the booklet would have helped too when a high-ranking Russian officer, asked to caption a photograph in which he appeared with several others, said of a junior officer in the picture, "You don't want his name; he's not important." This was true, but Americans, with their dislike of brass hats and their sympathy for the little guy, would try to yank the stars of Elvira however if he were to make such a remark about his jeep driver.

Part of the Russian difficulty lies in the fact that they have been so busy trying out a revolution and winning a war that they have paid no attention to the mores of other nations. The Conference marks the Soviets' first real emergence into the outside world. They are members of a club but they haven't as yet any facility for club life. The hats of the Russian civilians, for instance, are high-crowned and narrow-brimmed, which immediately identify Russians on the street. Their clothes are poorly cut, their shoes badly worn. No one, of course, minds that and instead there is respect for the sacrifice that this shabbiness represents. But with human nature what it is, it doesn't bother Russian eyes. It has a friskiness rather to make them witless in self-consciousness.

Again, it may even be that fear is reflected in the way that Russian generals and military heroes behaved in public when they first arrived. Men whose courage has won them the Hero of the Soviet Union medal looked half-afraid to death in the lobby of the St. Francis Hotel. Half the town was in and out of the lobby or standing across the street just to get a look at them. But being unable to speak Russian, the San Franciscans have not been able to make small talk or express their admiration for Russian fighting ability, and the stern look of the heroes has helped to prevent any engagement. A properly edited guide for the Russians would have pointed out that in the U. S. everyone loves to see a celebrity. It could also have suggested that if the Russian soldiers had brought out belokikas the crowds would have cheered, traipsed around with them as they do when St. Ignace's suspension New Year's Eve.

**'MOST EVERY DAY'S A GOOD DAY FOR SOUP**

**How to avoid a "Blue Monday" lunch...**  
 Indulge yourself with a cheerful meal built round bright bowls of Campbell's Tomato Soup. Red-ripe, juicy tomatoes grown under the sun and filled with healthful vitamins, make this soup one to put zest in your appetite and warmth in your heart. Indeed, it's so good it is the soup most folks like best.

**Campbell's TOMATO SOUP**

**How to fix a hearty Thursday supper...**  
 When the tender's low and you won't be shopping till tomorrow, how nice to take a can of Campbell's Beef Soup off the shelf! You know you've something substantial to build a meal around. The family will welcome this tasty soup so appetizingly hearty with tender pieces of beef, garden vegetables and barley—all in a stock well-stimmed from lean beef.

**Campbell's BEEF SOUP**

**And if it's "Meals at all hours" on Saturday...**  
 You have a problem on your hands—or not. NOT if you have Campbell's Vegetable Soup on the back of the stove and some sandwich ready. For then lunch can be on a "help yourself" basis, and the family will like nothing better! Fifteen different vegetables and a rich beef stock give this soup its delicious taste and its wholesome nourishment. That's why so many mothers say, "It's almost a need in itself!"

**Campbell's VEGETABLE SOUP**

To market, you to market  
 We don't have to go, we—  
 There to buy good Campbell's Soup  
 Because we love it so, sir!

Copyright 1945

Fig. 14 *Life* Magazine Vol. 18, No 19 May 7, 1945  
Feature Title,  
San Francisco Security Conference Starts  
Page 43  
Photographer Peter Stockpole



FOREIGN COMMISSAR V. M. MOLOTOV HOLDS A 24-MINUTE PRESS CONFERENCE. INTERESTED LISTENER WAS ANDREI GROMYKO (LEFT), SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO U.S.

## MOLOTOV HOLDS FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE

The delegates to the San Francisco Conference range all the way from the brown-robed Saudi Arabians to the nattily, Etonized British. But the most enigmatic, sought-after one of them all is U.S.S.R. Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, head of the Russian delegation. Ever since he arrived in town, San Franciscans have stood in hotel lobbies and on the streets around the Opera House hoping to

catch a glimpse of him. What they have seen is a graying, dark-suited Russian of medium height with a mustache and pince-nez. He is usually completely surrounded by Russian bodyguards.

On April 26, for the first time in history, Molotov met the world press. Reporters knew him only by reputation—a stern-visaged early Bolshevik, twice exiled to Siberia, once editor of *Pravda*, once (1930-1941)

Premier of the U.S.S.R. They understood him to be a capable but colorless administrator. At the press conference (above) they discovered he had a sense of humor, looked like Theodore Roosevelt. He told them he had "no doubt" that the Polish difficulties "will be overcome," said that Russia was willing to amend the Dumbarton Oaks plan, and that it was "only just" for Russia to have three seats in the Assembly.

Fig. 15 *Life* Magazine Vol. 18, No 19 May 7, 1945  
 Feature Title,  
 San Francisco Security Conference Starts  
 Page 44  
 Photographer Ralph C



**Better make it a 5-point breakfast!**

That's a good rule for all America, young or old. Skippy breakfast simply can't supply "what it takes" for this wartime business of keeping heavy and well—and doing a real day's work. Take time for your breakfast—get enjoyment out of it, and get *body and balance* into it. A 5-point breakfast is great for you—though a well-chosen 4-point meal isn't bad at all.



Choose your 5-point breakfast from these *new* groups: (1) fruit, fruit juice, or tomato juice; (2) cereal with milk or cream; (3) eggs, any style; (4) bacon or ham; (5) toast (enriched bread) with butter or jam; (6) milk—for anybody; (7) coffee or tea—for grownups.



We hope you have a *Toastmaster* toaster—for *Toastmaster* toast is bread in its most appetizing and digestible form. It's simply delicious... crisp and golden outside, hot and tender inside... with slice after slice as like as peas in a pod. And the automatic way it's made is something to marvel at. It almost makes itself... One of these days there'll be new *Toastmaster* toasters—the finest ever—for those who've been patiently waiting!

**TOASTMASTER Toasters**

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San Francisco Conference CONTINUED



**Clement Attlee**, Deputy Prime Minister of Great Britain and leader of Labor Party, also held a press conference. He favored three votes for Britain in the Assembly and said that more aid should be provided for removing conditions in which war bred. This would mean improvement of the economic and social well-being of all people.



**Prime Minister Jan Christian Smuts** of South Africa looks down from Palomar Hotel balcony. Now 74, he was in Lloyd George's cabinet during last war, helped shape the League of Nations. This time, he thinks, the world is "ready" for a peace organization. "We have learned our lesson now," he told reporters in San Francisco.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 41

It never quite came to this...

and it may never come to this, but...

**Guests at Statler Hotels** have never had to line up and run a race through lobbies and corridors to decide who gets the vacant room. Of course, it has been hard... at times, impossible... to accommodate all who wanted to stay with us. But you have helped mightily by being cooperative and understanding, even when the most difficult wartime conditions were placing a gentle strain on Statler service. But, the fact that you still find the results important to Statler service in effect... is the widest of our... shows you that we'll be able to make you feel more at home than ever in the days of peace ahead. (And talking of those days of peace, you'd be mighty enthusiastic if you could get a glimpse of the gratifying services and conveniences we're planning for after the war!)

Meanwhile, thank you for your patience and consideration. Remember, we at Statler are always trying to do our best to make you feel as much at home as possible.

**YOUR DOLLARS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED FOR U. S. WAR BONDS**



STATLER STATLER IN			STATLER OPERATED		
BOSTON \$2.85	BUFFALO \$2.30	CLEVELAND \$2.00	HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA \$2.85	HOTEL WILLIAM PENN \$2.85	
DETROIT \$2.00	ST. LOUIS \$2.00	WASHINGTON \$4.50	NEW YORK	PITTSBURGH	

Circle 10 on Reader Service

Chapter 3: Violence of the Image

Fig. 16

Christmas photograph of staff at the African Oil Nuts Company And Miller Brothers. Three rows of bare chested African workers pose for the camera, each man's chest painted with a letter to spell out "1923, Badagry, Merry Xmas". Four Europeans dressed in white sit on a makeshift bench up front beside three African children, possibly domestic servants.

Badagry, Nigeria, circa 1923,  
Badagry, Lagos, Nigeria,  
Western Africa, Africa.'



Fig. 17

From Without Sanctuary  
Collection. With Statement from  
James Allen- Collector.

# WITHOUT SANCTUARY

## LYNCHING PHOTOGRAPHY IN AMERICA

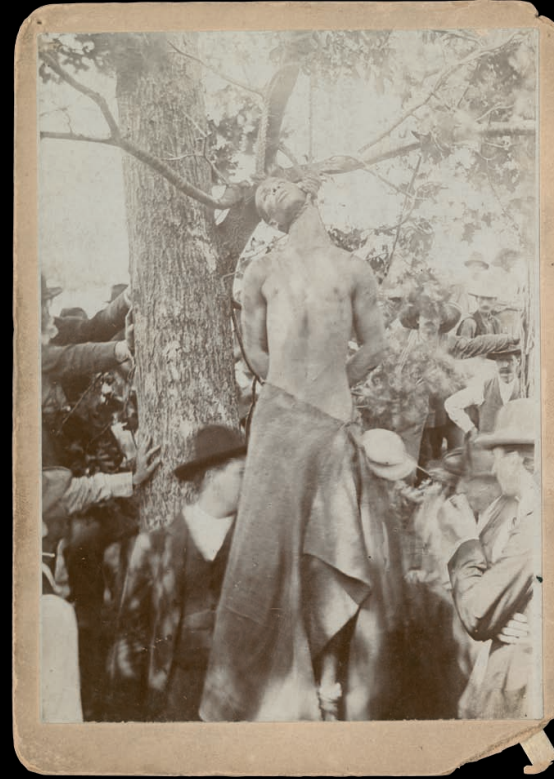
STATEMENT BY JAMES ALLEN, COLLECTOR

In America, everything is for sale, even a national shame. Till I came upon a postcard of a lynching, postcards seemed trivial to me, the way secondhand, misshapen Rubbermaid products might seem now. Ironically, the pursuit of these images has brought to me a great sense of purpose and personal satisfaction.

Studying these photos has engendered in me a caution of whites, of the majority, of the young, of religion, of the accepted. Perhaps a certain circumspection concerning these things was already in me, but surely not as actively as after the first sight of a brittle postcard of Leo Frank dead in an oak tree. It wasn't the corpse that bewildered me as much as the canine-thin faces of the pack, lingering in the woods, circling after the kill. Hundreds of flea markets later, a trader pulled me aside and in conspiratorial tones offered me a second card, this one of Laura Nelson, caught so pitiful and tattered and beyond retrieving—like a child's paper kite snagged on a utility wire. The sight of Laura layered a pall of grief over all my fears.

I believe the photographer was more than a perceptive spectator at lynchings. The photographic art played as significant a role in the ritual as torture or souvenir grabbing—a sort of two-dimensional biblical swine, a receptacle for a collective sinful self. Lust propelled their commercial reproduction and distribution, facilitating the endless replay of anguish. Even dead, the victims were without sanctuary.

These photos provoke a strong sense of denial in me, and a desire to freeze my emotions. In time, I realize that my fear of the other is fear of myself. Then these portraits, torn from other family albums, become the portraits of my own family and of myself. And the faces of the living and the faces of the dead recur in me and in my daily life. I've seen John Richards on a remote county road, rocking along in hobbyhorse strides, head low, eyes to the ground, spotting coins or rocks or roots. And I've encountered Laura Nelson in a small, sturdy woman that answered my knock on a back porch door. In her deep-set eyes I watched a silent crowd parade across a shiny steel bridge, looking down. And on Christmas Lane, just blocks from our home, another Leo, a small-framed boy with his shirttail out and skullcap off center, makes his way to Sabbath prayers. With each encounter, I can't help but think of these photos, and the march of time, and of the cold steel trigger in the human heart.



Frank Entree, July 2, 1890, Fayette Mason

### Acknowledgements

Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America, was organized by the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, Cincinnati, Ohio through the ownership of the National Center for Civil and Human Rights, Atlanta, Georgia. This exhibition would not have been possible without their generous support.

All images courtesy of the National Center for Civil and Human Rights.

Fig. 18  
 Images from  
 Without  
 Sanctuary  
 Collection  
 James Allen



The lynching of Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith, August 7, 1930, Marion, Indiana. Collected locks of the victims' hair framed under the glass. Written on mat, "Klan 4th Joplin Mo. 33". Second inscription, "Bo Pointn to his Niga".



The lynching of L.W. Nelson, May 25, 1911, Okemah, Oklahoma.



The lynching of Laura Nelson, May 25, 1911, Okemah, Oklahoma.



The lynching of Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith, a large gathering of lynchers, August 7, 1930, Marion, Indiana. Etched on the negative: Marion, Ind. Aug. 1930



The lynching of Laura Nelson and L.W. Nelson, May 25, 1911, Okemah, Oklahoma. Etched in negative, "1911 Copyright G.H. Farnum Okemah, Okla".

Fig. 19  
Empire War Workers in Britain

A Tank Worker from Nigeria

Imperial War Museum



IWM PST 16284

IWM PST 16285

Fig. 20  
On War Work in Britain No6  
Nurse Jilla  
Imperial War Museum



ON WAR WORK IN BRITAIN. No. 6

FROM INDIA TO PLAY HER PART  
IN BRITAIN'S MEDICAL SERVICE

In the Prince of Wales' Hospital, Tottenham, London, twenty-year-old Miss Gopde Ardashir Jilla, a Parsee, is taking a four-year course as a probationer nurse. Now in her second year, Nurse Jilla lives in the nurses' quarters with the other nurses, takes part in the ordinary routine of the hospital, attends three lectures a week and studies in her off-duty time. In this photograph Nurse Jilla is seen adding to her experience by taking a turn of duty in the out-patient department. She is assisting a doctor who is giving nasal treatment to a patient.

G.P.B. MA 11/31/1

Fig. 21

Poster Royal West African Frontier Force.

Imperial War Museum

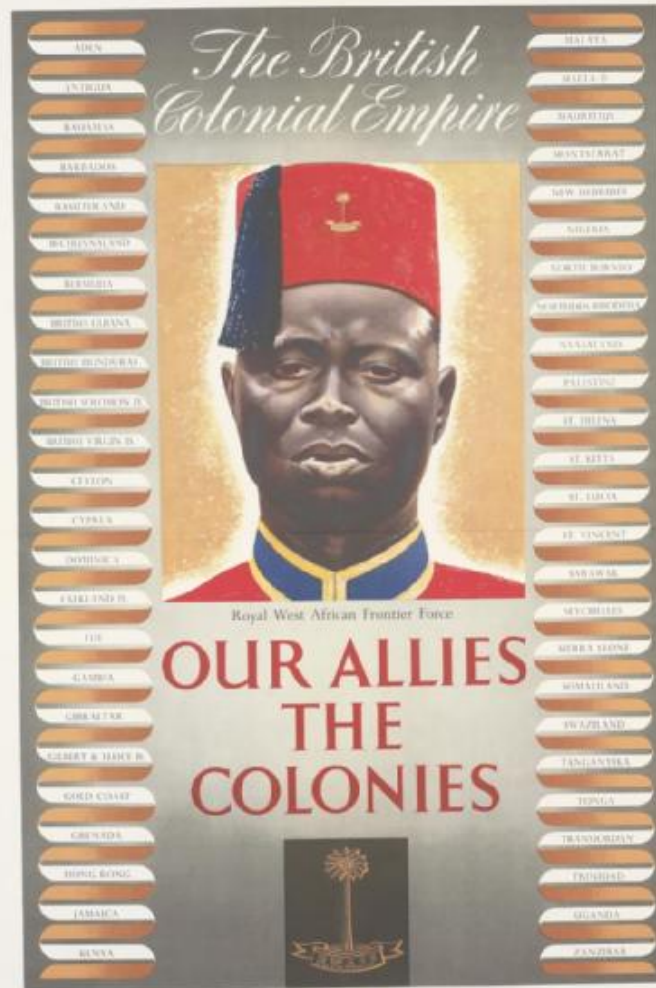


Fig. 22  
United We Win  
America War Posters  
1943 the Office of War Information  
USA issued the poster "United We  
Win,"



Fig. 23

'Together'  
Vertical and  
Horizontal  
versions of  
the poster

War Poster at  
recruiting  
centre in  
Accra...

Imperial War  
Museum



Fig. 24

Picture Post  
November 10, 1945  
Pages 19  
Africa Speaks in Manchester.  
All Photographs By John Deakin

Picture Post, November 10, 1945



*The Abyssinian Delegate*  
Jomo Kenyatta asked for an Act of Parliament making discrimination by race or colour a criminal offence.

*The Nigerian Trade Unionist*  
Chief A. S. Coker, represents unions with a membership of half a million workers. He demands full franchise for the negro worker.

*The Liverpool Welfare Worker*  
Mr. E. J. Du Plau, is responsible for hostels and centres for negro seamen. "Negroes are social exiles in Britain," he maintains.

### AFRICA SPEAKS IN MANCHESTER

Delegates from many parts of Africa and the United States to the first Pan-African Conference talk for a week—of freedom from the White Man, of the colour bar, of one great coloured nation, of force to gain their ends.

Photographed by JOHN DEAKIN

**T**HE dance was a mixed affair—mixed in trade, from the stoker to the anthropologist; mixed in class, from the £3 a week labourer to the rich cocoa merchant; mixed in dress, from the baggy grey flannels to the suit of tails. But above all it was mixed in colour, from the blonde white to the midnight black. This dance, held at Edinburgh Hall, on the corner of one of Manchester's drab and soot-blackened streets, was the first gathering of delegates to the Pan-African Conference. They chose Manchester because its people have less curiosity or hostility to colour than the people of any other English city. Certainly, there was no self-consciousness among the white women who partnered their negro husbands or friends through "jive" to the last romantic waltz. Their attitudes varied. Some had approached the colour bar problem intellectually, others from a Christian viewpoint and others from simple human values.

Typical of the last attitude is the mixed marriage of Mary Brown to John Teah Brown, and before the conference got down to the more serious problems of the negro peoples, I went to their home to see a successful black and white marriage in its own domestic setting. Mary Brown was left stranded in Liverpool with her child when she met John Brown, a donkeyman on a merchant ship. He married her, gave her overwhelming affection, and saw that her child was properly educated.

I listened to John Teah Brown's story—a story which in many ways put in terms of one human being the resolutions and speeches of the whole week's conference. John Teah Brown was born in Sierra Leone and is a member of the Kroo tribe. He was educated at a mission and brought up a Roman Catholic. He was devout and sincere in his religion until one day in a church at East London, South Africa. He went in to pray but a priest came up to him and told him it was a white man's church and he must get out. He has not been inside a church since, though he remains true to the Christian faith, practising it, he thinks, with rather more sincerity than the priest who turned him away from the altar.

He left Sierra Leone at the age of fifteen, for he

*Continued overleaf*



*A Mixed Marriage That is a Success*  
Mr. John Teah Brown, with his white wife, Mrs. Mary Brown, in their Manchester home. He says the negro must earn the respect of the white man to merit full citizenship.

19

Fig. 25

Picture Post  
 November 10, 1945  
 Pages 20  
 Africa Speaks in Manchester.  
 All Photographs By John Deakin



*In Conference: A White Man Urges the Negroes' Cause*  
 John McNair, General Secretary of the I.L.P., addressing the delegates, says: "I object to the idea that the white people have anything to give to the black. There is, on the other hand, a debt which the white people owe to the coloured races: a debt which must and shall be paid."

felt that the discrimination, segregation and low standard of the negro's life there cramped his spirit. His escape was to the sea and for thirty years he has been in the Merchant Navy.  
 "The negro," he says, "must not only clamour for the help of the white man, he must also learn to help himself. The negro is not only exploited by white men—he is often exploited by the rich and wealthy negro traders. When we learn to help each other,

then we shall merit citizenship and freedom from the white man."  
 The moral of his and similar stories was the motive force at the conference. George Padmore, leading negro journalist, maintained that a negro's skin is the passport to an oppression as violent as that of Nazi Germany's oppression of the Jews. "We don't need yellow armbands in Africa—just black skins," he maintained.

But this is the extremist's view of the problem. There will be little sympathy with the overstated case put forward by Mr. J. E. Appiah, delegate for the West African Students Union. In a noisy, impassioned speech he declared: "The only language the Englishman understands is force. Others plead for more diplomatic negotiation but I am for firmer action. Only force will take us out of our disgraceful plight . . ." and so on and on.

More reasonable and more likely to succeed was the case put forward by the Labour and Trade Union leaders, the real strength of this Pan-African movement which seeks to unite all Negro Associations. They claim that the real force to be used is that of organised labour. They point out the success of the recent Nigerian strike, when thousands of negro workers came out to demand a minimum for all workers of 2s. 6d. a day. But for their constructive speeches, the conference would have produced merely a deluge of abuse and violent oratory.

On certain principles they are united. They demand strong representation on the legislative councils which govern the various territories. This already applies in certain areas but is restricted to negroes with an average income of £50 a year, which disfranchises the majority of coloured workers. They ask for the principle of equal pay for equal work to be established, regardless of colour, race or creed. They ask for improved medical and educational services, for an end to the Uncle Tom shack, and the compound system of segregation.

Mr. Peter Abrahams, chief propagandist for the federation, told me that they did not intend to stop at merely organising the peoples of African descent. They planned to go on further and mobilise the whole of the Non-European nations, comprising over three-quarters of the world's population. Left Wing members of the Federation oppose this idea. "They accuse us of chauvinism," he said, "but the white workers of Europe have let us down and we must now all get together to fight for our rights and freedom." In other words, a reversed colour bar.

A few delegates admitted a positive side of our rule in Africa. There is a maternity hospital at Accra, capital of the Gold Coast, where a native woman can have a child for 1s. or nothing at all. In the Tanganyika sisal factories there have been established excellent factory welfare workers. In Uganda an enormous university, with mixed black and white staff, has been opened and negro students are helped with fees. A younger and more vigorous type of white civil servant has lately been sent out to the West Coast and their conscience and goodwill is showing results. On Britain's side we plead that six years of war has robbed us of much chance to put into operation White Paper proposals. It was Wallace Johnson, the negro Trade Union leader, who put the whole case most sanely.

"We turn," he said, "to the British Labour Movement to help us, and thereby help themselves. We do not want to be cheap labour, driven in competition against British workers.

To such reasoning, this country will not be unsympathetic. But to creating a black bloc, to the use of force advocated by hotheads of the Federation, there will be immediate white hostility.

HILDE MARCHANT.



*The American Red Cross Worker*  
 He comes from Washington and cares for his own people in Britain. He suffers no colour humiliation.



*The Barrister from Lagos*  
 Mrs. Renner urges the need for a great raising of the standard of education and knowledge among African women.



*The Founder of Pan Africanism*  
 Dr. Du Bois is the head of the American Negro Association. He opposed the extremist idea of a new "nationalism of colour."

Chapter 4: Decolonial Frames

Fig. 26  
Photographs Robert  
Lebeck

Images from  
Lebeck's publication  
titled  
Robert Lebeck  
Leopoldville.

Pages 86-87

LEOPOLDVILLE 30. JUNI 1960

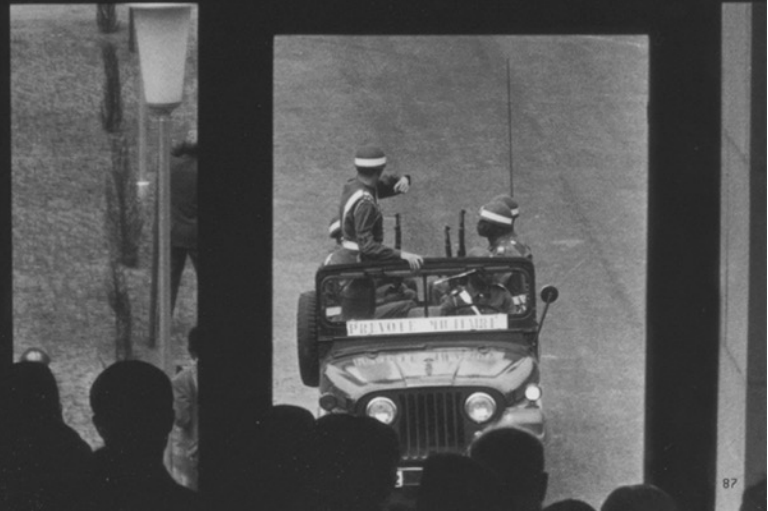


Fig. 27  
Photographs Robert  
Lebeck

Images from Lebeck's  
publication titled  
Robert Lebeck  
Leopoldville.

Pages 88 -89



Fig. 28  
Photographs Robert  
Lebeck

Images from Lebeck's  
publication titled  
Robert Lebeck  
Leopoldville.

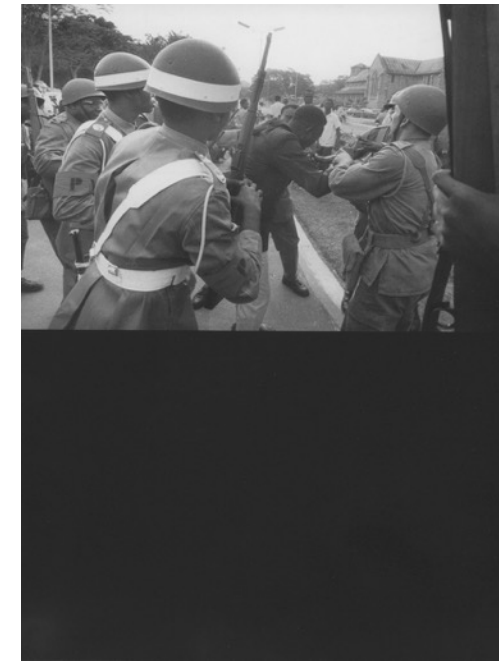
Pages 90-91



Fig. 29  
Photographs Robert  
Lebeck

Images from Lebeck's  
publication titled  
Robert Lebeck  
Leopoldville.

Left to Right Pages  
92- 93  
94 -95  
Bottom Right  
Pages 96-97



Chapter 5: Wayne Miller- Black Metropolis

Fig. 30

Wayne Miller

JAPAN. Hiroshima. September 8, 1945.  
Victims of the atomic blast are treated in  
primitive conditions at the fly-infested  
Kangyo Ginko bank. Many suffered from  
radiation burns and shock.



Fig. 31

Wayne Miller

JAPAN. Hiroshima. September 8, 1945. Discharged Japanese soldiers crowd around trains as they take advantage of free transportation to their homes after the end of WWII. Hiroshima railroad station.



Fig. 32

Wayne Miller

JAPAN. Hiroshima. September 8, 1945. Discharged Japanese soldiers on the train heading home after the end of WWII. Hiroshima railroad station.

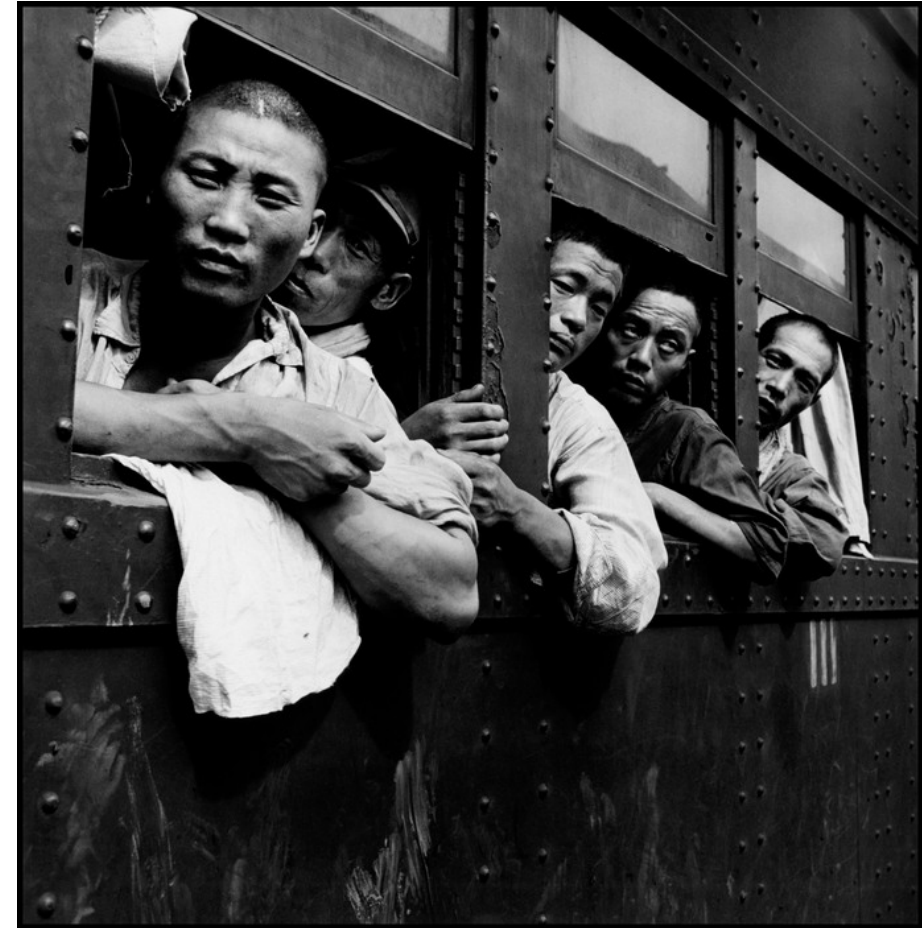


Fig. 33

Wayne Miller  
Japan September 1945

Out Door Hair Cut Near Tokyo.



Fig. 34

Wayne Miller

USA. Illinois. Chicago.  
1946. A tenement on  
South Indiana Avenue, the  
type of housing for half of  
the city's black children.



Fig. 35

Wayne Miller

USA. Illinois. Chicago. 1948. An alley between overcrowded tenements, with garbage thrown over the railings of the back porches. Most of the area's tenants were transient.



Fig. 36

Wayne Miler

USA. Illinois. Chicago. 1946. Debutante Ball sponsored by the "Royal Coterie of Snakes," an exclusive gentleman's club at the parkway ballroom. December 1946.



Fig. 37

Wayne Miller

USA. Illinois. Chicago. 1947.  
Black safety inspector, the  
supervisor of his white co-  
worker at International  
Harvester.



Fig. 38

Wayne Miller

USA. Illinois. Chicago. 1947. Western  
Union telegram messenger.



Fig.39

Wayne Miller

USA. Illinois. Chicago.  
1947. Father and son  
at Lake Michigan.



Chapter 6: Rights and Recognition

Fig. 40  
Photographs By  
Armet Francis

Funeral  
Kensal Rise Cemetery London  
1974



Fig. 41  
Photograph By  
Armet Francis  
Notting Hill Carnival,  
London 1979



Fig. 42  
Vanley Burke  
No Title  
Birmingham  
No Title Circa 1970's



Fig. 43  
Photograph by  
Vanley Burke  
Birmingham

No Title  
"Austin Road Pentecostal Church. The two ladies kiss  
each other as a sign of peace after they had washed  
each other's feet." Two black women kissing each  
other, more black women in the background.

1970's



Fig. 44  
Photograph by  
Vanley Burke  
Boy with Flag ,Wilfred in Handsworth  
Birmingham  
Boy with flag, Handsworth Park.  
A black boy standing in the middle of the road, 1968



Fig. 45  
Photographs by Joy Gregory  
Autoportrait 1989-1990



Fig. 46  
Photographs by Joy Gregory  
Autoportrait 1989-1990



Fig. 47  
Photograph By  
Rotimi Fani-Kayode

Golden Phallus circa 1988-89



Fig. 48  
Africa Explores  
Exhibition  
Publication  
20<sup>th</sup> Century African  
Art 1991

Portrait of a Couple  
1950's ,Unknown  
Portrait of Two Men  
1955, Unknown



**Cat. 58 PORTRAIT OF A COUPLE**, 1950s, UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER (BAMAKO, MALI), SILVER PRINT, 1974, FROM ORIGINAL NEGATIVE, 17 x 13 CM. PRIVATE COLLECTION.

**Cat. 59 PORTRAIT OF A MAN**, 1955, UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER (BAMAKO, MALI), SILVER PRINT, 1974, FROM ORIGINAL NEGATIVE, 19 x 13 CM. PRIVATE COLLECTION.

**Cat. 60 PORTRAIT OF TWO MEN**, 1955, UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER (BAMAKO, MALI), SILVER PRINT, 1974, FROM ORIGINAL NEGATIVE, 18 x 13 CM. PRIVATE COLLECTION.

