

Relocating the Heseltine Photographic Collection at District Six Museum

Darren Newbury

On September 24, 2013 (Heritage Day), an exhibition of photographs by Bryan Heseltine opened at the Homecoming Centre, District Six Museum, Cape Town (Fig. 1). The exhibition was the culmination of four years of research that had brought this largely unknown collection of photographs from the late 1940s and early 1950s back into circulation and back to the city where they had been made (Fig. 2). Photographs travel.¹ They make connections between distant people and places, real and imagined, motivated by a multiplicity of purposes and desires. This is nowhere more obvious than in the “archive” of African photography, dispersed as it is across the world through networks shaped by colonization and global migration, international political movements and art markets, and the many personal relationships that exist within such larger structural forces, and more recently by social media and digital networks. But they also slow down and settle; the paths along which they have travelled fall into disuse, becoming ever harder to make out, and the connections that once gave them meaning cease to exist. In 1952, shortly after holding an exhibition in Cape Town, Bryan Heseltine left South Africa for England, taking his photographs with him. Although the collection was exhibited in London in 1955, and despite a number of individual images being selected for international exhibitions in New York and Lucerne, by the end of the decade Heseltine’s South African photographs had fallen into obscurity, spending the entirety of their archival life to date in England, until very recently in the personal possession of the photographer. The circumstances of the “rediscovery” of this now historical collection might be considered serendipitous, but they also reflect a burgeoning interest in the photographic history of the continent. The commercial artistic attention African

photography has attracted since the 1990s, dominated by studio portraiture, has been matched by a considerable investment of scholarship in exploring the significance of photographic collections for understanding the past and their resonances in the present (Morton and Newbury 2015), as well as a plethora of more recent artistic projects engaging with and reanimating archival collections (Davison and Mahashe 2012; Haney and Schneider 2014; Stultiens 2015). The project discussed here is driven by research rather than artistic imperatives, but there is nevertheless much common ground between the two for thinking about African photographic archives and how one might engage with them.

I have discussed Heseltine, his photographs, and the biography of the collection in more detail elsewhere (Newbury 2013, 2015a, 2015b); my intention here, therefore, is to offer a series of reflections on the work of “reconnecting” and “relocating” represented by the Cape Town exhibition. What are the issues that had to be confronted in this process of return? And what does it mean to place this body of work back into the city at this point in its post-apartheid development?

Before proceeding, I offer a note on terminology. There is an emerging literature on what is variously referred to as “visual repatriation” (Bell 2003; Brown and Peers 2003, 2006), “redemption” (Zeitlyn 2015), and “reconnection” (Feyder 2015; Rippe 2015), among other terms: the return of photographs to the individuals represented or, in many cases, their descendants and communities. Within anthropology particularly, the return of photographs, usually in the form of print or digital copies, from colonial-era archives to “source communities” (Brown and Peers 2003) has been seen as an ethical and moral imperative and as a productive research strategy. This is especially important where indigenous photographic archives have been lost or destroyed,



1 Exhibition, Homecoming Centre, District Six Museum, September 2013.
Photo: Darren Newbury

or simply never existed. Despite the over-determinations of the colonial photographic archive, many researchers have celebrated the capacity of photographs to generate new meanings beyond their ostensible historical purposes. As Joshua Bell argues in the case of his research in Papua New Guinea, “visual repatriation can generate counter-narratives to the once monolithic, colonial and disciplinary histories that the photographs often helped to create and sustain” (Bell 2003:111).² This literature has informed my approach to the Heseltine collection, though where there has been considerable emphasis on the moment of return and the new meanings that are produced, here it will be necessary to first take a step back and think about the conditions that allow one to speak of a “return” at all. The social and political transformations experienced in South Africa since the photographs were made

render this a far from straightforward proposition.

In discussing the Heseltine collection, I have opted to use the terms “reconnection” and “relocation.” My initial reason for doing so was to place limitations on the kind of claims that might be inferred. What has been achieved thus far, in respect to returning the collection to South Africa, could not bear the weight implied by the terms “visual repatriation” or “redemption.” “Reconnection” and “relocation” certainly imply something less ambitious or elevated. More precisely, however, I am using the terms to signify the beginning of a process, the remaking of a connection, a repositioning; not simply a handing over, ceremonial or otherwise, but a process in which the researcher and the archive remain present and active, as Rippe puts it, “accomplished by a conjoined oscillation between archive and field” (Rippe 2015). Although the emphasis here is on bringing the images back into a relationship with the city in which they were made—a process that is as much about the imagination as it is a physical relocation—one should also acknowledge that reconnection may extend beyond these specific sites, the reproducibility and mobility of photography facilitating intersections with other memories and histories and opening the collection up to new forms of agency and imagination. As Christopher Wright observes, “shifting photographs from archives into other spaces reveals their historical usefulness to be myriad rather than singular” (2013:188).³



2 Clifton Street, District Six, Cape Town, c. 1949–52.
Photo: Bryan Heseltine

DISLOCATIONS

If one is to talk of reconnecting and relocating, then it is perhaps necessary to begin by acknowledging that Cape Town was, and to a large degree remains, a city of disconnections and dislocations, a city where boundaries, buffer zones, and sheer distance separated racially defined communities from one another,

the expression in urban form of the ideologies of segregation and apartheid.⁴ A city, too, where forced removal was an instrument of urban planning, producing waves of traumatic dislocation across the twentieth century. This context presents two profound challenges to the idea of returning or reconnecting the photographs: the dislocations of people and what one might refer to as the dislocations of vision.

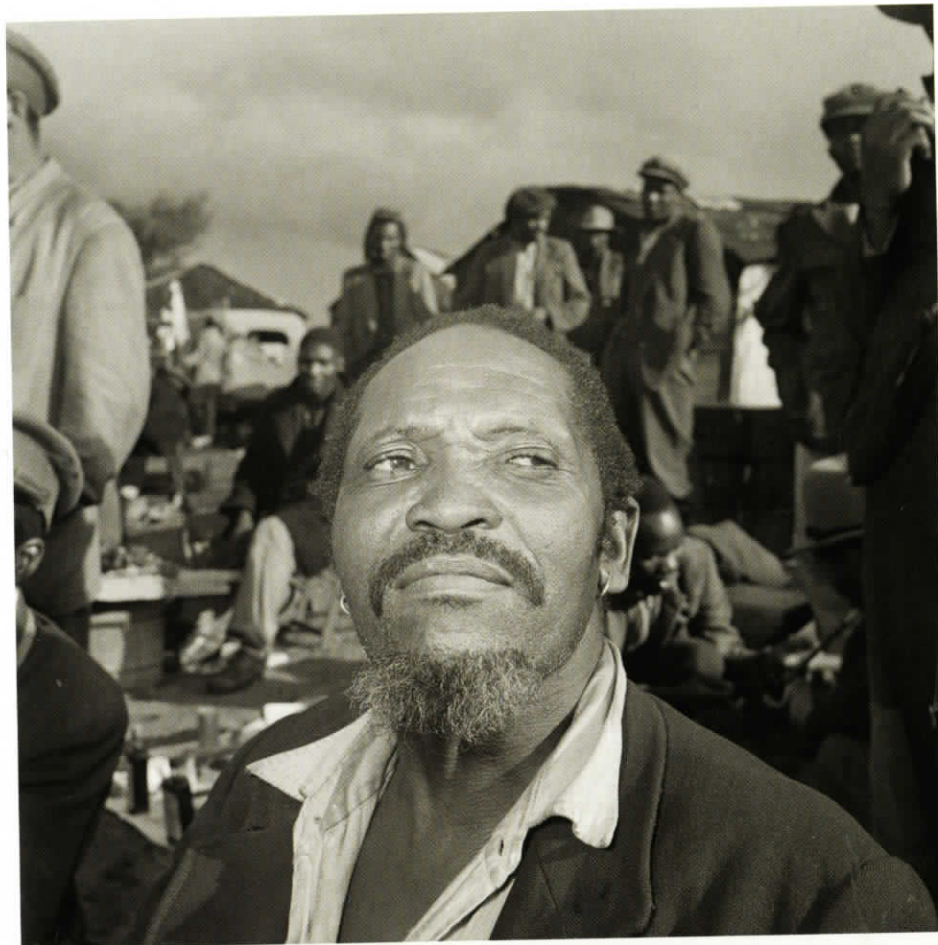
Set against the power of photography to locate bodies in place and time, one must recognise that disconnection and dislocation structure the collection in significant ways. The photographs were made during the National Party's first term of office, when the ideology of apartheid began to harden the demarcations of



3 Windermere, Cape Town, c. 1949–52.
Photo: Bryan Heseltine

an already segregated city. Heseltine's photographic subjects were the primary targets of apartheid urban planning. Over half of the photographs in the main collection were made in Windermere (Figs. 3–5), an informal settlement that had grown up on the edge of the city during the early part of the century and by the 1950s had come to be regarded by the authorities as a blot on the urban landscape and in need of removal. Ironically, its visibility from one of the main roads into the city reinforced its disturbing presence in the imagination of the white population. At the time Heseltine began photographing there, a program of forced removals was underway that, by the end of the decade, would mean the complete razing of the area in preparation for

its reconstruction as a model "Coloured" township. This movement of Windermere's inhabitants out on to the Cape Flats is coincidentally paralleled in the collection, as Heseltine, commissioned by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) to document old and new forms of housing, also moved to photograph in the established black African township of Langa (Fig. 6) and the newly created Nyanga (Fig. 7). Langa had been con-



4 Unidentified man, Windermere, Cape Town, c. 1949-52.

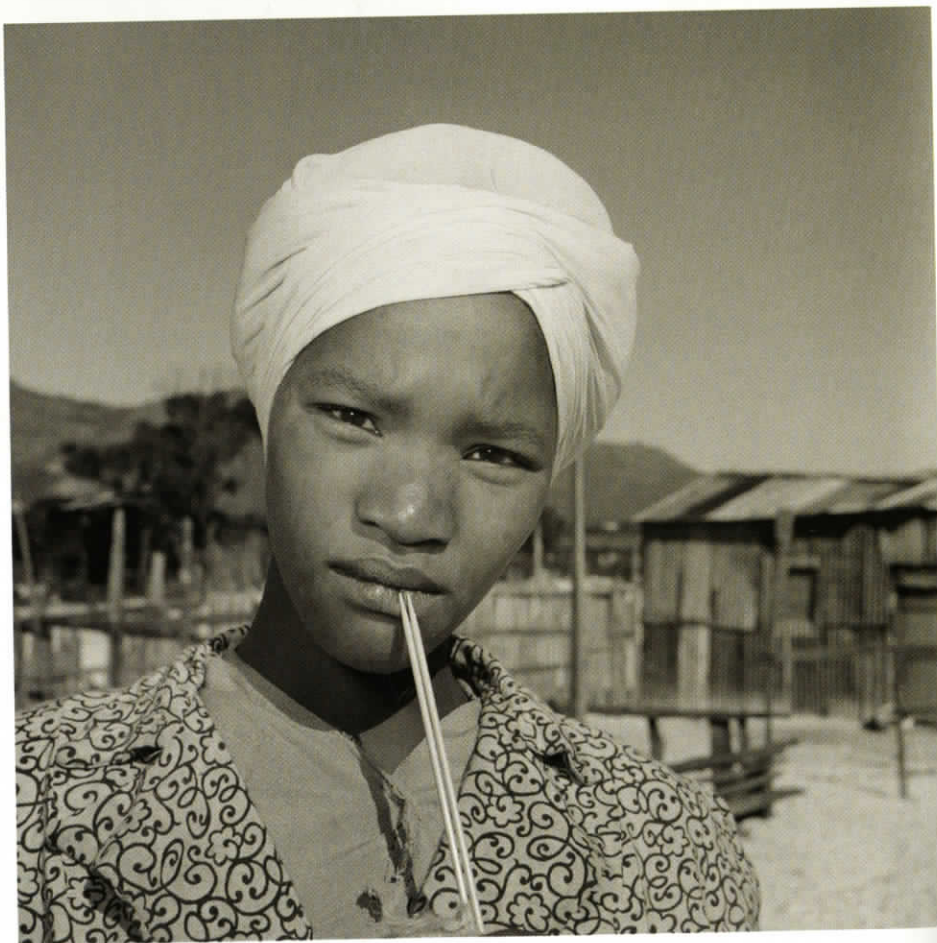
Photo: Bryan Heseltine

5 Unidentified woman, Windermere, Cape Town, c. 1949-52.

Photo: Bryan Heseltine

structured during the 1920s, designated as a township for black Africans removed from elsewhere in the city, as well as migrant workers. It continued to receive new arrivals into the 1950s, despite overcrowding. Still inhabited today, the Langa flats are documented in the Heseltine collection at the time of their construction (Fig. 8). Although presented as part of the solution to the growing housing crisis in the Cape, Nyanga was nothing if not an expression of dislocation; a peripheral township in an inhospitable environment, sixteen miles from the center of the city, with little transport infrastructure in place when its first residents were forcibly removed from areas such as Windermere and dumped there in the 1950s. For the city's black and Coloured inhabitants, movement became a defining feature of their lives, not only through forcible relocation, but as an aspect of daily existence, with many hours spent travelling on buses and in minibus taxis between different parts of the city, between where they worked and where they were compelled to live.⁵

As I will come to discuss, the disruption



6 Langa Station, Cape Town, c. 1949-52.

Photo: Bryan Heseltine

7 Nyanga, Cape Town, c. 1949-52.

Photo: Bryan Heseltine



and loss of community (Field 2001) suffered by many of Cape Town's inhabitants provides a profoundly challenging backdrop for any project of return. In recognition of this history, the title of the Cape Town exhibition—"Going and Coming Back"—was intended to echo that of a painting by Peter Clarke (1929-2014), *Coming and Going* (1960)—a visual reflection on the dislocation of forced removal, depicting the same sandy landscape of the Cape Flats in which Heseltine photographed—movement without connection, meaningless and uncertain.

If the physical dislocation of the people in the photographs offers one obstacle to thinking about return, then one must also acknowledge Heseltine's cultural distance or dislocation from his subjects. Undoubtedly, his position as a white photographer, albeit from a liberal background, shaped how and what he saw as he visited and photographed in places such as Windermere. A letter in the family archive provides an insight here. Sent to the Heseltines shortly after they had left South Africa for England, as



8 Langa Flats, Cape Town, c. 1949–52.
Photo: Bryan Heseltine

9 Photographer, Windermere, Cape Town, c. 1949–52.
Photo: Bryan Heseltine

their financial and personal circumstances allowed them to do, it condenses a number of aspects of the relationship more socially minded white South Africans had to such places: “We’ve been doing a study on the cost of living in squatters’ camps. Going out daily and visiting each family for about an hour a day seven days running, to get exact records of expenditure, diets, etc. I used to come home feeling as if I’d collected every possible infection but seem miraculously to have escaped. I often thought of Bryan when we were at these strange places.”⁶ It may well have been this letter writer who facilitated Heseltine’s access to Windermere, accompanying him on his photographic visits; at the very least we must assume he shared to some degree the perceptions, the sense of strangeness, expressed here.⁷ Yet the association between Heseltine and “these strange places” strikes an intriguing note, suggesting equally an affinity or a connection in the mind of the letter writer, the import of which we can only guess.

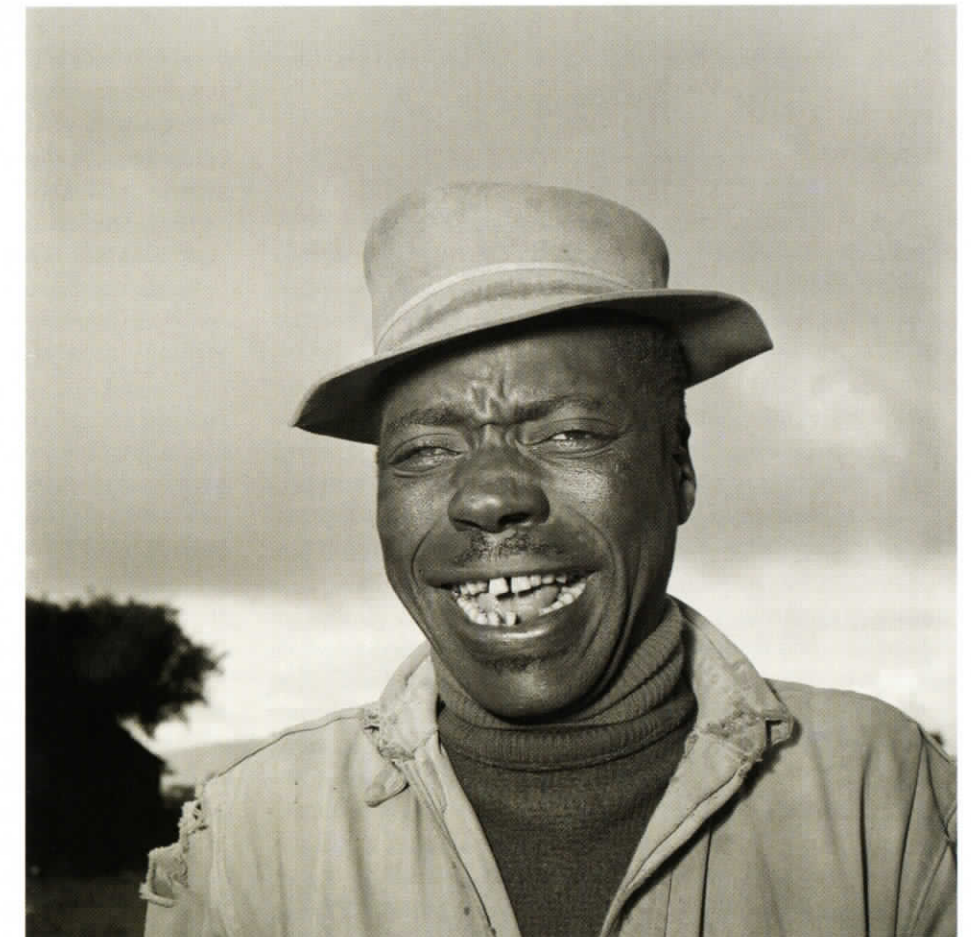
I find useful here Érika Nimis’s observations on the building of national visual memory in postcolonial Mali: “Maliens



10 Mamre, Western Cape, 1940s.
Photo: Bryan Heseltine

11 Unidentified man, Windermere, Cape Town, c. 1949–52.
Photo: Bryan Heseltine

must rely on portrayals and histories of their national past by seeking out material that is outside their country,” something she likens to “looking in the neighbor’s mirror” (2014:398). Although the circumstances of post-apartheid South Africa are rather different, one should acknowledge that the exchange of looks encoded in photography was often misaligned here too. Heseltine was born in South Africa, but he was clearly not of the communities he photographed, and the photographs’ long sojourn away from the country should not be forgotten. Any reading, therefore, must be attentive to the absences or distortions





12 *Groups Areas: Racial Survey (Occupation), 1947.* Drawn in the Office of the Town Planning Branch, City Engineers Department, Cape Town (subsequently annotated by hand).

in the view the collection presents. That there were other views to be had is signified in the photograph of the itinerant township photographer (Fig. 9), which might be read reflexively. Heseltine captures him at his work; we both see and do not see the portrait that he is making and are reminded that his photographs are nowhere available to view.⁸ It is clear too that there would have been much political activity in the townships where Heseltine photographed during this period, especially Langa, and it would almost certainly have entered his field of view. Yet he chose not to record this aspect of township life; nowhere in the collection can one find an image of black political agency.

RELOCATIONS

As will be clear from the discussion above, the identification of a “source community” that might in any formal or official sense receive a returning collection is rendered complex and problematic by what was happening at the time the photographs were made, and what has happened since, to the inhabitants of the spaces in which Heseltine photographed. The dislocations of the past negate the possibility that the photographs can simply be reinserted into a narrative of community. As Sean Field (2012) observes, it is only in the imagined memories of former residents

that places like Windermere remain. This sounds unpromising ground on which to talk of reconnecting and relocating. And in many ways that is true. We know the story of the photographs and their travels (Newbury 2013), but where are the subjects in the photographs now? Where are their descendants? Where is the community? The lines along which they moved after the brief intersecting moment of photographic exposure will have been subject to the many dislocations of urban existence in twentieth century South Africa and far from easy to retrace. How, then, is it possible to extend an invitation to look at the photographs?

In his discussion of photographs collected during his fieldwork in Cameroon, David Zeitlyn (2015) describes the ideal virtuous circle of photographic ethnography, linking images, names, and stories: “[T]here is a nice sense of equality when you succeed in tracking down someone in a photograph, of being able to present them with a copy of an image which they have perhaps lost or never had ... What I get in return are names and sometimes stories. But once names are attached then the possibility of other stories in the future seems more likely.” In research on the main collection thus far, and even following the exhibition in Cape Town, not one of Heseltine’s photographic subjects has been identified. This could, possibly should, be considered a mark of failure; maybe we simply did not work hard enough. And perhaps someone may step forth yet to identify a father or grandfather, an uncle or an aunt. But one might also consider it a structural condition. There may be some reluctance to engage with the pasts that these photographs represent, or an uncertain sense of their value to the present, but before such issues can even surface, one has to reckon with the fracturing of communities that was a feature of apartheid urban planning. Although



13 Participants revisiting sites in Cape Town where Heseltine had made the photographs in the collection, 5 October 2013. This photograph was taken on the edge of Windermere, now known as Kensington and Factreton, bordered by the railway line and with Table Mountain just visible in the background. Photo: Darren Newbury

working with the collection of a black township photographer, and admittedly with much greater success in identifying photographic subjects, Sophie Feyder’s research on the Ngilima collection, made primarily in Benoni’s “Old Location,” had to engage with similar questions in the face of the historical dislocations of apartheid:

We were confronted with the difficulty of identifying the “local community,” supposedly our prime audience for this project. Not only is the “original” Old Location community scattered across different townships, even the post-removals community of Actonville has been subject to inner divisions and gradual geographical dispersal since the end of the apartheid in 1994. It proved impossible to commemorate the Old Location without invoking the 1960s forced removals, a sensitive topic for many Indians and Africans (Feyder 2015).

As the exception that proves the rule, it is worth inserting a few comments here on a small set of negatives that form part of the Heseltine collection, but which hitherto have received little attention and were not included in the exhibition. Alongside, or perhaps prior to, the photographs he made in Cape Town and its peripheral townships, Heseltine also left behind what appears now as a more fragmented assortment of photographs made with a small-format Leica camera. Although only a small number of these negatives have survived, among those that remain are a set

made of the Moravian Mission Station at Mamre, about an hour’s drive from Cape Town (Fig. 10). In September 2013, while the exhibition was on show at District Six Museum, I also took the opportunity to visit Mamre, taking with me the fifty or so images that I had linked to this site. At a meeting of Mamre residents—congregation members brought together by the current pastor—we viewed the photographs. Many names were put forward, including a relative of one of the residents present. Some identifications were speculative and others more definitive, but it was clear that the greater degree of continuity, as well as the authority of the pastor to convene this group to look at the photographs, lent itself to reconnecting the photographs to local narratives and histories in a way that is all but impossible for somewhere like Windermere. It is important to note, however, that even here the dislocations of apartheid flowing out from the city impinged on the narratives generated by the photographs. As I walked around the mission



14 Display of St Helena photographs, Homecoming Centre, District Six Museum, September 2013.
Photo: Darren Newbury

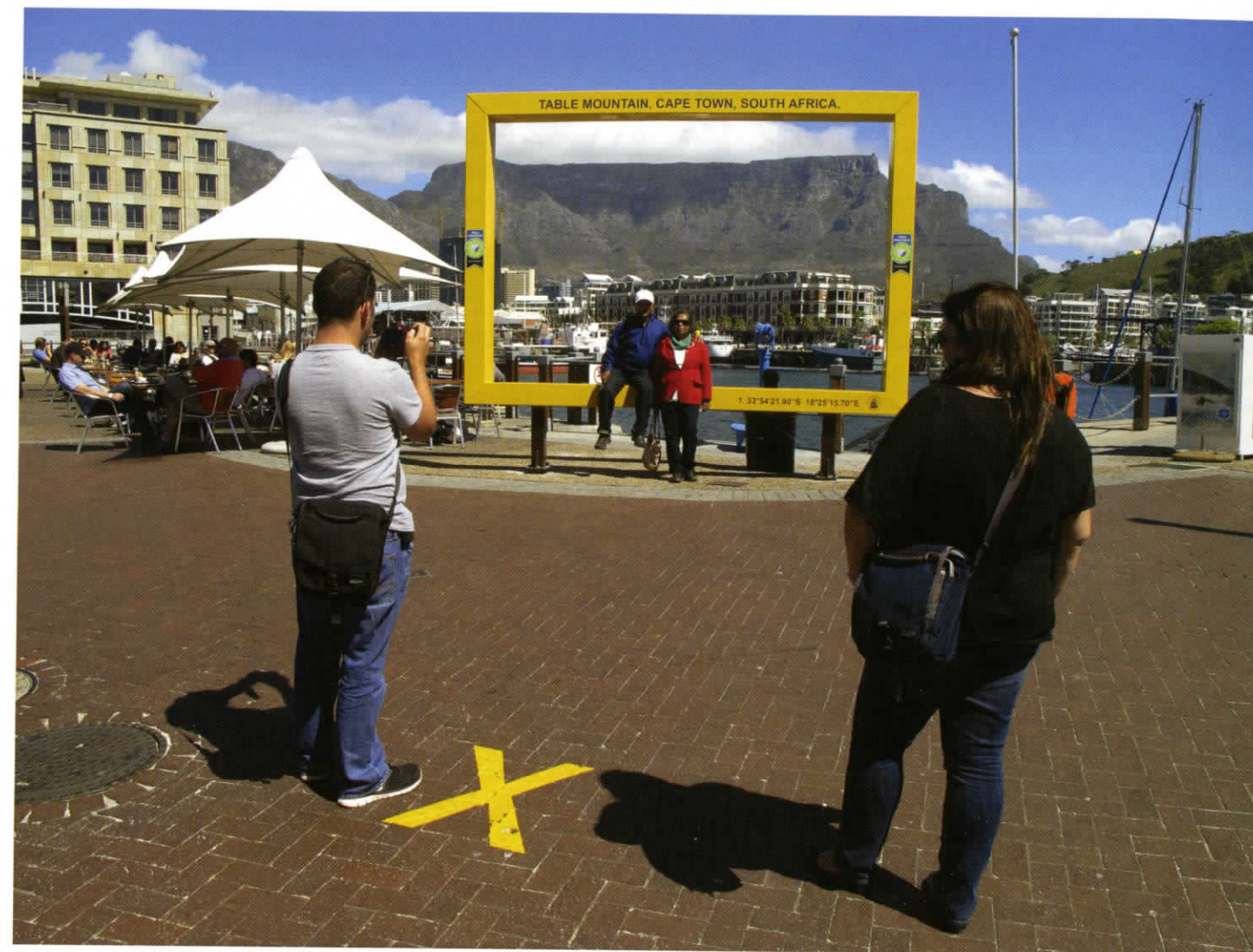
with a member of the congregation, we located the original site of a photograph Heseltine had made of an elevated channel taking water to the mill. The comparison between the past and the present this image evoked was expressed as a story of growing crime, vandalism and drug use—the metal from the channel had recently been stolen—associated with the nearby town of Atlantis, a failed industrial center created by the apartheid government in the 1970s for Coloured workers.

This brief note aside, and notwithstanding the possibility that some of those portrayed in the main Heseltine collection may come to be identified, if disconnection is structured into the context in which the photographs were made and to which they are returning, indeed into the collection itself, then we need to think differently about what it means to reconnect or relocate these photographs in present-day Cape Town. In doing so, we may still open the possibility of a critical reading of the collection that relocates it in the present.

Are there ways of looking, then, that might be counterposed to this unpromising context? At the opening to the Cape Town exhibition, Omar Badsha⁹ spoke eloquently about the photographs and the practice of photography, evoking an image of the young Heseltine exploring the margins of the city with his camera, his vision inevitably shaped by race, and the political agency represented in his being commissioned by the SAIRR, yet at the same time driven by curiosity and a desire to look, and engaging in a very human way with those he photographed: exchanging glances, sharing moments of laughter (Fig. 11). This brings to mind another of the phrases that Nimis uses to describe the misalignments of vision between African viewers in the postcolonial period and the sources available from which to construct their visual history and memory: “visual discomfort” (2014:398). The phrase invites one to look closely at the images for clues of the interaction between photographer and subject. Against this measure, Heseltine’s images fare reasonably well, even if one might

wish to acknowledge that his professional training as a portraitist may have come into play. There are some subjects whose poses speak of awkwardness, a stiffening in front of the camera, but this is not universally the case. As I have argued elsewhere (Newbury 2013), the care with which Heseltine depicted the people and places he photographs is unusual when compared with the other, often scant, visual records that exist of places such as Windermere. Here one might argue there is capacity for new alignments of vision in the present. Not conclusive, for sure, but the fact that the word “beautiful” was repeated several times in written comments on the exhibition offers some support to this idea, suggesting that these viewers at least engaged with photographs as something other than depictions of poverty, racial oppression, and otherness and found in them a sense of presence.¹⁰

Equally, by traversing the spaces in between, through his practice of photography Heseltine connected the racially zoned spaces of the city, bringing them together in a single photographic (and now archival) space, a city seen and imagined in a way that very few other residents of Cape Town would have had access to at the time or in the years following. It would be over-interpretation to view this as a radical gesture on Heseltine’s part—his interest was decidedly more visual and aesthetic than political—yet arguably this route through the collection can be reconstructed as a critical reading of the city in the present. Drawing on Gandhi’s “experiments in slow reading” (Hofmeyr 2013), Badsha invited a form of slow looking at the photographs, one that recalls the embodied, sensory engagement with the urban landscape that their making required, yet which remains active and engaged in sense making, rather than surrendering to the experiential rhetoric of the image. Following this line of thought, the exhibition might be thought of as a moment of “provisional thickening” (Hofmeyr 2013:19), a point at which a discourse begins to cohere around the images that makes them meaningful to the present and which holds the promise of a



15 Framed view of Table Mountain, Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, Cape Town, October 2013.
Photo: Darren Newbury

deeper sense of connectedness between the photographs, the viewer, and the city.

It is worth noting that even if it had not proved possible to name individuals, earlier discussions with ex-residents of District Six had at least succeeded in naming many of the streets in the photographs of District Six and the Bo-Kaap, which served to establish a sense of location and gave rise to stories of life in that part of the city.¹¹ These insights mainly applied to those areas close to the center rather than the outlying townships, however, so one was still left with a slight sense of incompleteness. Nevertheless, placing the photographs back into the urban landscape in which they were made, relocating them, literally and imaginatively, on a map of the city and tracing the connections, did offer a more productive way of thinking about the meaning of the photographs’ return.

A city map from 1947 proved a crucial document in taking this idea forward within the exhibition (Fig. 12). Originally used for the purposes of racial survey and prefiguring the forced removals of the 1950s and 1960s, its surface inscribed with the racial categorization of the city’s residents, this map provided a framework within which the individual photographic images made sense. Overlaying the images on the map allowed one to relocate them in space, to draw connections and to see the city as a palimpsest.¹² This subsequently provided the basis for one of the activities programmed to accompany the exhibition. In a half-day event, a small group of Museum staff and visitors retraced Heseltine’s route across the city, from District Six to Kensington and Facreton (the former Windermere), and then on to Langa and Nyanga, stopping at several points where photographs had been made in order to reflect on continuities and discontinuities in the history and memory of the city (Fig. 13).¹³ Albeit in a limited way and for only a small group of participants, a connection between Heseltine’s photographs and the city was remade through this process.

It is worth reflecting here, too, on the location of the exhibition itself, in the Homecoming Centre of District Six Museum. Central to the work of the Museum from its inception has been the reconstitution of memories of place and their value as a criti-

cal force in the present. The Museum was never simply about preservation of a built environment or material artifacts, a majority of which had in any case been erased and destroyed in the process of forced removal—underlined by the fact that a key starting point of the Museum's permanent exhibition was a secretly salvaged collection of street name plates—but rather the active work of history and memory in spite of this destruction: “[W]e do not wish to recreate District Six as much as to repossess the history of the area as a place where people lived, loved, and struggled.”¹⁴ Nor simply was it about the singular location of District Six; instead, the Museum has consistently acknowledged “the layered significance of the District Six site—as a local site of forced removal in the heart of Cape Town and as a site of national significance that reflects the impact of forced removals throughout South Africa.” And there is no attempt to offer a singular narrative: “There is therefore no uniform or singular perspective on the significance of specific sites and practices associated with District Six. Contestations and debate are often part of the process of remembering.”¹⁵

Located a few blocks from the main museum building, where it occupies the old Sacks Futeran warehouse (converted with National Lottery funding), the Homecoming Centre builds on the Museum's philosophy and practice serving as a “homecoming centre” to returning families and a centre for education and memory work,¹⁶ a place for workshops and seminars, social events and temporary exhibitions. Its value as a social space, a space of interaction and memory work, meant that Heseltine's photographs were at once the main attraction and merely a catalyst for other connections.¹⁶ Rather than emphasizing a singular authoritative historical narrative, the setting held open “the possibility of bringing forth a whole range of histories, and of opening up memories,” sharing a quality that Wright identifies as characteristic of approaches to archival photographs in the Solomon Islands (2013:189).

Beyond this, however, the Heseltine collection articulates with the work of the Museum in two ways. First, although the collection includes photographs of District Six, other sites within the city predominate, most notably Windermere. The exhibition therefore emphasized movement outwards from District Six, making connections to other parts of the city and reaffirming the Museum's symbolic position within a larger history of forced removals, in contrast to the spatial containment of historical memory within District Six itself. The exhibition also provided an opportunity for connections that reached out beyond the city. Later in his career, Heseltine had photographed on the island of St. Helena. The Museum staff was keen to include a selection of these photographs in the exhibition as a means of facilitating stronger connections to the relatively large St. Helenan community in the city. The photographs were shown on a video loop and visitors with connections to St. Helena were invited to leave their contact details (Fig. 14).¹⁷ Second, siting the Heseltine collection at the Museum brought the photographs into dialogue with other historical photographs of

the city. The Homecoming Centre, on its ground floor, has a semi-permanent display of images from the Van Kalker collection, from a portrait studio in Woodstock, bordering District Six, which provided photographic services to black and Coloured communities on this side of the city. And of course many photographs are used within the Museum's permanent exhibition. In several ways then, the context served to “thicken” the discourse around Heseltine's photography, positioning it within a critical debate about the history and memory of the city in the present, and opening it to the scrutiny of local audiences.

I want to conclude with a question I raised at the start of this article: what does it mean to place this collection back into the city at this point in its post-apartheid, and one might add post-FIFA, development? This is a challenging moment for District Six Museum. As it confronts new economic realities and the pressures of city development, it needs to acknowledge its position within the tourist “offer” of the city—the Homecoming Centre is described as a place “where visitors can experience ... some of the potential encounters possible as part of the broader District Six city experience”—whilst resisting place-branding initiatives that define heritage as simply an experience to be packaged and consumed (Rassool 2013).¹⁸ In this context, I suggest, the exhibition reconfigured as a route through the city might be read as a counter-narrative to current urban development priorities and the visual histories and economies that they represent. Driven in part by the decision to site Cape Town's stadium for the FIFA 2010 World Cup at Green Point, recent investment in the city has been centered around the corridor between the city center, the stadium, and the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, with its extensive retail and commercial developments.¹⁹ But the picture-postcard perspective this presents perpetuates an image of the city seen from the viewpoint of “colonial discovery,” as experienced by its Dutch and English colonizers arriving into Table Bay—a view of the city seen from afar, a landscape to be desired and possessed.²⁰ If it were needed, confirmation of the significance of this viewpoint to the visual identity of the city could be found in the recent installation of a large yellow frame through which visitors can possess the view for themselves (Fig. 15). The route projected by the Heseltine collection, in contrast, takes one in the opposite direction, out to the East and Southeast and into the densely populated townships of the Cape Flats, which visitors to the city are much less likely to experience.²¹ In doing so, it contributes to a different, if no less complex and contested, visual history, a different view of the city; one that remains important to debates concerning its present and its future.

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Notes

The exhibition was entitled “Going and Coming Back: Photographs of 1950s Cape Town by Bryan Heseltine.” I am grateful to District Six Museum for their commitment and particularly to Tina Smith, Head of Exhibitions, with

whom I had the pleasure of working closely to realize the exhibition.

1 See Banks and Vokes (2010:338–41) for a discussion on the mobility of archival photographs.

2 There is a related literature and number of

initiatives on the “salvage” of indigenous archival collections. The British Library's Endangered Archives Programme (<http://eap.bl.uk>), for example, has enabled the preservation and digitization of a number of photographic collections.

3 Although beyond the scope of this paper, which is focused specifically on the Cape Town context, it is worth noting that at the time of writing, plans for the collection to be exhibited elsewhere in South Africa were in development.

4 A number of the reflections in this paper were prompted by the panel discussion held alongside the exhibition—“Reconnecting Photographic Histories in South Africa” (October 3, 2013)—and I am therefore grateful to the panel members for their contribution: Sean Field, Patricia Hayes, Noeleen Murray, and Raël Salley.

5 The space-time of connection is something that has seemed increasingly important to draw out of the collection, rather than collapsing this into a focus on recollections of place alone.

6 Letter from a family friend to Bryan and Jennifer Heseltine, early 1950s, reported to the author by Gail Thorpe, Heseltine's daughter, email communication, July 18, 2011. The anxious perception of black Africans as a source of disease has a long and notorious history in Cape Town.

7 Whilst Heseltine left no written account of his motivations for photographing in Windermere or elsewhere, discussions with family members, including his widow, have emphasized his particular aesthetic interest in these marginal spaces. It is also clear that, unlike an area such as the Bo-Kaap, say, which is close to the city center and has a history of being photographed that reaches back at least to the early part of the twentieth century, visits to Windermere would have required both greater organization and the assistance of others, probably social worker acquaintances, to facilitate his access. This indicates more than a casual interest.

8 Though one should note recent research that is recovering precisely these kinds of collections. See Feyder 2015 and Peffer 2015.

9 Badsha is a photographer, former member of Afrapix, and Director of South African History Online (SAHO).

10 As Elizabeth Edwards (2014) has argued, we need to attend to “presence” as much as “agency” in thinking about what is to be recovered from photographic archives.

11 This discussion took place as part of the Human Rights Day Programme at District Six Museum, March 21, 2011.

12 There is precedent for this approach within the Museum, of course: the enlarged street map of District Six, with handwritten inscriptions identifying where former residents lived, covers the ground floor of the main museum building and is symbolic of its philosophy and approach.

13 I discuss this in greater detail in Newbury 2015b.

14 “District Six Museum. Current Operations and Future Plans,” Department of Arts and Culture, October 22, 2013. The Museum emerged out of the Hands-Off District Six Committee campaign to halt any building on the site following the forced removal of the community from the late 1960s onwards. See Rassool and Prosalendis 2001 and Coombes 2003 for more detailed discussions of its origins.

15 Except where specified, the following quotations are drawn from the District Six Museum website: www.districtsix.co.za, accessed July 28, 2014.

16 The capacity to facilitate connections was brought home vividly in an e-mail received by the Museum from an attendee of the exhibition opening: “I had a wonderful evening at the exhibition last night. It was amazing, it touched my soul and moved me so much. My friends, who you so kindly allowed me to bring along, also had such a great experience on so many levels. Apart from

the impact that the photographs and the presentation by your two speakers made on them, they had personal encounters with friends that they had not seen for ages, found family connections, and also networked with other guests that they would never have met if it was not for this occasion! A Home-Come Centre indeed ... You truly know how to give life to history.” Chrischene Julius, Collections Manager, District Six Museum, email communication, September 25, 2013.

17 The exhibition can also be read in terms of a photographic history that links Heseltine's photographs to the emerging anti-apartheid movement through its exhibition in London in 1955, which was the subject of a wall panel within the exhibition design.

18 The Museum currently faces two major challenges. First, since withdrawal of funding in 2011 by the Mott and Ford Foundations, there has been an urgent need to generate a greater proportion of income to sustain the organization. Second, the fact that District Six has yet to be declared a national heritage site has made all the more difficult the Museum's struggle to ensure that reconstruction is appropriate to the history of the site and not driven simply by commercial imperatives. For a discussion of these issues, see the minutes of a meeting between the Museum and the Department of Arts and Culture, October 22, 2013: www.pmg.org.za/report/20131022-district-six-museum-its-operations-and-business-plans-department-arts-and-culture-2nd-quarter-expenditure-report, accessed July 28, 2014.

19 It was the influence of FIFA that ultimately meant that the Cape Town World Cup stadium was built in Green Point rather than on the site of the current Athlone Stadium, which would in many ways have been more appropriate.

20 I am indebted to Ciraj Rassool for this observation, which he made in discussion at a seminar organized as part of the University of the Western Cape African Programme in Museum and Heritage Studies at the Nelson Mandela Gateway, October 3, 2013.

21 Langa is a notable exception here and has established itself on the tourist itinerary of the city.

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