Image Matters

ARCHIVE, PHOTOGRAPHY, AND THE AFRICAN DIASPORA IN EUROPE

TINA M. CAMPT

Image Matters

ARCHIVE, PHOTOGRAPHY, and the AFRICAN DIASPORA IN EUROPE

Tina M. Campt

Duke University Press Durham and London 2012

© 2012 Duke University Press

All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞

Designed by Heather Hensley

Typeset in Bembo by Tseng Information Systems, Inc.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data appear
on the last printed page of this book.

CONTENTS

ix Acknowledgments

1 INTRODUCTION
On Family Tales and Photographic Records

21 **PART 1** *Family Matters: Sight, Sense, Touch*

- 35 CHAPTER 1 Family Touches
- 71 INTERSTITIAL The Girl and/in the Gaze
- 83 CHAPTER 2 Orphan Photos, Fugitive Images

115 **PART 2** *Image Matters: Sight, Sound, Score*

- 117 INTERSTITIAL "Thingyness"; or, The Matter of the Image
- 129 CHAPTER 3 The Lyric of the Archive

199 EPILOGUE

205 Notes

223 Bibliography

231 Illustration Credits

233 Index

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is about photographs and archives and the attachments forged through our encounters with each. Those attachments are often personal and emotional, but for me, they also take institutional forms. There were numerous people and archives I met and visited along the way of the journey into photography that became this book. A number of people and institutions have taught me ways of seeing and thinking about photographs, and in the process opened whole new worlds to me. I became extremely attached to many of these individuals, and I am indebted to them and their institutions.

The archive of images that are the focus of part 1 of the book were collected from multiple private and public sources, and I must acknowledge several people who were instrumental in helping me gain access to these valuable historical artifacts. I am grateful to Dieter Kuntz and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum for recovering and making available to me the remarkable collection of photographs of Hans Hauck reprinted here with the permission of the museum. Keith Piper and Nicola Laure al Samarai initiated me into this exploration of racial visibility during our collaborative work on the *Historical Sounding Gallery* in Berlin, Germany, and I must acknowledge Laure al Samarai in particular for the initial research that led me to a number of these sources. The enthusiasm and generosity of Peter Seel and the House of World

Cultures in Berlin provided the resources and institutional framework for that initial project. Anneliese Althoff, Lore Hagemann, and the late Annemarie Stern of the Fasia-Jansen-Stiftung welcomed my interest and gave me access and permission to use the images they collected, archived, and published in the volume dedicated to Jansen's life and legacy, *Fasia: Geliebte Rebellin*. And Peter Martin and Christine Alonso gave me access and permission and profound insights into the photos they collected of the Ngando and Davis families.

The extraordinary collection of portraits explored in part 2 of the book was recovered by an equally extraordinary archivist and researcher, Peter James, of the Birmingham City Archives at the Birmingham Central Library. As I describe at length in chapter 3, without Pete, the Dyche photography collection would probably have ended up in a dumpster in Balsall Heath, and for this amazing act of recovery and conservation, he has both my gratitude and that of countless members of Birmingham's black community. Other members of the staff of the archives and the City Library (shout out to Tom and Izzy in particular!) were exceptional resources without whom this project would certainly not have come to fruition in its current form. And the revelatory insights of Vanley Burke, Ashton Charles, and the members of the Annie Wood Community Resources Center gave me new eyes through which to view this collection of photos.

Funding for my research in all these places was provided by a grant from the Josiah Charles Trent Memorial Foundation at Duke University, and a William S. Vaughn postdoctoral fellowship from the Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities at Vanderbilt University provided me existential time, support, and solitude to write the bulk of the project.

Keith Piper, Ingrid Pollard, and Isaac Julien felt like mentors to me throughout my journey into visual culture. They queried, schooled, and guided me in ways they are certainly unaware of. I am in their debt for expanding my view of photographs and of the black British community in profound ways. Yara-Colette Lemke Muniz de Faria accomplished what to me seemed an impossible task. Dedicated archivist, loyal friend, and patient teacher that she is, she suffered my frustration, impatience, and stubbornness and taught me the joys of PowerPoint, Photoshop, FileMaker, and so many of the other technological skills that made this project possible.

Laura Wexler and the amazing members of the Photographic Memory

Group at Yale University opened the door and nudged me into the daunting world of the histories and theories of photography, helping me learn a new field in ways that empowered and enlightened me. The members of my graduate seminar "Visualizing Archives" were invaluable albeit unknowing sounding boards for many of the ideas in this book, and our lively discussions spurred me to raise my game in generative, if at times uncomfortable, ways. The Engendering Archives Research Group at the Center for the Critical Analysis of Social Difference at Columbia University provided a fertile, imaginative, and provocative forum where I could partake of the knowledge of colleagues whose work I admire and respect.

Hazel Carby and Marianne Hirsch have served as mentors, friends, and intellectual guideposts throughout. They deserve special gratitude for the scholarly work that they have done, without which my own would not be possible. Equally important was the gentle soul and dark humor of Shannon Van Way, whose wise counsel frequently kept the ground from slipping out from under me. And for ongoing emotional and intellectual sustenance, I must thank Saidiya Hartman in particular. For listening and encouragement, for inspiration and sheer blind faith in my ability to do this project—words cannot express the model of friendship you have shared with me. My debt to each of these individuals and groups is wide and deep.

Last but certainly not least are all the families: my own and the families pictured in the photographs presented here. I have never met most of the fathers and daughters, mothers and sons captured in these pages. But I am deeply moved by and deeply grateful for the acts of photographic recording that allowed me to engage them through the images they made of themselves. I am thankful for the ability to interact with the aspirations and intentions, the affects and enunciations imaged in each photo, and for the ways they challenged me to understand the complex lives these photographs capture. My own family has encouraged me to rise to this challenge, and the photos of these families have reconnected me to my own in unanticipated ways. I thank my dad, Auntie Jo, and the illustrious "Sisters" for their perpetual wisdom and inspiration. I thank William for bringing unimaginable joy and much needed sanity to my life. And I thank my mother most of all. A return to embrace her warmth, her affect, and her love is the greatest and most unexpected gift this project has brought me.

Copyrighted material

Introduction | ON FAMILY TALES AND PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORDS

FORT WASHINGTON, MARYLAND, CHRISTMAS 2006. I was visiting my Aunt Joanne for the holidays, a ritual pleasure I try to enjoy whenever I travel home to the DC area. For decades since my mother's early death and her own mother's death years later, Joanne has been the glue that connects me to my mother's side of the family; linking and updating me regularly on aunts and uncles, cousins and family friends scattered across the US with news and photos, gossip and history. Her extraordinary channel of communication certainly works both ways, as she quizzes me lovingly and frequently during phone conversations about my research and my travels, and circulates this information widely throughout our family. "Auntie Jo," as we affectionately call her, is the Barnes/Hammond family archivist.

A few months before my visit, we had spoken about the research I had been doing on black European family photographs. She was so fascinated by the idea of these photos that I brought along my laptop to show her some of the images I had been describing. After seeing and talking about them for a while, she said how much they reminded her of similar photographs of our family. Unfamiliar with such photos, I asked which images she was referring to, since the only ones I remembered were the Instamatic snapshots, department-store portraits, and school or wedding photos that recorded the lives of my kin in

Harrisburg, Wichita, Madison, Detroit, and Chicago. Disappearing down a hallway and up the stairs, my aunt announced in a suspiciously understated tone: "Actually, I did find a few interesting ones when I cleared out the house in Harrisburg."

"So what did you do with them?," I called back to her from where I sat downstairs. As I asked this question, I felt somehow resigned to the fact that the pictures she referred to had most likely gone a well-worn route to the trash can, as my family has a deep loathing of clutter. To my surprise, she called back from an ill-defined location in the maze of her house: "Well, I got rid of a lot of them and was thinking I'd just throw the rest of them out. I don't think anybody would want them and they take up so much space." I immediately yelled back, "I'll take them!," startling myself with the vehemence of my own reply. "But what pictures are you talking about? And where are they?," I shouted again. I had barely gotten the words out of my mouth when my aunt suddenly reappeared, dragging a large, black garbage bag full of photos. Emptying its contents onto a bed, I soon discovered that the "few interesting photos" she had found were a stunning collection of twenty to thirty images that included turn-of-the-century tintypes, sepia-toned studio portraits from the 1920s, and a range of snapshots taken in the thirties, forties, and fifties.

Sorting through these beautiful, fragile objects with astonishment and wonder while at the same time hiding my distress that they had been residing in a garbage bag for an unspecified period of time, I quizzed my aunt about the scenes pictured in them. Most were photographs of my grandparents and of her and her siblings, but she could only identify a few of the places and other people featured in them. Hours later, after I had begged her not to discard a single image without first phoning me and then promising to return the next day with my scanner, she looked at me poignantly, and in a voice tinged with appreciation and slight disbelief responded, "You know, I never thought you'd be interested in these. Because, well, what can you do with pictures like these? I mean, why would anybody be interested in somebody's old family photos?"

Since that conversation, I have had numerous enlightening and enriching talks with my aunt about photography. She shared with me her insights into the photos of our family, and I shared with her some of the challenges I have encountered in my work on the early photography of black families in

Germany and in the United Kingdom. Our conversations helped me understand how photographs reflect shared cultural practices in different black communities and how photography offers individuals in those communities a medium through which to create a vision of themselves that does not always square with how they are popularly perceived or with what we associate with those contexts in the present. Time and again, our conversations returned to the same point: that images matter to black folks.

As numerous scholars of visual culture have shown, photography plays a critical role in articulating black people's complex relationship to cultural identity and national belonging. Photography captures a given moment in the life of an individual, while at the same time offering a means of creating an image of our lives and selves as we would like to be seen. The photographic image has played a dual role in rendering the history of African diasporic communities, because of its ability to document and simultaneously pathologize the history, culture, and struggles of these communities. Photography also provides a means of challenging negative stereotypes and assumptions about black people in ways that create a counterimage of who they are, as well as who they might be or become. Indeed, it is the equally powerful positive and negative impact of photography that has made it such an important vehicle of social and cultural formation.

This book tries to understand the complex relationship between how black people image and how they imagine themselves. It asks when and how an image of a black European emerges as *part of*, rather than as deviant or distinct from, her or his national cultures. I argue that we find the visual emergence of such black European subjects in the frames of what are seemingly the most mundane examples of historical photography: family photos. Engaging the photograph as a dynamic and contested site of black cultural formation, the chapters that follow explore how two black European communities used photography to create modes of identification and community in the first half of the twentieth century. Here the comments of my aunt resonate with added effect. The directness and simplicity of the question she posed on that wintry afternoon visit served as an important point of departure, as one of those deceptively uncomplicated queries I believe scholars should take seriously in our analyses. I therefore begin my own inquiry into photography and the African diaspora in Europe by reflecting on a similarly basic question: Why use photography, and family photography in particular, to understand the history of a community?

The simple answer is that photographs are valuable historical sources that document the past. Photographs *record* history. They constitute crucial forms of historical documentation of the events, individuals, and contexts captured in the photographic image. Yet they provide historians not so much with unmediated sources of historical evidence but instead what Peter Burke has called historical "traces" that bear witness to things not put into words.[1] But while photographs are undoubtedly an invaluable historical resource, there is also something more to them—nuances and complexities that scholars of visual culture have long sought to theorize and account for as a significant part of a photographic image's social, cultural, and historical salience.

The feminist theorist and historian of photography Laura Wexler has written that what we learn of the past by looking at photographic documents is not "the way things were."[2] What they show us of the past is instead "*a record of choices*,"[3] for, as she maintains, "it is only through understanding the choices that have been made between alternatives—learning what won out and what was lost, how it happened and at what cost—that the meaning of the past can appear."[4] Extending Wexler's point, I argue that it is important to read photographs not only as records of choices but also as records of *intentions*. The question of why a photograph was made involves understanding the social, cultural, and historical relationships figured in the image, as well as a larger set of relationships outside and beyond the frame—relationships we might think of as the *social life of the photo*. The social life of the photo includes the intentions of both sitters and photographers as reflected in their decisions to take particular kinds of pictures. It also involves reflecting historically on what those images say about who these individuals aspired to be; how they wanted to be seen; what they sought to represent and articulate through them; and what they attempted or intended to project and portray.

Linking Wexler's argument to the probing question put to me by my aunt, how should we interpret what one might call "less eventful" photographs, specifically, family and domestic photos that do not depict a particular event, significant or recognizable figures, or even noteworthy or highly identifiable sites or contexts? How should we read the histories recorded in such images and imaging practices? What kind of historical knowledge might they provide? While it is certainly both valuable and necessary to use photographs as visual documentation of historical facts, events, individual biographies or contexts, I would like to pose another question that shifts our focus slightly, yet with particularly revealing implications. What if we were to silence historical biography temporarily? What if we took the unusual step of backgrounding the facts of biography, not as a way of ignoring or disregarding this information, but as a way of gaining greater access to the historical insights such images might offer? Put another way, rather than using photographs as documents or evidence of the past in the sense of an illustration, confirmation, or supplement to historical facts or information we already know, what if we thought of the image instead as itself *an enactment* of that past? What I am suggesting is that we engage these images as sites of *articulation* and *aspiration*; as personal and social statements that express how ordinary individuals envisioned their sense of self, their subjectivity, and their social status; and as objects that capture and preserve those articulations in the present as well as for the future.

Following Wexler, such an approach understands photographs as recording a series of choices that construct complex accounts of the social relations they depict. As John Berger has written, "Photographs bear witness to a human choice being exercised in a given situation. . . . [It] is already a message about the event it records. . . . At its simplest, the message, decoded, means: *I* have decided that seeing this is worth recording."[5] The choice Berger describes is a decision to render a particular event, person, object, or moment significant, remarkable, or representative; to designate it as meaningful, enjoyable, or reflective of some part of a life known to its subjects. Yet understanding these relations as historical formations requires us to read them not only through the lens of biography and the facts of "what we know." It necessarily forces us to examine both exactly what we believe we see in the photograph and the frameworks through which those depictions become meaningful social representations. Put another way, such an approach asks us to consider what kind of histories we can write *through* images when we make the photograph the center of, rather than an illustration or documentary supplement to, historical writing.

Although we have comparatively little information about many of the photos on which this book focuses, such images nevertheless offer important historical insights when read as found objects and revealing examples of *vernacular photography*. Frequently anonymous and not made as art, vernacular photography is defined as a genre of everyday image-making most often created by amateur photographers and intended as documents of personal history. Vernacular photography comprises family and professional studio portraits as well as casually made snapshots.[6] As the curator and art historian Brian Wallis explains, "These are banal photographs, often recorded by the most ordinary photographers, small-town studio operators, professional photographers on assignment, dads with cameras in the backyard. One hallmark of these vernacular photographs is that they belie no apparent aesthetic ambition other than to record what passes in front of their camera with reasonable fidelity."[7]

Emphasizing the critical role vernacular image-making has played in the African American community as a medium through which to construct a positive counterimage of the black subject, Wallis argues that "by taking these pictures as found . . . rather than as individual images, it is possible to reconstitute the sorts of narratives and protocols for viewing that originally structured the circulation of such photographs." He thus urges scholars of black culture to consider vernacular photography "a politicized element of everyday life" that helps us understand "the role of artifactual objects—such as photographs—in any individual's contested daily social, political and personal interactions."[8]

The work of scholars and curators like Wallis and the renowned photographer and archivist Deborah Willis, who have brought exceptional collections of vernacular photographs of African American communities to the attention of wider audiences, demonstrates the undeniable importance of such images for understanding the history of blacks in the United States. But what of Europe's black populations? Can a similar argument be made with respect to the vernacular image-making practices of blacks in Europe? Can we see in them a parallel function and historical significance, and if so, what constitutes the specificity of their social and cultural import as artifacts of black cultural formation in the European context?

The chapters that follow explore these questions by engaging early twentieth-century photography of black European families as vernacular cultural artifacts and as particular kinds of historical articulations. I read them as objects that *place* people both historically and socially, through the ways they articulate a profound aspiration to forms of national and cultural belonging, inclusion, and social status. These photos document such articulations not only through the factual evidence they record, but, more provocatively, through the ways they *stage* intentions, aspirations, and performances of black

European subjects in formation, and capture important moments of enunciation. But let us be clear—these are not moments of pronouncement; indeed, quite the contrary. Their moments of enunciation come in far less strident tones and forms, through visual compositions that juxtapose lightheartedness and formality, jocularity and respectability, work and leisure, celebration and commemoration—each set in the context of family and friends, work and play, home and hearth. They are moments that often seem so self-evident that we frequently take them for granted. Yet as I will contend, it is this self-evidence that makes them register so profoundly as particularly compelling enunciations of self and community, (af)filiation and improvisation.

What choices can we read in domestic images and family photographs? What choices make them make sense as depictions of what we might call black German, black British, or black European life? Put another way, how do such images *register*? Given their context, the home and everyday life, their primary register is clearly that of family. But this register is not merely descriptive, for such photographs do not record simple relations of kinship or genealogy. We must ask what kinds of historical information they offer us, but perhaps more important, we must ask more specifically *from where in the image does it emanate*?

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA, FALL 2003. For almost every year of my life, the last two weeks of October were a vexed time for me. These were the two weeks a year I spent obsessing about a birthday gift for my father. But this year was different. I had managed to come up with the perfect idea for a present, and not only had I managed to do it weeks in advance, I had even found it within the four walls of my own home. After years of the glorified itinerancy that constitutes the life of an academic, I had finally begun unpacking a decade's worth of stuff I had been schlepping around or storing in various places since graduate school. In that unpacking, I had come up on a bag of 8mm and Super 8 films of my childhood. The bag was a jumble of little boxes—tattered yellow cartons with a big red stripe that proudly announced them as "Kodachrome."

Looking at those worn but still perky little boxes provoked a series of intense and quite sensory memories. For one thing, the fake (i.e., vinyl) carpetbag that held them smelled exactly like my grandmother's house. That bag and that smell immediately transported me back to 1112 North Fourteenth Street, to Nana and Poppop's three-story row house just off Herr Street in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania—every immaculate detail of which I remember to this day. Several of the yellow film cartons were unmarked, but most were labeled in eerily familiar, handwritten scribble—script I recognized as my mother's and my grandmother's, two enormous maternal presences in my childhood who had passed out of my life several decades earlier. My idea had been to transfer these fragile, languishing images of my family from rapidly deteriorating film to video and to present this small family archive to my dad on his birthday. My sister was completely in favor of the idea. Like me, she, too, was relieved that I had come up with an early gift idea for "the man who has everything," as we fondly referred to him. And as my dad will eagerly attest, the gift proved a big hit.

In fact, his response overwhelmed us. He smiled. He chuckled. He looked back and forth from the TV to me, back to the TV, then to my sister, and back again to the TV. He pelleted us with questions: "Where did you get this?"; "How did you do this?" Finally he exhaled with pride and satisfaction: "This is the best gift ever!" And with that, the whole process began all over again. Captivated by and completely swept up in these images and the vivid memories they evoked, at one point he actually leapt from his seat and went straight up to the TV. Pointing with animated gestures at and around the screen, the images seemed almost to compel him to narrate what was happening: who was here, who was there, who was filming, and what was going on (and indeed going wrong) both inside and outside the frame. These images *moved* my father literally as well as figuratively, for believe me, my dad is not what one would call an animated kind of a guy.

But there is a backstory to this innocent and well-received gift. For the scrupulous daughters that my sister and I are, we decided to screen the finished video a few days before presenting it to my dad. Sitting there in her living room, watching ourselves as infants crawling across the screen of her TV, our initial responses were the delighted coos and giggles one would expect from any audience witnessing the first birthdays and initial steps of infants and toddlers. Very quickly, however, our giggles began to fade and a curious silence enveloped us. I say "curious" because when my sister and I are together, we can rarely manage to actually be quiet, let alone achieve the supreme sonic suppression known as silence. I cannot speak for my sister, but for me, barely ten minutes into what was a half-hour video, that silence somehow became too much, and I suddenly heard myself saying sheepishly, “I don’t think I can watch this right now.” To my surprise, my sister replied, “Me either. Let’s wait to watch it with Daddy.” I was saved. Or maybe not . . .

As an academic, a historian, and a theorist, I am unfortunately nearly incapable of letting moments such as these go unreflected, and even less likely to let them go uncommented. Probed and prodded by two friends to whom I recounted this experience, I realized that what was so unsettling to me about the film was its *movement*. In fact, I would actually describe it as its *rhythm*. My mother died when I was eleven years old, and although I have countless photographs of her and she remains a lively presence in the stories and memories of my family and her friends, it had been more than three decades since I had seen the figure that constituted my mother actually *move*. Indeed, the rhythms of these images physically moved my dad from the couch all the way over to the TV screen.

Unlike the photos of her I had scrutinized for years, those films animated my mother. They set her in motion by giving her affect, intensity, *charm*. My mom practically sizzled with personality in those films. She looked fun and interesting. She looked poised and elegant. She looked like a black Mary Tyler Moore, back in the days when she was Dick Van Dyke’s devoted yet fabulous and sexy wife on Bonny Meadow Lane in New Rochelle, New York.

But they also put her in motion in that choppy rhythmic way that 8mm films do everyone in them. They syncopate people by way of the bumpy, shifty cadence they produce mechanically through the motion of multiple still frames moving in sequence as film across the backlighting of a projector—a sound I can hear as I write and describe it in these pages. The rhythmic syncopation of this projector effect blended with the affective rhythms of my mother in

her party dress, entertaining guests, and flirting with the camera, making my mother seem playful, festive, and, well, just incredibly cool! And it was precisely this—the fact that the woman in this video seemed *so incredibly cool*—that haunted and unsettled me. That woman was the mom I had always dreamed of having. She was the mom I always wanted (and wanted to be) as an adult, and she was the mom I had actually had, but never really known. She was the mom I had once had, but could no longer remember.

My mother's animated image returned me to some of the rhythms I could not see as a child in her presence and had lost sight of in her absence as an adult. That return led me to try to connect the rhythms of the moving image to those of the still photograph, and in the process, it led me to a deeper engagement with the affects of domestic photography and of family photos in particular. Affect is clearly not confined to the moving image—the rhythms and affects I experienced in watching the home movie of my mother are equally present in the still image. To pose the question again, how do such images *register*? To ask how these photos register is to attempt to catalogue both a sensibility and a range of sensory affects they display and evoke in others. Family and the forms of filiation and affiliation, linkage and belonging that family evokes constitute a crucial sensibility that registers in these images at multiple sensory and affective levels. It is a sensibility that begins with vision and sight, with *what we see*, but it certainly does not end there.

Frames of Reference: Photographic Senses and Sensibilities

Three conceptual frames structure my examination of the senses and sensibilities of vernacular image-making as a critical cultural practice for African diasporic communities in Europe: family and (af)filiation, seriality and circulation, and sensate photographic registers. The first of these, *family and the (af)filiative connections* established through photography, is the central analytic lens I use to think through the two archives of images at the center of my analysis. These archives represent the two primary photographic genres that constitute family photography: snapshot and portrait photography. The first set of images comprises snapshot photographs of four black German families taken between the turn of the century and 1945. The second is a collection of studio portraits of African Caribbean migrants to postwar Britain taken between 1948 and 1960. Together, these images present photographic accounts of two black European communities rarely seen in relation to one another—communities with very different diasporic, national, and colonial histories—at key moments in their formation. Here again, the question that orients my analysis is: how do black families and communities in diaspora use family photography to carve out a place for themselves in the European contexts they come to call home? What do these images tell us about the processes of self, community, and homemaking in which they were engaged, and how do they use photography to communicate this?

The answer to these questions lies in the second conceptual frame of the book: the *vernacular seriality and circulation* of the images. The photographs examined here are images that conform to familiar and, in some cases, quite rigid formats—formats that repeat the conventions of their respective genres through the use of recognizable visual compositions. As I will argue, it is the familiarity and serial reproduction of these compositions and conventions that, in large part, make them register so widely and evocatively. These are images whose most striking feature is that they are *not* singular or exceptional; rather, it is in the sheer ordinariness and prevalence of these images and practices in multiple cultural contexts that their import can be found. Indeed, the ordinariness and widespread circulation of such images as expressive forms of vernacular culture demonstrates the enormous cultural work they perform in creating a sense of self, community, and belonging for their subjects.

My approach to these images focuses on precisely this enunciative dimension of black vernacular photography. In other words, my interest is in what the practice of making images did for black sitters as individuals and in communities, and in what it allowed them to do and say about themselves. What did a specific photographic genre or practice allow them to do through the image of themselves it created? Rather than taking these photos at face value as the evidence of history, I emphasize the historical value of vernacular photographs by taking up the fundamental question of how particular photos *become* the evidence of history. Such a question recenters what I think of as the sticky residue of memory and history that makes us cling to certain photographs and that *affectively* affixes them to us and to our memories.

In a frequently cited passage from his translator's introduction to Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*, Brian Massumi defines affect as follows: "Affect/affection. Neither word denotes a personal feeling (*sentiment* in Deleuze and Guattari). *L'Affect* (Spinoza's *affectus*) is an ability to affect and be affected. It is a prepersonal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body's capacity to act. *L'Affection* (Spinoza's *affectio*) is each such state considered as an encounter between the affected body and the second, affecting body (with the body taken in its broadest possible sense to include 'mental' or ideal bodies)."[9] In Massumi's definition, affect is, on the one hand, not a feeling, as feelings are personal and biographical. Emotions, on the other hand, are social. In contrast, affect is "prepersonal." Carefully parsing affect from its conflation with these two related terms—terms often used interchangeably with affect—Eric Shouse extends Massumi's definition by further delineating affect, emotion, and feeling. Summarizing the work of prominent theorists of affect including Sylvan Tompkins, Eve Sedgwick, Virginia Demos, Teresa Brennan, Massumi, and others, Shouse explains that a feeling is "a *sensation* that has been checked against previous experiences and labeled. It is biographical because every person has a distinct set of previous sensations."[10] Shouse defines emotion as the "*projection/display of a feeling*." Affect is, by comparison, more abstract. It is a "*non-conscious experience of intensity*; it is a moment of unformed and unstructured potential."[11] Citing Massumi's extended discussion of the term in *Parables for the Virtual*, Shouse similarly maintains that "affect cannot be fully realized in language, and [*sic*] because affect is always prior to and/or outside of consciousness. Affect is the body's way of preparing itself for action in a given circumstance by adding a quantitative dimension of intensity to the quality of an experience."[12] Linking Massumi to Tompkins's contention that affects remain nonconscious and unformed and are "aroused easily by factors over which the individual has little control,"[13] Shouse continues: "For the infant affect is emotion, for the adult *affect is what makes feelings feel*. It is what determines the intensity (quantity) of a feeling (quality), as well as the background intensity of our everyday lives (the half-sensed, ongoing hum of quantity/quality that we experience when we are not really attuned to any experience at all)."[14]

While affect is characterized here as prepersonal or nonconscious, contact with certain objects and media also necessarily produces affective responses. As Shouse points out, "Given the ubiquity of affect, it is important to take note that the power of many forms of media lies not so much in their ideological effects, but in their ability to create affective resonances independent of content or meaning."[15] Photographs are one such medium—a medium that produces affective resonances and attachments in ways we cannot necessarily explain and that are often detached from personal or biographical investments. Family photos in particular are affect-laden objects that incite individuals to emotional responses and modes of intensive engagement. Photographs "move us." They move us to affect and to be affected; they move us by shifting us from one intense experiential state to another. They can arrest us in ways that diminish our capacity to respond, and they provoke us in ways that augment our capacity to engage. They are objects that engender experiences of intensity that we can often only identify, locate, excavate, and order after the fact. If affect is "what makes feelings feel," then photographs are objects that catalyze affect and make affect register.

It was the abiding affective resonances and attachments expressed through these highly recognizable forms of photographic self-presentation that led these individuals to make certain kinds of images, and the reason photographs were viewed as an available and efficacious medium for self-creation and articulation. While *affect* is a somewhat slippery term that has come to have great critical purchase in contemporary academic discourse, in this text, I take what might be considered a relatively simple approach to engaging affect, using this term to attend to how certain photographs move people, and why they catalyze forms of emotion, sentiment, meaning, and value as objects of feeling and relation, desire and aspiration. I also use *affect* to describe the excess of what registers in and through photographs beyond the visual, for the formal patterns and attributes these images and their sitter-subjects sought to reproduce resonated at multiple levels in these photographs, and it was for this reason that they were deployed by different constituencies to elicit particular responses and connections. Unpacking what motivated a community's attachment to the serial reproduction of certain kinds of images and specific image-making practices, and explaining how they functioned at particular historical moments, gives us a different appreciation of the reappearance of familiar or similar (albeit never exact) reproductions of the same types of images over time.

When we think about the seriality of these photographs as not simply a hollow replication of a particular photographic genre but instead as having affective and enunciative functions, we begin to understand these images as part of more complex processes of cultural articulation, improvisation, and reiteration. Far from constituting a replication, they are repetitions with a difference—a difference inflected and infused with racialized, gendered, class-specific, and diasporic meanings. They in turn give us a clearer sense of how and why certain photographs register at multiple levels, as well as of what those registers tell us about the cultural work of vernacular photography for diasporic communities.

The photographs in question are images that have circulated privately and publicly; they are images that traveled within families across different generations and, in some cases, even across oceans and continents. They are photographs made for particular and often sentimental reasons, yet they were images that also served to express the aspirations of their sitters to be or become particular kinds of subjects. Regardless of whether these individuals accomplished the modes of belonging or inclusion they aimed to create; regardless of whether those who viewed or received them invested these images with the meanings their sitters had intended; and regardless of whether these images succeeded in presenting their subjects' aspirations or intentions with greater or lesser accuracy—the photographs nevertheless represent expressive cultural texts that are of abiding historical significance for the insights they offer into the process of diasporic cultural formation. For while all family photographs stage such aspirations, these images of black communities in diaspora visualize creative forms of family and relation produced over and against the disparate geographies and temporalities that constitute diasporic migration, settlement, and dwelling.

Taking inspiration from Stuart Hall's conception of identity as fundamentally "a matter of 'becoming' as well as 'being,'" the forms of self-presentation displayed in and through the images and image-making practices elaborate photography's role in the production of what I shall call "*subjects in becoming*."[16] These images enunciate forms of identification and subjectivity that perhaps, at the time, had yet to be articulated. The gestures and enunciations expressed through these photos provided a foundation for the later emergence of the subjects we now recognize as black Britons and black Germans. These black European identities were by no means contemporary phenomena—they are profoundly historical, in ways that I contend emerged visually through the lens of family photographic practices.

Explicating the affective and enunciative functions of these images provides the underlying rationale for the third analytic frame of the book: an emphasis on the multiple *sensate photographic registers* that render these images meaningful and expressive cultural objects. As I have indicated, these photographs are not restricted to the sensory realm of the visual. They also register at other sensory levels that reveal our attachments to family photographs. While the affective force and cultural import of such images clearly manifests visually through the familial frames of reference they display, it also registers beyond them—in excess of the visual and, indeed, beyond what we see. Thus, starting from the visual, my readings explore how these images register at two additional sensory levels: the *haptic* (touch) and the *sonic* (sound).

Attending to the multiple registers of the image brings the visual together with the other sensory modalities through which we apprehend and respond to photographs. The majority of these images are portraits, but many are snapshots taken outside the commodified, professional realm of photographic studios. They were taken and circulated by the amateur photographers who shot them—the friends and family members of the subjects featured within their frames. Yet they were taken not only to be seen but also *to be held*. Thus while their primary sensory register is undoubtedly visual, they also have a *haptic* dimension, for they are tactile objects meant to be grasped, held, displayed, and circulated among loved ones.

Like most snapshots, they were made to capture memorable moments, primarily happy occasions and moments of celebration. Yet they were also intended to have a physical and material life; these images were meant to be kept, but also to move, to circulate spatially and temporally, traveling between people and forward in time, and taking on a life well beyond those who made and posed in them. The photo album—a haptic object par excellence—constituted a primary vehicle for such movement, as the site of the handoff and transfer between people, places, and times. Some of these images were contained in elaborately inscribed scrapbooks that I encountered belatedly in my research, often in various states of disassemblage. Yet it was a dis-assembly motivated by the same haptic desire that forged them—the often well-intentioned scavenging of friends and family who sought to retain or redistribute individual photographic traces of now deceased loved ones as yet another iteration of these images' lives and circulations.

Part 1 of the book uses the haptic as a tactile and affective register through which to explore the meaning of family snapshots of black Germans as cherished objects meant to be touched, held, exchanged, and displayed. The haptic highlights the vernacular circulation of family photography more generally and serves as a direct link to a third sensory level through which these images register: the sonic. Part 2 uses one particular sonic structuring, music and musical composition, to analyze the improvisational forms of self-fashioning and articulation expressed in studio portraits of postwar African Caribbean migrants to the United Kingdom.

Music provides a generative analytic lens for reading the dynamics of studio photography as the dominant form of vernacular image-making adopted by this generation of West Indian migrants. As static as such images may appear, they in fact have deeper rhythmic and harmonic qualities animating them as forms of representational practice that play an important role in the cultural politics of diasporic memory, history, and cultural formation. Focusing on an archive of photographs of the Caribbean community in Birmingham, England, and on the genre of studio portraiture in particular, this section brings together the sonic, the visual, and the haptic to offer an alternate model for understanding the processes of gendered and racial formation these images instantiate and display.

With respect to each of the three conceptual frames, and most prominently with respect to my exploration of the sensory registers of the photograph, my aim is to access aspects of these images that might otherwise go unnoticed if we engaged them only on the basis of what seems most apparent about them as photographs we seem almost to know by heart. Indeed, my goal in the pages that follow is to intentionally (if temporarily) bracket the documentary elements of "what we know" to more fully appreciate the intentions and experiences of these photographs and the cultural and historical work they sought to accomplish.

Finally, some brief remarks on the structure of the book. As in this introduction, a series of stories frame and introduce each of the remaining sections of the book. Written in shifting authorial voices that highlight my own positionality in relation to the images, each chapter is conceived as a kind of archive story—stories detailing how I came to find the particular sets of photographs I analyze; stories of my first encounters with these images and others that influenced or affected me; and stories of my related encounters with my own family and our photographs. These encounters shaped my responses to and reflections on the photography of black and biracial families in Europe in ways that I find important to make legible in my analysis of them. I cite them here as a necessary additional frame of reference—at times as part of particular chapters, at times as interstitial reflections on the unanswered and perhaps unanswerable questions these images raise. Each interaction constitutes a moment of *archival encounter* that produced points of critical reflection, insight, and interrogation. I foreground them here in an attempt to keep in play the tensions, points of contact, overlap, and convergence among the multiple temporalities always present in the photographic image.

Seeing a photograph is always an encounter with the present, the past, and the future, especially with regard to historical photography. I encountered these respective archives of images at particular historical moments, in the context of particular institutional or private settings that located me as an African American scholar in specific ways in relation to these communities and to the different places that serve as official and informal repositories for their visual histories. To preserve the dynamics of the archive as an encounter I attempt to make visible some the relational tensions and investments that characterize the African diaspora, and the similarly complex semiotic workings of the image that persistently resurface in our attempts to understand the historical and affective salience of photos as critical sites of cultural production. It is my aspiration to render the affective, sensory, and archival dynamics of these images in ways that enliven their complexities and their relevance and that demonstrate both why they matter and what the matter of the image might tell us about photographs, families, and the relations we think of as the African diaspora.

Family Matters

SIGHT, SENSE, TOUCH

1

How should we understand the relationship between the family, the photograph, and the African diaspora? As one of the most accessible objects through which complicated processes of projection, desire, and identification come into view, the photograph frames the family in ways that affirm its apparent self-evidence and, at the same time, render it open to interrogation. This section explores a series of domestic photos of black Germans in the early twentieth century that complicate our understanding of difference, domesticity, nation, and diaspora. These images witness the creation of new and alternative subjects who emerge in seemingly innocent or innocuous depictions of traditional domestic scenes and the familial gazes they solicit.

The photographs in question enunciate a particular moment in the history of the African diaspora in Europe—a moment at which we see the emergence of blacks as European subjects, albeit through a national idiom, in this case as members of German society. These images offer a provocative site for exploring the contours of diasporic formation and of the coconstitution of racial and gendered subject formation therein. What emerges in this photographic archive are black German subjects who simultaneously rearticulate Germanness, blackness, and diaspora in ways that challenge our assumptions and expectations of each. The readings that follow set their sights on a relational and defamiliarizing diasporic practice of viewing, one that seeks to expand both how we see diaspora and who we picture within or outside a diasporic frame.

Unlike for many black communities in the diaspora, for Afro-Germans, the Atlantic is neither the crucial geographic conduit of transit, nor is the slave trade the formative event of their arrival. Collective migration is the exception rather than the rule for this community—an exception that consisted most prominently of the conscripted transfer of black soldiers from Africa and the United States during the occupations of Germany following the First and Second World Wars. Despite selective historical emphasis on these two groups, they constitute only a small part of the larger black German population. These military occupations excepted, this community's formation is marked more by voluntary, individual migrations primarily of black and African men—entrepreneurial, educational or creatively motivated journeys that were frequently temporary rather than permanent.[1]

The black German diaspora traces its beginnings to Europe's African colonial history, during which migrant colonial populations settled in German metropoles.[2] Because the genealogy of this population does not comfortably conform to dominant models, the history of the black German community reminds us of the gaps and discrepancies in any conception of diaspora that takes this formation as a framework unifying all black people transparently as a shared racialized condition of similarity across divergent cultural differences. Indeed, as a group of individuals, many of whom share neither a partial nor a collective relationship to an originary homeland "elsewhere," Afro-Germans and their experience make clear that diaspora cannot be seen as a historically given or universally applicable analytic model for explaining the cultural and community formations of all black populations.

What is equally important to theorizing diasporic formation is an engagement with the specific modes of representation and reading through which both diaspora and race become historically visible and on which we base our understanding of what constitutes diasporic relationality. It is this question that lies at the heart of this section. The discussion that follows asks why and how photography functions as a powerful medium for understanding the history of black communities transnationally, and of racial and gendered formation more generally. And it asks further what we might learn by focusing less on what we see in a single image than on the labors and registers of *multiples*, *sets*, and *archives* of photographs. In other words, my focus is on the work of image-making as a collective and relational practice of enunciation. Why does a community make certain kinds of photographs? How and why do those particular forms register? What makes them work and what work do they perform? And what makes such photographs significant, not only for what they show but also for what we see in them, specifically, what registers affectively in and through them at other sensory registers?

Chapters 1 and 2 engage the photographic archives of four black German families from the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. As we will see, these photographs of black German families in the early twentieth century depict none of the signs of displacement or marginality we most frequently associate with a conception of diasporic migration or acculturation. They underscore instead more emplaced forms of belonging and unbelonging, and in the process, they emphasize the ways in which that diaspora is also quite fundamentally about dwelling and staying put. These images of "diasporic dwelling" reveal the critical role of image-making in both racial subject formation and the production of blackness nationally and transnationally. They demonstrate as well the integral part photography plays in the labors and registers of diasporic enunciation and self-making enacted in and through the vernacular image-making practices of these communities.

The photographs explored in this section capture mundane and everyday social scenes and family events. They are both unremarkable and, at the same time, completely captivating images of individuals, some of whose life histories I have explored previously. In *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich*, I undertook a detailed analysis of the life histories of two of these individuals, Fasia Jansen and Hans Hauck, based on extensive oral accounts. At the time of my interviews with Jansen and Hauck, I was unaware of the rich collections of childhood and family photos each had maintained. It was not until almost a decade later—several years after the death of Jansen and shortly following the passing of Hauck—that I was introduced to the poignant images each had kept of their earlier lives in the Nazi period.

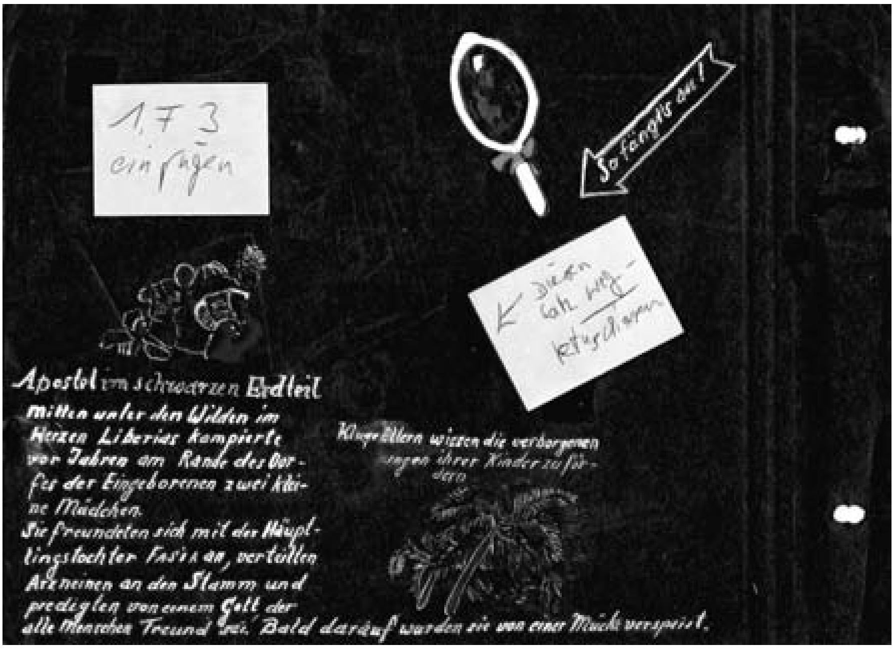
My introduction to these photographs came through my work as a curator of a multimedia project on the Black Atlantic at the House of World Cultures in Berlin, Germany, where I was asked to develop an interactive installation on the history of black Germans in the early twentieth century. The photographs collected as part of this collaborative project were made available to me by Jansen's friends and colleagues at the Fasia-Jansen-Stiftung (a foundation created to honor her life's work as a pacificist and political activist) and by Dieter Kuntz, a historian and curator at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington (USHMM), who had interviewed Hauck and had digitized a number of his personal photographs as part of his research for the museum's exhibit *Deadly Medicine: Creating the Master Race* in 2004.

In spite of what these images share in historical content or context, aesthetic genre, or conditions of production, my encounters with each of these archives differed markedly. My encounter with Jansen's family photographs was intimate and deeply personal. Jansen was in many ways her own archivist, though not necessarily the kind of meticulous or scrupulously organized conservator we normally associate with this term. As she recounted to me years earlier and as her friends later affirmed, Jansen thought of herself as a *Sammler*, a wide-ranging collector who kept nearly everything. I remembered her pointing out boxes and boxes of what an archivist would now refer to as "ephemera" that she struggled to keep contained in the space of her small apartment. Decades of diaries of intimate thoughts and reflections; seemingly random stacks of newspaper clippings; numerous fliers, concert programs, posters, and placards from demonstrations, marches, and meetings, and of course, endless recordings of music. As she said to me shortly before our second interview, "I just can't seem to throw anything away."

What she had not shown me then were the many carefully assembled scrapbooks of photos inscribed not so much with dates and places but with affectionate associations, anecdotes, and inside jokes. But my encounter with her photographic archive did not occur in this form. What I found were not those lovingly sculpted, prosaic albums. What her beloved friends presented me with years later when I visited them in the small Ruhr valley town where they and Jansen had spent most of their lives were the equally lovingly scavenged remains of those albums. Their skeletons remained: largely empty black leaves full of gaping holes outlined by handwritten poems, texts, drawings, and shadows that indicated where photos once had been. But the individual photographs I also found were no less moving, even torn from the personally crafted narratives that once structured their viewing. The photographs they once contained had been harvested by the women who had retained them after Jansen's death for a book they published to memorialize her deeds and her history.[3]

My encounter with the treasure trove of Jansen's personal archive was facilitated by a loyal group of friends and political comrades, a vibrant network of women in the postindustrial mining town of Oberhausen, several of whom had known Jansen since shortly after the war. During my brief visit they hosted me in their homes and shared moving and hilarious stories and memories of her life and of how she had inspired their political activism for workers' rights, women's rights, justice, and peace. They had kept her archive

Kleiner Schwimmkursus



1,7 3
einfügen

So fängt's an!

← Diesen Gak weg-
kritzeln

Apostel im schwarzen Erdteil
Mitten unter den Wilden im Herzen Liberias kampierte vor Jahren am Rande des Dorfes der Eingeborenen zwei kleine Mädchen.
Sie freundeten sich mit der Häuptlingstochter Fasika an, verteilten Arzneinen an den Stamm und predigten von einem Gott der alle Menschen Freund sei. Bald darauf wurden sie von einer Mücke verspeist.

Kluge Eltern wissen die verborgenen agen ihrer Kinder zu fördern

in boxes in back offices and storage rooms. But they had also used it to continue her life's work: to make visible the history of oppression that she had faced and to link that oppression to the struggles of others.

My encounter with Hauck's photographic archive was far less intimate, though no less moving. Spending time with Jansen's friends during my visit to Oberhausen felt like being part of her extended family. Their stories and memories revived her in my memory and enlivened the photographs I viewed. Hauck had no such survivors to mourn his memory. The photographs that remained of him were conveyed to me in digital form by Kuntz courtesy of the museum he worked for. Motivated by a recognition of the value of Hauck's life history and the absence of historical artifacts and traces of the lives of black survivors of the Holocaust, Hauck's photos had been collected in an effort to include his history in the USHMM's broader documentation of the legacy of the Shoah.

I had interviewed Hauck more than a decade before, but we had fallen out of touch a few years later. In 2001 I received a phone call from Kunz informing me that Hauck had been diagnosed with terminal cancer. My call to Hauck a few days later began a new kind of friendship between us. In the year leading up to his death in 2002, he and I reestablished a warm relationship, and I spoke with him on a regular basis. Random phone calls from Dudweiler to my home, at the time in California, surprised and delighted me, sometimes once a month and, later, nearly every fortnight. He ended each conversation by asking specifically about my father and my family, making me promise to send his warm if anonymous greetings to them all ("Bestelle ihnen schöne Grüße, unbekannterweise"). When I did not hear from him for a while, I hastily arranged a trip to Dudweiler. But I was too late; he had already passed away. When I arrived at the small, furnished apartment where he had lived, his landlady remembered me and allowed me to come inside and sit for a while to remember him. On entering I found it nearly unchanged from my last visit years before. The rooms and their furnishings were exactly the same, but their contents were utterly different. No personal effects or traces of his lively presence remained. Because he had no surviving relatives and no will or testament, his landlady said his belongings had been turned over to the state.

The contrasts were stark: my encounter with Jansen's photos was undeniably tactile. They were photos I touched; photos I sorted and selected from piles of ephemera; photos whose place I tried (unsuccessfully) to piece back into the narrative of her albums; photos her friends tried to narrate into the picture of the Jansen they once knew. They were photos that were pointed to, stroked, and handled even in our conversations by individuals who cherished them as tactile traces of the person they pictured. Hauck's photos were traces as well, but digitized traces I would and could never touch or handle. They had no direct tactility or materiality for me; it was instead inferred. Yet they, too, required the careful reconstruction of social and material lives through the narrative of his life that Hauck had left behind.

A third archival encounter proved altogether different. It started with the purchase of a book, the catalogue of an exhibition I had viewed two years before. I had visited the exhibit in Cologne in 2002, together with Ellen Dietrich, Jansen's longtime partner. It had been years since we had initially met, during my second visit to interview Jansen. The Center for National Socialist (NS) Documentation in Cologne (NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln), which hosted the exhibit, was only a short drive for Dietrich. We had wanted to reconnect, and she did not want to see the exhibition alone. The exhibit's use of the historically freighted and highly pejorative German term *Neger* (Negro) in its title and throughout the exhibit, *"Besondere Kennzeichen: Neger": Schwarze im NS Staat* (*"Special Designation: Negro": Blacks in the National Socialist State*) had precipitated a vociferous controversy between the project's organizers and members of the black German community. But we had come to see for ourselves and to partake of the extraordinary collection of images and artifacts of black German life under National Socialism displayed for the first time in a public institution.

While I found the exhibit's historical narrative of victimhood at times problematic, my criticism of it was blunted by the size and scope of the individual stories it displayed. Having done similar research in the past, I was impressed by the care, time, and energy the curators had invested in documenting these largely unknown histories. But what astounded me most of all were the photographs. I was overwhelmed by the visual force of seeing countless black German faces in bygone historical eras. It was difficult to leave the exhibit, as I found it hard to leave these faces behind.

And the same feeling gripped me when I viewed the selection of those images included in the exhibit's companion volume, *Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt: Schwarze im Nationalsozialismus* (*Between Charleston and Goose Step: Blacks in National Socialism*), published two years later. Having already begun writing about the family photographs of Hauck and Jansen, I visited the curators of the exhibit in Hamburg, anxious to know more about the images they had collected. Peter Martin and Christine Alonzo encouraged and sustained my interest by allowing me access to the photographs of black German individuals and families they had collected. Like Hauck's family photos, the images they shared with me were also digitized reproductions. Martin and Alonzo had archived photographs of numerous black German families during multiple research trips to individual homes throughout Germany, conducting oral history interviews for the exhibition. Unlike my experiences with Hauck's or Jansen's archive, my encounters with the photographic archives of Harry Davis and the Ngando family were twice mediated: by their virtual semblance and by the archivists themselves—by Martin's and Alonso's accounts of these individuals' histories. As the last source of information for many of the subjects whose images they had archived, Martin and Alonso recounted in as much detail as possible the stories that had been shared with them.

My encounter with the photos of Hauck, Davis, and the Ngando family would always be virtual, yet their digitized state enabled both their survival and my own experiences with them. Their virtual retention made them visible and, paradoxically, gave them extraordinary weight. Their visuality and virtual materiality made it possible and somehow urgently necessary to re-member and reconstitute these individuals in ways that granted them historical significance. Yet the force of these images' digital intangibility—their absence of physical form—in no way diminished their impact; it amplified as a result. The texture and tactility of their original materiality is still visible in hints of graininess and the signs of wear that haunt those who view them by invoking the presence of countless other images and stories for which they stand in by default. For how many other photos like these are or were there that we will never see? They are exceptional both as rare artifacts of prewar black German life and as representations of a larger set of images of subjects, lives, and histories overlooked or undervalued, silenced or sentenced to unvisibility. In this way, they force a kind of reckoning with what Avery Gordon has provocatively described as a form of haunting where that which appears to be absent manifests nonetheless as a "seething presence."[4] These images represent a synecdotal form of absent presence or present absence that confronts us with the social lives recorded in these images, as well as with those suggested by their depictions that exceed the particularity of their individual frames.

This dynamic of presence and absence—the simultaneous presence and absence of photographic indexicality and materiality, and the affective attachments engendered by them for their sitters and viewers—provides the analytic starting point for this section. These chapters explore the haptics of a range of domestic photographs and the significance of thinking these images through the sensory and affective register of touch. The concept of the haptic I develop in this section draws on but also departs from the work of a small but influential group of scholars who have theorized the haptic nature of images in multiple forms and media. Here I would identify two primary modes of engaging the haptic in the field of visual culture. First is scholarship that conceptualizes the photograph in particular as a tactile object and a site of material cultural practice. Second are authors who theorize the haptics primarily of film and video as a medium composed of tactile surfaces that require embodied modes of perception. My own engagement of the haptic conceptualizes the photographic image as both an object and a site of affective attachments, and I borrow from authors whose work might be ascribed to each of these roughly sketched categories. I offer here an abbreviated discussion of the work of two authors who exemplify these approaches and synthesize my own conception of the haptic as a way of mapping this theoretical terrain and plotting where my own work enters this emergent field.

The first approach conceptualizes the haptic dimensions of photography as directly related to the materiality of these images as objects. Originating in the field of material cultural studies, this approach defines photographs as inherently haptic in that their meanings are produced through forms of tactile contact and modes of touch that constitute the materiality of the photo and the social life of the image. The work of Elizabeth Edwards is particularly noteworthy in this context.[5] As an anthropologist and a historian of photography, Edwards foregrounds in her methodology the status of photographs as material physical objects "enmeshed with subjective, embodied and sensuous interactions."[6] Her co-edited (with Janet Hart) volume, *Photographies, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, presents an exemplary set of texts that demonstrate the value of a materialist reading of photographic images. These readings aim to "think materially" about photography by engaging "processes of intention, making, distributing, consuming, using, discarding and recycling, all of which impact on the way in which photographs as images are understood."[7] Materiality is defined in this context as a concern with "real physical objects in a world that is physically apprehendable not only through vision, but through embodied relations of smell, taste, touch and hearing."[8] With respect to the photograph, scholars of materiality place particular emphasis on what is referred to as plasticity of the image (e.g., its chemistry, the paper it is imprinted on, tonality, surface variations, and the numerous technical and physical choices that go into making a photograph), and on the presentational forms of photographs (e.g., *cartes de visite*, cabinet cards, album mounts, and frames), and on other physical traces of usage.[9]

This conception of the haptic foregrounds "embodied relationships" with images, which are viewed as critical to the study of materiality. Edwards and Hart locate the concept of the haptic at the border between film studies and photographic theory, citing Alois Riegl's idea of the optical haptic to describe the shift in attention that occurs as one's focus moves "from a thing being represented to an awareness of the texture of that thing . . . , until a point is reached where we identify this with the very texture of the photograph itself."[10] Thus defined, the haptic attends to the materiality of the image as a photo-object of bodily interaction, in particular, of tactile bodily interactions like touching, wearing, handling, and manipulation, as well as the varied and elaborate forms of presentation, display, and circulation photographs undergo.[11]

Like that of Edwards and Hart, the second approach to the haptic also draws inspiration from Riegl's concept of the haptic and emphasizes as well embodied forms of perception. Articulated most explicitly through the idiom of video and film theory, this approach is represented most significantly in the work of Laura U. Marks.[12] However, Marks's theory of the haptics of film and video proceeds in a radically different direction. Departing from a materialist approach, Marks's theorization of haptic visuality and haptic criticism explicitly distances itself from an emphasis on the physicality of touch. Building on Deleuze and Guattari's visionary elaboration of smooth and striated surfaces, Marks claims surface as the foundation of a new form of criticism that embraces the intensity of proximity. Focusing on the significance of engaging the surface of the image and on how those surfaces require specific forms of engagement from viewers and critics, Marks defines haptic criticism as a mode of analysis in which the critic comes intimately close to her or his object yet remains on the surface, engaging it instead by way of an extreme proximity that aims neither to penetrate its surface nor to master its contents. For

Marks, “haptic images” are not so much images that invite or solicit identification but those that encourage a bodily relation between viewer and image.

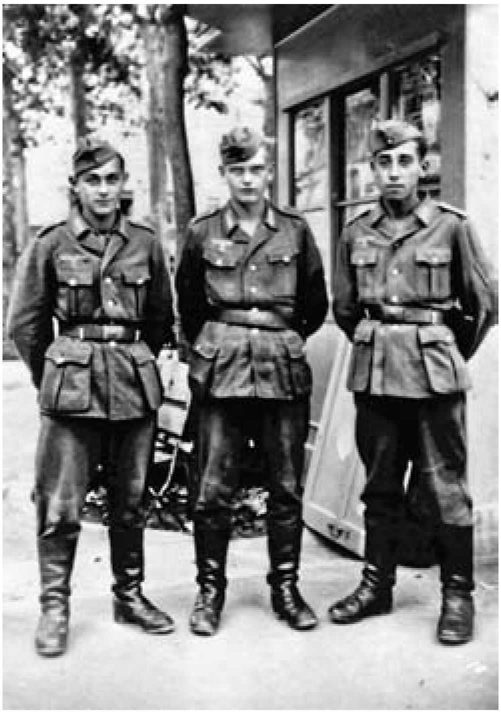
Analogously, Marks defines “haptic visuality” as an alternative mode of viewing that emphasizes the relationship between what we see and the material presence of that which we view. Haptic visuality is in this sense a practice of embodied viewing, where eyes function like organs of touch and “images approach the viewer not through the eyes alone but along the skin.”[13] Unlike optical visuality, haptic visuality draws on other forms of sense experience in which the body is more involved in processes of seeing—an experience Marks understands as a form of “embodied perception.”[14] In Marks’s theory of the haptic, touch is an embodied form of perception that involves both contact with surfaces (exteriority) and with modes of feeling (interiority). Here she insists on paying close attention to the body (or to the bodily responses) of the viewer, as well as to the surfaces of the visual text.

Building on the work of these and other scholars, I contend that not all photographs are inherently haptic, though all print photographs can be seen to have tactile qualities through which they register as meaningful. The concept of the haptic that I pursue in this book departs from that of theorists of material culture in that my own engagement with the haptic posits a productive tension between it and the tactile—a tension wherein the haptic is not a synonym for the tactile, though tactility is certainly one aspect of the haptic. Moreover, while drawing on Marks’s theories, I must also acknowledge the limited extent to which it can be applied and adapted to the still photograph, and more specifically, to analyzing vernacular photography and the domestic photography of a paradoxically racialized community like black Germans. For while a methodological approach that seeks to maintain an intense and intimate proximity to one’s analytic object without attempting to master or penetrate its surfaces is a valuable enterprise, as I and others have written elsewhere and as will become clear in the following chapters, the reading of surfaces, particularly of flesh and skin, is profoundly implicated in the pernicious role photography has played in the history of racial formation. The visuality of race and the indexicality of the photograph have been powerful twin forces in the deployment of the racialized index to produce subjects to be seen, read, touched, and consumed as available and abjected flesh objects and commodities, rather than as individual bodies, agents, or actors.

In the readings that follow, my engagement of the haptic aims at a mode of critical analysis that forces us to look beyond and behind what we see. Here my goal is neither mastery nor an engaged form of surface reading. I seek instead to connect the visuality of images to the multiple ways we touch photos and they in turn touch us to highlight important dimensions of racial formation and the deeply affective imbrications between race and gender, nation and family, domesticity and diaspora. Reading photographs through the sensory register of the haptic requires us to consider why and how these images register as meaningful objects of enunciation and whether those enunciations emanate solely from their visuality. I argue that they do not and that to understand a photograph's enunciatory functions, we must think of it as a highly affective object with and onto which we invest and project complex psychic and emotional, social and material, cultural and historical meanings and attachments.

Here it is also important to emphasize that the haptics of these images have multiple temporalities. My own archival encounters with these photographs are but one temporal moment in these photographs' haptics. They are one of a series of what we might think of as *haptic temporalities*,[15] affective temporalities initiated at their moments of production through a desire to create a material object of sentiment to have and to hold. The multiple temporalities of these images continue through the diverse temporalities of their circulation, distribution, and the passing on of these objects to others. They continue as well in the temporalities of my own scholarly engagements with these images—temporalities that have shifted dramatically from my initial contact with them to the very different temporality of writing about them. My inclusion and discussion of them here initiates other present and future haptic encounters and temporalities. Like those of their makers and keepers, even the haptic temporalities in which I participate are rife with the affects I attach to these photos as objects I, too, invest with sentiment and meaning as traces of people, many of whom I did not know yet some of whom I once knew but never quite knew "like that"—as the people captured in photographs of past lives and earlier selves. Many of them resonate and reverberate with the affective intensity of my own departed and dear family members. All of them are individuals who I envisioned and have come to know through their histories or their stories but never quite "saw" prior to seeing their photographs. While I struggle even now to see them in all of their complexity within these frames, it is a search that begins, but does not quite end, with the eyes.

Chapter 1 | FAMILY TOUCHES



Prequel: “Three Soldiers Named Hans . . .”

SPRING 1943. Three soldiers. Brothers in arms. Identically placed caps, belts, buckles, and boots signal military uniformity. Hands clasped behind backs erect; feet planted deliberately astride. Neither iconic, nor heroic, nor ceremonious, they capture an ordinary moment in the lives of soldiers, idle and “at ease.” In the background, an unidentified structure surrounded by trees. A sunny day? Perhaps. It is difficult to judge in the sepia tones of the photograph. The warm glow of light through fuzzy branches moves our attention downward to the face of the young man at the left of the photo. Like those of his compatriots, his eyes are fixed intently on the camera. Unlike theirs, his expression seems just on the verge of a smile. The slight upward turn at the corner of his mouth gives the impression of satisfaction, of barely suppressed mirth percolating just beneath the surface of a more serious façade. It cracks the solemnity and solidity of military performance this photograph presents, leading us to other ruptures in the image’s composition.

The photo offers contradictory signs of unanimity. Military uniforms intended to camouflage, erase, or dissolve distinction, amplify difference in the process. For what is as striking as the apparent youth of this whiskerless trio are the chromatics of their constellation. Left to right: a brunette, a blond, and their darker-skinned companion. Shot somewhere along Germany's eastern border in or near Poland, the image was retained by the brown-skinned young man to the right—Hans Hauck, an Afro-German man born in 1920 to a German mother and an Algerian father.

Archive, Photography, Diaspora

> The archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events.
>
> —MICHEL FOUCAULT, *THE ARCHEOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE*

> Archives assemble. Their assembly work is not limited to a more or less passive act of collecting. Rather it is an active act of production that prepares facts for historical intelligibility. . . . [Archives] convey authority and set the rules for credibility and interdependence; they help select the stories that matter.
>
> —MICHEL-ROLPH TROUILLOT, *SILENCING THE PAST*

What constitutes the visual, or more specifically, the photographic archive of the African diaspora? What images comprise this body of visual knowledge and pass the test of what Jacques Derrida has described as a process of "consignation"—the act through which the archive unifies, identifies, and classifies a set of objects or signs into a "single corpus, in a system or a synchrony, in which all the elements articulate the unity of an ideal configuration"?[1] Beyond a simple notion of an inert repository or collection of disparate images, how should we understand the "law" of the photographic archive of the African diaspora?

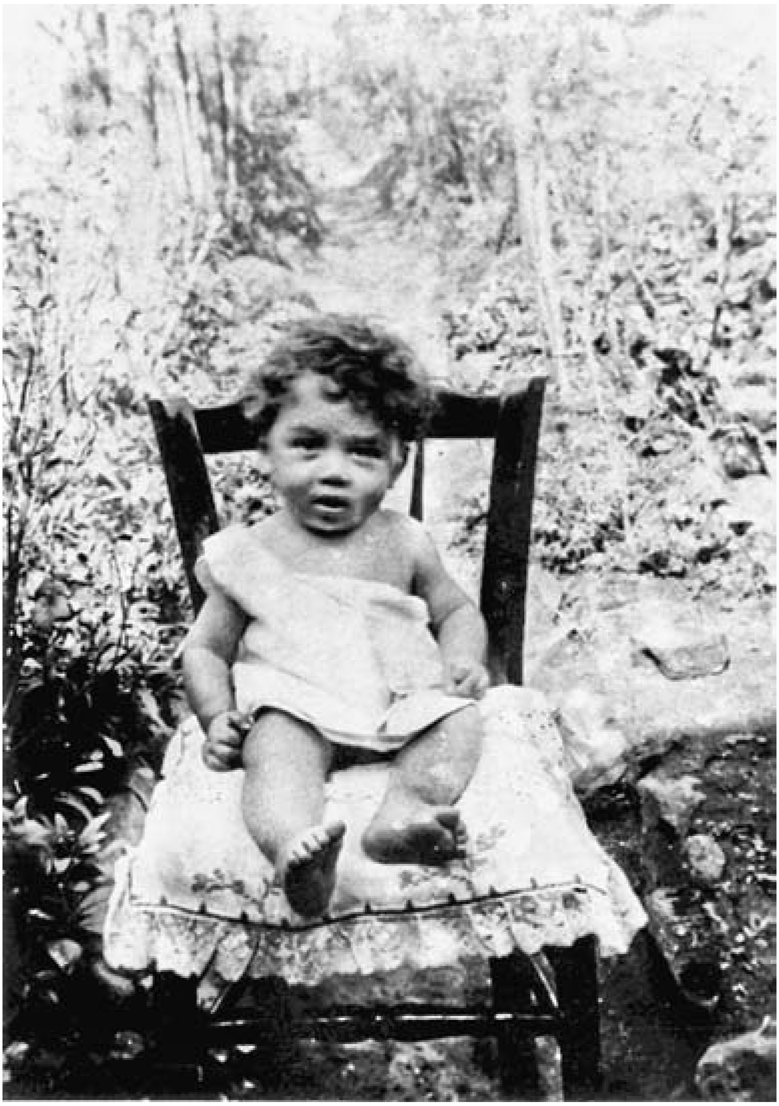
In his seminal text *Silencing the Past*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot urges scholars of history to engage not the existence of omissions or historical silences per se, but the active *processes* of silenc*ing* (and absent*ing*) in the production of historical narratives. Such a historiographical intervention is more than a project of recovery and more than simply a substitution of new narratives in the face of silences in the historical record. It is a project of disruption, one that disorders the rule that constitutes the existing historical record and makes visible the logic that structures the archive and authorizes its validity as a source of historical knowledge, meaning, and veracity. The visual archive of the African diaspora does not lie outside the institutional matrix of power described in the quotations cited above. It constitutes its own equally authoritative and selective corpus of stories that matter, and that matter differentially in relation to one another. What kinds of *disruptive and disorderly* historical accounts does this archive produce at the same time that it constitutes a law of diasporic visibility? How does it engender a set of narratives that might challenge or shift the existing logic of intelligibility that governs *what can and cannot be said* about the subaltern diasporic subjects that haunt, unsettle, and emerge ambivalently in and through this visual archive?

This chapter actively and self-consciously participates in the process of consignation Derrida described and simultaneously seeks to unsettle other prior or potential acts of consignation. It engages a series of images that I would like to consign to the photographic archive of the African diaspora, though in a way that makes visible the logic of what counts as both diasporic visuality and diasporic visibility. They are a selection of images that, to my knowledge, have only an anomalous or exceptional status in a single official archive and no place at all in any existing archive of the African diaspora. In this way, the chapter and the larger project of which it forms a part performs some of the initial work of consignation, through my own piecemeal attempts to assemble, narrate, and transform a disparate collection of images into a larger corpus under the sign of the knowledge they might produce about a black German diasporic subject.

These images trouble both a dominant narrative of diasporic displacement and resettlement and any straightforward understanding of diaspora as a shared collectivity. They challenge us instead to think diaspora in the frame of Stuart Hall's conception of it as an inherent relation of "difference within unity" and as an effortful and intentional *articulation* that invokes a relationship that is at once an expressive linkage and a recruiting or joining up to a unity constituted in the *differences of its constituent, articulated parts*.[2] Taking inspiration from Hall, Jacqueline Nassy Brown offers an equally compelling framework for understanding the articulation of diaspora as difference. It is an articulation Brown (citing David Scott) describes as "a situated argument" in which blacks recognize each other and contest the meaning of their relationship as "counterparts" vis-à-vis moments of difference and similarity constituted through gender, generation, sexuality, and class. Yet Brown expands the concept of a counterpart by way of a backslash, defining diaspora as itself a "*counter/part* relation built on cultural and historical equivalences." "To posit *equivalences* is to put meaningful differences (such as distinct colonial histories) on the same analytical plane at the start, in order then to expose the ways they come to bear in social practice. The backslash in *counter/part* and the stress that may be put on either side of it index shifting relations of antagonism and affinity; these latter terms depend equally on *difference* while highlighting two possibilities for what people can do with it."[3]

Moving the discussion of diaspora to the terrain of visual culture, Leigh Raiford queries more specifically what a "photographic practice of diaspora" might look like by posing the question of photography's status as an often overlooked "diasporic resource": "How [has] photography been used to articulate—to join up and express—transnational collective black communities and identities. Or to paraphrase Paul Gilroy, 'What forms of *belonging* have been nurtured by visual cultures?' "[4] Positing a provisional answer to these questions, Raiford contends that "photography's capacity to build or envision community across geographical locations, its capacity to engage its viewers on both critical and expressive or emotional registers" makes it particularly well suited as a medium of diasporic mobilization. Yet it is equally important to question the racialized index or the legibility of race that is often implicitly assumed as the resource on which the photographic articulation of diaspora is postulated. As Raiford emphasizes, "The diasporic work of photography is a labor that takes for granted the indexicality of the photograph, the visual 'fact of blackness,' and makes of it easily translatable, highly mobile ways of knowing."[5]

Pushing Raiford's inquiry a step further, I want to ask a more far-reaching question: to what extent does the presumed legibility of race provide the governing logic of the photographic archive of the African diaspora? The aim of my question is to provoke a critical reflection on the relationship between photography, the archive, and diaspora that conceptualizes this relation not as a question of absence or presence but as quite centrally about the dynamics of historiographical authority and visibility. Put more concretely, the implicit and at times explicit question I invite readers to consider in this chapter is the following: Would or should this photo and those that follow be consigned to the visual archive of the African diaspora? If so, on what basis? And if not, what is the rule or law that would question its inclusion or constitute the basis of its exclusion?



Exposure 1: Family Touches . . .

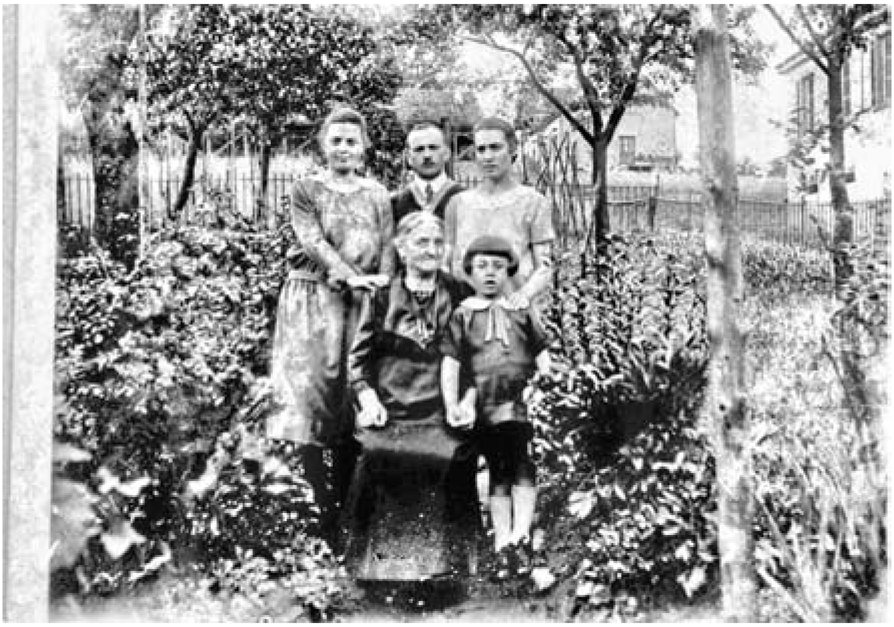
SPRING 1921 OR 1922. A baby photo—innocent, cherubic, endearing. Typical of so many others taken by countless families present and past, there seems little that is remarkable about such an image. A proud parent or family member most probably shot it attempting to capture an early moment in the life of a recent addition to the family. Looking more closely, the photo frames the infant as the undeniable center of attention. The child sits barefoot in a chair in a garden. Dressed in a nondescript, everyday garment, his clothing is anything but meticulous. One side of the garment is not quite properly placed, exposing his shoulder as if he had just wriggled out of a sleeve.

The image is at once casual and haphazard and, at the same time, effortful and intentional. The cushion on which the baby is seated slides forward off the chair, suggesting the playful or willful squirming that preceded this exposure. Although it may appear a spontaneous snapshot, the portrait of this child could not have been anything but labored. Indeed, as most parents will attest, even the brief moment it takes to shoot such a photo would have required far more time getting a child of this age to be still, even for the split second of a shutter snap.

SUMMER 1926. Like that of the previous image, the date here is an approximation, as the owner of the image, his family, and contemporaries who might offer a more detailed account of this photograph and the larger archive of which it is part are no longer with us. But the image remains. A material trace of a life and a past, its preservation marks its value in someone's life. It had a place in a home in a shoebox or a drawer, in a wallet or a frame—it was kept, it was treasured, it was retained. It is an artifact with a history at once material and ephemeral, visual and sensory, tactile and affective.

Nestled in a garden, lush and in full bloom, three generations assemble in a single frame. The verdant, untamed setting competes with the stern expressions of the sister and brother pictured in the upper right and the center back. Their taciturn demeanor is offset by the lighthearted look of their sibling to the left. Her face is warm and comfortable, open and inviting. She seems to enjoy the attention of the camera. Seated between them, a regal figure poses with head slightly askew, revealing a partial profile. Was she turning her attention toward the young child whose weight her body supports? Or was she turning away to return the gaze of the camera following a brief exchange? Her grandson rests comfortably at her side, leaning in with confidence, assured of the balance and support she seems so clearly to provide.

The image composes family as a symmetry that balances height, gender, and generation. Two sisters flanking a brother enact the family bond through the touch of outstretched arms that link the generations and complete the kinship circle. A matriarch is seated center frame with a grandchild to her left, his hand clasped inside hers. Their touch registers the sensuous relations of kin. In this image the configuration of family relies on visualizing a family touch. Relation is evidenced through the tactility of corporeal contact as family physically attaches and coheres.



What happens when we linger on such images? What do they reveal and what do they simultaneously conceal in the very moment of revelation? What invisible forms of labor—domestic labor, semiotic labor, affective labor—do they make visible as practices of diasporic formation? And what are the technologies of vision, the politics of reading, and the sensual practices of archival creation, collection, and circulation that render this labor visible?

Rather than moving in for a closer look, perhaps we should first step back to appreciate more of the labor these images perform. All three are photographs of Hans Hauck, who was born in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, and grew up in Dudweiler-Saarbrücken. Pictured here as a child between two and six years old, he spent most of his life in Dudweiler until late in the Second World War. He returned several years after the war ended and lived out the rest of his life in Dudweiler until his death in 2002. Stepping back even further, what is not apparent in this image is the fact that his father was one of the French colonial forces deployed in the occupation of the German Rhineland following the First World War. The photo tells us nothing of the public and diplomatic controversy surrounding this cohort of children and the ensuing propaganda campaign waged in German, French, and British newspapers that denounced the presence of these African troops and their biracial offspring as "the black scourge of European culture and civilization."[6] It gives no indication that eleven years later, the child pictured in this photo was sterilized as one of the so-called Rhineland bastards vilified both in the interwar years and later in the National Socialist regime.[7]

Here we must give voice to another dimension of this photograph's impact. For the addition of this historical framing initiates a subtle shift in our view of the image. We refocus our gaze on skin color, hair texture, and the question of blackness. We attempt to apply our own regional and cultural criteria for assessing the legibility of race in this image. Questioning the optics of the photograph's rendering of race, some might ask how "black," "brown," or "colored" he is or was? One strains to see how this photo might index the traces of race or the historical moment at which it was taken. Does it give us any indication of Hauck's ultimate fate as a German of African descent under the Nazis? Does it "color" or inscribe him as a "Rhineland Bastard"—the discourse we assume indelibly shaped and circumscribed his life at the time?

How should we read the desire to visualize race in this image? We must read it through three critical registers: historical, affective, and archival. The desire to visualize race registers historically as a desire to "see" Hauck's heritage as a child of an African occupation soldier. Yet the photo registers with equal force affectively, as an image that constitutes its subject through the cultivation of a nurturing and affectionate gaze that constructs a domestic relationship between the image and its viewer. We are drawn in by the image's relation to so many other photos like them—family photos that figure proud parents and loved ones as visible or implied presences; family photos that evoke fond memories of tenderness or affirmation, comfort or safety; family photos that make us bristle by recalling tense relations of vulnerability or rebellion, discipline or scrutiny, judgment or rejection. We are drawn in and interpellated by the forms of familial attachment that resonate in them, both positively and negatively, implicitly and explicitly, and in excess of the particular individuals or scenes they depict. They are family photos that hail us regardless of their anonymity through the structures of intimacy and relation they depict and project.

In her acclaimed text, *Imperial Leather*, Anne McClintock famously argues that domesticity is both a *space* and, more important, *a social relation* to power. It describes the site of domestic relations, as well as a differential positioning within those relations or productive of them. The meaning of the domestic is neither self-evident nor transparent; its meaning must be actively produced.[8]

Building on McClintock's important work, Laura Wexler highlights the function of domestic photography as a crucial symbolic resource through which the meaning of the domestic is constituted: "Domestic images may be—but need not be—representations of and for a so-called separate sphere of family life. Domestic images may also be configurations of familiar and intimate arrangements intended for the eyes of outsiders . . . or . . . metonymical references to unfamiliar arrangements . . . intended for domestic consumption. What matters is the *use* of the image to signify the domestic realm."[9] The taking of this photo was motivated by an intention to connect and by a desire to image affiliation. It was made quite literally to invoke a "relation." Yet the domestic registers of this photo are reinforced with equal intensity by the private archival impulses that deliver such images to us. This image is a keepsake, an individual's trace of private memory, a conduit of recollection. It is a domestic image constituted through intensely personal and extremely *tactile* practices of collection and retention. These photos are *haptic* images.

hap·tic—*adj.: of, relating to, or proceeding from the sense of touch.*

Haptic images are objects whose effects are structured by a tripartite sense of touch—an indexical touch, a physical touch, and an affective touch. It is a touch that suffuses both the composition of the image and our responses or relation to it. They are images touched by the subjects they capture, touched by those who view or encounter them, yet objects also that touch those who view them as well. They are objects that "move" us both through our physical contact with them and through the affective investments with which we imbue them. Elizabeth Edwards describes photography as not merely a medium of visuality but, intrinsically, as one of touch. While its primary register is undoubtedly that of sight, Edwards and other contemporary scholars of photography emphasize that the photographic image also registers through profoundly corporeal sensory modes of apprehension, in particular, that of touch: "From its earliest days the relationship with photographs has demanded a physical engagement—photo-objects exist in relationship to the human body, making photographs as objects intrinsically active in that they are handled, touched, caressed. . . . the describing of content is accompanied by what would appear to be an almost insuperable desire to touch, even stroke the image. . . . [Here] the viewer is brought into bodily contact with the trace of the remembered."[10] While one might argue that all photographs are tactile objects, I would contend that not all photographs are haptic images. For the haptics of a photograph reside not only in its status as a tactile object of physical contact or in their optical representation of engaging visual depictions. The haptics of domestic photos derive from their capacity to solicit a relay of social transactions that evoke sensate, embodied, and affective engagements. These engagements triangulate, imbricate, and implicate their viewers, their subjects, and their makers through the multisensory forms of optical, tactile, and emotive interactions that constitute the act of viewing a domestic photograph.

The haptic registers of these photographs of Hauck and his family similarly derive from a tactile impulse to capture a moment in a physical and material form, as well as from the sensuous qualities that accrued to such keepsakes through careful cataloguing in albums and scrapbooks; through artful presentation in frames and in homes; and through the intergenerational and intragenerational transmission and exchange of such cherished objects of memory and linkage.[11] Yet haptic images are objects of investment and attachment. More than demanding a literal touch, they are objects we literally and figuratively grasp and fasten onto. They are objects displayed and circulated with an intention to evoke sensibilities of connection in their viewers and recipients. Their effect is as tactile as it is visual, and their visuality relies on their haptic nature.

Touch is in many ways one of the body's most emotional sensory registers. As Maurice Merleau-Ponty observed, "I am able to touch effectively only if the phenomenon finds an echo within me, if it accords with a certain nature of my consciousness and if the organ which goes out to meet it is synchronized with it."[12] Expanding on Merleau-Ponty, Susan Stewart writes: "To be 'touched' or 'moved' by words or things implies the process of identification and separation by which we apprehend the world aesthetically. . . . To be in contact with an object means to be moved by it—to have the pressure of its existence brought into a relation with the pressure of our own bodily existence. And this pressure perceived by touch involved an actual change; we are changed and so is the object."[13] Yet it is not the singularity of touch as an emotionally inflected human faculty that constitutes its significance as a critical sensory register of the photograph. It is instead the deeply synesthetic relationship between sight and other sensory modes of apprehension like touch that renders photographs particularly moving, affective objects of memory, identity, family, nation, community, and indeed, imagination.[14] Geoffrey Batchen maintains that photography is privileged within modern culture because the camera does more than just see the world; it is also touched by it. "It is as if those objects have reached out and impressed themselves on the surface of a photograph, leaving their own visual imprint. . . . And indeed it is surely this combination of the haptic and the visual, this entanglement of both touch and sight, that makes photography so compelling as a medium."[15] Yet the haptic dimensions of the photograph, and of domestic photographs in particular, do not end with the moment, nature, or technology of their production. Domestic images touch us, but their tactility is not confined to the surface, nor is it limited to the reassuring impulses of the family. Such haptic objects generate a sense of proximity, intimacy, and relation that begins with, but is not wholly dependent on, the immediacy of physical contact. Photographs establish contact while mediating direct physical interaction; they are conduits that connect both through and in excess of touch. Indeed, the existence of the image as surrogate is an ever-present reminder of an absent yet present connection that Patrizia di Bello describes as "the extravagant promise of photography—total presence—always disappointed by its actuality, total absence."[16]

The haptic is a sensory register that begins with touch, but borrowing from Alois Reigl by way of Deleuze and Guattari, Laura U. Marks defines what she terms "haptic visuality" as an ideal relationship of mutuality in which viewers likely lose themselves in an image, or lose their sense of proportion. "Haptic visuality implies a tension between viewer and image . . . because [a] violent potential is always there. Haptic visuality implies making oneself vulnerable to the image, reversing the relation of mastery that characterizes optical viewing."[17] Similarly, the haptics of family photography is a double-edged blade. It can be a touch that soothes and, simultaneously, one that wounds. The double edge of haptic vulnerability we encounter in the preceding images and those that follow is deeply intertwined with the domestic. It offers a potential for intense intimacy and, at the same time, for intimate violence.

The preceding photograph of Hans Hauck documents an intergenerational gathering of a family, but it is also the site of multiple haptic encounters that radiated from this image as an object of material practices of exchange and display, lingering and cherishing, holding and remembering, delighting and despairing, mourning and nostalgia. The photograph is both an archival document and a tactile instantiation of sentiment generated by what Batchen has called "a burning desire" to fix a physical trace of love and loss. Hence, when assessing the historical import of such photos we must consider both their evidentiary value as archival documents and the sensory and affective registers that motivated their production, preservation, and circulation as meaningful objects of social relation and attachment. These photos generate a sense of proximity, intimacy, and relation that evoke familiarity and connection, yet they do so in ways that always place other things "under erasure."

Combining the haptic dimensions of this domestic photo with the biographical and historical contextualization provided thus far, how should we read the script this image composes? In many ways, Hauck's family archive invites us to read race into it according to our own culturally specific criteria, or to read it as an archetypal photograph of this period in ways that might seem to erase the question of race. Although taken outdoors, presumably in the family garden, the composition of the photo suggests the intervention of a professionalized photographic gaze in the posing of its subjects. It is a gaze that reproduces traditional portraiture conventions, and in the process, actively constructs an image of this group as a representative and respectable middle-class family of the era. It situates the individuals in the frame in particular class positions through its aspiration to middle-class conformity and typicality. What additional forms of historical contextualization might be important for understanding the narrative these images of Hauck and his family construct?

One context is the early appropriation of family photography and baby photography in particular by the eugenic movement. Here it is interesting to view this image in relation to the broader use of photographs to validate claims to racial purity within eugenics. As Shawn Michelle Smith emphasizes in her reading of early family photography in the late nineteenth century, family photos were not simply artifacts intended to express sentimental attachments of parents and other kin. Rather, the pride they expressed was also a projection of pride in racial purity and family lineage, for family photography and baby pictures in particular were seized on by the eugenic movement as a medium uniquely suited for documenting and visually demonstrating family genealogy and the purity and superiority of class and racial lineage.[18]

And as Julia Hirsch demonstrated in her earlier text, "Family photography is not only about genetic traits and property, it is also about the relations and behavior which culture has assigned to kin."[19]

The figuration of family has played a key role in how photography was taken up in the earliest years of photographic technology. Photographic family portraits gave the middle class the ability to create images of likeness and self-fashioning previously reserved for the upper classes and public figures in artistic portraits. Later, family albums and baby pictures came to serve a similar function. The family portrait was a medium of class and national identity through which the middle class sought to construct its distinctness and superiority at a time of dramatic economic and social transformation. As historians of photography have shown, early portrait photos used tropes of family, lineage, respectability, and social status in ways crucial to the creation of middle-class national subjects.[20]

Moreover, the anthropologist Deborah Poole argues that the family portrait is a public act that makes statements about the identity and status of those pictured in it and should therefore be considered "an expression of its subject's conscious will to be seen, reconstituted and remembered as such by present and future generations."[21] The production of such portraits was in no way indicative of middle-class status. It frequently reflects instead fervent aspirations to that status through the replication of gestures, poses, props, and photographic conventions associated with middle-class family portraits.[22] As Poole in particular has shown, the trappings of middle-class status often increased in relation to the decreasing status of the families pictured in such images.[23] In this way, as Wexler argues, domestic images "helped to *make*, not merely to *mirror*, the home"; they worked by "staging affect, or imagining relation—literally *seeing sentiment* as a way of organizing family life."[24]

In early family photography of black Germans, race becomes visible in ways that are inextricable from gendered embodiments of national belonging. Here the domestic framing of this visual archive is particularly salient, for these images of German domesticity figure a gendered familial structure in which racial difference is deeply embedded, and the family plays a critical stabilizing role in constituting the German nation. These images stage family in ways that actively produce the relationships pictured within them through photographic conventions that reference normative conceptions of race, class, and nation. In her study of the affective connections and filial relations produced through family photography among second-generation children of Holocaust victims, survivors, and witnesses, Marianne Hirsch describes the constitutive capacity of family photography as follows: "Photographs, as the only material traces of an irrecoverable past, derive their power and their important cultural role from their embeddedness in the fundamental rites of family life. . . . The family photo both displays the cohesion of the family and is an instrument of its togetherness; it both chronicles family rituals and constitutes a prime objective of those rituals. Because the photograph gives the illusion of being a simple transcription of the real, a trace touched directly by the event it records, it has the effect of naturalizing cultural practices and of disguising their stereotyped and coded characteristics. As photography immobilizes the flow of family life into a series of snapshots, it perpetuates familial myths while seeming merely to record actual moments in family history."[25] Family photography constitutes, in this way, a hinge point of connection that images affiliation between individuals as kin, but that also, and equally significant, knits the family into broader community formations, in particular, into the nation. Here photography constitutes a practice that not only documents and displays these relations; it also functions as an expressive practice that creates the linkages and attachments it depicts by visually and affectively suturing individuals to one another. Situating family portraits as complexly intertwined with photography's formative role in the racial and gendered production of class and national subjects highlights an important set of scripts referenced in these images—scripts that cite a fiction rather than the fact of blackness, racial purity, the nation, or the middle-class German family that serves as its bedrock.

As a critical medium through which diasporic relationality is constituted, family photography is, in this way, far more than a documentary reproduction of its subject; it is a *performative practice* that enacts complicated forms of social and cultural relationships. Such a conceptualization of family photography as an expressive form of vernacular image-making requires that we approach the photograph as a complexly indexical medium that registers more than just a trace of that which stood before the lens.[26] It is a practice that actively *materializes* both race and diasporic relations through gendered and class-specific enactments that at once contest and affirm national belonging.[27] Early twentieth-century black German family photography materializes race and diaspora through modes of what I term *performative indexicality*, where the family articulates these individuals as both German and diasporic subjects. The performative indexicality of such images is particularly significant with respect to the photographic representation of race, for photography serves a critical function in materializing race as a visible attribute of human difference by simultaneously producing and propagating it as a meaningful category of humanity.[28] These photos stage creative modalities of belonging and subjectivity for blacks as Germans that highlight some of the scripts of race, diaspora, belonging, and *un*belonging that black German family photographs reference, compose, and contest.

Marianne Hirsch offers perhaps the most insightful and sophisticated conception of family photographs—one that accounts for many of these complex dynamics of projection, desire, performance, and affiliation. It is an understanding of family photographs that engages the compositional structure of the image as an object; the emotional attachments actively projected onto an image; the multiple performances of relation figure within it and the surrounding photograph, as well as the cultural and historical ideological frameworks of power that frame the familial scenes such images depict. Hirsch's definition of family photographs hinges on a complicated interaction between "family looks" and "family gazes."

> Since looking operates through projection and since the photographic image is the positive development of a negative, the plenitude that constituted the fulfillment of desire, photographs can more easily show us what we wish our family to be, and therefore what, most frequently, it is not. . . . The "family" is an affiliative group, and the affiliations that create it are construed through various relational, cultural, and institutional processes—such as "looking" and photography, for example. "Families" are shaped by individual responsiveness to the ideological pressures deployed by the familial gaze. . . . As I see it, the familial gaze situates human subjects in the ideology, the mythology, of the family as institution and projects a screen of familial myths between camera and subject. . . . The looks family members exchange, on the other hand, are located in specific points; they are local and contingent; they are mutual and reversible; they are traversed by desire and defined by lack. . . . A familial look is thus an engagement in a particular form of relationship, mutually constitutive, mediated by the familial gaze, but exceeding it through its subjective contingency.[29]

As a medium through which families express and at the same time project their desires and aspirations for social status and self-creation, family photography thus functions as an affective and material practice that constructs and reproduces the family not necessarily as it is or was, but rather as it would like to be seen. Viewed in this context, how should we understand the use of normative tropes of family and domesticity staged in these images for a family like Hauck's, which diverged in marked ways from the discourses of racial purity that structured German society at the time?

Exposure 2: The Domesticity of Diaspora

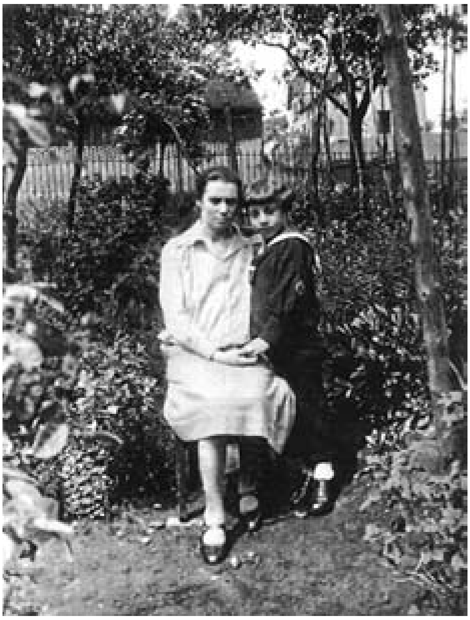
FIRST COMMUNION AND A WEDDING PORTRAIT, 1931 OR 1932. Props and ornaments are carefully positioned in relation to the photographic subjects. The individuals pictured in them are posed with precision and centered, frozen in time for the camera. These are commemorative photos marking significant family events. They are emblematic occasions around which families converge and that produce domesticity through rituals of kinship, connection, and belonging. As such, these images signify as articulations of community, familial as well as cultural. As before, Hans Hauck is central to each frame. His presence is consistent, even in these later photos made following the death of his mother.

These images picture a family using photographic portraiture to enunciate middle-class respectability and status in ways that concealed in plain sight the racially mixed constitution of their family—a fact that would undermine their claims to the very status, respectability, and Germanness they so effortfully attempted to stage. The positioning of Hans Hauck as a biracial child of African descent in the photos of his white German family takes on special significance in this context, for as this and other photos document, his persistently central figuration in the composition of these images constitutes him as both an integral part of this family and as an Afro-German subject well in advance of the social and political discourses most often cited as enunciating this subject position several decades later.

As an indexical medium we expect to display the visibility of race as a legible sign, the photograph serves an important function as what Nicholas Mirzoeff has called "a site of the performance of the racial index."[30] But these images thwart such expectations by asking us to consider both how and why race matters, and what constitutes diasporic membership in the absence of

such visual signs. In these images domesticity displaces racial difference in ways that provided Hauck and his family a means of staking claim to normativity, while simultaneously producing an alternatively racialized diasporic subject who departs radically from the normative ideal of Germanness. These photos do so by citing forms of belonging that signify and perform family *as home* or home life.

This archive of domestic photography enacts practices of what I call *diasporic homemaking*—practices that are critical to diasporic formation yet frequently overshadowed by an emphasis on diasporic mobility. In an almost literal sense, these scenes of domesticity depict a white German family "making a home" for their biracial child and, in the process, producing a domestic subject in the places where diaspora eventually arrives and takes root. These domestic photos thus portray a black German and his family *making home* in ways that offer an important counterpart to studies of diasporic migration by emphasizing not movement but settlement and dwelling, and the significance of local and national rootedness in these processes. For in spite of his production as a racialized outsider by the official discourses of Germanness that structured this society at the time, Hauck is portrayed in these images not as an object of curiosity or scorn, but rather as a *subject*, a native black and German subject instantiated through his embedding in the existing practices and structures of the German family.



SUMMER 1927 OR 1928. The backdrop is once again the family garden. Leaning in as he did in the earlier photo, Hauck in this image is similarly part of a staged haptic maternal relation of tenderness and intimacy. Freezing the embrace of a mother and son, the photograph's suspension of time was intended to extend the touch of a past moment and project it forward in time. Taken roughly a year prior to the death of his mother, the photo links the maternal touch of mother and son to that of grandmother and grandchild pictured in the same familial garden in the earlier image assembling three generations of this family. The touch of support depicted in that image mirrors the family structure that nurtured Hauck following his mother's death.

Setting the images in relation to their historical and biographical context amplifies their haptic effects, for these photos constituted a material link to a maternal connection lost.

As with the first photo, here too we must give voice to the silent traces and absent presences that lurk in the second image's interstices. These photographs are structured by a maternal touch of familial support tested by the racial politics of the Nazi regime. The lost mother was a woman seen as guilty of betraying the race through an intimate liaison with the enemy; her son's African heritage was the indelible evidence of that betrayal. As Hauck recounted, although he was embraced by his family, his heritage as the child of an African colonial soldier was a fact that signified loudly and with harrowing consequences later in his life.[31] Sometime around 1936, about eight years after the image of mother and son was made, Hauck was sterilized in a secret campaign carried out by the Gestapo against the Afro-German children of the Rhineland occupation on the basis of his racial heritage.

The procedure was technically illegal according to existing racial legislation, for these children bore none of the so-called genetic illnesses cited as justification for compulsory sterilization. Yet medical courts authorized the sterilizations on grounds of the eugenic threat these children were seen to pose to the purity of the Aryan race. Hauck and other German children of African occupation soldiers were targeted neither through denunciation nor visual identification. They were targeted through far less sinister, though equally insidious means: the bureaucratic documentation of their "illegitimate birth." Like all other children born out of wedlock in this period, these Afro-German boys and girls were officially wards of the state. Unlike for their white counterparts, however, in the Third Reich the monitoring of their supposed welfare resulted in the sterilization of an estimated six hundred to eight hundred black children of the occupation.[32] Yet even the judgment of the medical courts did not suffice for the sterilization of these minors. As with other eugenic programs, the architects of this program required the voluntary consent of a parent or next of kin.[33] In Hauck's case, that familial authority was his grandmother. Thus like the relations of domesticity more generally, the haptics of this photo prove similarly to be a double-edged blade—it is a touch that soothes and, at the same time, one that pierces, alienates, and wounds.

To restate my earlier question, what is this image's relation to the visual archive of the African diaspora? Does it figure a diasporic subject and should it be included on that basis? Does the rule that governs this archive require of it the presence of a black subject, and must race be visually legible to justify its inclusion? And what do we do with the ambivalent response this image provides? Confronted with the history that constructs these images, the visual ambivalence of race tempts us nevertheless to probe these photos for phenotypical evidence. But the photos stubbornly resist our attempts to reduce them to such a reading. For regardless of how he registered either socially or optically, in the Third Reich Hauck's African heritage was racialized as "black" according to the classifications of Nazi racial law that defined him as a "mixed-race Negro" (*Negermischling*) and justified his sterilization on that basis.

In contrast to his official construction as a racial threat, these images' composition projects the normativity of class status and social milieu. Hauck's prototypical Weimar outfit and haircut function as a kind of uniform that situates Hauck historically in this particular era, as well as socially within his generational cohort. Like a uniform, they place him in a relation of conformity and respectability, rather than as an exception to the dominant group. But to what end? For what function did the respectability enacted in these images serve for a family marked by its identification with an enemy, occupier, and racial Other through a child signifying this fact and this family's departure from an imagined racialized norm?

Posing the son here with his mother—side by side, head almost touching head, his hand in hers, and in the garden yet again—the image maps the continuity of family through a tactile link that spans this series of portraits and that withstood significant challenges in this racial regime. As a collection of images produced consistently by this family over time, the photographic archive described here articulates not a momentary or incidental practice but the longevity of relation, the active production of (af)filiation, and indeed a kind of indigeneity and rootedness that I would argue diasporic dwelling ultimately breeds. For although it begins with migration or displacement from a home *elsewhere*, diaspora is not an endless trajectory that perpetually overwrites its arrival *somewhere*. Put another way, for diasporics so thoroughly emplaced in modes of homing and dwelling, it is equally important to consider the significance of both arrival and departure—arrivals that are constitutive of subjects who stake vigorous claims to (rather than remaining solely at odds or in contestation with) the status of native, indigenous, or even national.

These domestic scenes of black German family and home life ask us to reconsider whether diaspora is always intrinsically counternational, or whether, to paraphrase Jacqueline Nassy Brown, diaspora is fundamentally a "counter/part" relation that is quite emphatically a question of place, and about being "right here in this place." In other words, these images push us to recognize the extent to which the intergenerational politics of diasporic formation depend on—and in powerful ways, are constituted through—an aspiration to *national* belonging, inclusion, and/or subjecthood, as well as being part and parcel of their transcendence. In so doing, they ask us to consider the simultaneity of belonging and *un*belonging that structures the nation, the family, and diaspora.

What kinds of diasporic subjects emerge in black German family photography? And how do they unsettle our conception of the intimate relations of difference, diaspora, nation, and the family in this critical period in the history of black cultural formation in Europe? The images we have viewed were intended to capture their respective moments for posterity, and for this reason, they were retained long after the passage of that moment. They are images that document both inclusion and exclusion, rather than exception or marginality. These photographs of a family embracing its biracial child reference familiar performances of German family life, yet in ways that contest dominant scripts of national belonging assuming a fiction of German racial purity. In this way they offer an alternate account both of German and of diasporic subject formation, one that materializes racial difference not as blackness but by calling into question the very technologies of vision that define how we see race in diaspora more generally. It is a paradoxical form of materialization that works directly against how these same gendered, racialized, and sexually inflected discourses of nation and family were historically mobilized to exclude blacks as dangerous, disavowed, and unruly subjects threatening the purity of the so-called German race and the survival of German national culture.

Let us now turn to a much different set of photographs. They too are images that speak volumes to these same issues, yet through distinct structural optics.

Exposure 3: Boys to Men; or, Engendering Black Germany

DUDWEILER, 1928 AND 1935. Sailor suits in various states of dishevelment. Legs folded, shoulders hunched, the group seems to almost wince under the burden of keeping still and maintaining a straight face. Huddled together on the unyielding concrete of schoolhouse steps, to them this moment probably seemed to last an eternity, for stasis was clearly not their normal state of being. Their desire to move is palpable in facial expressions that range from bashful to bored, squinting to grimacing, defiant to gleeful. But their discipline is reinforced by a stoic figure standing to the right. At the opposite corner, as far away as possible while still remaining in the frame, Hans Hauck stands back row, far left. His presence seems unremarkable, indeed, almost overlookable, except for the fact of the image's provenance.

Paired with a later more mature counterpoint, these are images of boys in training. In the transition between them, maleness morphs into masculinity through the uniforms and posturing of its members. In the second image, Hauck, center stage yet again, is the only boy beyond the front row who adopts a defiant, crossed-arm pose. The background of the image threatens to overpower the photograph as more of a foreground, for the massive Nazi banner and swastikas dwarf both the individuals and the group and magnify the status of nation, nationalism, and fatherland. The photo thus fuses nation and masculinity and, in the process, produces an explicitly masculine and nationalist German subject.

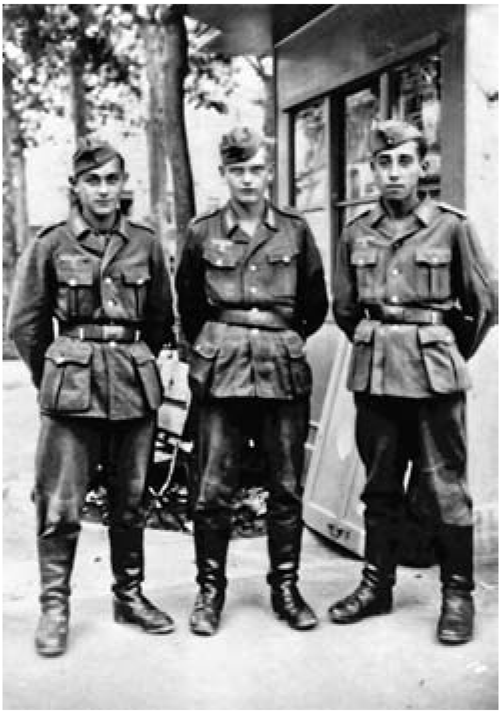
Unlike the previous series of photos, these images are institutional portraits. They are group photos that present individuals in the context of specific organizations: a primary school and a railroad apprentice group. The composition of these classic examples of institutional photography seems flat and uninspired compared to the traditional images of family that have preceded them. Their staging is straightforward and predictable. The arrangement of the members of the group has little to do with the individuals themselves. They are organized generically, with placement achieved by height alone and authority figures taking up positions on the sides. In each photo the individual dissolves within the group, for only the group matters.

If we linger on these images' silences—that which their visuality displays yet their visibility refuses to explain—each situates Hauck in a position of relative privilege. On the one hand, he was allowed to attend school despite

Nazi racial legislation limiting the number of so-called non-Aryan students enrolled in educational institutions. On the other hand, as Hauck recounted, his apprenticeship with the railroad was also a privileged position he acquired based on his membership in another more influential organization: the Hitler Youth. Hauck's membership in the intended bastion of Aryan youth indoctrination is noteworthy not only because of his African heritage but also because it occurred at a particular moment in the regional history of this institution. Hauck joined the Hitler Youth in Dudweiler in 1933 (the year of Hitler's seizure of power) during its period of voluntary membership, well before compulsory membership (*Jugenddienstpflicht*) was instituted in 1936 and two years prior to the Saarland's integration into the Third Reich in 1935. As Hauck recounted, he joined the Hitler Youth "like all the other boys of his age." It was a group into which he was admitted in spite of his non-Aryan heritage—a fact facilitated by the locality of the group's structure, for the father of Hauck's childhood friend was a leader in the local chapter.

Thus while their structuring may be unoriginal, these are nevertheless domestic photos that offer some of the most provocative depictions in this archive. As Wexler reminds us, it is "the use of the image to signify the domestic realm" that marks it as a domestic image.[34] They are photos that witness what McClintock describes as complex processes of "social metamorphosis and political subjection," which functioned as active, difference producing mechanisms in the constitution of racial and gendered difference.[35] For what sets these images apart from the previous series is the explicit emergence of gender to shape and define race and subjectivity in crucially constituent ways.

These photos are domestic images of institutional membership whose consumption was intended to construct an affiliative relation that established a connection between the viewer and the viewed. The gaze that constitutes these images is structured by a relation to the formative power of institutions that aimed to mold youth entrusted to them for care, education, or training. The images themselves were made not only to record their subjects' inclusion in these institutions but also to produce a relation of pride and affiliation between the recipients of the photos and those they picture. They are structured by a documentary impulse, yet it is an impulse premised on a relation of affiliation, connection, and affirmation. They provide evidence of membership of the individual in the group, yet their depiction of membership is significant only to the extent that members are recognized as familiars, as "one of us." But who exactly constitutes "us"? What does belonging mean in a historical context in which race fused with nation; where membership in the national body politic was defined through purity and blood quantum; and where the family was the site of the hyperracialized reproduction of the nation? And how do such images trouble the viewer's understanding of these dynamics through the affiliative and interpellative relations domestic images solicit and create?



Reprise: The Sight and Sense of Race . . .

Returning to the photograph with which I began, how does this image register now? Certainly, at first glance it still registers through its subjects' uniforms. The unitary presentation of military membership signifies affiliation. The uniform trumps all other visible signs of difference as a marker of subordination to the protection of country and kin. Or does it? For what if that country is Nazi Germany? And what if that kin is the self-styled Aryan race? Visualizing a configuration of both affiliation and distinction, the image simultaneously displays and suppresses relations of difference that challenge our ability to pinpoint exactly how and where we "see race," and whether that perception is ever either solely or primarily about vision or visibility at all.

This photo pictures Hauck with his army buddies following his induction into the German Wehrmacht in 1942. It is a photo he nicknamed "Three Soldiers Named Hans," an image of Hauck and two close friends who shared his first name. In it, the army uniform is an overwhelming index that steers us as viewers toward an unambiguous reading of the photo. As a snapshot taken by and of soldiers in wartime, it seamlessly references forms of participation, implication, and complicity in militarism, nationalism, and war. Once again, how should we read the desire to visualize race in this very distinctive image?

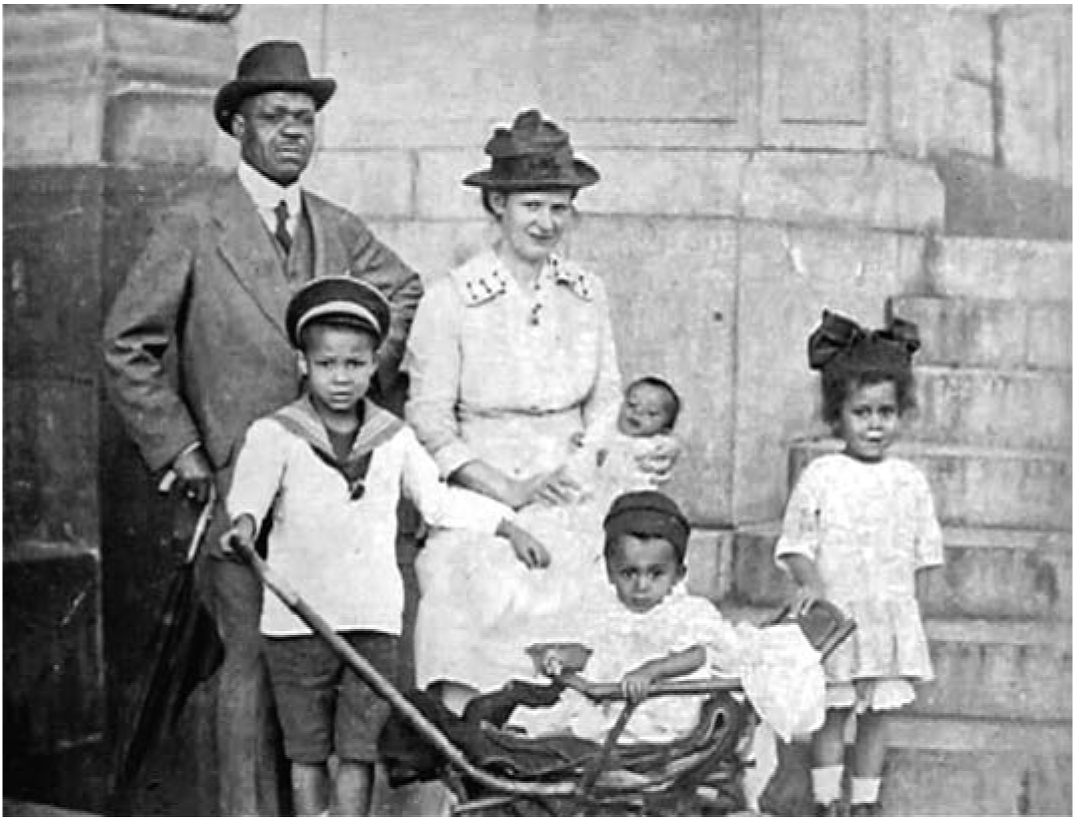
The desire to visualize race in this image registers historically as a desire to reconcile the militarized NS subject pictured here with his heritage as a child of an African occupation soldier and his sterilization by the regime he represents in this photo. Despite the absence of overt familial signifiers, the photo also creates a domestic relationship through the intimate frame that structures its composition and circulation. As in the previous photos, we are similarly drawn in by this image's relation to a familiar catalogue of images of brothers and sons, siblings and lovers. In this case, we are drawn in by its figuration of innocence and youth, friendship and camaraderie, masculinity and nation. Like the earlier images of more explicitly familial scenes, this photo was also made to be shared, both within this friendship circle and beyond it.

Regardless of the institutional and official markings of its subjects, this photograph is also a haptic image constituted through private and tactile practices of collection and retention with the power to simultaneously evoke both tenderness and unease. Its twinning of racial concealment and revelation provokes in us the attentive familiarity such an image of youthful recruits necessarily solicits. At the same time, it jostles us into a profound sense of discomfort about the fact that it pictures an Afro-German clad in the vestments of a regime of racial genocide. But let us be clear: Hauck's military affiliation was *not* voluntary; he was *not* a party member; *nor* was he an ideological conscript to the racist project of National Socialism—in fact, quite the opposite. But the photograph troubles our ability to narrate its ruptures and fissures all the same.

As seductive as it might be, it is important to resist the temptation to view this image as a singularity. It would be all too easy to dismiss it as an archival anomaly whose exceptional status both mitigates and manipulates an engagement with its haptic affects. But the haptics of a domestic image of a black German soldier in the Nazi army are defined less by its particularity than by its familiarity; in other words, they are defined by their synecdotal capacity to reference multiple others that are absent, but whose suggested presence "seethes" even in their absence. What happens when we read these images not as a singularity but relationally, as part of and in relation to a larger *set* or *archive*? What shifts when we think this image not in its particularity but archivally and relationally as a *synecdotal multiple* that registers in relation not only to the tropes of family photography more generally but also to a suppressed archive of other black German family photos?

A lone soldier and two additional trios of military men. Mandenga Ngando is dressed in the uniform of the Reichsarbeitsdienst (National Labor Service); Ekwin Ngando wears that of the Wehrmacht. Another set of brothers in the uniforms of their fatherland. A very different set of images that echo with

50



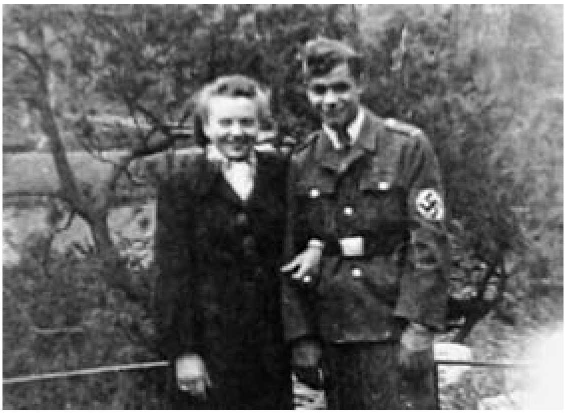
undeniable force in relation to those we have just viewed. As described at the beginning of this section, my archival encounters with these images did not provide the extensive account we have for Hauck. But we cannot read the previous images of Afro-German brothers in uniform without the help of an earlier, different image of these brothers, one taken decades before.

The proud patriarch pictured here is Ekwe Ngando. Born in 1876 in Duala, Cameroon, he arrived in Germany in 1910 as part of an Askari troupe that performed for a spectacle staged in honor of Crown Prince Wilhelm III. His wife and the mother of his children was Ida Kleinfelt, born in 1885 in Silesia. We do not know where they met, nor do we know the circumstances of that meeting or of their engagement and future marriage. We know only that they met sometime between Ekwe's arrival in Germany and the birth of their eldest son in 1912. We also know that the couple were the parents of the four children posed in this portrait: their eldest, a son named Ekwin (also known as Evan, born 1912), their daughter, Erika (born 1915), and their two youngest sons, Mandega (born ca. 1917) and the baby, Manga (born 1919).

It is from Manga and the woman he would marry decades later, Hertha Pilisch Ngando, that we know many of these facts and details and these rare visual artifacts of black German history.[36] Sometime around 1930, Manga joined a traveling circus—a profession he maintained throughout the war, alongside other part-time jobs such as factory work and small acting roles in the film industry. Until he returned to Hanover in 1935, Manga had limited contact with his siblings, although as his possession of these images demonstrates, he maintained his ties with his family and communicated with them throughout this period. Manga and Hertha met in 1942 and had a daughter together, Hannelore, in 1943 (pictured here around 1944). Due to the restrictions on marriage between individuals of so-called Aryan and non-Aryan heritage imposed by the Nuremburg Laws, the couple was unable to marry until the fall of the Nazi regime in 1945.

Returning to the more mature images of the Ngando brothers in uniform, if we background or silence the biographical details and documentation that would inevitably enliven and contextualize these images with detail, even in their partial anonymity, these photographs provide valuable historical recordings. Their haptics as domestic images offer powerful historical traces that record the brothers' membership in these central institutions of the NS regime. In images like these we see not only a German Wehrmacht soldier but also a soldier sharing leisure time with friends. One image shows a member of the Reichsarbeitsdienst on duty and in the company of other men in his unit. It is an image of a man in service, but also of a black man in the service of the Reich at a time and in a place when we have been led to believe non-Aryans and black Germans in particular absent from the social landscape. Like all the images we have viewed, these photos present black Germans as integrated members of some of the central institutions of German society and document a public sphere seemingly at ease with their presence.

A mother clutches the arm of her son and pulls him in closely as they beam in front of the camera. The pair is pictured in front of a railing against a verdant background of trees, and the softly rippling waters of a lake or pond and



a rowboat tethered just below project the placid rhythms of a day in the park. This image, too, conveys leisure time spent as respite in the midst of wartime turmoil and the enduring presence of daily life in spite of larger events. The spectacle of military display depicted in the preceding images showing members of the corps engaged in the duties of their unit contrast yet also coalesce with these less iconic, heroic, or ceremonious aspects of the life of a soldier. They are snapshots that differentiate themselves little from numerous others produced by ordinary Germans in this period. Most likely taken by other soldiers, or the friends and family of those pictured here, these images display individuals integrated into the larger social narrative of their time to such a degree that they make race and non-Aryan heritage seem almost a forgotten detail.

As part of a larger archive of black German family photography, these were photographs taken with the intention of capturing a particular occasion and transforming it into an object for posterity. Each image clearly displays pride for a loved one in uniform, as well as the respect and admiration the uniform bestowed on its wearer and, indirectly, on the wearer's family and friends, even in a context where the uniform represented allegiance to a racial regime that aimed to expiate all non-Aryan Germans, including the very individual who wore it. These photographs do not celebrate exceptional events or moments. They articulate instead the stuff of daily life: moments of relaxation, indulgence, or leisure; times when we feel most at ease, most comfortable, most ourselves. While far less formally staged than studio portraits, they constitute performances nonetheless. They are enactments that rely not on the props and poses of studio photography and portraiture, but on commonly accepted performances of masculinity made visible through their depiction of forms of male bonding and military presentation. They picture men in uniform—at ease and on duty; with shovel in hand or a pretty girl on arm—representing themselves through forms of comportment that project masculine confidence and stability.

As photos of militarized masculinity, these images function as visual affirmation of national subjects in formation that record their sitters' aspirations to the privileged status reserved for German military manliness. Unlike in the images of Hauck, the perception of race is not haunted by the specter of its un-invisibility, for racial ambiguity seems less in evidence in these images. Yet their lack of ambiguity produces a paradox nevertheless. For the Ngandos' military cladding provoke us not to search for but to almost block out or overlook race in places where it seems actually visible. In doing so, the images force us to question the salience of race even in the context of its apparent visibility.

When viewed as an archive or a set, this affecting collection of images of black Germans in uniform materializes race once again in ways inextricable from gendered embodiments of national belonging. They image Afro-German subjects who emerge in the trappings of nationalized masculinity; yet it is a nationalist visuality premised on the concealment, repression, and destruction of the very forms of racial difference the image depicts. Domesticity—as both an affective gaze and a haptic archival practice—enables and disarms these photos, innoculating them in ways that render them initially familiar and unremarkable yet amplifying their impact in the process. Their vernacularity domesticates them by rendering these images at once hauntingly sentimental and eerily unsettling. These images move us through their resonances both with and as potential kin. Each of these photos stages military camaraderie as a kinship in arms that the domestic photo addresses to family and extended relations. The haptics of these domestic depictions of soldiers as kin are a kind of "*kin*esthetic" haptics that move us in a double sense:[37] they stir emotional connection in us and they move us either toward a closer relation to the image or toward a greater estrangement based on the proximity that might have been but must at all costs be avoided. They are photos that capture not only the "this has been" (*ça a été*) that Roland Barthes and others have attributed to the singularity of photographic technology; they capture as well an ambivalent conditional past perfect tense that, in her discussion of lynching photography, Jacqueline Goldsby has called the depiction of "that which should not have been."[38]

Let us attempt a final return to the image of Hauck that continues to trouble and elude our attempts to read it. Like the images above of the Ngando brothers, Hauck's photograph of his brothers in arms witnesses the creation of a racialized subject who emerges through the domestic gaze constructed through and solicited by the frame of this seemingly innocuous depiction of three soldiers "at ease" who shared the name Hans. The forms of social metamorphosis and subjection it enacts *materializes* race against the grain and under erasure. The domesticity of this photo establishes an ambivalent relationship to a normative fiction of racial purity and visibility. Ironically, it is a fiction that, in Hauck's case, created the possibility of his survival as an Afro-German who departed radically from the normative ideal of a German subject of the Third Reich. For Hauck's survival was facilitated by his membership in the army and the recognition of the status that accrued to him as a nationalized masculine subject able once again to hide in plain sight—eluding racial visibility this time not in the intimate space of home and hearth but in one of the central institutions of this racial regime.

Yet as much as this photo reveals by documenting his presence in such a central institution of national identity, what it conceals is that Hauck saw the army as a "chance" to survive the Third Reich and that his decision to join was taken after making a desperate attempt to avoid detection through a failed attempt at suicide in 1942. The photo gives us no hint of the fact that shortly after his induction and deployment on the Eastern Front, Hauck was captured later that year and held as a prisoner of war by the Russians from 1945 to 1949. It provides no insight into the fact that, as Hauck explained it, being in the army was important to him because it was the first time he remembered "being treated as an equal" by his fellow Germans. Equally illegible is that he recalled his experience as a POW as noteworthy because "I was treated just like the other Germans." Unlike his compatriots at home, the Russians, as he put it, "didn't make any distinctions."

Paradoxically, this image draws our attention to racial difference while making it simultaneously disappear as seemingly irrelevant in the context of a military uniformity that cloaks the three Hanses as equal partners in the defense of the Reich. The dynamics of concealment and revelation we witness in this photo thus elaborate the complicated story of race in Hauck's life history, for throughout his life, he experienced race as both much more and much less than phenotype. Like countless others in this regime, he experienced persecution not based on his appearance but on his racialization as a non-Aryan of African heritage who supposedly threatened the blood purity of the Aryan race. Similarly, the horrific genocide of the Holocaust was also not established on the basis of visual alterity, but rather on the racialized construction of non-Aryans and so-called unproductive subjects who, in the logic of this regime, were deemed “lives not worth living.”

In contrast to the photos of the Ngando brothers, the image of the three soldiers named Hans both conceals the visual fact of blackness and simultaneously provides a powerful revelation of its inescapable presence in spaces assumed to be some of the most successful sites of its eradication. For the photograph captures an Afro-German soldier who less than a decade before was sterilized by the Gestapo because of his African heritage. In these images race is at once visible and intangible, meaningful and ambivalent. It is the source of explanation and the very point at which that explanation unravels. It is the link that presupposes diasporic membership and is simultaneously the site of its questioning. In Hauck’s archive of images and in this photograph in particular, racial difference materializes not as blackness but as *the impossibility of blackness* that is nevertheless required as both an ever-present threat and the constitutive outside of racial purity. A desire to make race legible is one response to the double-edged haptics of this domestic image. It is a desire to explain, to reconcile, to order the contradictory. Yet the photo remains as unruly and irreconcilable as its representation of race. Indeed for Hauck, it was the very undecidability of race that, in the end, enabled his survival.

As I have argued elsewhere, the Third Reich offers one of the most striking demonstrations of the extent to which race always works through gender and gender necessarily through race. During this regime, membership in the national body was defined not only by race but through its combination with appropriate and sanctioned enactments of gender and gender roles. In Hauck’s case, he was able to lay visual and visible claim to forms of masculinity through military organizations like the Hitler Youth and the Wehrmacht, which legitimated him as a German as he transitioned from boyhood to manhood. Thus the military in some ways came to replace the family later in his life as the primary source of his affirmation as a German during the war. But again, his status as a German subject was always already gendered, and in fact contingent on the recognition of appropriate forms of masculinity—forms of masculinity indexed and performed in several of the images presented here. In this way, it is impossible to see the archetypical German pictured in any of these images without also registering both the raced and gendered processes of subject formation that produced Hauck as such.

On Family Relations and Revelations . . .

This section began by asking about the relationship between the African diaspora, the archive, and the family photograph. It posed the question of what we see when we linger on family photos as objects that reflect and refract the complicated forms of labor that constitute diasporic formation. What we have seen, however, is that photographs illuminate in equal parts what is visible in the image and what is hidden within it, and that revelation is never a transparent process. What is equally clear is that photographs register at sensate levels that surpass what we see. Their depictions are animated by tactile and material practices and by the affective and archival engagements of those who make, keep, collect, and view them.

The images presented here ask us to consider the dialectic of revelation and concealment mobilized as a strategy of survival and self-making for "peripheral" diasporic subjects like Afro-Germans. Neither Hauck's nor the Ngando brothers' diasporic formation was proclaimed through visible acts of differentiation from Germanness or through assertions of racial difference or African heritage. In the Nazi regime, these men's Germanness was ambivalently acknowledged or wholly denied, and African heritage was posited as the negation of Germanness. The photos of Hauck and his interracial German family ensconced in the everyday life of the NS regime are ambivalent artifacts that confirm as well as contest this family's place in the visual archive of the African diaspora, for the family photo displays both their difference from and their inclusion in a society that sought to repudiate their existence and the diasporic trajectories that produced them. The difference of race and the difference of diaspora are both visible and partially obscured in these photos. These images shift and unsettle how we see the African diaspora and who we see as its subjects by highlighting an ever-insistent desire to seek clarity in the visual about racial difference and diasporic membership. The family photograph thus exposes some of the technologies of vision and the archival logics that structure our ways of viewing both race and the diaspora, as well as our ability to see such individuals as within or outside a diasporic frame.

Let me end this chapter by returning to the questions with which I began: does the legibility of race govern both the extent to which we read these images as part of or outside the visual archive of diaspora and the extent to which the stories these images tell count as diasporic stories, or as diasporic stories that matter? The answer to these questions is equally ambivalent. These photos visualize race in ways that simultaneously make us question its salience. Baby photos, family photos, snapshots of friends, comrades, and kin—each image depicts a set of affiliative configurations that touch us in ways that seem to disappear race and racial difference. Here the haptic and domestic registers of the images play an important part, for the material lives of these photos both disrupt the rule that constitutes this archive and form a source of its instantiation. Their domesticity lures us to excavate the racialized index in places where it should not be, and just when we think we find it, its salience dissolves again into the reassuring constellations of intimacy and affiliation these images depict.

The legibility of race constitutes the visual archive of diaspora as a corpus to which objects are consigned, yet perhaps more important, it is a logic that constitutes us as the agents of this act of archival consignation. Indeed, in focusing on the absence of the indexical trace of race or of the visual fact of blackness, I, too, am neither outside this act of archival authorization nor can I escape it. In fact, I recreate and participate in this process of consignation by asking those who view these images to see them as part of the photographic archive of diaspora. I, too, am subject to and engender a law that demands the presence of race even by highlighting its absence.

Our ability to read an Afro-German soldier in the Nazi Wehrmacht as part of the visual archive of diaspora or against it; to see an endearing child as raced or not; to see a family as visibly fractured by or instantiated through its mixed racial composition—each of these acts of reading and vision require us to position ourselves in relation to a law of the archive that both authorizes the production of a corpus as a singular unity and provides the conditions for its questioning and undoing. Hauck's family archive visualizes race in ways that force us to read the salience of race in its absence. It appears not as blackness but as all that race ever really is: an effortful production of a subject in, through, and of difference.

And where does such a disorderly archival reading leave us? It leaves us with a practice of engaging the archive that insists on making its laws, structuring logics, and organizing principles visible, and on keeping them flux. It insists as well on a historiography of diaspora that Ann Cheng so elegantly describes as "a material history of race that foregoes the facticity of race."[39] In other words, it aspires to a historical accounting of diasporic formation that is not about either the visibility or the "facticity" of race, but insists instead on multiple accounts of the material wages and consequences of divergent and often contradictory *processes* of racialization that constitute the African diaspora as an *articulated* "unity within difference." Viewing this archive as a set of multiples makes visible the relationality of diaspora that plots an alternative trajectory of diasporic subject formation. It is a trajectory that requires us to look beyond what we see both in and as the archive of the African Diaspora, and consequently to see (and to see it) differently.

Interstitial | THE GIRL AND/IN THE GAZE

Inasmuch as photographs like this lack supporting documentation, they are powerless to communicate anything more than this is how they looked on that day when they sat for the photographer. Immersed in their appearance, I am ignorant of any tragedy that might have befallen these men, or of any crime they may have committed. Uncertain of anything that ever actually transpired between them, I am free to imagine whatever I please. . . . The beautiful thing about such photographs is that no one can tell me otherwise; at least not based on the evidence or lack of evidence—the photographs provide. In this way, these vivid artifacts exist in and out of history.

—DAVID DEITCHER, "LOOKING AT A PHOTOGRAPH, LOOKING FOR A HISTORY"

The Girl . . .

NEW YEAR'S EVE, WASHINGTON, DC, 2007. The exhibit was large, sprawling, in fact. The curatorial script informed me that *American Snapshots* was an exhibition of a vast archive of anonymous, "found" photographs from 1888 to 1978, acquired by the collector Robert E. Jackson.[1] Snapshots of various and sundry. Hundreds of joyful, anonymous people flirting playfully with the camera, frolicking uninhibited with the welcome photographic gaze of family and friends. I wandered with awe and satisfaction through the halls of the National Gallery West until I turned the corner to enter the third room of the exhibit. Her picture hung at an oblique angle to the doorway of the room. And suddenly everything shifted . . .

It is a natural impulse for me to search for brown faces in a room, and here it was no different. I grew up not too far from the museum, only a few subway stops away. My family had been the first to integrate our block on the north-east border of DC in what was then the notoriously segregated area of Prince George's County—a major achievement and a testament to my parents' tenacity back in the bad old days of red-lining in the late 1960s. My siblings and I were proudly hailed by our principal at a Parent-Teacher Association meeting as the shining (i.e., sole) examples of integration at our elementary school, an experience that became quite familiar to me in later years as I was frequently one of the few blacks at elite universities and in professional circles. Suffice it to say that from an early age, I became quite accustomed to being one of the only black faces in the room. But the city of my youth was the DC George Clinton so memorably celebrated and serenaded as "Chocolate City." And perhaps because of this ironic fact—that for most of the time I lived there, the population of the DC area hovered somewhere around 70 percent black—exhibitions like these astounded me. In room after room of the gallery and in the hundreds of found snapshots they displayed chronicling "an American history of vernacular photographic practices," I was as profoundly conscious of the absence of brown faces as I was magnetically drawn to and transfixed by one of the only images of a person of color in the exhibit: a photograph of a young black woman nearly invisible to anyone walking into the room.

She was not frolicking.

She was not flirting playfully with the camera.

She was somber, uncomfortable, and completely unamused.

Unlike with other images in the exhibit, no one lingered smiling or pensive in front of her photo. As I stood before her framed image, I marveled at how many passed her by in silence or without noticing her at all, willfully or obliviously casting their interest elsewhere in the room. What is she holding? I thought at first. Is it a tablecloth? I puzzled. But why, and why is she holding it that way? Then I saw it, and as if by reflex, I suddenly held my breath. Almost hidden in the lower right corner of the frame: a stirrup attached to the table on which she was seated. She was in a doctor's office. She was an object of examination. Or was she? Was this the innocent snapshot the exhibit proclaimed it to be, or was it misplaced—a misplaced example of clinical photography that had drifted into this collection? As I scrutinized it in an attempt to discern its origins through clues within its frame, I found myself stymied. Why? Why this photo and why was it made? By whom, and for what purpose? And why was it displayed in this room full of frolickers? More im-

portant, perhaps, *why does it matter*? What is the "matter" of this image, or put another way, what is the matter with it?

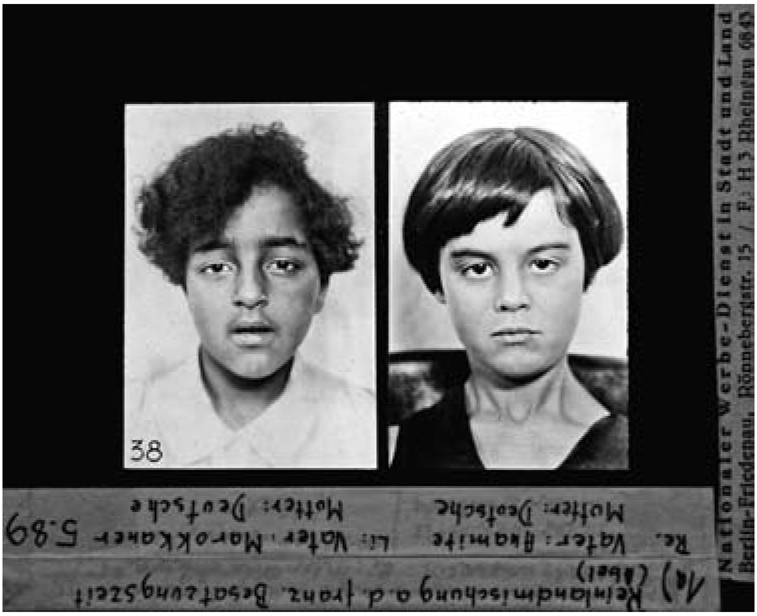
I was drawn to the image by its contrasts. Portraying the sole dark figure in the gallery and the first I had seen in the exhibit so far, it stood out immediately from the rest despite its placement in the room. What struck me initially were her hands, their darkness contrasting starkly against the blinding whiteness of . . . what? A cloth? A sheet? Some sort of covering. The image's searing black and white contrasts drew me in closer, and the closer I got, the more jarring were its effects. Her hands were long, slender, and elegant. The texture of her skin was flawlessly smooth, stretching tautly to outline a perfectly delicate bone structure. Fingernails neatly trimmed, they are hands to be admired, hands worthy of display. They seem almost three-dimensional—as if they might reach out and touch you, and clearly, on some level they did. But perhaps her hands are not the intended focus of this presentation. They function instead to secure the white square that serves as a backdrop for their display. With her torso fully covered from waist to neck, the fabric that conceals her is neither a sheet nor a cloth, but instead a stiff paper drape that she anchors rigidly in place.

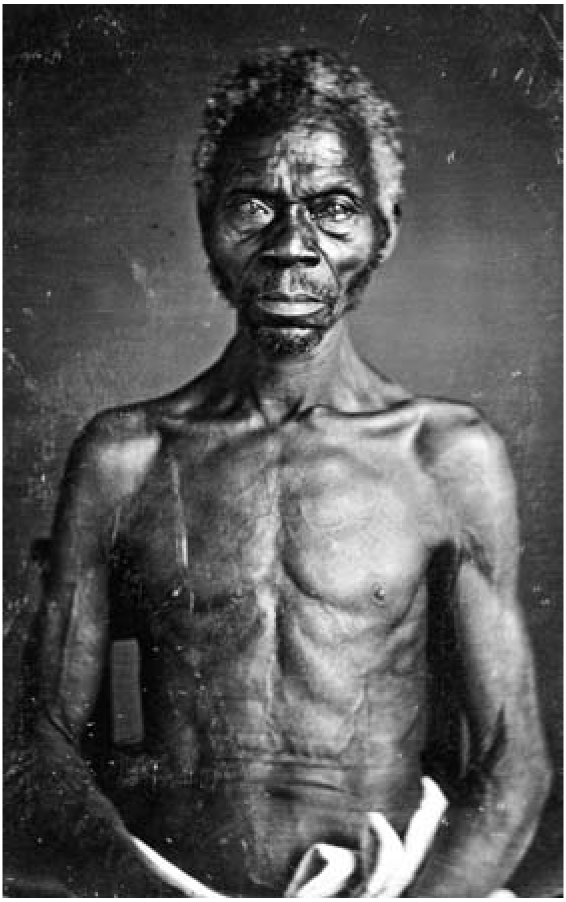
If my encounter with this image began with those stunning hands, it traveled much more tentatively upward to her face and her eyes. Barely visible, the sparse outlines of her eyelids frame massive, dark, fully dilated pupils. Trained directly on the camera, this striking, nameless sitter fixes us in a steely gaze, which then as now almost makes me flinch. The dark skin of her face contrasts with the whiteness of the drape, but it rapidly dissolves against the gradual darkening of the wall behind her. My gaze slowly lowered to the drape, then past her hands toward her waist, settling finally on the garment she wears that emerges underneath. Is it gingham? Or maybe seersucker? Somehow it no longer matters once your eyes settle on the object just to the right. And then you see it again. A single metal stirrup. The glint of its shininess jumps out suddenly and catches you slightly off guard. And with this awareness, a partial glimpse of its mate to the left gradually comes into view.

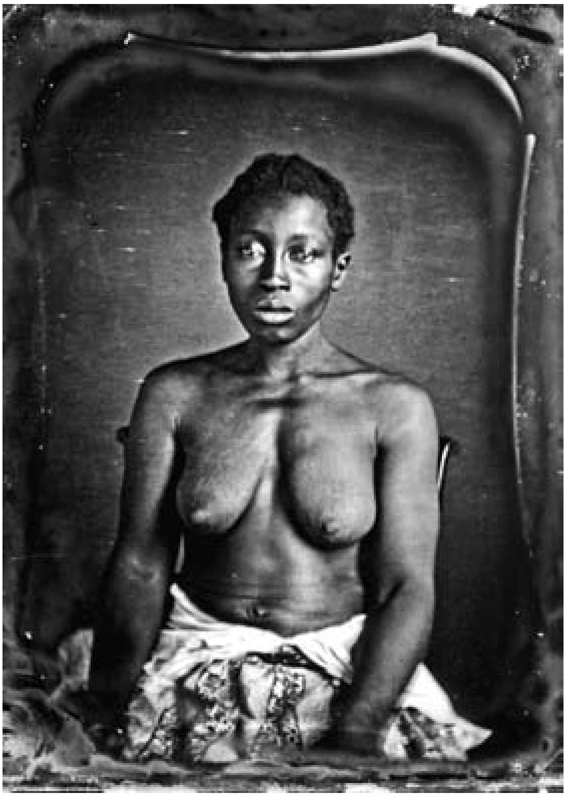
What are the shifting sensory and affective relations that structure the dynamics of viewing and being viewed? And what shifts when we move from focusing on a single image to that of its relation to a set or archive? These cold metal attachments transform our encounter with the image. The stirrups that distract us in this image conjure the longer history of medical experimentation directed at communities of color in the United States and elsewhere, and to the use of photography as part of clinical, anthropological, and eugenic projects of racial science. They deflect our attention to the cornered but defiant gazes J. T. Zealy and Louis Agassiz captured in their portraits of Delia and Drana, Renty, Alfred, and Jack. They deflect us as well to the immobilized stares of the unnamed black German children of the Rhineland occupation captured in photographs made by Dr. Otto von Verscheuer as a record of his eugenic experiments at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Racial Hygiene in Berlin.

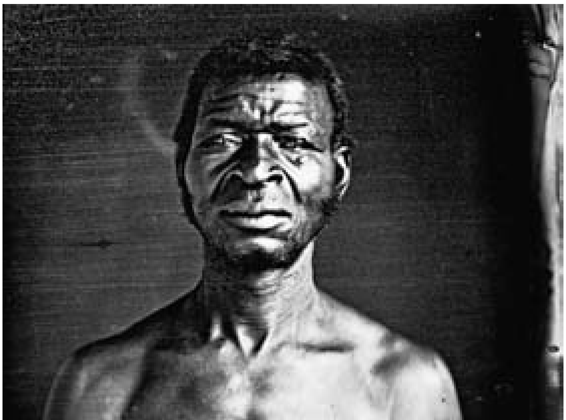
Lacking identifying information, these stirrups place the subject of this image in a context that defies exact dates but situates her nevertheless in a continuum of racial subjection that links it as well to the images of Hans Hauck just viewed. As we know all too well, eugenic programs were neither specific to Germany nor a Nazi invention. The roots of these programs lie much closer to home, for the United States was a model of eugenic research and social hygiene policy in the 1930s, in particular, of the central element of eugenic thought: voluntary and compulsive sterilization.[2] Seeing these images in relation to one another materializes photography's complicity in the project of racial science and in the production of racial difference and subjection. Choosing to see or not see the photograph of an unnamed black girl as an anonymous snapshot or found photo, or to view it through the lens of a longer history of racialized photographic deployments, requires both active forms of looking and not looking, modes of seeing that both engage and refuse.

What does it mean to see (or refuse to see) the relationality of a photo of a girl on an examination table, a bare-breasted slave in a sheath, and a close-up mug shot of a boy captioned by the heritage of his father and mother ("Father: Moroccan; Mother: German")? Seeing them together and seeing their relation makes nothing clearer; their relationality blurs the question of what exactly the photographs capture. Can we distinguish between a "snapshot" of a black figure that "happens" to be shot on an examination table and the portraits of Delia or Drana? If so, what is it about the looks they cast outward that impels us to see them nevertheless as relations? When viewed together, the history of photographic attempts to capture and catalogue, taxonomize and record, document and define a shadow archive of racial essence and distinction—in other words, that which is supposed to distinguish the ethnographic photo


Nationaler Werbe-Dienst in Stadt und Land
Berlin-Friedenau, Rönnebergstr. 15 / F: H3 Rheingau 6845
38
14) Rheinlandmischung a.d. franz. Besatzungszeit
(Abel)
Re. Vater: Annamite
Mutter: Deutsche
Li: Vater: Marokkaner
Mutter: Deutsche
5.89







or the eugenic lecture slide from the snapshot—somehow becomes far less distinct. The differences and relationalities that link these images materialize both within and in excess of their frames, not as indexical facts, traits, or traces but through affective residues that register interstitially in photographs that touch us at multiple levels.

The Gaze . . .

If the stirrups in the photo of this unnamed girl—at first invisible yet now unavoidable—seem to say so much and testify so loudly to a hidden legacy of racialized looks and gazes, the shift in focus they enact explains very little, for they require of us so much more. We suddenly see this woman, initially so taciturn, become infinitely more vulnerable—yet somehow defiant nonetheless. Seated on a table used for gynecological exams, stirrups pointing upward, the image suggests an examination recently completed or not yet begun. Raised upright and visible at its corners, the table extends above and behind her shoulders to support her back. This is not a portrait, or so its inclusion in this exhibition of snapshots asserts. *Spontaneous*, *carefree*, *casual*, *haphazard* is the lexicon mobilized by its curators to organize this collection and its display. But this photo was taken in an examination room, though not in the sterile, clinical environment we associate with this setting. These are not the tiled walls of a hospital, nor the whitewashed walls of a doctor's office or clinic. They are impoverished walls made of bare wooden slats. What appears a gradation from dark to light is in fact a break between one surface and another: a shade drawn down to cover a window. No light penetrates this portal; no view is possible through its frame. In the frame of the photo the initially commanding gaze of the photographer seems now to be reversed. It is she who views us; she who captures us in a somber yet audacious gaze. The object becomes subject; the viewer is transposed with the viewed. In this inversion, the mastery of viewing as knowing dissolves before us. Her anonymity envelopes us as we capitulate to being viewed ourselves. We are both caught by her gaze and caught up in it as well.

A litany of questions cascade and bombard me. How should we describe the affects of the intense, visual attention she directs at the camera? The unrelenting, eye-to-eye/eye-to-camera contact and unmediated focus of her eyes on her viewer? Technically and descriptively, her unwavering, immobilized (and indeed, immobilizing) attention most certainly qualifies as a stare.

Focused and intent, seeing is, however, only part of its function. To see, one need not fix or arrest one's object with the intensity her eyes evoke. Should we characterize her visual engagement as more of a look than a stare? Or is it in fact a gaze that she directs toward the camera and those who view her? What is the difference between a look, a stare, and the gaze, and what constitutes them respectively? When does a stare become a look; when does a look reach the level of the gaze; and which gazes command the relationship to power that structures the gaze so frequently cited by theorists of visual culture and film? Perhaps most important, whose look and whose gaze produces the intensity of this image's affect, and how should we situate this girl's penetrating look in relation to the structures of domination the gaze so often signifies?

Designating the attention this figure directs to her viewers a "gaze" tethers her look to the power and agency ascribed to this weighty academic term. It is a concept that structures and circumscribes our ways of seeing and our practices of viewing, and a term that defines the relations between spectators and images by positioning them in gendered relationships of active and passive, dominant and subordinate.[3] But is *her look* a gaze? What would it mean to ascribe to the unnamed girl in this photograph the power of the gaze? Here it is important to emphasize the crucial and indeed essential difference between granting her the power of *a* gaze versus that of *the* gaze. Recognizing her possibility to possess a gaze does not mean granting her the power of dominance, escape from systemic violence, or even the possibility of exception to exist outside or beyond a structuring gaze of domination. Granting her the possibility of *a* gaze recognizes what bell hooks has argued is the necessary reality of multiple gazes that allows for the possibility if not of agency, resistance, or opposition then, most important, of fugitivity.[4]

For hooks, *a* gaze (as distinct from *the* gaze) is neither solely nor wholly the domain of structures of domination but can instead be appropriated and redirected by the Other. In this sense, it is perhaps a moot point to attempt to decipher whether the subject of this image possesses the capacity for a look or a gaze, or whether the gaze she potentially projects is resistant, oppositional, or always already reappropriated by a system of racialized, patriarchal domination. As hooks has so convincingly argued, there exists no singular or monolithic gaze, for even as a structure of domination, the gaze is always multiple in its impact and affects. Granting this girl the power of *a* gaze means seeing this photo as both a snapshot and as, at the same time, the kin or lost relation of the clinical and criminal photographic portrait deployed by scientists, ethnographers, and eugenicists to identify and classify racial difference as pathology. It means reading it as a site of fugitivity articulated through modes of contestation and refusal that reside in the snapshot, in the found image, in the clinical or ethnographic portrait, as well as in the eugenic lecture slide.

Like the anonymous photographs of same-sex couples that Deitcher references in the epigraph to this section, this photo similarly provokes me to read agency, defiance, and refusal into this girl's gaze, despite what he describes as a "parallel sense of anxiety" that accompanies an engagement with the possibilities and potentialities of the anonymous image. Lacking the supposed evidence of caption or context, such images, Deitcher reminds us, compel us to produce contingent yet generative readings that "bracket off whatever 'history' may have to say about these photographs in order to explore what they represent from this decidedly interested perspective, knowing, as Whitman did, that any single viewpoint can only offer knowledge that is contingent."[5] Extending Deitcher's point, I would argue that such readings and knowledges are born of the contingency of a fugitivity that also resides in these images as an ontological modality Fred Moten describes as "that desire to be free, manifest as flight, as escape, as a fugitivity that may well prove to veer away even from freedom as its *telos*, is indexed to anoriginal lawlessness . . . an inability both to intend the law and intend its transgression and the one who is defined by this double inability is, in a double sense, an outlaw."[6]

American Snapshots took on a different tenor through my encounter with this particular image. A shifting interplay of background and foreground, point and context, general and particular recalibrated my perception of the work of photos and why they matter. In what ways do questions of agency and archive, exhibition and circulation, making and distributing collude with race and gender to constitute the official archive of found photography? Put another way, whose photographs figure into the history of this genre and whose images count—both through their presence and through their absence?

The Affects of Lost and Found

Found photography: a genre of photography and/or visual art based on the recovery (and possible exhibition) of lost, unclaimed, or discarded photographs. [R]elated to vernacular photography, it differs in the fact that the "presenter" or exhibitor of the photographs did

> not "shoot" the photograph itself, does not know anything about the photographer, and generally does not know anything about the subject(s) of the photographs. Found photos are generally acquired at flea markets, thrift stores, yard sales, estate sales, or literally just "found" anywhere. . . . Much of the appeal of the photos is the mystery regarding the original photographer or the subject matter and can also involve a sort of voyeuristic interest, as if one were obtaining access to a private world. Creating possible narratives for found photographs has become quite popular, especially on sites, which allow viewers to enter their own narratives as comments to the pictures.
>
> —WIKIPEDIA, MAY 2010

Who or what defines the category of "found photography"? What archival rules govern the corpus of images we refer to as found or anonymous images?

> **find** *v 1. to discover something or somebody after a search; 2. to recover something after losing it; 3. to realize, understand, or locate something for the first time, especially by studying or observing; 4. to notice or come across somebody or something by chance; 5. to make a special effort to gather something together or summon something up.*

Like its cognate *to find*, *found photography* presumes a simultaneous act of discovery and recovery. It requires an agent of recognition to order images assumed to lack context or claim, location, narrative, or circumstance. Found photography is an archive that implicitly relies on Derrida's two foundational archival premises: consignation and domiciliation. Premised, however, on the assumption of an originary state of anonymity, found photography assumes an unidentified, ownerless image-object. It is an image whose primary state is "lost" or, more precisely, *loss*—a loss of identity, a loss of place, a loss of attachment.

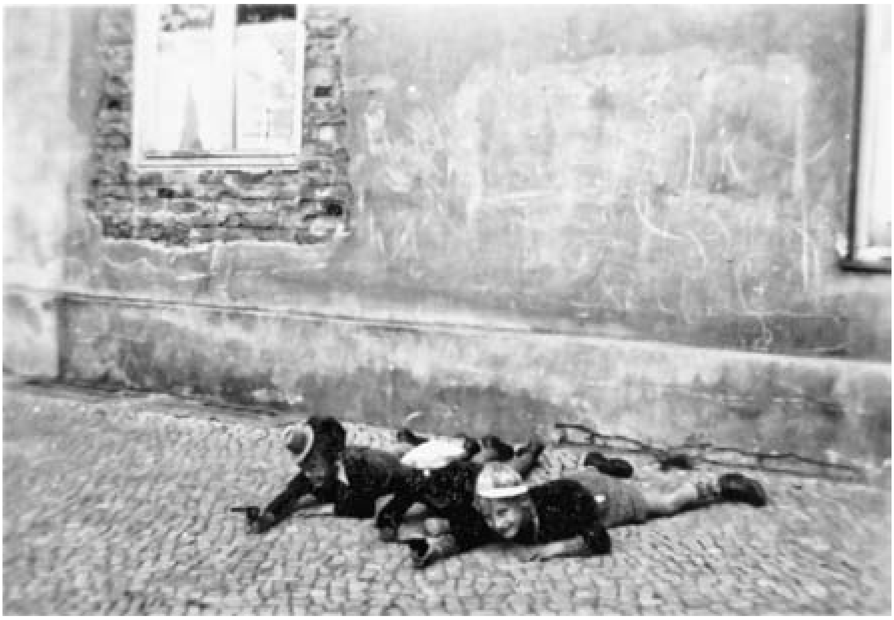
> **a·non·y·mous** *adj 1. whose name is not known or not given; 2. with the performer's, maker's, or creator's identity withheld; 3. lacking individuality or distinctiveness; 4. obscuring somebody's identity, or allowing somebody to go unnoticed.*

What does it mean to call a photograph of an unnamed black girl an "anonymous" or "found" image? How did she achieve this state of anonymity? When exactly was she lost, and when and by whom was she found? Perhaps her recovery was accomplished through the acquisition of this photo by a collector. Perhaps her finding was achieved in the decision to display her image in an exhibit that exposed her to wider public view. More likely, it was accomplished through the incorporation of the image into the larger archive of *American Snapshots*—an archive that, from that point forward, became its designated repository and genre. It is equally probable that my own attempts to locate and recover her subjectivity in the context of the photographic archive of racial subjection is similarly motivated by an impulse toward archival redemption, as an act that constitutes her recovery as yet another moment instantiating her and her image as "found."

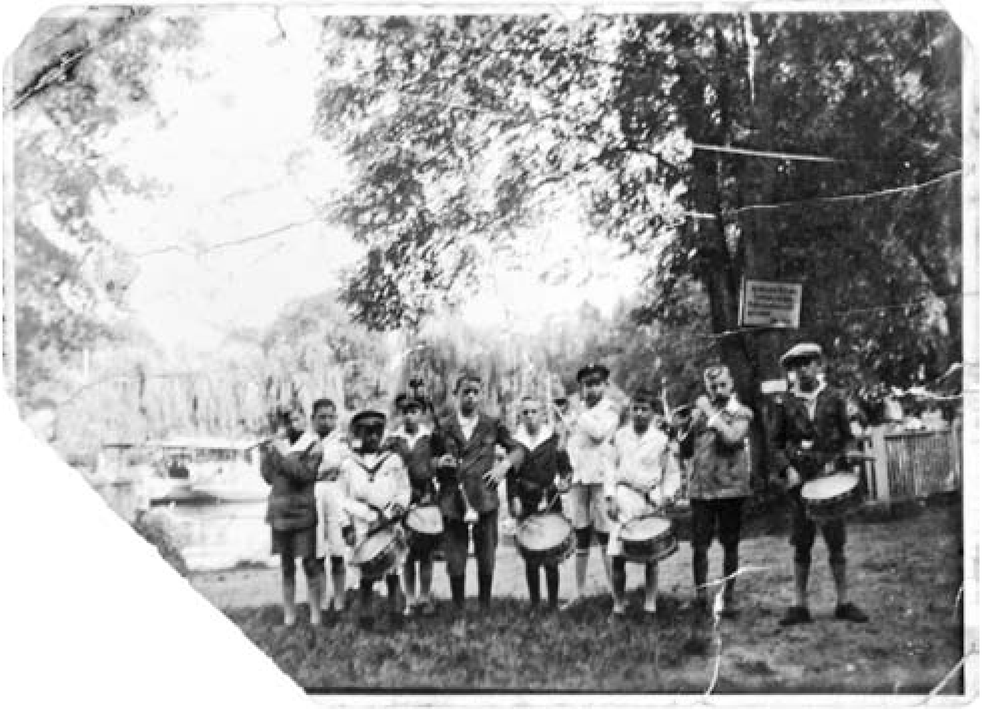
Perhaps, but also quite the contrary. This woman was never lost, thus her finding is our own invention. She is not and never will be anonymous. While she may be unidentifiable to those who view her today, outside the original context, place, and time of the image, anonymity is not her state of being. Her identity may be obscured to us, yet it was abundantly clear to her and to those who produced this image, those from whose hands this image made its way to us. What does she lose, what do we gain, and what do we deny her through assumptions of loss, recovery, or anonymity that collude in the attribution of found photography? What possibilities of agency and engagement do we produce for ourselves and potentially deny the image and its subject at the moment we attribute archival anonymity or reclamation? And what alternative modes of engagement might shift these relations away from the dynamics of lost and found, discovery and recovery, and dispossession and repossession?

Chapter 2

ORPHAN PHOTOS, FUGITIVE IMAGES



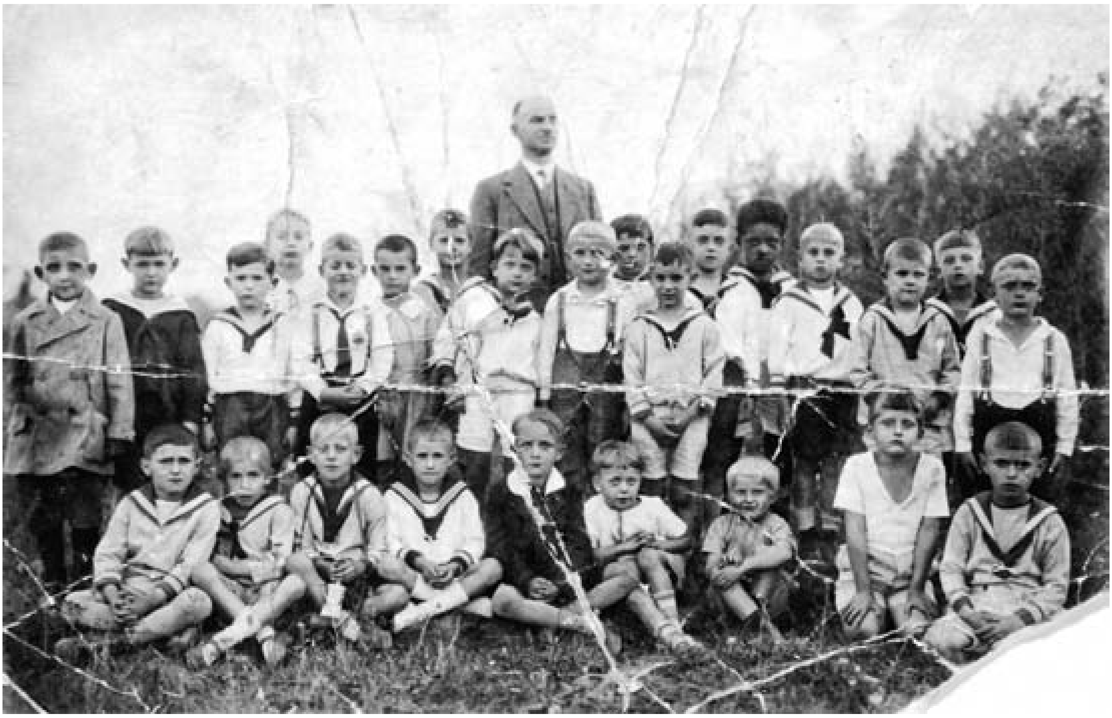
Three boys pinned down in a fake gun battle. Perhaps *Winnetou* was a recent bedtime story, and this is instead a game of cowboys and Indians. Had they, like so many other boys of their age, fallen captive to the narrative charms of Karl May? Fanciful hats sit awkwardly on small heads, in one case, completely unstable and falling forward off the kinky Afro of a young Harry Davis, pictured far left. Lying on their stomachs on a cobblestone courtyard, the boys flatten themselves to the ground seeking cover from imaginary in-



coming fire. Smiling ear to ear, arms and guns extended, they are fully in character, dodging bullets and firing back to the audible “bang-bang” of a fantasy shoot-out.

“Bang-bang” of a different sort. The clash of ten sticks on five snare drums. A children’s band: a fife and drum corps circa 1935? A photograph replete with rhythm and sound. A line of boys alternating right to left: drum, flute, drum, flute, drum. The alternating pattern ends left of the bandleader, where the smallest three members of the group jumble together in disarray. In front, third from the left stands Davis dressed in a pristine sailor suit with a drum at his waist. A marching band in full regalia. Was their performance imminent or had it ended just moments before? Perhaps a local parade in celebration of spring. On a sunny day like this in a village like Rüdersdorf, the whole town might be assembled. Parents, friends, and neighbors; this band was the embodiment of belonging.

No banging and certainly no music. Quite possibly an awful lot of fidgeting, but an utter lack of movement was certainly the goal. Mission seemingly accomplished. Twenty-six tamed and docile boys assemble in a group photo



under the watchful eye of a teacher. Towering over them center frame, he gazes off into the distance. Ever vigilant yet with a sense of satisfaction on his face, he seems proud of his supreme accomplishment: successfully corralling a group of two-dozen little boys. Bony knees crossed, sailor suits and suspenders, offset ears and, front row far left, a curiously formal trench coat adorn this motley crew. And the tallest among them stands fourth from the right, Harry Davis, impeccable and well kempt, sporting what today would count as a perfectly formed flat-top 'fro.

Orphaned and fugitive snapshots. Fleeting moments, glances into a past at once tangible, ephemeral, and material. A boy at play with friends, with toy guns on the ground or making music in a marching band. What unites these photographs is the continuity of groups. Each photo stills a moment of group activity. Scenes of children in school or at play. If we read these images together, what do we see? They visualize boyhood through a tableau composed of group constellations that structure the social milieu of a child. A trio of friends, a primary school class, a marching band—images that typify a life entangled in the social networks of everyday life.

Should we read such images only for what we know for sure—as evidence or confirmation of biographical data or historical context? Should we read them only as depictions of historical events—events we can no longer validate or verify? As we have seen in the photographic archive of Hans Hauck, such information renders only a partial picture. How do we account for that which we cannot identify, and how do we engage details that exceed context? If these were artistic photos or works of art, we would engage their formal attributes. We would closely read their structure and deconstruct their composition, narrate their contrasts and juxtapositions, resonances and dissonances. And we would engage the intensity of their moods and emotions—the responses they solicit and evoke, and their ability to move us visually and affectively.

I propose an analogous practice for engaging the family photographs that appear in these pages—a practice that insists on the importance of reading such images as complex aesthetic texts and affective objects in ways that render them equivalent to works of art. It is a practice that engages the formal composition and interpretive intertextuality of vernacular photos and that assesses their circumstance regardless of the extent to which we can authenticate their origins, uses, patterns of circulation, modes and sites of production, or biographical contexts. For reading vernacular, domestic, and, in particular, family photography, demands of us much more than historicization and contextualization.

Orphans and Fugitives

> **orphan** *n 1. a child whose parents are both dead or who has been abandoned by his or her parents, especially a child not adopted by another family.*
>
> **fugitive** *n 1. somebody who is running away, for example, from justice, enemies, or brutal treatment; 2. an elusive or ephemeral thing. Adj 1. fleeing, especially fleeing arrest or punishment.*

Like the preceding images of Davis and the photograph of the lone black figure whose image so affected me in *American Snapshots*, the orphaned photo is similarly neither anonymous nor necessarily found. All orphans have families—lingering presences whose impact and influence endure undeniably even in their absence. Orphans solicit attention and care, regardless of whether or from whom they receive it. They demand and require nurturing in the places they settle, places often strange to them and in contexts where they do not necessarily belong. They are survivors who forge new configurations of family and attachment that both affirm and unsettle those we take for granted as the norm.

Fugitives: those who leave, run away, are forced out, or seek refuge elsewhere. Those who by compulsion or choice cannot conform; cannot or will not submit to the law; cannot or do not remain in their proper place, or the places to which they have been confined or assigned. Those who venture into sites unknown or unwelcoming are interlopers and strangers who unsettle our sense of the norm. Yet the fugitive's impact registers not only through difference or through her or his status as an outsider. It registers equally or perhaps even more profoundly in those moments when she or he is indistinguishable from the norm through a capacity to undermine its clarity and legitimacy. Often an elusive presence, the fugitive has an ability to pass that camouflages difference while highlighting the very distinctions on which identity and community are based.

Orphan or fugitive? Found or anonymous? What are the affective, domestic, and sensate registers of the photos with which this chapter begins? Similar to the snapshot of the unnamed girl or the family archive of Hauck, these images of Davis might be considered orphaned to the extent that, as is the case for all the photographs engaged in the present work, we no longer have access to their owners or producers, the subjects featured in them, or the families of those who witnessed or might authenticate their circumstances. Like the image of the lone black figure in *American Snapshots*, Davis's reclaimed images were displayed as part of an exhibit—*Special Designation: Negro—Blacks in the Nazi State*—and formed part of a larger archive of photos of black German families featured in the "Family Album" that introduces the volume of essays published in conjunction with the exhibit. It is one of ten photographs published of Davis, who was born in December 1921 in Kalkberge. Harry Davis was the son of John Davis, a Liberian migrant to Germany, and his German wife, Hedwig Agnes Erna Pausin Davis. John and Agnes Davis settled in Rüdersdorf just outside Berlin in the late teens or early 1920s, where John supported his family through a variety of positions, including minor roles in the fledgling colonial film industry that developed in the desertlike set-

ting of sandstone mining industries based in Rüdersdorf and as an employee of the shoe shop shown here.

But the orphan has a distinctive incarnation in the study of visual culture, specifically in the field of film studies. It is an iteration that explicitly aims to reformulate and transform the relationship between the moving image and the archive. Borrowing from the legal concept of "orphaned works,"[1] an orphan film is a work considered abandoned by its owner or creator, or whose provenance cannot be determined: "Today, people who struggle to preserve and make available forgotten films that are decaying in archives, garages, and basements call these dying films 'orphans.' As an orphanage, the film archive is transformed into a place of forgotten, abandoned images and text. Decomposing nitrate reels are near death, buried underneath museums and occasionally resuscitated by the will of collectors and the gaze of spectators. If archives are mass burial grounds of dying images, inhabited by invisible and potential truths, film festivals and movie screens are spaces of radical transformations in which images and texts reappear, arranged in ways that tell stories that reawaken historical consciousness."[2] Adopting the metaphor of the orphanage used by film preservation activists and self-proclaimed "orphanistas," Emily Cohen contends that this term has expanded the types of films that gain public attention and are deemed worthy of preservation. Citing Paolo Cherchi Usai, Cohen advocates for the strategic value of the concept of an orphan film or film orphanage over and against that of the film archive, which she and Usai argue is ineffective for understanding the politics of the social lives of films. The film orphanage evokes instead the broader social reality of films and their "progeny." Building on Usai's contention that a film print "reproduces multiple offspring and potential orphans," Cohen insists that the fate of such offspring and "the clarity of visual memory, depends on the historical moment and financial context of its preservation."[3]

> Unlike Foucault and Derrida's museum archives of objects, filmic images' social lives persist through the advent of new reproductive technologies that require intensive labor. This embeds them in political, economic and social relationships. . . . In this sense, the film archive, unlike the museum archive, is more of a cloning band than an archeologist's site. As Usai pointed out, the concept of the "archive" obscures the political economy that shapes the production and reproduction of films at a particular historical moment. Most films have multiple offspring, reproduced through different technologies according to the historical moment they are conceived. . . . Archives are not simply deposits of material memory; they are spaces governed by state politics, funding agencies, and preservation technologies, which relegate differential access to them. They also determine which films get resuscitated and reproduced as the living memories of film viewers.[4]

While Foucault's and Derrida's conceptions of the generative and enunciative power of the archive and its relation to new technologies are certainly more complex and dynamic than an archeological dig, Cohen's reformulation of the film archive as an orphanage expands our view of the reproductive labors of the archive and its object. But I must confess that this discourse of orphans and orphanages evokes some suspicion in me through the claim it stakes to the exceptional status of the moving image and its archive, and the forms of mortality, fragility, redemption, and resuscitation it ascribes to its adopted orphans. The orphans at the heart of this discourse are helpless, passive, and abandoned; they are condemned to the waste bin of culture and history to await death or, alternatively, reclamation, salvation, and recovery. While the activism this orphan movement motivates is hopeful and inspiring, it is equally triumphal in its patriarchal agency to save and redeem, transform and resignify.

> The archive has been transformed into an orphanage of innocent and dying children betrayed by their patriarch: A landscape threatened by its own degradable nature or the degradation necessary to their digital dissemination. Unlike other apocalyptic movements, however, orphanistas are coming to represent the avant-garde. . . . As film orphans await the nurturance of

> adoptive parents, they inspire passionate debates concerning crucial questions of life, death, and the politics of reproduction of the nation's cultural heritage: a threatened heritage signified by decaying visual imagery. Reproducing orphans is no simple matter. . . . In this dramatic enactment of saving dying orphans, the film preservation community remakes itself into a social movement, in which films and their reproduction continually redefine cultural memory and national heritage. Through labor among different social actors, an orphan is brought back to life and new imaginings of the past are projected onto the screen, and viewers and preservationists alike experience a transformative moment, a moment of social change.[5]

What is unsettling about this narrative is what it leaves out—namely, the potentially disruptive capacities of the unruly, orphaned child. A propensity for tantrums, rebellion, and refusal to play the ascribed docile role of adopted and redeemed model child. This narrative leaves out an inclination, will, or desire for *fugitivity*, that is, the orphan's capacity to reveal not the cultural memory, history, or heritage we believe she or he should tell or reveal to us—the memory, history, or heritage we think we know—but that which we neither want to see nor necessarily recognize when it is shown to us. It is a history and a heritage that is neither directly accessible nor apprehendable through its showing, screening, or display. The fugitivity of the orphan manifests not only through rebellious disengagement; the orphan also seduces and manipulates in ways that charm and endear. The fugitivity of the orphan is just as frequently coded as familiar and familial through forms of domesticity that seem at odds with the idea of the orphanage, but they are internalized by orphans nevertheless as longings memorized out of desperation and aspiration.

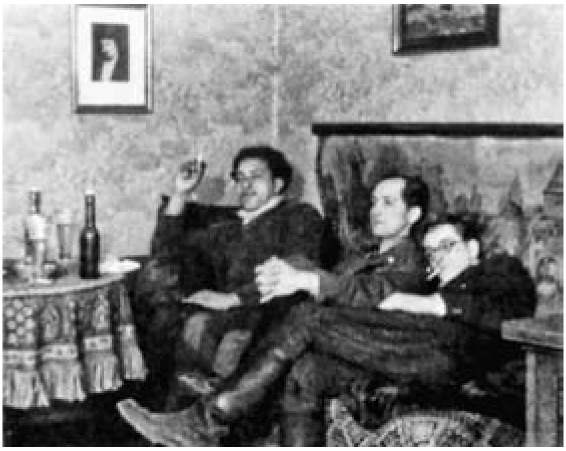
Rather than instantiating the heroic stature of the orphanistas' act of reclamation and the mortality, fragility, and dependency of the orphan work, and rather than seeking the redemption or recovery of the orphan image, it is perhaps more productive to consider the fugitivity of the orphan, and of the orphaned image in particular. It is a defiant form of archival fugitivity that David Deitcher describes as inherent to the historical engagement of vernacular photography:

> Defiance is implicit in the act of historical reclamation, and brings pleasure and persistence to the search for evidence of a past that may well be strewn with the debris of lives wrecked by antiquated injunctions, or disfigured

> by more modern technologies for regulating desire. . . . A more measured defiance also informs the salvage of these vernacular photographs which the majority culture has found unworthy of preservation and study, consideration and care. . . . The fact that these photographs can only perpetuate uncertainty regarding precisely what they picture in no way detracts from the significance of their recovery. . . . Nor should the importance of this modest salvage operation be denied on the basis of its more speculative (and therefore depreciated) historical method. Central to that speculative method is the self-validating faith in the potential for personal desires to lead to the disclosure of public truths.[6]

What might it mean to transfer the insights and questions of the orphanista movement to overlooked or undervalued family snapshots and photographs like those of Davis—images that languish in drawers and albums and whose vernacularity so frequently relegates them to un-visibility? Is it possible or desirable to adapt the orphanista's narrative of the archive as orphanage to the found photographic image without adopting its blindnesses to/toward adoptive, extended, or birth-family relations? The fugitivity of these photos lies in their ability to visualize a recalcitrant normalcy in places and settings where it should not be, and to display survival not in heroic or spectacular acts or events but in mundane practices of the everyday. They do so through depictions of domesticity and dwelling that manifest profound modes of fugitivity in their deployment of the solace and intimacy of such settings as defiantly protective practices of homing and embrace.

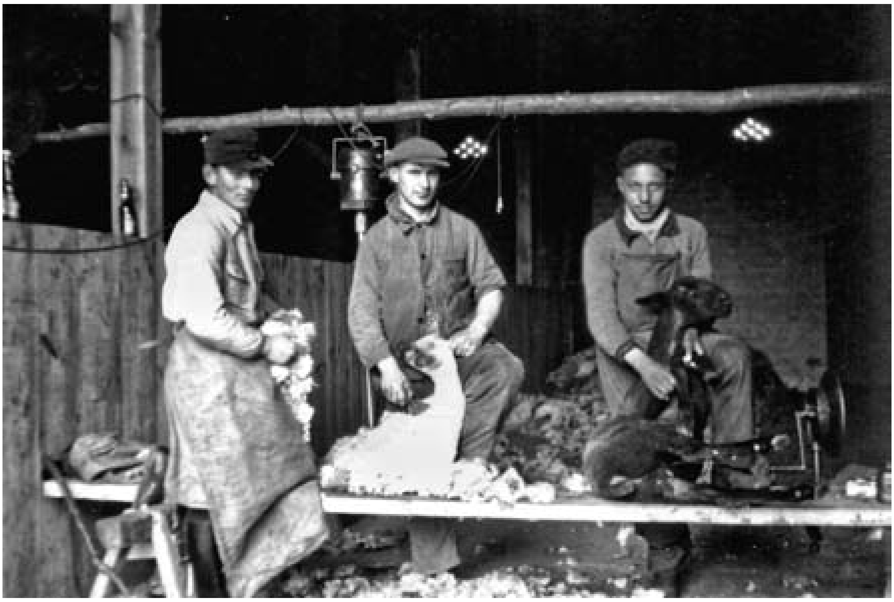
The Fugitivity of Home



RÜDERSDORF BEI BERLIN, CIRCA 1937. Several years later another trio of friends congeals, lounging together on a couch in a living room. Perhaps they are the same three companions—we cannot know for sure. "At home" both literally and figuratively, they rest reassured in the presence of one other and in the collectivity formed through that presence. Beer bottles and glasses, half-empty or half-full, adorn a side table. These vessels betray the progression of the evening like an hourglass marking the passage of time. These three have had a few and they are not finished yet. Slouched together on a sofa, cigarettes in mouth, mid-drag or mid-sentence: The inhale of the brown-skinned young man to the left is suspended in perpetuity. Legs crossed and leaning in with his head and torso almost draped onto his neighbor, a bespectacled fellow smoker hovers somewhere between boredom, dozing, and rapt concentration. Our fellow couch potatoes have their eyes fixed collectively on a point across the room. The conversation in progress captures their undivided attention. Clearly this is a private space or a home. The sparsely furnished but typical German parlor, or *alte deutsche Stube*, signifies a working-class sensibility—a utilitarian domesticity that offers functional comfort with little luxury. A matriarchal portrait perches watchfully above a table adjacent to a straight-back wooden settee. A generic pastoral scene hangs framed directly above. The room's Spartan décor is offset by the softening effect of patterns and textures of tablecloths, textiles, and upholstery. And, of course, by our infinitely casual, lounging trio.

A moment from now they could easily be asleep on top of each other, slumbering with one's head in another's armpit, drooling their way through a beer-addled dream world. Equally likely, we might find them doubled over in uproarious laughter at a joke or comment told from across the room. Perhaps one of these scenes was the punctuation that followed this shot. Regardless of the plotline that transpired on this evening, the affect of this image is undeniably domestic. The body language it captures is familiar, if not familial. It emotes and connotes comfort, intimacy, and proximity. These are friends who are both at home and at home with each other. What other men would dare to practically cuddle on a couch?

RÜDERSDORF, CIRCA 1938. Another trio, in a markedly different setting, with a markedly different sensibility. The venue is a workplace, a farm with livestock quite literally in hand. Rather than conversation, work is in progress: the shearing of sheep, its physical labor momentarily paused. Tufts, bunches, piles and piles of wool permeate the image: in the background, in the foreground, under foot, and in hand. Soft and fuzzy, wild and unruly, it adds texture, tactility, and contrast to the image. It is a texture that seems at odds with the photograph's laconic subjects. The image itself is equally fuzzy, with the figures right and left slightly out of focus. But its subjects are certainly



not fuzzy—anything but. They are rugged individuals, working men posed with purpose and intent. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine them photographed any other way. Their workspace is tight and enclosed, with light filtering in from behind the camera and minimally in the background through the circular perforations of wall vents. Surely these were not intended to provide light, but instead fresh, if minimal, air and ventilation. The closeness of this space is palpable, and the light from these vents illuminates nothing in this place. The vents highlight instead that which is invisible: the air this trio was breathing, the smell of animals, the aromas of this workplace—aromas that probably went unnoticed to them. Working here together day after day, they most likely scarcely ever mentioned it.

Was it warm or cold on this particular workday? The answer is unclear, though judging from the layers of clothes worn by the youthful figure to the right, it is unlikely that the picture was taken at the height of summer. As palpable as the smell we must associate with this work and this place are the physical sensations that accompany it. The tactility of wool saturates this space, in the form of massive bundles that overwhelm the image and microscopic fibers that certainly filled the air in a room where razors were hard at work on animals we associate with passivity, compliance, and submission. A diminutive lamb rests its head at the waist of the center figure. Its shearer strikes a commanding figure posed with an electric razor in hand and one leg raised, supported by the plank on which the livestock rests. Yet despite his authoritative stance, he, like his colleague to the right, is merely an apprentice. Their teacher or *Schermeister*, at the left of the image, stares in half profile directly at the camera. To the right of the frame, his black German apprentice, Harry Davis, cradles the next in the shearing cue: a black sheep.

Was the irony of this shot intentionally staged or serendipitous? Was its composition a prank or a lighthearted joke? Or did it go completely unnoticed by the photographer and his subjects? Perhaps it was a detail that seemed as unimportant as another overlooked feature of this photo: a beer bottle perched innocently and remotely, yet prominent nonetheless, on a ledge in the upper left corner of the frame. Was the black sheep an analog that visualized the unspoken but unavoidable contrast in this image: the loud silence of racial difference? Does it stand in for the obvious—that which need not (and should not?) be stated? Possibly, but perhaps we should read it both a bit less cynically and a bit less allegorically. In the tight proximity of this workspace, there is either intimacy or animosity. In this photo, presence indicates belonging, for you would not and, perhaps, could not be there if you did not belong. A common task, a common space, a common masculinity performed in the collectivity of work. Echoing the photo of three soldiers named Hans, here also difference seems not only not to matter, in fact, it could not matter. Similar to the military enterprise that solidified the three brothers in arms, this display of masculinity in labor renders these individuals one in work. But how lasting or how tenuous is the erasure of such barriers? While racial difference may here seem repressed, it was certainly not irrelevant. What this photo makes visible is how labor creates a common world, even for individuals situated very differently within that world or the larger society. Like the visual contrast of the black sheep in this photo, it, too, could neither be erased nor overlooked.

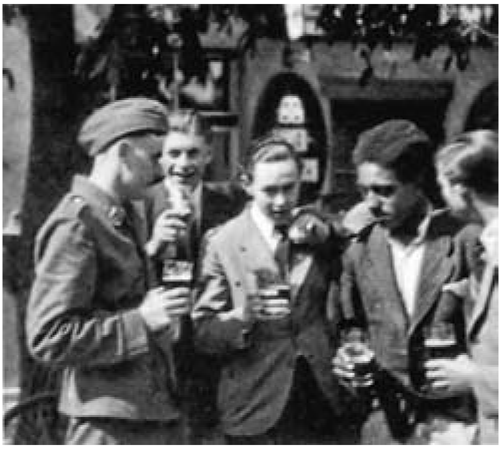
These images of Davis were taken sometime between 1935 and 1939, while he was living as an apprentice on a *Pachthof*, or lease farm, dubbed Grünelinde, operated by Wilhem Thomae on the outskirts of Rüdersdorf. They are part of a larger archive of family photos that show Davis from childhood to early adulthood: at play or at rest with friends, engaged in the tasks of his workday, shearing sheep and driving a tractor, or at a communal gathering of friends and colleagues.

As a series, they chronicle happy times and moments of leisure at differ-

ent periods in his life. As the archivist of this collection notes, images like these depict the place of protection and acceptance Davis enjoyed at the time, as one of several apprentices who inhabited a marginal position in the eyes of the Nazi regime.[7] Besides Davis, Thomae also employed two other workers, one of Jewish heritage and one a committed communist, whom he sheltered based on his anti-Nazi convictions as a committed socialist.

As compelling as this biographical sketch is, it, too, gives only a minimal account of what we see. Returning to the question invoked in the previous chapter, what shifts if we read this image not through a single narrative script, but relationally, as part of a *set*? What becomes visible when we constitute it as part of a larger corpus, in other words, as part of an archive? If we cannot escape the logic of archival consignation, what can and do we see differently when we partake of the act of archival production in ways that claim such images not as passive or anonymous orphans but as objects that enact the social relations producing them? Here I would suggest we engage these photos through the fugitivity of their domestic affects.

The fugitivity of the domestic emerges in these photos in scenes of intimate gatherings on the couch or at the pub—scenes that signify and stage friendship through the physical intimacy they display through arms clasped on shoulders, heads resting on shoulders, heads touching other heads, friends huddling together shoulder to shoulder. It is not merely the continuity or consistency of the group contexts in which Davis is pictured through which their affects register. It is a touch of physical contact that connects them—a haptics of domestic intimacy that figures relation as more than knowledge or recognition, more than random group assembly, more than mere companionship. The haptics of relation depicted in these photos register a familiarity that blurs the line of what constitutes kin. It signifies a kinship that surpasses blood and an adoptive relation that is family by choice rather than heritage or birth. The fugitivity of these images is *a fugitivity of adoption*. Neither redemptive nor restorative, the fugitivity of adoption is kin that should not be recognized as related, but nevertheless is. It is an intimate relation by demonstration and conviction that is as strong as blood and that cannot be denied.



The Haptics of Embrace

This image could have been the postscript to the previous image or the prequel to the couch scene captured in the photo that opened the preceding section. Perhaps the day that ended draped on a couch in a parlor began hours earlier, standing in the sunshine outside the local pub. A send-off for a buddy conscripted to serve, a toast to welcome him briefly home, or possibly a chance encounter or temporary companionship forged through beer. Huddled together shoulder to shoulder, the young men with glasses in hand seem poised to raise them or have them drift downward following a group swallow. The partial contents of these glasses animate this photo in hands that rhythmically keep time with a drinking song, and punctuate the flow of conversation through their movement up or down, back or forth.

Photographed against a backdrop of foliage dangling from what appears to be a balcony or window box, the proximity of this jovial group of five is as striking in its physicality as the previous image in this series. Far right, a young man seems to tug on the lapel of his friend, Davis, whose presence constitutes this series of images as a set. Second from left, the most ebullient of the five beams widely, glass in hand and poised to sip. Far left next to him, a fifth person completes the group. Dressed in uniform, he is a member of a military group we cannot identify from this vantage point. Luftwaffe, Reichsarbeitsdienst, or Wehrmacht—whether in the service of domestic security or deployed for conquest abroad, his casual presence in this configuration attests to the ubiquity of the military in everyday life, for the Third Reich was a thoroughly militarized society where uniforms were a visual norm in the beer garden as well as on the battlefront.

What do we learn by reading these three images together? In fact, their significance materializes only when read together, in relation to one another and in the spaces between them. Together, they tell the story that Davis was part of a family, albeit one not based on biology or heredity. As Hauck said of his own childhood, he was integrated into his family and community both in spite of and because of his racial difference. While racial ambiguity did not facilitate Davis's acceptance into the primary sites of belonging of his youth in the ways Hauck recounted of his own upbringing, these images register similarly haptic modes of inclusion and embrace produced through the affects of domesticity and belonging that constituted him as a member in multiple sites of everyday sociality: in the workplace, the pub, the garden, and the parlor. Yet the figuration of his inclusion in these photos signifies not through the singularity of any single image, but instead *serially*, as multiples linked by easily overlooked details that constitute them as a set.

What links the first of these three photos to the two images that follow it, is the reappearance of the same two friends from the beer garden now huddling arm in arm at a boat landing. In the third image it is the triumphal and emphatic swing of a ping pong paddle waved demonstratively in front of spectators in the thrill of victory or possibly the good-humored ignominy of defeat. Dressed in jodhpurs on an afternoon in the garden, Davis has either just demonstrated his mastery of the game or been humbled by his female opponent. Either way, it was a victory or defeat witnessed by the fatherly figure and two younger boys that complete this domestic scene. Unlike the two images that precede it, the haptics of domesticity register not through physical touches but through the homing affects of setting and proximity, comfort and inclusion staged through a mise-en-scène that performs family fun on a day of leisure in the garden.

As single images, each of these photos has a narrative that gives an account of a particular event or occurrence. As a set, they present three scenes of youthful camaraderie unified by the continuity of Davis's consistent presence in the midst of multiple social networks of everyday life. What produces these images' seriality is a domesticity of intimate touches that render Davis indistinguishable from the norm and produce him as adopted kin in ways that both sheltered him from and exposed him to a regime that sought his exclusion from its midst. As groups of young people engaged in common activities, the groups in which he is assembled share purpose and social context. The litany of these configurations portrays Davis as quite popular or, at the very least, as deeply embedded in the social life of his locale and perpetually surrounded by friends.

Looking at the images more closely, what is perhaps most striking about them is the gaze exchanged between Davis and the soldier friend in the beer garden. Head slightly downcast, he looks both up to his slightly taller companion and down at the ground. As in the work photos shot on the farm, even a somewhat older Davis strikes an almost bashful figure who somehow makes us wonder whether he was a willing or recalcitrant photographic subject. Shy of the camera he was obviously not, though if these images in some way distort this fact, he was, at the very least, clearly the involuntary subject of persistent photographic attention. These were not obligatory family portraits; they are snapshots—thoughtful yet spontaneous images that capture moments of conviviality for future enjoyment. At least one, though most likely multiple, photographers desired to capture Davis's image, to keep and hold it over and again.

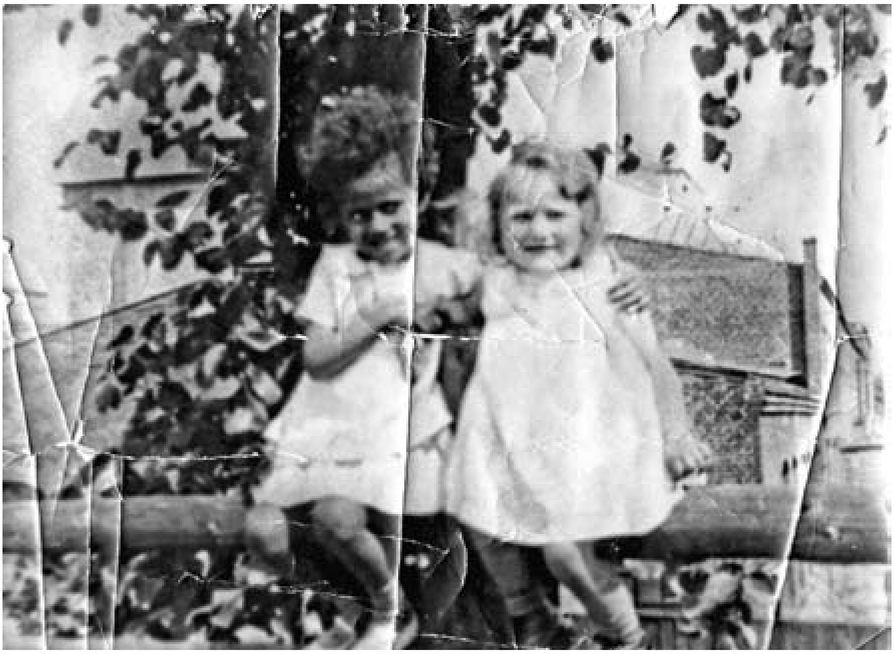
What is right and what is wrong about the conviviality pictured in this image? Paradoxically, the presence of the soldier in the beer garden photo both confirms and interrupts the continuity of the image's conviviality. His appearance pairs with Davis's consistent visibility as the focal point in these images of trios and close-knit groups of friends that underlines the affective power of this set. While they share beer, a sunny afternoon, and conversation, the uniform in the midst of these civilians distinguishes their lives from his. One member of this group is visibly conscripted to protecting and upholding the rule of the state, and that state is a regime founded on a doctrine of racial purity and productivity and dedicated to Aryan supremacy and domination—which returns us to the image and its affects.

Viewed as a set, what connects these photos as well is, oddly, beer. Even at work, the phantom bottle positioned on a ledge at the upper left corner of the frame signals break time and the continuation of the modes of conviviality that the other images in this series celebrate more explicitly. Whether they are close friends or first-time acquaintances, whether it is a daily or a weekly ritual, or a one-off chance encounter, even adversaries can share a beer. It is the small, mundane details like a beer bottle or a uniform that mark the continuities of everyday life in this series of snapshots of Davis and friends, Davis and colleagues. Together they compose an image of haptic domesticity in these photographic depictions of Davis's movement into and out of public and private spaces. They picture employment and industry, leisure and belonging, and even a fluid interaction with members of the military. Our recognition of scenes we might have lived or witnessed, suffered through or enjoyed, spurs us to conjure narratives that make them make sense in the absence of personal or biographical authentication and validate the feelings of connection they inspire. The impulse to narrate them derives from the sense of attachment and connection they evoke as domestic and affective photos of intimate everyday relations through the structures of feeling they project and portray.

The tenderness, joy, and connection that structures Davis's placement in each of the groups of individuals with whom he poses enunciates relations of intimacy that seem unwavering throughout this archive. They are images that touch us quite literally because of and through the physical touches they depict and the affective relations they solicit: the touch of head to head, head to shoulder, arm to shoulder, shoulder to chest. Affect registers in these images through touches of demonstrative affection that enact an intimate *haptics of embrace*. It is an embrace that signifies visually in the multiple forms of embrace these photos image, and through the haptics of what those physical embraces represent: inclusion, acceptance, and protection at a time when the opposite was expected to be the case. Yet it is in the seamlessness of these images' depiction of the touch of intimate relation and the embrace of adopted kinship that their fugitivity also resides. For the embrace that sustains their relation was the embrace of an outsider turned kin. These images materialize the presence of a racial Other as the ultimate adopted relation—shielded in plain view by friends, neighbors, and coworkers who adopted him as kin and a chosen relation and buffered scrutiny and potential injury by the state through his inclusion in the tightly woven fabric of community.

Fugitive Domesticity

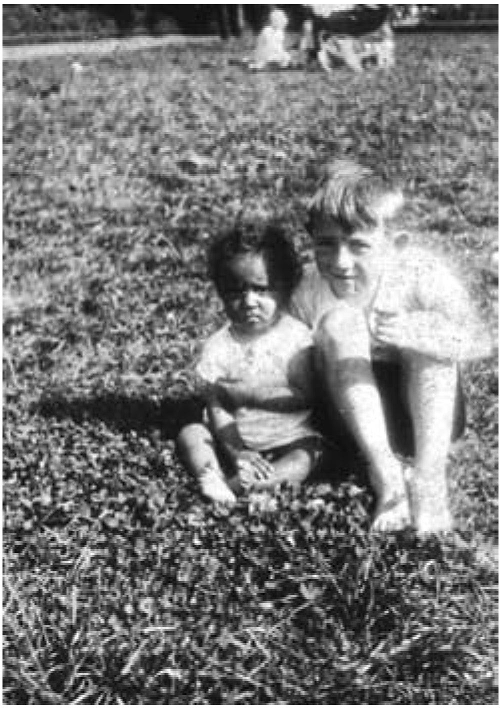
HAMBURG, 1932. Two toddlers sit awkwardly balanced on a wooden fence. They are innocent, doll-like figures: one, a bubbling, angelic blonde, the other, a frizzy-haired nymph with dancing eyes and a flirtatious smile. Both giggle with ebullience for the camera. A spur of the moment snapshot? Possibly, though probably not. The tinting of the original reveals the retouching of a photographer. As spontaneous as it may appear, the image was neither an afterthought nor a casual or serendipitous act. The brown-skinned cherub



to the left embraces her playmate with one arm around her shoulder and the other grasping, indeed almost clutching, her opposite arm. On closer inspection, the gesture appears to be less childhood camaraderie than pragmatism, as the arm seems to support and stabilize the pair in their precarious perch on the fence.

The positioning of this gleeful duo widens our view to suggest the larger domestic setting of this image. Even more tenuous than at first glance, the fence is situated as a kind of precipice. The photo's background reveals it was taken on a hill, for at eye level directly behind the girls we see the rooftop of a two-story building. Because no reasonable individual would pose two toddlers unattended on a fence atop a hill, we must assume the presence of at least one other adult besides the photographer. Indeed, the girls' delicate balancing act would require another adult presence (though more likely two) to supervise this photographic moment. Because the children are at a tender age, the adults present would have likely been family members or close friends of those families entrusted with their care. A familial frame reenters the picture.

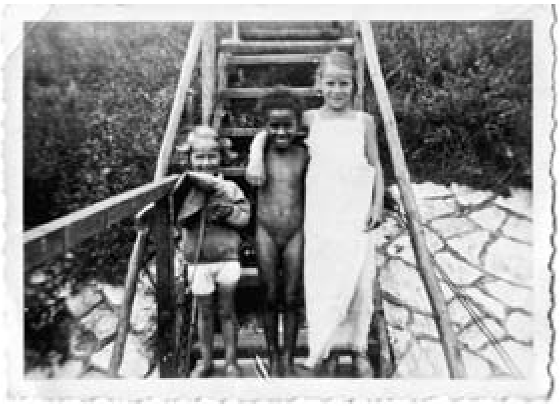
The brown-skinned baby girl pictured in these two photographs is Fasia Jansen, an Afro-German born in Hamburg in 1929. In this image Jansen is about five years old, pictured with a young girl who is in fact Jansen's aunt, also born in 1929. Jansen's father, Momolu Massaquoi, was the Liberian con-



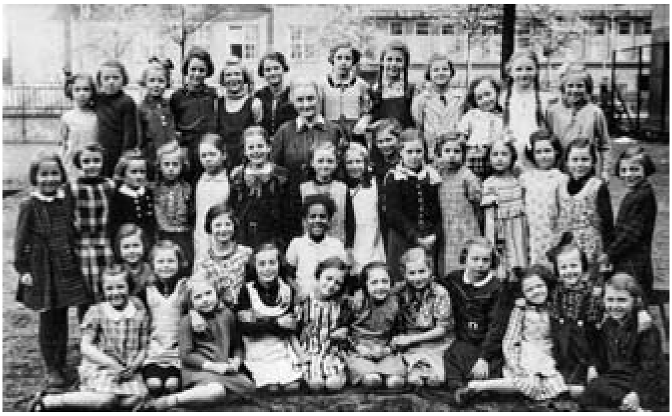
sul general at the Hamburg consulate, and her mother, a white German, was the family governess. Jansen never met her father, who was married at the time of his involvement with Jansen's mother and who returned to Liberia shortly after her birth.[8]

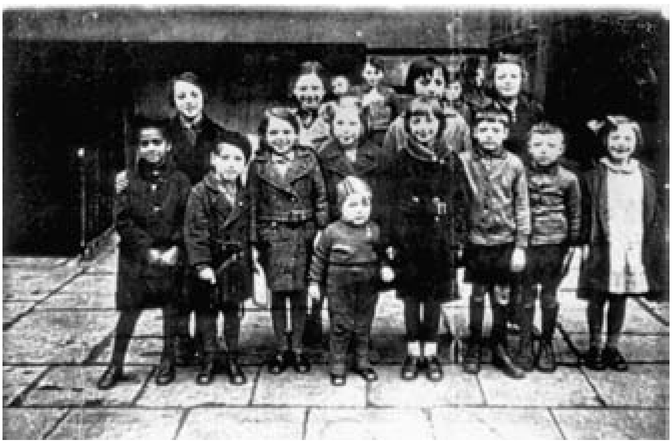
Much younger than in the preceding image, the baby Fasia here sits barefoot in the grass with an unidentified boy. With his arm around her and leaning in for the photo, he seems to coax her attention toward the camera. Brow furrowed and mimicking the expression of an older, wiser adult, she looks skeptical and suspicious, if not full-out apprehensive, as she grabs a tiny foot with a hand that seems to search for stability. But the boy's embrace seems somehow to reassure her. Smiling sheepishly and with an arm supporting her from behind, he seems almost anxious to pose with this irresistible, round-faced baby girl.

Somewhat older, the same girl now stands erect and proudly naked, while her companions wear bloomers and a pullover, a sleeveless top and a towel. The threesome beams at the camera, standing on wooden, outdoor stairs that descend downhill to a bridge, an embankment, or a dune. The girls' various stages of undress suggest a visit to the beach or, at the very least, a swim. Possibly our nude, brown-skinned pixie has just left the water, having decided to shed her swimsuit somewhat impromptu. Arm in arm, they pause for posterity on the way to their next adventure.



Like the childhood photos of Hauck and Davis, Jansen's archive of family photographs composes rich and textured scenes of black German home life. Here, too, we find images of Jansen in a garden and in a class photo, and her archive also includes photographs of her with groups of friends, as well as on outings in and around Hamburg. Like Davis and Hauck,





Jansen is equally central to the framing of each image, in ways that depict her as neither marginal nor exotic but instead as integrated and internal. Yet Jansen's family "album" does not feature the kind of formally posed portraits we find in Hauck's archive. Coming from a working-class family with a different social and political orientation, Jansen's family archive more closely resembles that of Davis, consisting primarily of informal snapshots. Like Davis's, Jansen's archive is also composed of public photos displaying her in a range of social interactions that place her in settings outside the privacy of the home. These photos are nevertheless profoundly domestic visual enunciations that situate Jansen in networks of homing, dwelling, and intimate relation and that capture an Afro-German girl inhabiting public rather than private space at a time when the state was attempting to radically limit the social interactions of those who could not claim the status of racially pure and productive Aryan subjects.

HAMBURG, 1934/35. A motorcycle trip with Mom and Dad. An urban landscape contrasts with the seascape of a waterway. The background of one photo is somber, gray, industrial, and bleak. That of the other is more open and scenic, but still certainly not pastoral. But none of this matters, as the scenery in no way dampens the spirits of this carefree trio. Mother and stepfather display their young daughter proudly on a motorcycle built for three. The child poses sassily in the driver's seat of the vehicle. Hoisted high on the shoulders of her parents in another shot, the girl exclaims jubilantly from aloft. Her joyful squeals are almost audible even half a century later.

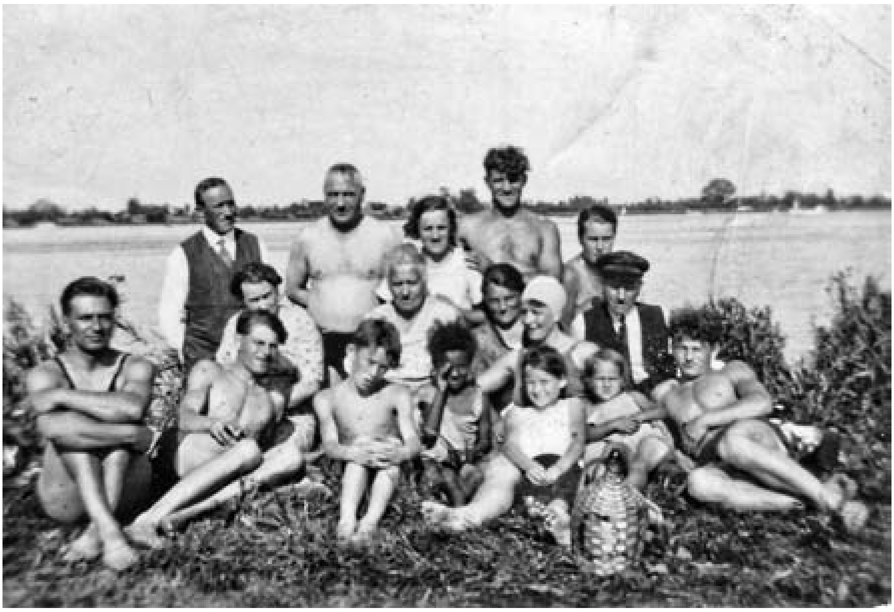
Each of these shots intentionally pauses the movement and activities in which their subjects were engaged: pausing to pose on a motorcycle, or pausing on a walk by the river. If we shift our focus to the other side of the photographic gaze, they remind us of the presence of those at the edges of an image's frame. These momentary pauses are intensified by the fact that they also freeze bystanders in the background. Two strangers stroll in the distance behind the frolicking trio. A family stands blurred in the distance just beyond the lamppost, while an anonymous man scrutinizes the trio with a somber look. Arms akimbo, his body appears taut with apprehension. These ghostly peripheral presences mark the sociality of the scenes portrayed and the broader public spaces they depict. The stoic figure on the curb behind the motorcycle strikes a tense silhouette. He is intent in his interrogation of the scene we witness in the foreground. Does he ponder this family of travelers—a brown-skinned girl and her two white parents? Does he enter the frame for closer inspection after the shutter's snap? Who took this photo and what was that person's relation to the happy family it pictures? In the absence of Jansen and her now deceased family members, we will yet again never know for sure.

We do know that the relations depicted in these images record scenes of pride staged by adults. These photographs of travel, leisure, and landscape are part of a larger history of amateur photography that, in this period, witnessed the widespread adoption of photographic technology by ordinary people to portray themselves as mobile, modern subjects. Early snapshot photography often featured proud displays of individuals "on the move" using the machinery of modern transportation such as cars, bikes, and motorcycles as material trappings of modern life. Young Jansen is a central part of this scene. As the child who completes the family picture, she anchors a bourgeois sensi-

bility and secures an image of middle-class respectability. In spite of the fact of racial difference, she constitutes a treasured part of the family, celebrated visually as the apex of the familial triangle in photographs that materialize both her presence and her affiliation.

The family triad pictured here is an apex constructed quite literally through the haptics of embrace. The family touches that signify affiliation are a mother's hand on a daughter's knee, a stepfather's arm wrapped around her ankles to steady her weight on his shoulders, and a fatherly hand clasping her diminutive one in his own. In contrast to the photos of Davis, the haptics of embrace appear more muted in Jansens's family archive, but they are discernible nonetheless. They appear as well in the photo of Jansen with a group of children from the neighborhood. The haptics of embrace manifest here in the extended arm of an older, taller girl clasping the shoulder of a much smaller Jansen in a gesture that seems to guide her back into the fold of the group and to keep her from drifting beyond the image's frame. As the only tactile contact figured in the image, it is a sisterly touch that is at once bossy and commanding and shepherding and protective, reinforcing Jansen's membership in this motley girl-gang crew.

In the Afro-German family photos we have viewed, each black German child is the persistent focus of attention, apparently the pride of those around it. The acceptance and camaraderie these images display seems consistent from the pre-Nazi years forward. As with the preceding images, the haptics of Jansen's photographic archive must also be contextualized in relation to the specific character and local history of her upbringing in Hamburg. For the paradox of these images and the lives of many Afro-Germans of her generation is that her upbringing was typical and representative yet anything but normative, and frequently far from cheerful. As we have seen, the haptics of the embraces they figure are characterized by a fugitive domesticity that was intimate, nurturing, and harboring, but they also situated the children in ways that paradoxically placed them at the center of a regime of racial subjection and exposed them to ambivalent modes of persecution and protection. The following image offers a particularly vivid demonstration of some of these paradoxes.



SPRING 1935. A day trip on the banks of the river Elbe. Men and boys, a handful of women and girls, all of various ages. Cradled in the midst of the group and literally nestled between the arms and legs of its members, we find Jansen once again at the image's focal center. Perhaps the group's youngest member, she is one of only three children pictured. She rubs her eye in an all-too-familiar gesture of a child getting tired at the end of an eventful day. The photo depicts the local athletic club on an outing, a boxing club from Jansen's childhood neighborhood of Rothenburgsort.

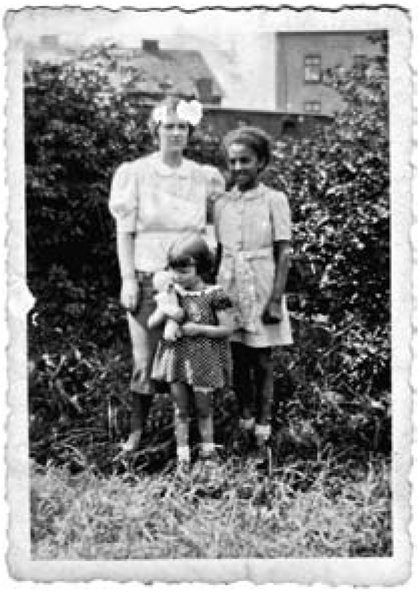
Seated in the midst of this imposing group of mostly strapping young men, Jansen strikes the figure of a baby sister, the object of doting and protection. This was a group her family obviously knew and trusted, among whom they felt comfortable having their young child be included as a participant. The members of the group captured in this image were in fact, quite literally part of the neighborhood, yet Jansen's relation to this club must be read as a bit more than neighborly. The boxing club was organized by the local chapter of the German Communist Party (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, KPD) to which Jansen's stepfather belonged and around which the family's social interactions were largely structured. In 1935, Jansen's mother married her stepfather, a German communist to whom she developed a very close paternal relationship and who was later denounced to the Nazis and required to do forced labor based on his political convictions. A self-described *rote Schwarze* (black Red), Jansen was raised in a family she referred to as *stadtbekannte Kommunisten*, or locally known communists.

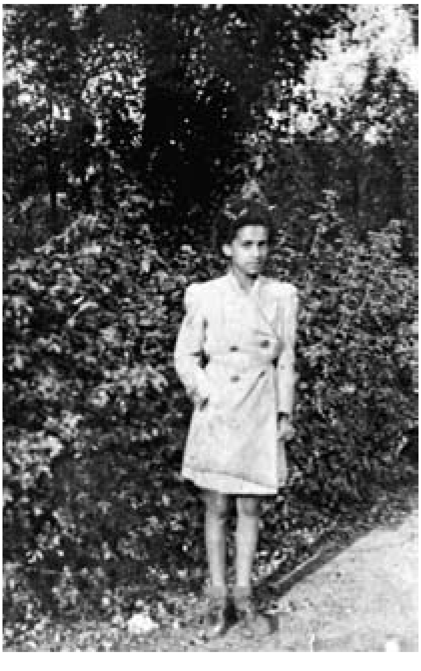
In each of the images in this section, the physical and affective haptics of the embraces they feature figure Jansen as an integrated member of her familial and local contexts. Unlike in the case of Hauck or the Ngandos where the military played a significant supplementary role in their lives, or in the case of Davis, where his role as a member of the farm collective provided a site of domestic fugitivity and embrace, this photograph of Jansen images the impact of her family's strong ties to German communism, which in Jansen's case, supplemented the familial context as a site through which she forged strong ties of belonging and identification. The photo attests to her family's involvement in the social and political activities of the KPD, which shaped her childhood as one of the most important structures of both her family and the social life of the Hamburg suburb where she grew up. Yet while the strong social network of the KPD served in Jansen's case to cement the family as a site of belonging as a German, it also eventually became the source of the family's undoing. For the Nazi's persecution of leftists like her stepfather ultimately led to his detention.[9]

Reading Jansen's family photos together with those of Hauck, Davis, and the Ngando brothers underlines an important shift in the relationship between processes of gender and racial formation for black Germans in the Nazi period. That shift involves the role of reproductive capacity for men and women respectively. More specifically, what differentiates Jansen's and Hauck's respective experiences, for example, is that Jansen's access to national belonging and Germanness was hindered by gender, whereas Hauck's was wholly enabled by it. In Jansen's case, as a black German girl in the NS regime, gender negated her claim to the status of a legitimate German subject in ways that emphasize the mutual constitution of racial and gendered formation. For men in this period, appropriate masculinity was articulated in two ways: the capacity to reproduce healthy German stock and the ability to protect and/or defend it. As we have seen in the case of Hauck and the Ngando brothers, although the black German male was disavowed on the basis of the threat he posed to the reproduction of racially pure Aryan Germans, he was nevertheless able to achieve alternate forms of recognition and legitimacy through his status as a soldier or protector of the fatherland. In other words, although the

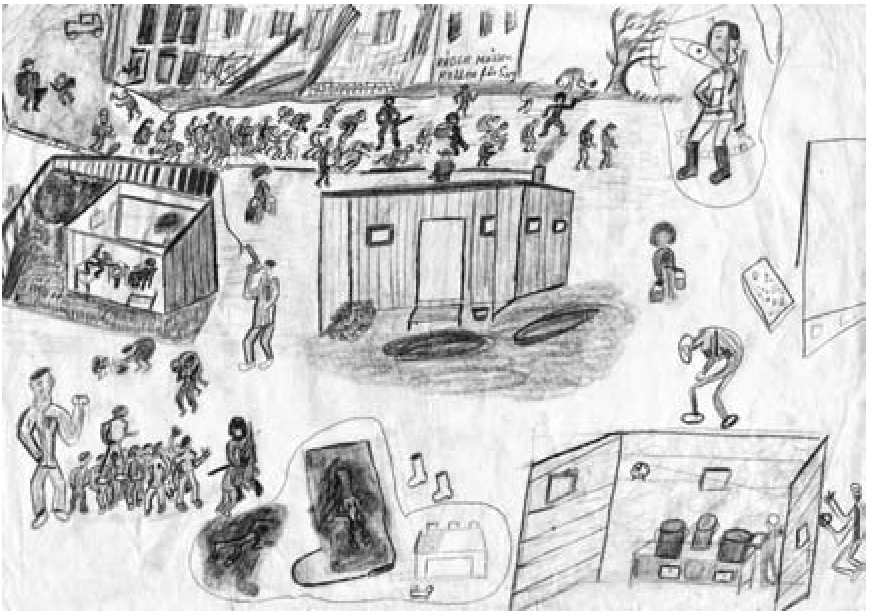
Nazi regime attempted to deny the black German male the right to propagate the race, he could still, paradoxically, maintain his status as a masculine *German* subject by fighting for and defending the nation.

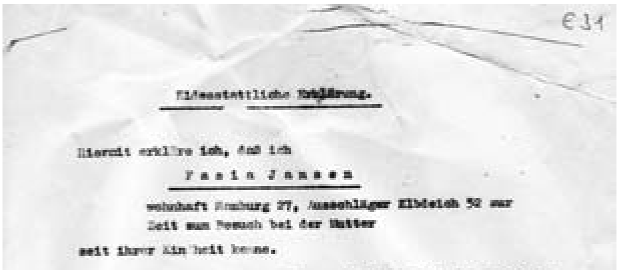
In contrast, such a dual route to legitimate German subjecthood did not exist for the black German female, for the appropriate German woman was always and inescapably defined by her reproductive capacity. As a German girl of African descent, Jansen was necessarily scripted as inappropriate for reproducing the German *Volk*. Yet at the same time, she was also constructed as an available sexual object. The black German female was thus always simultaneously raced as well as gendered, for no matter how her Germanness was presented, she could never produce "real Germans" and would thus always pose a threat to the fiction of the pure white German.





These final two photographs appear noticeably different from those in the previous sets. An older, more somber Fasia appears in these images, taken sometime between 1940 and 1943. The first pictures Jansen with her mother and stepsister, roughly around the time she began her training in ballet at a dance academy in Hamburg. She was allowed to attend the school for only two years before being expelled on the basis of her racial heritage—an act for which she sued the German government for compensation following the war, a claim that was rejected twice with the explanation that blacks were not the targets of racial persecution by the Nazis. The second photo was taken following her expulsion from dance school, at a time when she was performing her year of compulsory service, a duty required by the Nazi government of all German girls of her age. While other German girls fulfilled their year of service performing domestic or agricultural work in German households, Jansen was required to labor as a cook preparing food for women inmates in a nearby work camp (*Außenlager*) of the Neuengamme concentration camp.[10]





E31

Eidesstattliche Erklärung.

Hiermit erkläre ich, daß ich

Fania Jansen

wohnhaft Hamburg 27, Ausschläger Elbdeich 52 zur
Zeit zum Besuch bei der Mutter

seit ihrer Kindheit kenne.

Im Sommer 1944 erschienen Mutter und Tochter bei mir und baten mich, die Tochter in meiner damaligen Großküche zu beschäftigen, in der ich für Ausländer und Internierte kochen mußte. Die Mutter zeigte mir eine Aufforderung, wonach die damals 15jährige sehr zarte Tochter zur Arbeit in der unterirdischen Munitionsfabrik in Düneberg bei Geesthacht verpflichtet werden sollte.

Da ich die damalig zuständige Frauenschaftsleiterin persönlich kannte, - Frau Kappler - , erreichte ich mit vielen Mühen die Freigabe mit der Bedingung, Fräulein Fania bei mir in der Küche zu beschäftigen. Allerdings verlangte Frau Kappler gleichzeitig die Kontrolle darüber.

Wenn ich es auch als Unmensch, dieses zarte Kind in den Entwicklungsjahren überhaupt zu beschäftigen, so mußte ich sie durch die kriegsbedingte Lage doch in den Arbeitsprozeß einreihen. Erfolg: Zusammenbruch bei der Arbeit!

Hamburg, 24.9.59.

Remarkably, Jansen was not herself interned in the camp like other non-Aryans during this regime. Rather, she described working in a kitchen barracks located in the Hamburg suburb of Rothenburgsort, and returning home to her family every evening, a movement between home and compelled labor that she captured in the hand-painted memory drawing reproduced here.

Viewing Jansen's memory drawing with the different photographs of her and her family at the time, what becomes particularly striking is the visible continuity of family support and integration at a time when the NS regime sought to reduce her to an outsider at the margins of society. These photographs provide a visual account of Jansen as deeply embedded in her family and in local networks of belonging in ways that affirm the significance she attributes to them for her survival during this harrowing period of her life. Yet this revelation is inseparable from that which it simultaneously papers over—a hidden history of ambivalent racial targeting within this regime. Shuttling between the barracks kitchen, the work camp, and her home in Rothenburgsort, Jansen was the subject of a paradoxical form of marginalization that recognized her as a German by requiring her fulfillment of a year of service to the Reich and yet victimized her as a non-Aryan.

These images' visualization of everyday life in the Third Reich is neither unmediated nor transparent. They index both a haptics of familial embrace and a life of domestic fugitivity as an *Other within*.[11] Yet they also perform this normality with a crucial and decisive difference—a difference of race that is both more and less than phenotype, and a difference of diaspora that is more than roots and routes, journeys and departures. What emerges in these images is a firmly emplaced domestic fugitivity of dwelling and homemaking enacted by a black German subject and her family who persevered in the face of relentless attempts to negate her. More so than many others, Jansen personifies a resistant and resilient fugitive subject who, following the war, became a well-known blues and folk singer and a greatly admired feminist and political activist who was a lifelong member of the Communist Party. A much-loved public figure whose activism and musical talents earned her admiration and respect among German trade unionists and in leftist, pacifist, and feminist circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, Jansen was awarded Germany's National Medal of Honor (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*) in 1991 for her work in the German peace movement.

On Domestic Touches and Fugitivity at Home

The sections in part 1 explored some of the multiple haptics of black German family photography by setting the touches of photographic images in dialogue with the affective relations they produce. The images in question evoke and produce forms of affective attachment not by virtue of their singularity but through their resonances with countless other photos like them. Their figurations of domestic scenes of intimacy and affiliation do more than record the relations of family and domesticity they depict. Rather, they enact the very relations they seem to display and visualize their subjects as the individuals they imagined themselves to be or aspired become. The sections that follow continue this examination of the affects of family photography by way of an additional sensory register.

While chapter 1 examined the relations of affiliation, belonging, and unbelonging produced in and through family photographs, chapter 2 sought to unpack the meaning and affects of the touches figured in these photos as a way of understanding the practice of vernacular image-making for a group of individuals whose visibility might be assumed to endanger their place in German society. Yet what these images reveal is the complex enunciatory function of the family photograph as a medium used to simultaneously claim a place of belonging and unbelonging by way of family and community affiliation. Their enunciations were neither seamless nor transparent; in point of fact, they were rife with ambivalences and contradictions. For while these photographs image domestic interiority and emplacement in the rich public and private social networks of everyday life they display, they do so in ways that challenge us to see in these depictions everyday practices of refusal, resistance, and contestation—in other words, as practices of fugitivity.

Focusing on the sensory register of touch both within the frame of the photograph and beyond it, and introducing a more complicated conception of the haptics of domesticity and domestic photography, I have pursued a mode of reading that trains our attention on why and how an image matters both as an individual condensation of affect and sentiment and as a performative enactment of the social relations that engendered it. The embraces imaged in these photographs are complex instantiations of the haptics of family photography. They solicit us to look by directing our gazes to things we recognize or are familiar with. Yet such familiar and reassuring solicitations also allow us to look away from the differential meanings and functions of the domesticity we encounter in these images, diverting and distracting us from seeing things we might not want to see, or things that might challenge what we think we recognize in such familiar settings by papering over less comfortable family relations and dynamics. In this way, these photos require us to think more complexly about the multiplicity of looks and gazes that constitute their affects, as well as to reconsider our own implication therein.

Orphans or fugitives? Should we consider the family photo of a loved one passed on an orphaned image of the same order as a found snapshot of an unnamed girl or the disintegrating footage of an aging silent film? Probably not. But linking the undervaluation of the family photo to the discourse of the orphanista and the revaluation of the found image forces us to reckon with whose images matter and what modes of reading it takes to make them matter. Like the orphan image, the family photograph is not a passive object of recovery, redemption, or reclamation; it is a haptic and affective enactment of relations of kin that are bound up in, though not necessarily bound by, the family itself. Attending to the affective registers of such images allows us to read in the images of Hauck, Davis, Jansen, and even the Ngandos a "homing desire" and forms of dwelling that are in many ways the hallmark of diasporic subjecthood.[12] They both portray and enact modes of domesticity that register belonging and affiliation even while they paper over the forces of exclusion and unbelonging that circumscribed the lives of those pictured at the time. The haptic forms of social and tactile embrace these images portray is in this way at once an articulation of belonging and of unbelonging, of kinship and of fugitivity.

Returning to the questions posed at the beginning of chapter 1, the images presented in this section shift and unsettle both how we see the African diaspora and who we see as its subjects through the tensions of public and private, visible and hidden, revelation and concealment that haunt both our readings of them, as well as their production and circulation. What is crucial to understanding their historical import is that they enact these tensions performatively and indexically through the use of photography as an expressive practice that referenced publicly sanctioned modes of sociability and subjectivity these individuals either inhabited or aspired to—albeit in ways that witness their creation of new subjects and subjectivities in the process.

The domestic photos examined in this section are also tactile objects prized and retained by their sitters. They are photos that had both a social and an affective life that registered important emotional attachments and affiliations for the individuals who kept them. They were tangible links between the present and the past, and sites of the tactual condensation of sentiment. As haptic artifacts, these domestic images were objects of touch that also touched and moved others. Yet like the photograph of the anonymous girl that bridges this and the previous section, the touch of an image can shift dramatically from the reassurance of a family embrace to the shove of a stranger's hand. The ambivalence of domesticity mirrors that of the haptic image. Like the photograph, family always touches, but perhaps it is we who would prefer to do the touching or to initiate those touches, rather than to be touched (so directly) ourselves.

Image Matters

SIGHT, SOUND, SCORE

2

Interstitial

“THINGYNESS”; OR, THE MATTER OF THE IMAGE

BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND, SUMMER 2007. I had visited Birmingham three times, and I liked it more and more with each visit. While most of my British friends inevitably scowled, winced or cringed when I told them my destination, I enjoyed this postindustrial city. I liked its edges, its lack of pretension, its honesty, and even and perhaps most perplexing to everyone I knew, I liked the unmistakable Brummie accent. That distinctive Midlands trademark was as unflinchingly real as the city itself. To me, Birmingham was like the US South—on issues of race, class, gender, and sexuality, you knew exactly where you stood. Whether encoded in dry wit, caustic sarcasm, or brazen boldface statements, the city’s lack of ambiguity was always unyielding.

My fourth trip to the Birmingham City Archive occurred exactly a year after my first visit, and this time it felt like returning to a familiar place. Life seemed pretty much the same in the photographic collections department. Although some of its staff had changed, its anchors, Pete and Tom, were still firmly in place. Pete’s office was still an immaculate treasure trove of photographic history. Tom, his assistant, was as energetic, charming, and helpful as ever. They were a breathtakingly productive two-man team that curated multiple exhibitions and managed the archive’s extensive photographic collections, all while continuing to acquire others with scarce funding and the appearance of minimal effort.

On this trip to the archives I had set my sights on a different objective than during my previous visits: surveying the vast number of glass-plate negatives recovered from the Dyche Photography Studio. Because of the archive's limited funding and staff resources, the contents of the Dyche Collection had been catalogued in ways designed to facilitate access to the most popular sections of the collection, chief among them, the photographic prints of Birmingham's Afro-Caribbean community. Yet the collection's negatives were in a far more precarious state. While most of the Dyche's prints of this community had been sorted into a separate subsection, the majority of negatives remained largely untouched. Yet the bulk of the collection consisted of glass plates—one-quarter to one-half plate negatives, many of which were still contained in the red and yellow boxes in which the photographer had originally stored them. The only archival logic that remained was the now indecipherable code of the photographer himself: a vaguely discernible set of chronological scribbles that appeared to be a sequence of film roll numbers (unfortunately, lacking the log books or supporting documentation that might decipher them) and occasional notations of the month or year of what had presumably been the dates of the original photo sessions and their respective sitters.

Acquired in 1990 by the Birmingham City Library (and deposited in the City Archives housed within it), the Dyche Collection consists of more than ten thousand largely unidentified images, both proof prints and negatives, along with cameras, developing and retouching equipment, publicity materials, and other ephemera from the studios of Ernest Dyche Sr. (1887–1973) and his son, Ernest Malcolm Dyche (1921–90). Dyche senior had opened and operated the first Dyche Studio in 1910 at 32 Coventry Road in the Bordesley Green neighborhood of Birmingham adjacent to the Bordesley Palace Theatre. Alongside producing a steady fare of individual, group, family, and wedding portraits, the studio catered to performers in the Birmingham theater and music hall community, promoting themselves as "clubland and theatrical photographers." A few years later, the older Dyche opened a second studio at 354 Moseley Road in Balsall Heath, in a building that eventually became a residence for his son and successor, Malcolm, who lived there together with his wife until his death in 1990.

Ernest Dyche closed the studio on Coventry Road in 1937. As the focus of popular entertainment shifted away from live stage performances and toward film and television, the decline in theater attendance, the closure of music halls and variety theaters, and the growing popularity of amateur photography had precipitated a similar decline in business at the Dyche Studio in Bordesley Green. Yet what would have a far greater impact on the future of the studio was the larger historical transition occurring in the social landscape of 1950s Britain. Far more important than the commercial shift in popular tastes and technology was the demographic transformation of Birmingham and the United Kingdom more generally—a transformation accelerated by the first wave of Caribbean migrants arriving in response to postwar British recruitment and employment opportunities.

Passed in the same year as the SS *Empire Windrush* docked in Tilbury, England, carrying 492 West Indian workers from Jamaica, the British Nationality Act of 1948 led to the most substantial periods of black migration in the history of Britain. The act granted citizenship to all Commonwealth subjects regardless of race or color, and until the passage of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, West Indians enjoyed the right of free entry into Britain although covert and illegal administrative measures were frequently used to discourage West Indian migration to Britain.[1] Although long-standing black communities had existed primarily in urban port cities such as London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Cardiff (communities whose presence spanned centuries and who often traced their origins to maritime histories of transit and settlement of African seafarers and their families), the Nationality Act of 1948 triggered a wave of mass migration that dramatically increased Britain's black population, and its African Caribbean populations in particular.[2] As England's "second city" in size and population, Birmingham was the nation's largest industrial city, and its West Indian population was second only to London in the postwar period.[3] In the later decades, the fortunes of the Dyche Studio came to be intertwined with Birmingham's growing migrant populations,[4] a social transformation reflected in the images produced by the studio and preserved as a visual archive that survived both the Dyches and the studio itself. Until its closure in the mid-1980s, the Dyche Studio served as a significant, albeit unintended, repository of black British history and diasporic cultural production during a critical phase in the creation of black Britain.

Pete had shared the story of the Dyche archive with me over lunch at the museum café across the square from the Central Library on my first day in Birmingham. Over the course of several visits, he reconstructed for me the history of the studio and the fascinating photographs it produced. Alongside studios such as the Harry Jacobs Studio in Brixton, the Bellevue Studio in Bradford, the Dyches were part of a group of white British studio photographers sought out by postwar black and Asian migrants to produce countless portraits of members of these communities that were circulated among families in the United Kingdom, the Indian subcontinent, and the Caribbean. Recovered without names, dates, captions, or other identifying data, the collection constitutes a kind of "found archive" of images salvaged as a more or less complete collection of the prints and negatives produced by this studio.

After a warm greeting from Pete and Tom, the inevitable cup of tea, and an update on the latest projects, gossip, and other developments in the archives since my previous visit a few months before, Tom and I set out in search of the negatives. Wandering the basement of the building in the maze of the "bookstall" (their term for what I call the stacks), we mapped the various locations of different parts of the collection deep in the bowels of the archive. There was no dedicated facility for viewing the glass plates, so he set me up with a light box at a table in the main row of the stacks. "Will you be OK here?," Tom asked. "I'll be great," I answered, a little nervous. "Can't think of anything else I could need," I said with an emphatic tone of perkiness that only comes out when I am feeling anxious. Looking around the cavernous space, I began to imagine myself suddenly overcome by a massive coronary that left me paralyzed and unable to speak. "I could die here and no one would ever know," I thought to myself. "I'll check in on you in a few hours when I come back from lunch," Tom said reassuringly as he headed toward the elevator back to his office upstairs. As he walked away, I prayed he would not turn off the lights out of well-worn habit, or even worse, forget about me. I tried to remember whether I had signed in legibly enough to trace my whereabouts and strategized about what to do in case of a power failure. It was a little scary down there, and I was feeling a bit uneasy. But I snapped right out of it as I got about my work.

As I made my way down the aisle next to my makeshift workstation, I thought to myself how privileged I was to have access to this collection—to be able to touch, to hold, to interact with these objects as part of my research. I was not trained in the archival procedures of how to handle such artifacts, and by all rights I should have been closely supervised, if not barred from this privilege. Yet the archival haptics in which I was allowed to participate somehow mirrored the pleasures of the sitters, recipients, and others who had exchanged these images as objects of connection. I contrasted my experience in Birmingham with humbling earlier experiences of scrutiny and surveillance during my dissertation research in what was formerly East Germany at the National Archives in Potsdam, or equally bleak experiences at the main branch of the archives in Koblenz, on the other side of what had been the Berlin Wall. I remembered grumpy archivists signing me out for bathroom breaks and signing me back in when I returned. I remembered cajoling other archivists into making copies for me, and copious note-taking when my requests were denied or when I simply could not afford photocopies on my meager graduate student stipend.

But as I carefully carried the first of several weighty archival boxes of negatives to my light box, I began to question my own worthiness. I considered myself one of the singularly most clumsy individuals to grace the planet, and as I began to obsess about dropping these precious objects, I tried to imagine how I would explain such a calamity or, alternatively (reverting back to the petulant nine-year-old who still resides in me), how I would hide it from the archivists who had entrusted them with me. Thankfully none of my imagined horror scenarios transpired. I transported box after box back and forth between the stacks and my desk without incident, and as I opened the first box of plates and began placing them on the light box, these disturbing thoughts rapidly disappeared from my mind. I was transfixed instead by these objects in a completely different way—one I had neither anticipated nor could quite adequately describe.

As I removed each plate from its box and carefully placed it on the light box next to several others, I noticed myself repeating a similar set of gestures and reactions that challenged my perceptions, my senses, my observations, and the conclusions I drew from what I saw. As I opened each box of plates, I paused to stare at what initially appeared to be a blank black slate of glass. The emulsion side of the plates was matte and dark. The surface reminded me of a chalkboard etched with delicate silver scratches and shimmers. As I was later informed, those scratches were pencil marks—the penciled retouchings of the photographer's hand often made at the request of sitters to even out or lighten the appearance of skin tone in the photographs. Oddly perhaps, these markings stood out most dramatically on the most static and formally repetitive of all the images in the collection: passport photos. The collection contained hundreds of negatives of passport photos, which consistently earned income for the studio. They were the type of photograph that interested me least of all, yet they were images of great significance in the lives of their sitters.

These images were gateways of passage, entry, and connection; images that authorized or initiated transit and resettlement. They signified belonging and access to the rights and privileges granted to citizens of the empire. These seemingly monotonous images represented multiple crossings and passages, as well as homes made, left, remade, and returned to in the Caribbean and the United Kingdom, and the complex entanglements between them. These images bridged the metropole, the colony, and the postcolony as emblems of mobility, opportunity, and entitlement.

While scrutinizing several hundred glass plates, I noticed a captivating phenomenon. Gazing into the emulsion, at first glance I saw only the pencil marks. On what appeared a blank plate of glass, the image itself was initially absent, coming into view only with coaxing and manipulation. The figure embedded within the glass appeared only on the polished opposite side of the plate. In spite of the age of the plates (most were at least half a century old), surprisingly few had cracked or broken, though the emulsion on many had dried out and begun to peel. It was only by moving the plates, shifting them around in the air and on the table, or while transferring individual negatives back and forth from their boxes to the light box and back to the cartons, that I began to see a shadow emerge in the darkness of the emulsion. It was a spectral photographic presence—a negative of a negative that haunted its reflection on the other side of the plate. As I opened each carton, I found myself rotating each plate in my hand, trying to tease out the spectral figures lurking in the shadows of the negative.

And these spectral presences certainly haunted me. They did not practice passive forms of ghosting; they demanded instead the more active forms of haunting that Avery Gordon describes as "seething."[5] Their elusiveness mocked and taunted me, and they demanded both tactile manipulation and uncomfortable forms of intellectual jockeying. For not only did I have to coax and tease them into partial and temporary view, I also had to discern whether these were in fact the individuals I was looking for. The Dyche Studios had photographed a cross-section of Birmingham's growing population of Afro-Caribbean, South Asian, and white residents, and its collection reflected that diversity. But the negatives often effaced such distinctions, and the spectral

presences in them took full advantage of this fact. As I manipulated these figures into view, I was embarrassed to find myself quite literally "looking for the black folks." As if standing beside myself, I watched myself scanning with effort each plate for visible clues of racial difference, in the process reinscribing all the essentialisms this good black feminist postructuralist disavows: "His nose is too narrow to be black . . ."; "Her hair is way too straight . . ."; "A West Indian would never wear a collar like that. . . ." As I listened to the inner monologue that accompanied my tactile scrutiny, I heard myself fall back into old assumptions and deeply ingrained associations I felt sure could not be coming from me. These spectral presences had trapped me. They had caught me in the act of racial profiling, and I felt guilty, shamed, and humbled.

But the humbling exercise of "finding the black folks" was bound up with the larger issue of my use of this archive. These photos both were and were not found photos. As an archive, the Dyche Collection was certainly a find of the most magnificent sort for an archivist like Pete, an institution like the Birmingham City Library, and the Afro-Caribbean community in Birmingham. Hundreds of unidentified images had been recovered as a collection through which one could track the life of this community—its styles, modes of self-expression, and display over time. But these individuals were neither lost nor forgotten, and they were in no need of finding. Although the library's outreach efforts and attempts to identify those pictured in the collection have been only marginally successful, these images represent a vocal and active community that has critically and consistently engaged these photographs in the exhibits in which the archives have sought to display them.[6]

I had come to Birmingham at the encouragement and insistence of my friend and collaborator Keith Piper, a black British artist of Caribbean heritage who was also a Birmingham native. A visionary artist whose work is deeply engaged with questions of the archive, Keith had done extensive research on the Dyche Collection for his 2005 digital installation *Ghosting the Archives*. Having closely collaborated together on the black German sound installation that initiated my engagement with family photography and having read my early writing about these images, Keith prodded me to come to Birmingham. And I came eagerly and full of curiosity. I came in search of the generation of black migrants who had reshaped the social and cultural landscape of the city and the country in the 1950s—individuals who would become Birmingham's black British community. And from the unlikely vantage point of my makeshift workspace in the stacks, I watched these individuals literally emerge on a light box through the material photographic traces they had left in the Dyche Studio and saw the window onto black British history this unlikely site had indirectly bequeathed. Yet in these negatives, they emerged not with the indexical clarity I had seen in photographic prints of this same community; instead, they came hauntingly and hesitantly, in shadowy ambiguity and with great effort.

After three days in the bookstall, I returned to the more hospitable quarters of the photographic collections office and the company of Pete and Tom. Having transferred a selection of negatives to the office, I began the second phase of my work, this time with the aid of a computer. Having coaxed the fragile negatives' spectral figures into partial view, I attempted to scan them into a digital format that would capture their traces in transportable form. My intention was to scan the negatives as negatives in hopes of rendering some of the elusive spectrality I had witnessed. Contrasting the presence of pencil scratches with the absence of figures in the blankness of a glass plate, I had hoped to capture and recreate some part of their materiality as negatives. But the technology on which I relied—a digital scanner specially equipped for scanning negatives, or so it claimed—defeated me. Each time I scanned one, the computer's software transferred negative to positive, negating its spectrality with definition and detail. All possible adjustments to forestall this process (including lengthy consultations with the library's technical staff) failed to produce a solution. That it never occurred to me that spectrality could not be captured digitally surprises me even now.

During that week in the bookstall and in the office with Pete and Tom, I found myself engaged in a precarious and elusive project of excavation and reconstruction. Although I quite literally held the photographic traces of this community in my hands, I still could make out these individuals only with great effort. Yet when the women and men in these plates did appear, not only could I see them, it felt as though I could touch them as well. But the negatives still required me to scrutinize these figures to detect and construct the signs of race and culture. They seduced me into searching for physical attributes of blackness (attributes I frequently criticized in my teaching and writing) like hair texture and bone structure and for markers of cultural expression I tried to identify as Caribbean sartoriality or nascent forms of black British style. These negatives required me to engage in the kind of "reconstruction work" Stuart Hall so memorably invoked as the *politics of reading* that the visual archive of black Britain demands.[7] It is a strategy of reading that

engages an image's perpetual inscription in multiple historical contexts; its implication in existing systems of classification such as genre, medium of delivery, and social function; and the impossibility of capturing earlier, original, or essential meanings or truths.[8] It is an ethic and a practice that reads "beyond the frame" and examines both *presence* ("what is represented in a definite way") and *absence* ("what is unsaid, or unsayable, against which what is there 'represents'").[9] The ethics of reading Hall proposes urges us to resist the seductions of innocence in the photographic archive of black Britain and to attend instead to the alternative histories contained within and beyond the frame.

The reconstruction work these images demand is a nuanced politics of reading that engages the submerged and encoded ways they articulate the historical experiences of racialization and cultural formation that shaped this community in the era of these images' production. The racial markers I found myself shamefully searching for in these extremely tactile cultural and historical objects materialized the process of racial formation in vivid detail. Yet while they visualized and materialized these bodies, histories, and traces, these negatives also obscured race through an optic reversal of skin color from dark to light that left me struggling to verify, identify, and locate my sense of racial clarity through other visual signifiers. But we can neither rely on nor assume the transparency of the visual. Nor can we rely on or assume the security of our own ability to eschew the desire to "see" race in visible material forms. It is equally precarious to assume that the indexicality of the photographic image registers racial difference or diasporic affiliation; indeed, it registers instead our own desire or capacity to read race and affiliation into the image itself. In the absence of the assumed clarity of skin color, we create alternative indexes—hair texture, bone structure, or sartorial styles—to anchor that which we think we see and know. The materiality of the photo secures neither its indexical accuracy nor transparency; it leads us to question it instead. It exposes our own investments in the visual as evidence and indication of such attributions. My encounter with the images of the Dyche Collection (both negative and positive; print and glass plate) in this way underlines an argument I have made since my early work on the history of Germany's black community in the Third Reich: that race is neither fact nor substance, but instead a reality that materializes socially as a significant index of human difference and meaning. It matters and, at the same time, comes to be seen as matter or a material fact, for materialization is itself a deeply performative process through which such instantiations become meaningful both discursively and socially, and with significant material affects.

The black British photographer Ingrid Pollard gave me the language to describe my experience with the Dyche negatives when I recounted it to her a few days later over tea. "There's a 'thingyness' to an image," she said, "a thingyness that you feel incredibly strongly when you work with negatives." *The thingyness of an image*. As she explained, photographic images have a tangibility, a materiality that we often lose sight of when we engage them only in print form, and negatives remind us of this materiality. Like the haptics of black German domestic photography, the thingyness of this very different set of images similarly requires us to consider how the photographic image materializes race and community in diaspora. These negatives confront us with both the limits of the photograph and our desire for it to simplify the work of racial and diasporic identification and affiliation by doing it for us. We rely all too often on images to confirm our unspoken assumptions about race and diaspora through their capacity to materialize the visible traces and visual indexes of difference and affiliation. My encounter with the materiality of the photographic negative reminds us that even when race seems clearly visible in a photographic print, its visuality is the creation of technical, material, and cultural processes of conjuring and fixing, where the very chemical and technological matter of the image—the photographic negative—must disappear race in order to make it reappear in recognizable form.

My archival encounter with the Dyche negatives also provides a perplexing yet extremely illuminating example of some of the profoundly sensate ways through which the affects of such images register. For while the affects of photographs are certainly produced through their visuality, they also resonate in equally profound ways through their materiality and through the haptics of their thingyness. Yet I would propose we extend this affective sensorium to include a less obvious sensate register: the sonic and, more specifically, music. Extending the affective sensorium of the image to include their sonic and musical registers offers dense and revealing insights into what Eve Sedgwick has called the "finitely many possibilities" of affect, and helps us to understand the photograph itself as a particularly affect-laden object and medium.[10] The promise of those possibilities invites us to shift our attention from engaging the "matter of the image" to engaging the matter of both its "musics" and its "movements."

Chapter 3 | THE LYRIC OF THE ARCHIVE

BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND, SUMMER 2006. On my first trip to Birmingham, there was a noticeable chill in the air. Although not unusual for late summer in England, it was a different kind of chill. I had arrived at the Birmingham New Street Station the day after England had been eliminated from the 2006 World Cup quarterfinals, and quite frankly, it seemed as though the entire country was in a bad mood. But not Pete. Pete James is the archivist in charge of photographic collections at the Birmingham City Archives and, to me, the oracle of all things photographic and sacred in Birmingham. It was Pete who had unearthed the collection I had come to see, quite by accident, when he rang the doorbell of a desolate building he believed to have previously housed a photography studio that had served the black and Asian communities in Birmingham's Balsall Heath for nearly a half century.

HIGH CLASS
ERNEST DYCHE
PHOTOGRAPHER
554

An older woman had answered the door on

that unremarkable day in 1990. Pete said that when he explained he was researching the Dyche Photography Studio, she insisted he come in. Moments later, she introduced him to her husband, Ernest Malcolm Dyche. Malcolm Dyche had been trained in photography by his father Ernest Dyche Sr., a self-taught photographer who had opened the first of two Dyche Studios almost a century before. There had never really been a question that Malcolm would be a photographer. His training had begun when he was just a boy, and he had worked alongside his father for most of his life, eventually taking over the family business after his father's death in 1973.

When Pete entered the building, he realized that the studio he had researched was still more or less intact. Although the business had closed years ago, in the rooms that once served as the studio, he found thousands of prints, film and glass plate negatives, and photography equipment dating back to the teens and twenties. Malcolm Dyche died shortly after meeting Pete. He had been delighted by the interest in the studio, and just before his death, he had agreed to be interviewed about the history of the studio, and he eventually donated its contents to the Birmingham Central Library. Later, on that chilly first day in Birmingham, Pete told me about the events that followed Malcolm's death. He told me about the sale and ultimate demolition of the building shortly thereafter, and about the rush to recover and preserve as much as possible of the studio's contents before the building was cleared. He described the urgency of photographing and documenting the original state of what he had found on the day he showed up on Malcolm's doorstep, and how, in the hectic days after he learned of the family's intent to sell, all their energies shifted to the labor and logistics of renting a van and packing up as much as they could physically carry to deposit in the archives.

When we returned to the library after lunch, Pete led me downstairs into the bookstall. We gathered box after box of images and brought them upstairs to the office, where I combed through countless photos with awe and admiration. In the coming days and weeks, I sorted, stared at, scanned, and ruminated over hundreds of portraits that rapidly began to blur in my mind.

Face after face of men, women, boys, and girls; parents, siblings, and friends. Work portraits, wedding portraits, family portraits; head shots, standing shots, seated shots; close-ups, full-body views, people standing pensively or seated demurely—they seemed to form an endless, interchangeable litany. From the moment I first laid eyes on them, I have struggled to understand what exactly

Photograph
Dyche
Birmingham

Photograph
Dyche
Birmingham

Photograph
Dyche
Birmingham

these images were saying, and what it was they told us about photography and the making of community in diaspora. But I also came to realize that what was so captivating about them is not only what I was seeing, but what I was hearing as I looked at them—a playful yet insistent *hum* that I found difficult and, frankly, a mistake to ignore. Eric Shouse's description of the reverbations of affect as a "half-sensed, ongoing hum of quantity/quality that we experience when we are not really attuned to any experience at all" accurately captures my own response to these images.[1] However, this chapter foregrounds what often goes unnoticed or what seems almost taken for granted in Shouse's description: the sonic and musical structure of these reverberations.

Focusing on sound as a critical interpretive frame of the photo, Fred Moten urges us to engage in forms of looking that are "attentive to the whole sensual ensemble of what is looked at," for, as he writes, "the meaning of a photograph is cut and augmented by a sound or noise that surrounds or pierces its frame."[2] Moten delivers his influential articulation of the "phonic substance" of the photo in a chapter that presents a trenchant critique of the work of Roland Barthes and of a forced universalism he locates as part of a larger problematic in the broader field of semiotics. It is a universalism that, for Moten, lies at the core of semiotics as a "search for a universal language and a universal science of language,"[3] which necessarily represses or excludes an engagement with other sensory modalities of the photograph—in particular, that of sound.

The question of what constitutes the phonic substance Moten describes in *In the Break*, and whether it is common to all photographs is left productively unresolved, as an openness that arguably provides one of the book's most generative and compelling scholarly contributions. The text challenges readers to think the constitutive supplementarity of the visual and the sonic as a larger whole, in short, "the whole sensual ensemble" that is the persistent object of his interrogation. The photo that engenders Moten's phonic analytic—the infamous posthumous photograph of Emmett Till—is an indisputably singular image. The phonic substance he attributes to this photo requires one to listen to rather than merely see this image. It requires an attentiveness to sound not as a replacement for sight but as the necessary synesthetic supplement to a larger sensory ensemble of "movement, feel, taste, smell (as well as sight) of what is looked at."[4] Yet the phonic substance of the Till photograph, what Moten describes as the "sound of black mo'nin," does not reside *in* the photo. Moten's accent lies on reading the "cut" music enacts on the image, on looking at the image, and on our ability to look at an image. In the Till photograph, “black mo’nin” is neither the sound *in* nor *of* the image, but the *unheard sound before the image*; it is a “phonographic content” that constitutes the image through a “looking that opens onto an unheard sound.”[5]

> If he [Emmett Till] seems to keep disappearing as you look at him it’s because you look away, which is what makes possible and impossible representation, reproduction, dream. And there is a sound that is seemingly not there in this performance that this performance is about; but not just a sound since *we are also concerned with what that sound would invoke*. . . . An image from which one turns is immediately caught in the production of its memorialized, re-membered reproduction. . . . the aesthetic and philosophical arrangements of the photograph—some organizations of and for light—anticipate a looking that cannot be sustained as unalloyed looking but must be accompanied by listening, and this, even though what is listened to—echo of a whistle or a phrase, moaning, mourning, desperate testimony and flight—is also unbearable. These are the complex musics of the photograph. This is the sound before the photograph.[6]

The complex musics of the photograph are thus a sound that is not contained within the image, but one that precedes the image as its constitutive and enunciating force. We encounter these musics through the necessity of a synesthetic encounter that, I would contend, certain photos involuntarily require. Like the condition of synesthesia, Moten’s conception of the musics of such images requires sound as a constitutive supplement that we both can and cannot hear as part of the structure of an image that forces us to avert our gaze. We cannot look, but we must; to see, to keep looking, we must listen instead.

The aural aesthetic of the Till photograph is moaning—an echo of memory structured by the repeated sound of a moan that, Moten insists, requires us to think about the relationship between “how mourning sounds, how moaning sounds.”[7] The aural aesthetic, or the musics, of the Afro-Caribbean portraits in the Dyche archive are, however, markedly different. Yet the synesthetic supplementarity that undergirds this analytic pertains nevertheless. Pushing Moten’s concept of the “musics of the photograph” and “the cut music enacts on the image” in a different direction, I would like to suggest that thinking about images through music deepens our understanding of the affective registers of family photography and helps us understand how such images are mobilized by black families as a practice that articulates linkage, relation, and distinction in diaspora. Inasmuch as there are multiple ways of knowing, it is my contention that music offers an alternate way of knowing images.

Rather than concentrating on a single or particular image and the musics it might be heard to make, my focus is once again on the multiple, the serial, and the genre. This chapter engages the Dyche archive as an ensemble of photographic practices that help us understand the cultural and affective work of certain sets of images. Here I propose an approach to reading these photographs' affects that sets its sights not on the musics *in* or *of* these images, but aims instead to read images *like music*. Reading images like music means using musical structure as a heuristic lens through which to engage the photographic practices of black communities in diaspora, and as a framework through which the photograph registers meaning or as meaningful.[8] Drawing inspiration from Moten and from James Snead's earlier articulation of "the cut" as an analytic framework for theorizing black culture, this chapter engages the cut music enacts on our understanding of the salience of photography for black communities in diaspora.

While music may seem an unlikely aperture for understanding photography, music and images share a fundamental form of organization as *pattern* that structures our perceptions of both the sonic and the visual. As a particularly pleasing arrangement of sounds, music is a series of patterns that are neither random nor wholly original or spontaneous. Similarly, it is the patterns of any visual field that compose it as distinctive or related to a given form or genre. Reading the fundamental forms of patterning through which both sound and images register as meaningful or evocative, effective or affective, representational or expressive forms provides a point of entry for engaging the serial repetitions of this archive of portraits. Reading these images through the cut of musical structure highlights their enactment of moments of enunciation that articulate the affective relations of migration and mobility, homing and dwelling, self-fashioning and reinvention that constitute diasporic formation.

Prelude: What's the Score? Image, Music, Archive

To state the obvious, these are extremely formulaic images. They are staged. They are predictable. They are posed. They show smartly dressed individuals—black folks putting their best foot forward. But they are also stiff and

oddly "affected." They are almost awkwardly formal, both quantitatively, through their repetition of props and poses, as well as qualitatively, through the uniformity of their production by a single photographer. They conform to what appears a timeless and conventional script of photographic postures and patterns that we recognize from older portrait styles both painted and photographic—portraits from bygone days that echo like hollow shadows of the individuals pictured in them. Apparently all surface and no depth, they emphasize artifice rather than interiority and seem to lack any form of creativity or spontaneity. Instead of giving us insight into content, individuality, or "soul," they tantalize us instead at the level of external presentation and display.

Although they might invite an approach like Barthes's reading of *studium* and *punctum*, somehow this does not quite capture some fundamental aspect of these images' affects. Certainly one latches on to subtle details, like the gesture of a hand clinging awkwardly or perhaps a little too tensely to the arm of a chair or the end of a table. Possibly we dwell on an unlit cigarette held demonstratively but just precariously enough to distract the attention of the viewer. One might be drawn to an umbrella draped elegantly yet wholly ornamentally on the arm of a man posed *inside* a studio in front of a tree on a painted backdrop of a *simulated* forest. Or perhaps it is something even simpler that catches our attention—like the wilted chrysanthemums in a table vase that suggest they have been overlooked by the photographer and left there from the day before. Maybe this was the first session of the day or, alternatively, the last shot of a very busy one. We might linger on the repetition of identical backdrops we have seen in multiple images, or on props like tables or vases that carry over from one photo to the next. But these details neither prick nor puncture nor grab us, as Barthes's conception of the *punctum* would have it. Such "points" and details are a function of the formulaic nature of their photographic genre. They do not rise to the level of the *punctum*; rather, they dissolve again into the background. In the phenomenology of the photographic image that Barthes develops in *Camera Lucida*, the attributes I find so compelling relegate the repetition of these details of form and genre instead to the less interesting category of *studium*, rather than constituting the more invigorating forms of *punctum* prized by so many theorists of visual culture. *Studium* is reduced to, indeed dismissed as a quantitative rather than a qualitative effect of an image, for as Barthes writes, "*It is by* studium *that I am interested* *in so many photographs, whether I receive them as political testimony or enjoy them as good historical scenes: for it is culturally . . . that I participate in these figures, the faces, the gestures, the settings, the actions*."[9] But what if we bracket the relationship Barthes poses of quality to quantity and attempt to resuscitate *studium* for a different purpose and toward a different end? What would it mean to take *studium* seriously and not dismiss it quite so quickly? More specifically, how might we reconceptualize and indeed revalue the seriality of studio portraiture, and of the image-making practices of black diasporic communities in particular, as a significant and revealing form of expressive cultural practice? I propose we do so by way of musical structure and the various cuts enacted through these images—cuts that become visible through our engagement of them as an archive, and through their production and consignation as both a genre and a set of multiples that constitute acts of linkage, performance, and improvisation illuminated through the structure of music.

If we stick to a traditional approach to interpreting these images, the script that emerges is a narrative that reads them as illustrations of the history and biographies of the individuals pictured in them. That script would tell the difficult story of postwar Caribbean migration and the struggle of West Indians to claim the rights of British citizenship, to inhabit the status of fully entitled and enfranchised subjects, and to challenge the racism and discrimination they experienced in the United Kingdom. But rather than a narrative approach or the scripting of images I have deployed critically in the preceding chapters, I suggest we read this archive of photographs quite differently—composing them and composing through them a kind of musical *score*. The idea of a visual-musical score intentionally deploys a synesthetic methodology that sutures the visual to the sonic and the musical by way of the structures they share at the levels of rhythm (meter), pattern (organized repetitions), and affect (sentiment/attachment)—structures that combine to evoke particular responses and associations in their viewers.[10] *Scoring* these images juxtaposes their differences, continuities, and contradictions in ways that reveal multiple sensory, historical, and affective registers playing together at the same time. It plots seriality as more than simple repetition and renders its dissonances not as disruption but as an integral part of complex patterns of cultural enunciation. More significant, engaging the musical structuring of these images helps us account for some of the most important yet elusive dimensions of the image-making practices of black families in diaspora by focusing on how photography operates in excess of vision and sight. Indeed, the diasporic work of popular image-making might easily be dismissed based on the ubiquity of such examples of studio portraiture more generally. Yet what is most remarkable about these photos are the very things that mark their simplicity and lack of sophistication as visual artifacts—specifically, a seriality and familiarity that makes them register most profoundly.

Here my invocation of the concept of registers, and photographic registers in particular, refers not only to how these images evoke affective linkages visually but also to how they resonate and enunciate musically and, in fact, diasporically. In the vocabulary of musicology, *register* is a measurement of the highness or lowness of the pitch of a sound. It is a *relative* measurement that is defined in relation to the range of a given instrument or voice. Register is always relative to an instrument's or voice's specific capacity to produce a limited range of pitches. For example, one might speak of a soprano's use of the high, middle, or low registers of her voice, or remark that the low registers of a bassoon rattled the table.[11] Adapting this concept to the field of visual culture, we might similarly think of the photograph as an instrument with a distinct set of sensory, cultural, affective, and semiotic *registers*—registers that map a range of sensibilities within a given community or culture and index and evoke the investments and attachments of individuals in/to these sensibilities.

The preceding chapters explored the haptics of domestic photography using an expanded conceptualization of touch to illuminate a complex set of sensate registers that articulate the affective force and intensity of such images as objects of attachment and sentiment that move people in profound ways and as sites of the enunciation of diasporic, racial, and gendered subject formation. As we will see, the photographs of the Dyche Collection are also profoundly haptic images. Yet unlike the images discussed in chapters 1 and 2, their haptics derive less from their materiality as indexical instantiations that trouble racialized conceptions of national and diasporic (un)belonging; they derive instead from their transnational circulation as tactile and affective objects and as performative enactments of postcolonial, diasporic subjects.

In contrast to the black German family archives examined earlier, the seriality of the Dyche portraits requires the sonic engagement of an inherently musical structure that lays bare important elements of the images' affective diasporic force. Similar to R. Murray Shafer's foundational conception of the soundscape, these portraits have a sonic structuring that is revealed in generative ways by music. They, too, are characterized by what Shafer describes as *keynotes*—the key or tonality of a particular composition that provides its anchor or fundamental tone.[12] Retuning to Barthes's *studium* by way of the sonic, such keynotes are not necessarily listened to consciously; rather, their ubiquity transforms them into more general listening habits and ways of seeing that are taken for granted within communities and are often overlooked by those outside them. Yet this archive of images also has its own set of *soundmarks*—sonic qualities that are specially regarded or noticed by people as expressive enactments of community that in Shafer's words, "make the acoustic life of the community unique."[13] Reading the musical structure of these images' seriality foregrounds the affective registers of diasporic enunciation that signify both within and beyond the visual composition of these portraits. "The importance of affect rests upon the fact that in many cases the message consciously received may be of less import to the receiver of that message than his or her non-conscious affective resonance with the source of the message. Music provides perhaps the clearest example of how the intensity of the impingement of sensations on the body can 'mean' more to people than meaning itself. . . . [For] the pleasure that individuals derive from music has less to do with the communication of meaning, and far more to do with the way that a particular piece of music 'moves' them."[14]

Building on Shouse's explication of the affective structure of music, this final chapter attends to three interconnected levels of seriality and musicality that structure the cuts and soundscapes of these images' diasporic registers: the first is that of *melody*; the second, a stylistic register of remix and reiteration, or what Dick Hebdige referred to as *versioning*;[15] and the third is the coordination of these improvised performances in what I think of as a musical *ensemble*.

Finally and no less important, the sections that follow consider the insights such an approach offers into the gendered dynamics of diaspora. The gender of diaspora is defined first and foremost by the ways in which the practices that structure and sustain diasporic community formations—practices of staying, coming and going, and transnational, geographic, and cross-temporal linkage—are fundamentally infused with gender and structure how we see diaspora itself. Here I want to keep in mind a series of critical questions: What gendered logics become visible in these images and how musical structure helps us explain and unpack them? What gendered registers render such images familiar, recognizable, and intelligible to us as representations of diaspora and migration that we often take for granted? What gendered notions of mobility, settlement, or rootedness do they rely on to sustain them? Finally, what role does the photographic portrait and image-making more generally play in the gendered enactment of diasporic self-fashioning and community formation?

Melody; or, "Jingle All the Way . . ."

To score these images, we must begin with a note. Or perhaps our unit of measure is in fact a more foundational form: meter, or put even more simply, a beat. A basic pattern, one beat followed by another: zoot suit one, two, three. . . . Table, vase, flowers, hand; table, vase, flowers, hand; table, vase, flower, hand. . . . Fingers pressed tautly on a table; thumb set slightly apart; hand almost tentlike—channeling or supporting the tension of a brother's body frozen in time. Frozen in time, but not necessarily stopped; momentarily stilled in a frame that remains animated and continues to resonate in rhythm with others. Photographs with patterns that move and stir—images with rhythm and beat. Pearls on a necklace: one, two. Five strands framed by the cutout of a neckline. Floral patterns: one, two. Press and curl: pulled back, waved. Lips pursed—pleased, yet elegantly detached.

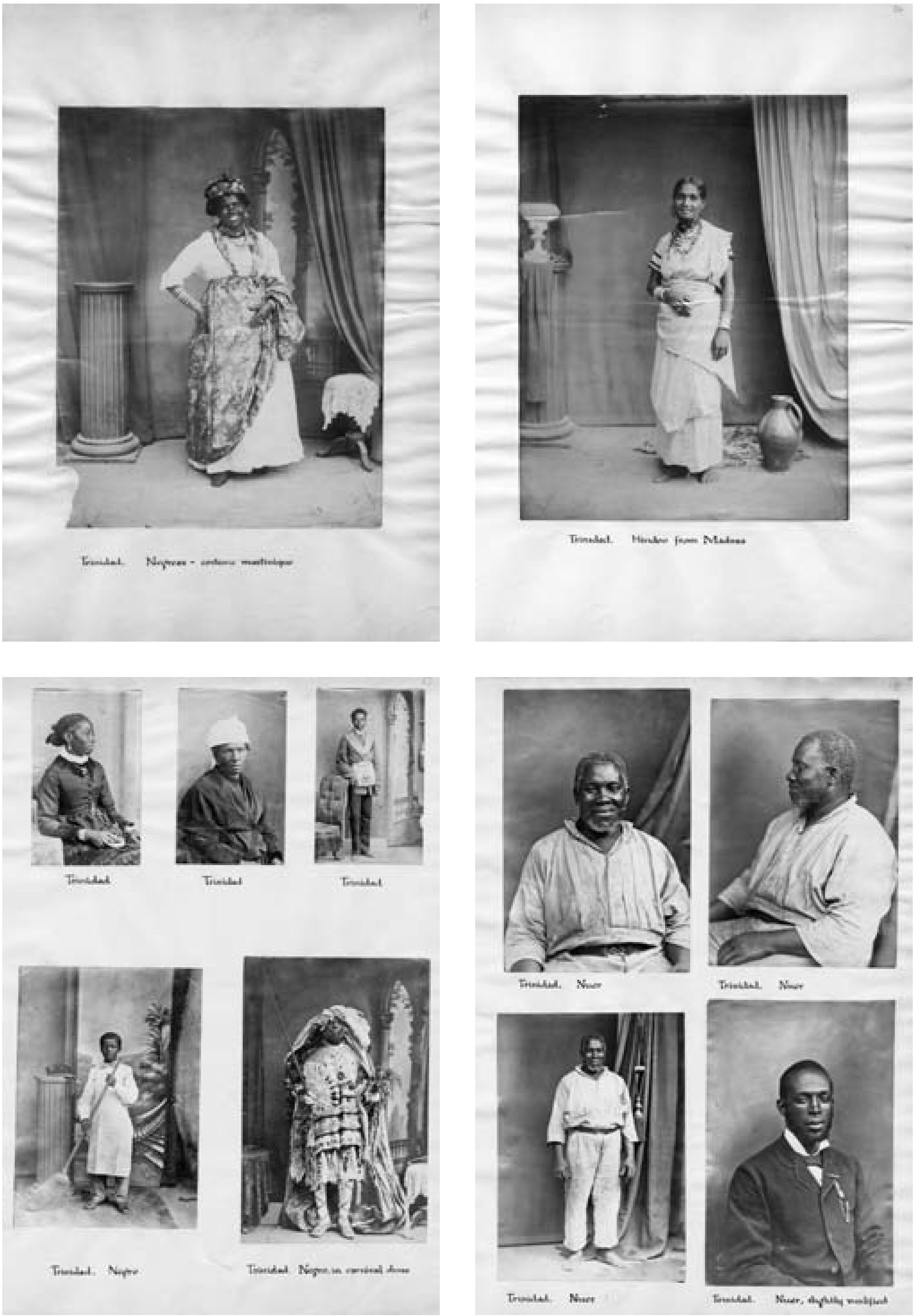
From a contemporary vantage point, we necessarily see these portraits as an *archive* or set of multiples that somehow no longer registers as individual photos.[16] They are images that register as a group, in relation to one another and in relation to an infinite number of other seemingly identical images we recognize perhaps from our own family contexts. Each stands in almost generically for an endless series of others like it. But I would argue that this seriality is not merely a back-formation of retrospective viewing. Nor is it wholly the result of the aesthetic agency of the photographer. These images' composition was actively negotiated as a collaboration between the photographer and the sitter. They were commissioned by their sitters after seeing or hearing about photos made by this photographer, and hard-earned money was spent having similar images made of themselves.

What is the musical structure of such serial repetitions? At what pitches and in what registers do they resonate as culturally meaningful? At the most basic level of musical structure, *melody*, these images register a lot like a *jingle*,

or one of those irrepressible musical earworms that get stuck in our heads after hearing a particularly catchy commercial or ad. As a very simple tune with a straightforward arrangement of notes in a single tonal register, the jingle works on the basis of being highly accessible, recognizable, and infectiously repeatable. Jingles are tunes we can frequently call up on command that often haunt us at the most unlikely of moments. Jingles are specifically pitched in ways that interpellate us and solicit our songs, for any random three or four notes can launch us into singing or humming them aloud, bringing a host of associations along with them.

These images cite familiar jingles of people trying to project and portray success, respectability, and prosperity. It is a melody one of my students once referred to as "the happy migration song"—an upbeat tune of economic opportunity and upward class mobility achieved through migration. It is a melody that finds expression in a late 1940s newsreel clip revived through its recirculation in the much-lauded BBC miniseries *Windrush*. Responding to a journalist's question posed to him on arrival on the deck of the SS *Empire Windrush*, the Trinidadian passenger and renowned Calypsonian Aldwyn Roberts (better known by his stage name, Lord Kitchener), launched into a melodious rendition of "London Is the Place for Me" while flanked by his fellow passengers waiting to disembark.

Like Roberts's lyrical soliloquy, the jingles cited in the photographs above present a short melody, but one far more predictable than the Calypsonian's spontaneous performance. Melody structures these photos not so much as personal narratives about these individuals, but through the ways in which they evoke and correspond with things we have seen before. In fact, what we hear before we see these images is the melodic register of their genre: *the photographic portrait*. Put another way, we do not just see these portraits; they register equally loudly rhythmically and tonally as a particular range of pitches and keynotes that we respond to almost automatically in recognition. That range is a distinctive and familiar genre of studio photography that registers through its reproduction of props, poses, and backdrops. Hence part of what we might think of as the hum or keynote that resonates in the seriality of the genre is an echo of portraiture techniques and conventions utilized since the nineteenth century. As part of this larger historical trajectory, they not only resemble middle-class portraiture but resonate as well with ethno-


Trinidad. Negress – costume martinique
Trinidad. Hindoo from Madras
Trinidad
Trinidad
Trinidad
Trinidad. Negro
Trinidad. Negro in carnival dress
Trinidad. Negro
Trinidad. Negro
Trinidad. Negro
Trinidad. Negro, slightly mixed

"Album #40—Types of Races of Mankind" (Sir Benjamin Stone Collection, Birmingham City Library) graphic portraits taken in former colonial territories in Africa, the Americas, the Caribbean, Asia, and the Pacific.

Such images circulated widely throughout Europe and beyond, as objects trafficked between lay collectors and trained scholars who commissioned and exchanged them as visual proof of racial distinctions and taxonomies. They trace their origins to the earliest uses of portrait photography as evidence for hierarchical social and racial differences.[17] These are clearly photographic portraits of a different purpose and order. Setting them in relation to those of postwar Caribbean migrants is not intended to render them in any way visually equivalent. It highlights instead the compositional attributes they share as portraits produced by image-makers trained in techniques common to a generation of photographers who, while deploying them differently and in ways that require analytic distinction, nevertheless practiced the same aesthetic principles that structured a Western photographic gaze deployed through photography in ways that ultimately dignified as well as pathologized their respective subjects.

In contrast to the transnational circulation of ethnographic portraits, postwar portrait photography of Caribbean migrants to Britain was circulated not by photographers, scholars, or collectors, but by and among West Indians themselves, as a way of connecting them to families and friends separated by oceans. Beyond their status as artifacts that document the life and history of this community, these images are keepsakes as well. Like the family archives discussed in the preceding chapters, they, too, are material instantiations of individual lives and memories that serve as conduits of recollection. They are haptic images constituted through intensely personal and extremely tactile practices of collection and retention.

Made in the United Kingdom but frequently sent to the Caribbean, these portraits were part of the incessant to and fro of transatlantic migration. Their haptics are structured by the rhythmic, crisscrossings of Black Atlantic exchange as objects and practices that bear witness to postwar journeys and resettlements of West Indians making new homes and selves elsewhere. Photography here serves as a medium of diasporic articulation that materializes the linkages and attachments of individuals in diaspora. Yet it does so indexically through references and performances that enact both existing connections of kinship and community and forms of subjectivity that are imagined, desired, and aspired to.

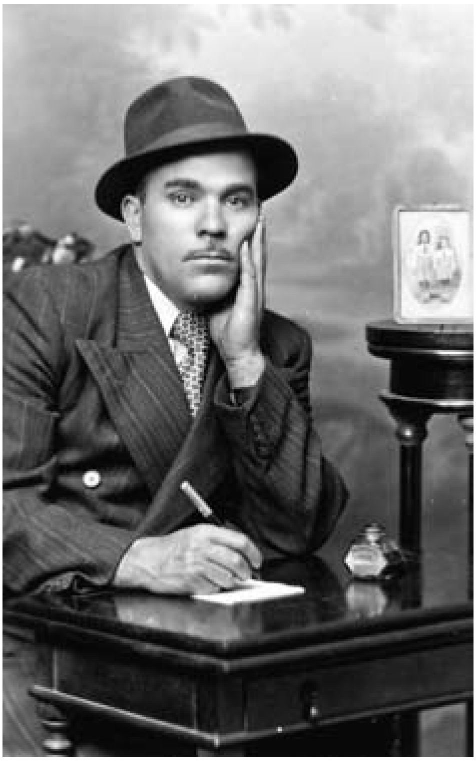
These photographs display an agential practice of portraiture that resignifies the earlier uses of this genre seeking to objectify and silence their nonwhite, subaltern subjects. The portraits made and circulated within this community display their subjects appropriating the genre of the photographic portrait as a technology through which to represent themselves as particular kinds of modern agents. The series of images shown here index forms of gentlemanliness portrayed through styles of dress and physical comportment culturally coded as "British."[18] Yet as Sandra Courtman points out, the agency in such self-fashionings makes them legible as "much more than the mimicry of an *English style* copied in an attempt to be assimilated."[19] They reference forms of industry, responsibility, intellect and erudition, dignity, and elegance that were not exclusively identified with Englishness, but signified status and accomplishment for their West Indian subjects and recipients in their own right. Gentlemanliness and respectability registered in this community on both sides of the Atlantic as references to forms of British subjecthood through which these individuals signify a sense of belonging both in migration and "at home" prior to departure.

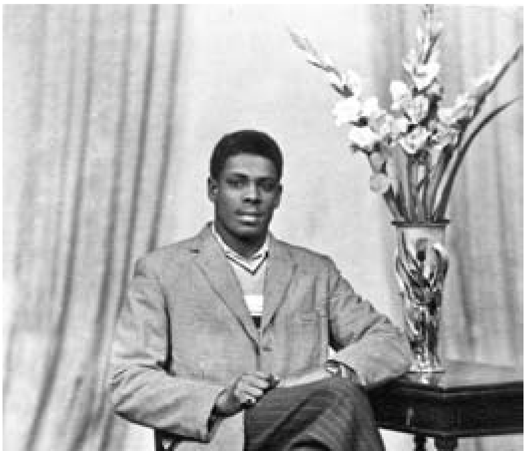
These photos are thus pitched to register histories and experiences that activate and, for many, anticipate our assumptions and associations by citing familiar melodies, jingles we seem to know by heart. Their keynotes map a "structure of feeling" that renders these images intelligible according to multiple but particular cultural and historical contexts.[20] That structure of feeling and one of their most powerful registers is clearly *aspiration*: an aspiration to be someone; to be proud and good-looking, respectable and upstanding; an aspiration to betterment and middle-class prosperity. Their aspirations preceded these individuals' migrations, but they were enabled in new ways through the forms of autonomy that transatlantic resettlement produced.

These portraits' indexical citations perform subjectivities intended to solicit the responses of members of their community in the United Kingdom and abroad, while simultaneously creating their own visions and versions of self and community among individuals who shared points of identification, though differentiating themselves in the process. These photos image black Britons *in-becoming*—proud Jamaicans and Trinadadians, Grenadians and Barbadians presenting themselves as both connected with a difference and respectable with a difference—a difference of migration figured through a stylistics of aspiration that imaged, imagined, and indeed affirmed them as at once Caribbean and British, colonial and metropolitan, respectable and resilient. As a haptic practice that linked this community in diaspora, the simultaneity of these portraits' production and circulation animate these imaging practices in ways that move us even now. Their movement is marked by a rhythm that is rooted in their seriality not as a litany of identical performances but as repetitions that both individuate and register in synchrony within a larger score. They are a set of performances structured by the basic conventions of the Edwardian portrait, yet punctuated by solo and group improvisations.

Returning to Moten's conception of the cut of music on the image and linking it to James Snead's influential theorization of the cut of repetition in black culture reveals a different but equally significant cut in these images. It is a cut that rhythm and music make visible and audible in the repetitions of this archive—repetitions that are not mere duplications, but creatively constructed, reiterative performances that resonate affectively in a distinctly diasporic register. It is perhaps an understatement to say that repetition plagues this archive of images. It inundated me as a researcher the moment I entered the stacks of the archive, when presented with boxes and boxes of largely uncategorized prints; it taunted me in the subsequent weeks I spent pouring over these images one by one; it overwhelmed me again when I set about to view the thousands of glass plate negatives; and it continues to vex me today when viewing them outside the context of the archive. Repetition is the hallmark of this archive, as there is quite simply no way around it. Yet rather than seeing mere similarity or replication in repetition, Snead has famously proposed that we engage repetition in black culture as a way of embracing its inevitability as a fundamental form of creativity and improvisation.

In these images, repetition begins with a hand on a table or an arm held at one side; a right leg crossed over a left or hands resting on a lap; a purse suspended on an elbow or resting on a table. At times it continues, intensifies, or devolves into a monotonous chant: table-table-table; chair-chair-chair; rug-rug-rug. . . . Identical tables, chairs, and rugs—ornaments, props, and accessories of staging that distract our attention and almost erase the figures in these images by dissolving them into the mass and multiplicity of this archive's repetitions. Repetition transforms what might have been an encounter with an individual image into an encounter with the opacity of *studium*: the Edwardian portrait as genre. Transcribing such a score into the history of





empire, colony, and postcoloniality that these images record, such repetitions might register as mimicry, a visualization of colonial respectability, Englishness, conformity, and normativity. Or is there an alternative score that would help us differentiate between possibly divergent iterations of respectability and their multiple appropriations?

Central to Snead's conception of repetition as a form of black cultural articulation is his definition of the cut as "an abrupt, seemingly unmotivated break . . . with a series already in progress and a willed return to a prior series."[21] It is a cut that continually *cuts back* to the start, skipping back and at the same time *moving forward* to initiate another beginning we have somehow already heard: "Black Music sets up expectations and disturbs them at irregular intervals: that it will do this, however, is itself an expectation."[22] For Snead, the magic of the dynamic reappropriation of repetition through the cut is a confrontation with accident and rupture that suppresses neither uncertainty nor unpredictability but incorporates them instead into the system itself. As Camille Peters notes, "Rupture and disjuncture are thus folded into the set of expectations, making unpredictability a desirable quality. The cut, like repetition in general, reflects an orientation toward life. Black culture builds 'accidents' into its set of expectations, realizing that ultimate control is unattainable. . . . Through the cut, this harsh fact of life is appropriated, transformed into an aesthetically pleasing musical technique."[23] For Snead, the cut is inseparable from repetition. It is a break that does not produce a separation; it is a break that establishes a link to something prior—a prior series that it begins, restates, and revises. Snead's cut is both a distinction and a disruption, yet it is also a continuation. Its (dis)rupture interrupts a series to begin anew, while maintaining a continuity that relies on seriality to produce emergent forms that simultaneously repeat and distinguish.

What is the cut of repetition that musical structure enacts in/on these images? What do they repeat and simultaneously break away from? What do they produce, not necessarily as new, but as distinctive expressions? The cut of these photos is both with and against the seriality of middle-class portraiture and with and against the relations of colonial and postcolonial respectability. The cut of music on the images of Afro-Caribbeans in the archive of the Dyche Collection is a cut that allows us to see them as an abrupt break with a series already in progress that returns to a prior series. The series already heard are the reiterations of the portrait but also, and equally important, the multiple reverberations of respectability.

Respectability has a long and freighted history in the culture of the Anglophone Caribbean, and its role in the cultural formation of West Indians has been debated among historians and anthropologists. George L. Mosse's seminal study, *Nationalism and Respectability*, traced the emergence of the idea of respectability to eighteenth-century European bourgeois culture and its concern with "decent and correct" manners and morals and a "proper attitude" toward sexuality.[24] Mosse charted the establishment of respectability as a means through which the European middle classes sought to legitimize and demarcate their status from the lower and upper classes. As John Tagg has convincingly demonstrated, the technology of the photographic portrait was marshaled initially by the middle classes (though it soon was widely adopted in other classes) as a representational medium that visually accomplished this goal.[25]

Taking Mosse as a starting point, Karen Olwig constructs a useful genealogy of how respectability became an important basis of West Indian societies dating back to the influence of English Methodist missionaries among African slaves in the late eighteenth century and their promotion of their own middle-class values of respectability among the slaves they sought to convert.[26] Olwig explains that while respectability was initially confined to relatively small segments of the black population and did not become the cultural foundation for the entire population as it did in Europe, it later became identified by the Afro-Caribbean population with higher social status and as an ideal for lower classes to aspire to.[27] Yet rather than viewing respectability as a "foreign value" imposed on blacks by English colonizers, Olwig argues for a more complicated understanding of the ways in which Afro-Caribbeans appropriated respectability for their own ends.

> The role of respectability in Caribbean societies must be examined from the point of view of a cultural struggle between colonial and local interests in which men and women were equally involved. This struggle centered on attempts, on the part of the colonial authorities, to control the Afro-Caribbean population by integrating them via social institutions of respectability, and, on the part of the Afro-Caribbean population, on the employment, or appropriation, of these socially recognized institutions of

> respectability as a means of displaying their culture in a society which refused to grant this culture any public recognition. . . . the tradition of respectability, which was introduced to the Afro-Caribbean population primarily through English Methodist missionaries, "went native" in the West Indies; . . . its institutions were unmade and appropriated into West Indian custom as a pattern of social practices constituting "respectability." This respectability therefore became at one and the same time an expression of Afro-Caribbean identity and an institutionalized means of seeking recognition in the wider Euro-Caribbean society.[28]

As Olwig and others have made clear, respectability is a complex ideological formation that was creatively adapted and appropriated both in the pre- and postemancipation British Caribbean. The Afro-Caribbean portraits of the Dyche Collection offer a vivid example of such reiterative appropriation. Far from signifying submission to English or European values or the systems of racialized oppression associated with them, these visual enactments are a further iteration of the historical process described by Olwig whereby, "externalizing their culture through foreign form, in the process transforming the forms, the Afro-Caribbean people managed to keep their culture alive, [and] at the same time they institutionalized it," demonstrating in the process "the way in which colonial, invented tradition can be appropriated by those it was meant to control and sometimes even turned against those who invented it."[29] Like the cut of repetition Snead so masterfully plots, the rhythmic seriality of these images cuts with and against the respectability of middle-class portraiture by setting up an expectation that they at the same time disturb. It is an expectation of mimicry and conformity with class respectability signified by the Edwardian portrait and presumably imposed on blacks in the Caribbean as a "civilizing" influence. Yet it was this simple notion of respectability that these images both repeat and simultaneously disrupt.

Bridge: Out of the Archive and into the Fire . . . ; or, Playing in Our Own Time

A week after arriving in Birmingham I found myself hopelessly confused, trying to navigate the city bus system without the benefit of a map. I was headed to Newtown, a racially mixed, working-class area just outside the city center, on my way to the Annie Wood Community Resource Center.[30] I had wanted to know more about the sitters in these portraits and their motivations for making such images, and the staff I was working with at the archives insisted that the answers to my questions lay in Newtown. Founded in the 1970s, the center had been a vital resource for the Afro-Caribbean community in Birmingham and had served as the meeting site for a group of ten to twenty Caribbean seniors (mostly women) between fifty and seventy years old.

Following the cryptic directions I had been given, I disembarked hesitantly at a peculiarly British traffic structure—a massive roundabout at the intersection of six major roads. Crossing under it and walking over a hill, I passed through what felt like a maze of low houses and council flats. The center was located in one of them, and I found my way there by following the cheerful sound of Caribbean and Birmingham accents—older voices that were busy and loud, warm and familiar. The group had been meeting once a week, every week, for more than twenty years. Although its membership had changed over time, a core group of about seven women had known each other for decades.

After being introduced to the members of the group I began by thanking them for allowing me to attend and describing my research and some of the questions that had arisen for me in trying to understand these images. I asked them to share with me their reflections on their imaging practices in this period. Why had they chosen to make these particular types of photos? What did they do with them? How did they think about them, and how did they think we should understand them now as a commentary on their lives and struggles in this period? Their initial response was dead silence. Sitting there in the midst of this group, fixed by the stares of a room full of Caribbean women who resembled my aunts and grandmothers, I felt the silence to be endless. After a bit of prodding, the answer they gave me was quite simple: "We didn't think about it at all. We didn't think about making pictures or why we were making pictures back then. We just made them. That's just what we did." More often than not, when we do not think about what we are doing, it is because those things are too familiar; because they are things we are used to doing. Or as the members of the group themselves said, it was because it was something they "just did." But why, I asked. Why did they "just do it"? "You could write a letter. Sometimes you could call. But none of that mattered. Whatever story you told them, they wanted to see a *picture*!" According to their accounts, the pictures told the definitive story—in other words, the story that would be believed. "In a picture, they could see what you looked like and see how you were *really* doing. They could see if you looked fat or thin, or if you looked happy or healthy or tired or sick." Because these photos were seen to index "the real," or, in their words, "how you were *really* doing," photographs proved both mundane and monumental in this community, for the images they created were *required* as well as *requested*, and they would be vigorously scrutinized as one of the few tangible traces of individuals an ocean away. As such, these portraits' circulation endowed them with an indexicality that had a doubly affective register. The audiences to whom these portraits were sent were neither naive, passive, nor innocent readers of images. They invested these photos with meanings and associations that did not always align with those of their sitters. These images are in this way complex objects of inscription that transport the desires, aspirations, and attachments of diasporic affiliation as forms of articulation that Hall defines as both a "joining up" and a "giving expression to."[31] It is "a connection that speaks" as a linkage constituted at the very point of separation—in and through difference, and in and through the distance of migration—bridging temporal and geographic ruptures that, in turn, initiated new constructions of self and community elsewhere. These portraits are haptic images that construct affective diasporic linkages underscoring continuities of connection and attachment maintained both psychically and materially to places and communities of origin. They are objects of articulation that play diaspora in their own time, composing community as difference through the simultaneity produced by images that are at once here and there, at home and "in foreign."

In these portraits of women seated and standing, the repetitions that construct their seriality begin with feet placed like clock hands at twelve and two, or legs folded from knee to ankle. They continue upward to hands perched on tables, or arms balancing purses that seem almost too conscientiously displayed as intentionally placed props in the still life of the image. Their repetitions extend further to the smiles of women that seem genuine and unforced yet also practiced in a restraint that never quite breaks the surface of a grin. Again, their register is serial rather than narrative—a seriality that is not simple repetition, but synchronic in nature. Their synchrony is temporal, through the simultaneity of their production within this community, as well as aesthetic, through both the formality of Edwardian portraiture and their styles of dress. Yet while their synchrony is produced both historically and aesthetically by the photographer, we must also recognize the cultural regis-

ters that shaped these aesthetic forms with equal force. For the semiotics of these images register not only *as* but also *because* they are synchronized performances intended to invoke connection and identification. These images' seriality makes them signify not simply as portraits, but as cultural practices of diasporic self-making.

A narrative scripting of these respectable portraits might read them as complacent and conservative colonial subjects who migrated to the United Kingdom to pursue a conventional path of upward mobility. In this version of the struggle for racial equality, the radical activism and political "heavy lifting" of racial confrontation and reform is left to their black British children to accomplish through the social and political transformations that followed the riots and protests of the 1970s. But what about a different version of this narrative? How would a *gendered* remix recast this earlier narrative according to an alternate beat? What are the gendered frames that structure them as meaningful representations of diasporic transition, success, and/or failure? Such a remix will, as ever, hinge on questions of style . . .

Version: Gender, Indexicality, and the Stylistics Sunday Best

In her essay "Englishness, Clothes, and Little Things," Carolyn Steedman urges historians to focus on "little things" and to consider what might be learned from the imaginative uses to which these have been put. Emphasizing the role of dress as one such "little thing" that marks a significant node of interaction between national identity and objects, Steedman writes that clothing and dress more generally are "ways of dreaming, or imaging *yourself* . . . in new ways."[32] Following Steedman's instructive lead, it is not only such little things as a seemingly mundane studio portrait but also the tiny details of dress used to compose these images that warrant reflection and consideration.

Take, for example, an object that was to me perhaps the most conspicuous, consistent, and curious of props found in the images of women in this collection: the purse.

Why does nearly every woman's portrait choose to display a purse, and why is it always featured so prominently? Steedman's comments prompt me to recall my own response to this persistent detail in the portraits of this collection. Thinking I saw a difference between these photos and my own family's imaging practices, I was initially convinced that, in my family, such a prominent display of purses would be considered "showing off." Unless, that

is, these bags formed part of the outfit. But the ladies of the Annie Wood Center corrected me on this. They were both part of the outfit *and* "showing off." "That's exactly what we were doing. There may not have been a cent in it, but you acted like there was. That's what you wanted them to think—that you had something." In precisely this way, these images are indexical enactments that reference forms of social status and respectability that the members of this community had come to England to claim. Furthermore, the adoption of studio portraiture was not an imaging practice they discovered in the United Kingdom. The women of the Annie Wood Center explained this to me when I asked whether such portraits were expensive acquisitions. "Maybe they were, but the money didn't really matter. That wasn't the issue. You see, we wanted the right pictures. The price wasn't the point. However much it cost, we'd find the money. We didn't have any money anyway, so it didn't really matter how much it cost. But the pictures had to be right. That's why we went to a particular studio in the High Street. Their pictures looked just like the ones from the studio in Kingston." What the speaker describes in this comment is a form of diasporic articulation that shaped this community's imaging practices in important ways. The studios and portrait styles they chose were selected because the images they produced *looked like* ones they recognized from the West Indies, and for this very reason, they would be recognized positively and thus effectively hail the home communities to which they were sent. As a crucial part of the cultural work of such diasporic imaging practices, these visual enactments were enlivened by the haptic attachments these photographs solicited and produced, for the recipients of these portraits engaged them as tactile indexes that registered a material and affective trace of that which once stood before the camera. In this case, that trace or "real thing" was their loved one and his or her new life abroad.

Even when the frames in which those loved ones appeared were extremely artificial and the people were awkwardly posed with staged props or contrived backdrops like those found in the Dyche portraits, that trace was nevertheless a meaningful one, one that served as a tangible link to the photographic subject. At the same time, West Indian migrants to Britain used the photographic portrait as a medium whose indexicality was in fact and by default *performative*, in that it enacted and thereby produced the very forms of subjectivity and linkage it appeared to record. It is a performativity staged for the consumption of intimate and extended relations—(af)filiates and familial circuits of kin linked through the haptic circulation of these images. Like the concept of performative indexicality developed in the previous chapter, these portraits performatively invoke and produce respectable and accomplished diasporic subjects within their photographic frames.[33] As the ladies of the center adamantly pointed out to me: "Some of our boys were sleeping in phone boxes or renting rooms where they slept in shifts in the same bed. When we arrived here in England it was horrible. It was cold and miserable. But we always looked good. Even if you only had one suit or one nice outfit, it was clean. *We* taught the English how to dress. They used to wear the same clothes everywhere. You don't wear the same thing everywhere! We had work clothes, and going out clothes, and *Sunday best*. Those teddy boys used to beat up our boys because they looked so sharp. It was not just about race. It was about style!" *Sunday best*. We see Sunday best all over these images. Sunday best is perhaps the embodiment of this generation of Caribbean migrants' aspirations to middle-class respectability. Sunday best were literally church clothes, but they were also dress clothes with a difference. They were clothes meant for worship in a community with a deeply religious sensibility. Sunday best was attire that stood apart both from the work week and from leisure time. Sunday best was dressing up, but not showing off. It was clothing intended to be reverent and to show respect for the place and practice of worship, as well as gratitude and humility in the presence of God. Sunday best was in this way a demonstration of faith—one that signified that, for West Indians in this period, respectability was not just a question of class; it also had an equally important spiritual dimension.[34]

The version of Sunday best pictured in these images was intended to harmonize back home as a familiar register for the loved ones left behind who received them. It placed relatives and friends in a visual context of people "keeping faith" oceans away. These portraits project upright and respectable folk who, in what was seen as the highly secular world far away from their families and community, gave the appearance of maintaining similar values. These images aspire to "the good life"—yet it was also a spiritual life, as well as one that was gendered in its inflection. The sitters perform encoded variations on the melodies and tropes of respectability they compose and project in ways that represent aspiration as anything but simple or straightforward.[35] Returning to the cut of music on these images, what registers when we attend to these photographs' musicality is an *aspirational harmonics* of Sunday best.

Extending Steedman's attention to "little things," Carol Tulloch emphasizes the critical importance of style to the formation of Caribbean identity in diaspora.[36] Tulloch contends that the detailed styling of the black body through fashion, dress, and style are a central expressive component of the Caribbean experience that articulates the experience of diaspora as a "certain moment" of postwar black identity formation.[37]

> The personal and cultural trauma experienced by the first generation of Caribbeans and Africans to arrive in Britain after World War II left them with a sense of being "out of place," having left the country where their sense of self had been forged. . . . In such a historical moment of migration and settlement, style and fashion became more than just a superficial means of cultural engagement. It was a visual and tangible affirmation of their existence, or who they were, and of their cultural and social relevance in their new "home." . . . They capture fragments of a time when dress was essential to the formation of the identity of an individual, a group or a specific culture. . . . From this comes the ability to evoke visual pleasure in the observer, bringing psychological reassurance for the wearer and a consequent sense of pride. Such feelings simultaneously compound the wearer's difference while underlining their permanent place in Britain.[38]

This archive's rhythmic repetitions enunciate a series of stylistic variations in a kind of freestyling that disrupts a desire to hear them playing solely in a single, gender-neutral register of respectability. In these portraits we frequently see elegant fedoras, yet fedoras often cocked carefully to one side. We see cigarettes and zoot suits that straddle the line between Sunday best and "Friday night finest." We see pens and watches and other adornments, yet these accessories were frequently not the property of their sitters. Often borrowed or supplied as props by the studios they patronized, the sitters selected them as individual stylizations and coded performances that suggest the bad boys and not always so good girls beneath Sunday best—men and women making their own way on the other side of the Atlantic.

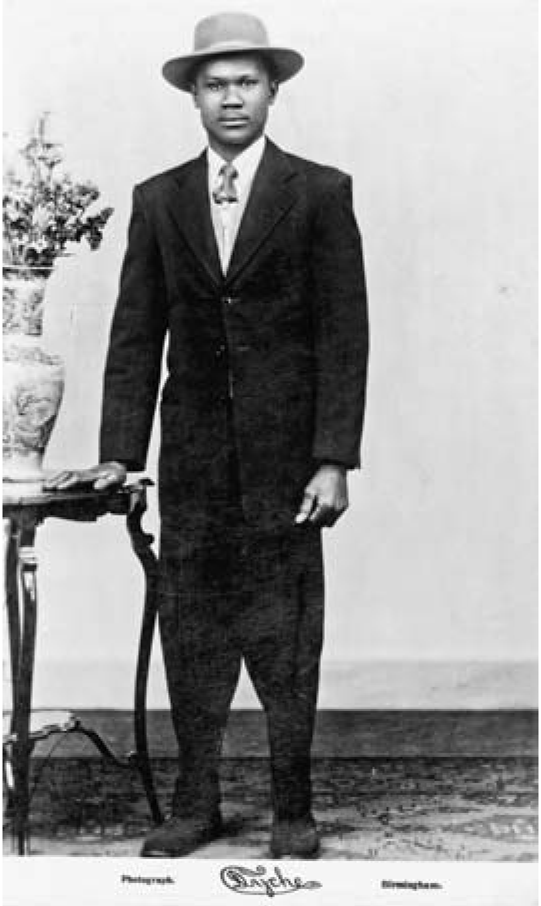
Musical structure foregrounds these images' multiple registers of meaning as coordinated performances that beckon and respond to one another as aspirational versions produced in the photographic studio as a site of self-creation. The musics of these images are a call and response of indexical and performative citations that hail the affective attachments of members of their community in the United Kingdom and abroad, while creating their own visions and versions of themselves and in diaspora. To add a further layer of musical complexity, it is particularly illuminating to think these visual improvisations through the jazz structure known as "trading fours."[39]

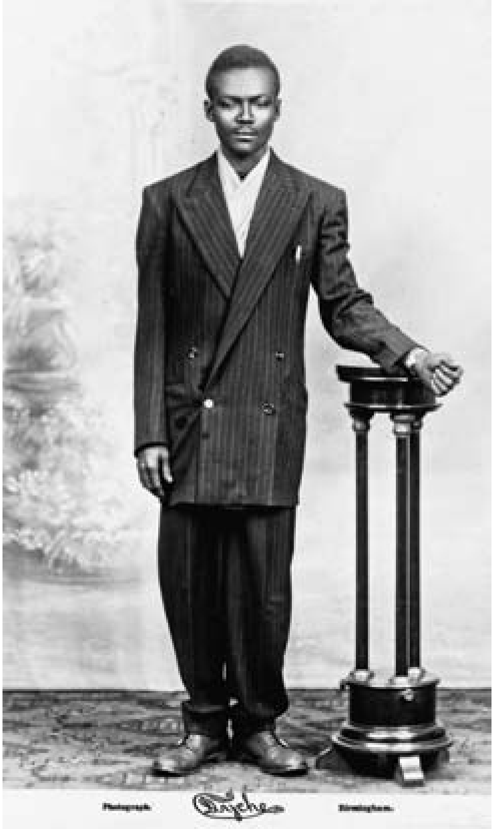
Trading fours describes a structure of ensemble improvisation among different members in a group performance. In jazz, the solo is most often performed "over" the form of a song, with choruses usually set in a standard AABA thirty-two-bar form.[40] In this configuration, call and response is always present as the drummer, bassist, and pianist each respond to the notes and rhythms of the soloist, yet the latter almost always takes the lead. Trading fours (or twos or eights, depending on the duration or number of bars over which a solo is played) differs in that the thirty-two bar form is shared as it is transferred or traded back and forth from soloist to drummer, to the next soloist, and back to drummer continuously, frequently over the course of many choruses. Each member of the group improvises yet within the basic form of a given piece. Transcribed into words, the structure of such an improvisation might resemble the following:

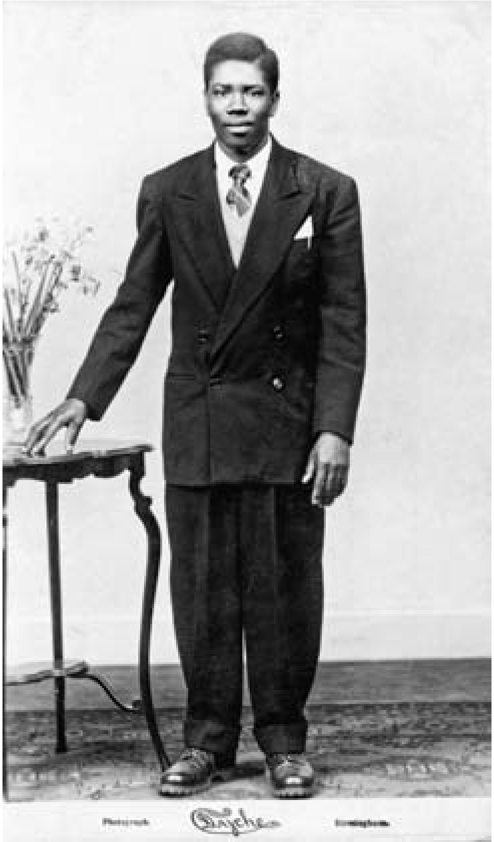
Alto—4 bars
Drums—4 bars
Piano—4 bars
Drums—4 bars
Bass—4 bars
Drums—4 bars
Tenor—4 bars
Drums—4 bars

In the structure of trading fours, the drummer sustains the ensemble, "holding the band up" as the keeper of an underlying beat propelling the performance as a driving momentum that moves the dynamic of the group through modes of interruption and (re)turn. As Moten explains in "The New International of Rhythmic Feeling(s)," a drummer sets in motion a kind of timeline that moves by way of a series of suspensions and reversals.[41] Moten uses Charles Mingus's concept of "rotary perception" as the prime example of what he defines as "an articulated ensemble." "No hegemonic single pattern means no sole instrument or player responsible for that pattern's upkeep. There is, rather, a shared responsibility that makes possible the shared possibilities of irresponsibility.

Photograph.
Dyche
Birmingham.


Photograph.
Dyche
Birmingham.


Photograph.
Dyche
Birmingham.

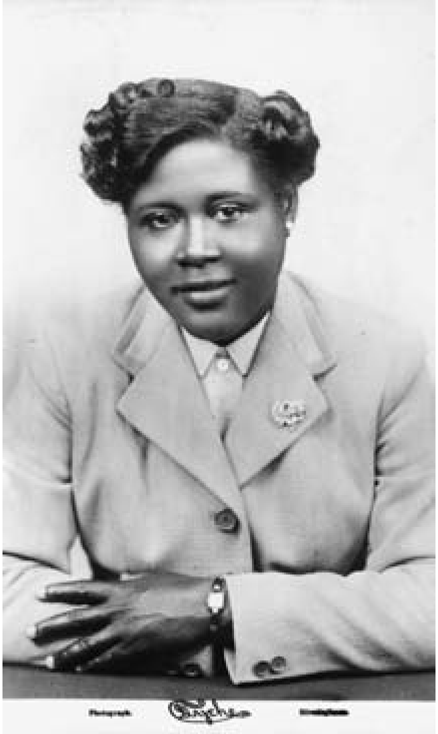

Photograph.
Dyche
Birmingham.

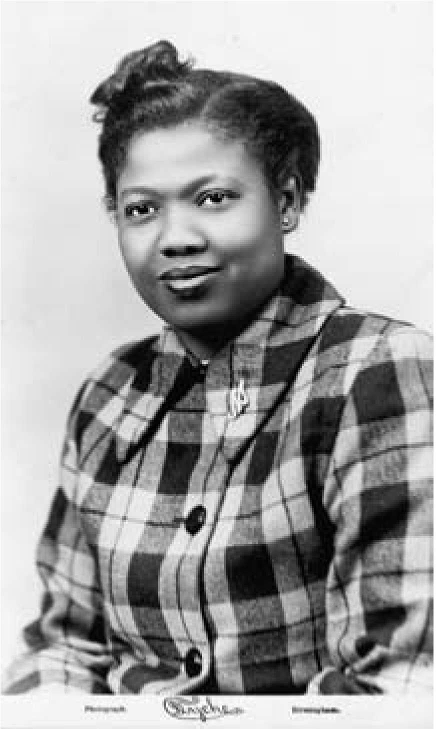
More precisely, attuned and passionate response is given both in the capacity to walk and to walk away. While freeing the individual player—say, the bass player—within the fixed rhythmic group or rhythm section from the sole burden of keeping time does constitute a liberation from collective temporal constraint, such escape or animation of the bottom is, itself, an effect of law."[42] This "articulated ensemble" structure reveals a more explicit form of response/-iveness achieved through the process of "playing off" the soloist's or drummer's improvisation in her or his four bars. As Piotr Szpunar emphasizes in relation to trading fours, there exists a playfully competitive spirit between players that directly responds to the individual solo performances in turn, as each player attempts to outdo or top each performance as the focus of their own solo.[43]

What is of primary significance for our purposes, and what defines this musical encounter, is the dominance of a formal structure within improvisation that allows each musician a freedom of expression to play with as she or he desires.[44] Because no single player leads directly or definitively, what dominates instead is form and expression, but within a structure that nevertheless facilitates improvisational freedom. Improvisation is thus both free and formal.[45] Similarly, trading fours offers a compelling analogy for understanding the sonic structures of these visual performances, in particular, the dynamics of call and response enacted in the portraits of Afro-Caribbeans in the Dyche Collection. These images similarly stage improvised performances of diasporic self-making, albeit within the highly formal structure of Edwardian portraiture. Their improvisations signify both within that formal structure and freestyle beyond and against it. The seriality of these visual performances thus function as an ensemble of diasporic calls and responses between people elsewhere and "back home," and as improvisational versions that register complex and competing iterations of the poses, posturing, and enunciations of diasporic belonging. It is in these improvisations that the Dyche archive's "versionings" begin to take on a more markedly ensemblic structure.

Ensemble: Gendering Diaspora—Off Tempo, in Time . . .

In a jazz ensemble performance, we hear multiple instruments and musicians playing the same song, but they do not form a unitary whole. Each musician improvises his or her part, yet they do so in coordination with other members of the group. The jazz ensemble is, in this way, an organizing structure that de-

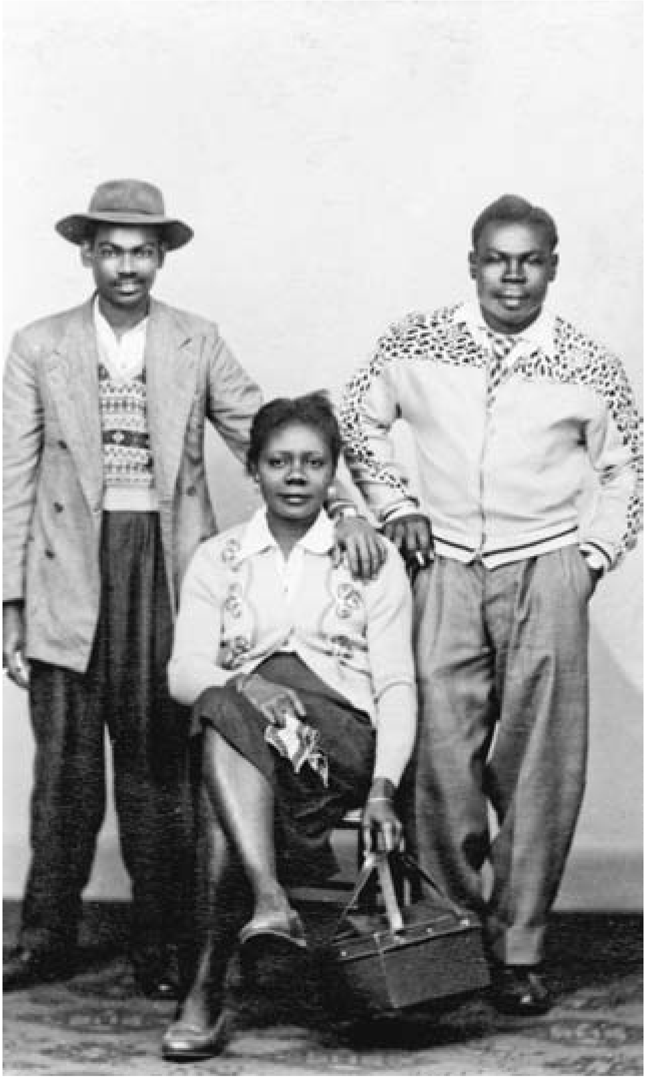




scribes a constellation of coordinated improvisational performances, versions, and interpretations. It is an elastic and evolving framework that articulates musically multiple and variegated interpretations within the performance of a larger musical composition.

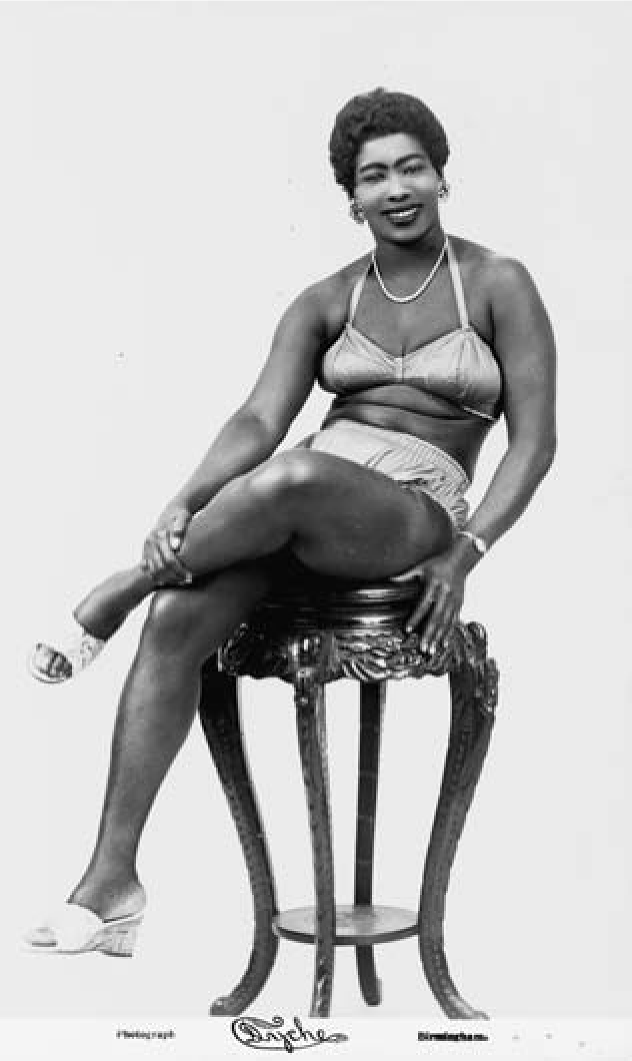
In these portraits we sometimes see rhinestones and other forms of jewelry that appear a bit flashier than or at odds with Sunday best. And we notice the absence of an otherwise ubiquitous accessory in this community: crosses. Occasionally we see hems that show a bit more leg than would ordinarily be displayed in and around the pews. In these images, Sunday best often reflects a secularity and autonomy achieved through migration. As much as they image reverent and respectable Caribbean men and women, they also show covertly fly girls and boys winking at the camera and flaunting their autonomy through style. For what registers with equal depth in these portraits' presentation of Sunday best is the gendering of diasporic aspiration. Gender emerges through performances of bodily comportment that register not only the adaptation and improvisation of Sunday best but also a gendered versioning of respectability that undergirds the diasporic narrative of the *Windrush* generation.[46] Like the articulated ensemble Moten describes, these images enact multiple versions of gender and respectability as an ensemble of improvisations that play off and against each other while maintaining the formal structure of the portrait. As articulated ensemble performances, the diasporic subjects enacted in these images both conform and contest the forms of respectability they project by improvising *within* rather than in opposition to a structure that enables but cannot contain them.

Take the images of women that dominate this collection: portraits that figure young women as "ladies,"



accessing a racialized and exclusionary category of womanhood through the performativity of the photographic portrait. Viewed against the images of zoot-suited, fedora-clad, cigarette-holding jazz cats or blues men, these comparatively chaste women appear withholding and restrained in the more domesticated image they compose.

These portraits almost strain to project sisters, aunts, and daughters—virtuous and dutiful family members whose images evoke pride and filial loyalty. These photos are representative of the overwhelming majority of women's portraits in this collection. There is, however, one quite notable exception.



Finding this image in the midst of so many hundreds of others in this archive, I must confess to being initially somewhat taken aback. "*She* is singular," was my immediate response, "perhaps even exceptional." Her image stood out from the rest. Her corporeality disarmed and delighted me. Indeed, her provocative self-display raises an irresistible question: Why did she choose to make this image? Who was its audience or its intended recipient? Her proud and voluptuous sexuality places her in an almost uncomfortable relation to the other women in this archive. Viewed against the backdrop of the other comparatively conservative portraits in this collection, it registers as dissonant—out of time and out of tune. We wonder why she made this particular image, and we search energetically for answers. Was it for a carnival pageant or beauty competition? Perhaps its audience was more intimate, for example, a boyfriend or lover far away? Was distance the reason for the choice of the visual medium as a mode of more "sensuous" connection? A desire to deliver a physical replica, a tactile trace, or something as close to the real thing as possible? In what ways was it, too, a performance, intended to invoke a deeper and indeed quite sensual connection? How do we explain such a rupture in the serial musics of this visual archive?

In many ways, this image gives voice to a suppressed melody of licentiousness that plays in the background and, I will confess, hums in the back of my own response to this photo. Is she an example of the girl-gone-wrong—the buck-wild flip side of diasporic aspirations and sexual autonomy set loose by migration?[47] Does she represent the realization and embodiment of the worry of many at home and abroad; fears of what might become of the proud and well-turned-out women or forlorn girls pictured arriving at Southall or Victoria in photos published in the pages of periodicals like *Picture Post*—photos that constructed the social gaze of Britain at the time and helped constitute the *Windrush* migration as *the* iconic visual (and to some, originary) moment in the making of multicultural Britain?

Is this image not only evidence but in fact a symptom of the "slackness" that might result from mobility and access to urban spaces—an eventuality that would have, could have, might have been avoided had she remained safe, sound, and settled "back home"? But before we cast this photographic subject as a black woman fallen from grace, before we reinscribe her into an all-too-easy binary of virtue and shame, chastity and licentiousness, I want to return to the cut of musical structure on this archive and to scoring these visual performances as a series of *versions*. What shifts about the seemingly anomalous image of our proudly exposed young lady when we look beyond what we see and hear it instead as a performance that is *coordinated* and *synchronic* in ways that harmonize with the seriality of the images that preceded it? If we consider this photo part of the same *ensemble* performance enacted in this larger archive, the gender of diaspora looks slightly different. Continuing to translate the structures of music to the image, dissonance is part and parcel of the patterns of both the visual and the musical and is a central component that links the structure of each.

When we place the portrait of our sassy sister perched in her two-piece in the context of a larger ensemble performance, its dissonant musics gender a remix of the alternate versions of kinship, coupling, and sexuality that have historically structured Caribbean culture since slavery—structures that have sustained and supported these communities through generations of migration for individuals both at home and abroad.[48] As anthropological studies of kinship and household structures in the Caribbean have shown, sexuality and sexual potency is positively valued as an important component of identity and social status for women as well as men.[49] Procreation is a significant indicator of personal status for both genders, a status confirmed through the birth of children within and outside marriage. Parallel to the value of childbearing and sexuality in Caribbean communities, the key bond in the family is not the husband-wife bond, but the mother-child bond as the foundation of extended families and household structures.[50]

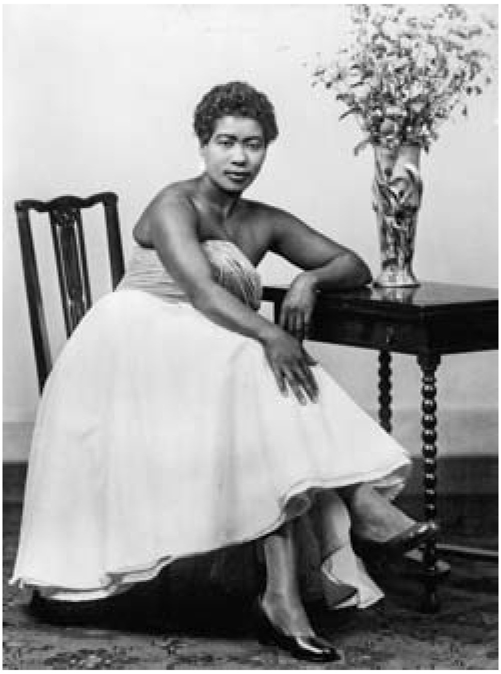
With these points in mind, why see this image not as standing apart from but as playing in concert with other registers in this archive? Rather than scripting her as a radical deviation from the demure images of women we have seen, what if we score this portrait as *playing off tempo, but in time* with other images in this collection, albeit in ways that reflect the gendered dimensions of diasporic relations? Instead of being at odds with the mothers and sisters we associate with the portraits of women in their Sunday best that dominate this collection, this sitter is very likely a mother herself.[51] According to a 1953 sample survey, 63 percent of women who migrated to Britain from

Photograph
Birmingham

Jamaica were mothers, more than 90 percent of whom had left children in Jamaica, 95 percent of which were left in the care of grandparents. Similarly, it is equally likely that she shared a profession with one of the many women in uniform that also populate this collection.

On another day in the studio, she, too, may have requested that Ernest or Malcolm Dyche photograph her in a uniform such as these, as a bus conductor or a nurse in ways that depicted her as she might have appeared in her workplace outside the studio.[52] Scoring this image as part of the larger ensemble performance of this archive of diasporic photographic practices prompts us, on the one hand, to question the distinction between the more maternal figures of women and this seemingly dissonant one. On the other hand, it encourages us to resist both the innocence of those more restrained and traditional depictions of womanhood and the temptation to see her as an audacious, abject counterpart in a binary presumed to differentiate the respectable as a desired norm from its Other, and to recognize her instead as the constitutive outside of the forms of respectability from which she is assumed to so radically depart.

In the ensemble performances of this archive, gender registers through forms of femininity in which sexuality harmonizes *with* rather than *against* respectable or maternal womanhood. In the score I am proposing, sexual autonomy plays in time with the financial autonomy women attained through migration as workers with wages that gave them independence from their families in the Caribbean and simultaneously sustained both families abroad and new families and partnerships in the United Kingdom. Looking again at this photograph and the forms of black womanhood it images, while the photograph captures a woman taking apparent pleasure in her own bodily display, we also see accents ("little things") that suggest the performance captured in this portrait was not so far removed from those of the women pictured in the other photos. For beyond the shimmer of her revealing two-piece, the easily overlooked detail of a watch marks a telling contrast that suggests a consciousness of time. The wearer of this watch was not necessarily frivolous, but a woman for whom time mattered. As instruments that demarcate time into discrete but continuous units, watches are not merely ornamental accessories but necessary tools that allow their wearers to transition between work and leisure. This lingerie or, more likely, bikini-clad black woman was not oblivious to the passage of time, nor could she be, for the photo session



itself was a limited unit of time paid for through wages earned. To be sure, this image was certainly as purposeful and intentional as the uniformed portraits of the bus conductor or nurse, if not perhaps more so.

Unlike in the equally fanciful staging of this portrait of the same woman (which, judging from her identical makeup and hair, was most likely taken in the same studio session), the sitter chose to disrobe for the previous exposure. There was a reason for that photo as well as its counterpart. A reason for the choice to expose herself to a white photographer she did not know; a reason for the choice of evening wear and a bikini shot; a reason why she went to the trouble of balancing herself precariously atop a table used by the photographer in so many of these images—a table whose ornament was usually a vase of flowers rather than the sitter herself. We might speculate that the reason for these aesthetic choices might have been a pageant, yet regardless of their actual motivations, the contrasts between swimsuit and formal gown in the portraits of this anonymous woman remind us of the multiple levels of black womanhood that play simultaneously in the larger archive of these images of postwar Caribbean migration. Black femininity was sexual and maternal; wage-earning and religious; autonomous and deeply invested in the family, all at the same time. As Wendy Webster emphasizes, these ways of inhabiting black womanhood were at odds with the discourse of dual roles that played a central part in the perception of black women migrants to Britain in this period. Webster maintains that in British society of the 1950s, migrant women were not perceived to have the relational identity enshrined in the idea of a "working wife."[53] Their place in Britain was seen as anchored in their status as workers, but not workers who would establish families in the United Kingdom or workers who expected (and indeed, demanded) housing, education, or other provisions of the postwar welfare state.[54] They were constructed as workers only, not working mothers whose employment was in fact inseparable from the needs of their families.[55] In contrast, Webster argues that for black women migrants, employment was itself a strategy for building a family, as holding a full- or part-time job was often "a precondition of any sort of family life and frequently involved full-time rather than part-time work."

> Few of the themes articulated by advocates of dual roles fitted their experience. . . . Employment was frequently crucial for financial support of families, and since black women's families usually included members back home as well as in Britain, there were often a range of calls on their earnings, from sending food, money and parcels back home to providing for children in Britain, whether brought over or born after migration. Migrant women from the Caribbean often used their earnings to bring children over. Since black men's wages were commonly lower than white men's, this range of family needs was unlikely to be provided through male breadwinners, even when they used their earnings to meet them.[56]

When we score these images as ensemble performances, their coordinated dissonances register a more complex ensemble of meaning of the gendering of diaspora. These were women who traveled oceans and left behind not only friends, parents, and siblings—many left behind single and often multiple children. They frequently departed with the intent of return or the promise to reunite on the other side. Like their male contemporaries, they were women who arrived in the United Kingdom with little more than the promise of a job that sometimes never materialized and the name and contact of a family member or friend. Yet it was these extended family and community networks of support—those who kept and raised the children left behind, who loaned the money for the journey, and who were the audience and recipients of these images—that made these migrations both possible and imaginable. The cultures of migration that emerged early in the history of Anglophone Caribbean islands was wholly dependent on these alternative family and kinship structures—structures that had developed there to sustain family relations characterized by extended absences and intermittent presences over expansive cartographies and multiple generations.[57]

When we attend to the harmonics of the ensemble performances captured in these images, their dissonant versioning of gender and sexuality confirms these cultural formations. Here the link between sexuality and respectability registers *in the break* of cultural difference, but not *as a break* from the seriality of this archive. In other words, this image registers *a cut of continuity* rather than rupture as an important variation on the same theme. For this seemingly exceptional image is the necessary counterpart and ever-present supplement to the performances of female respectability, industriousness, and virtue staged in the majority of women's portraits in this collection.

In this context, photographic portraiture was a technological medium adapted and adopted as a practice that facilitated linkage, affiliation, and intense affective attachments. These photographs are images that enacted the subjects these individuals were or aspired to be; subjects who indexed the diasporic attachments and associations of the sitters, senders, and recipients of these images as an important social and cultural adhesive connecting them to individuals far away. While such indexical performances frequently attempted to sing a happy, optimistic song, they are also performances that may or may not have been true and, at times, played both off tempo and slightly out of tune. These images at times attempted to drown out or cover over a world of less pleasant melodies. For although they register as profoundly aspirational, this aspiration was tested by repeated disappointment, deferral, and disillusionment.

In her reading of this very different set of photos from the Dyche archive, Courtman points out that such images articulate important tensions within diasporic aspiration, for many West Indians failed to find employment at the level they were promised or at equivalent levels to those of white British workers. She cites nursing as one notorious example of such discrimination against black women, as one of the prime occupations that brought Caribbean women to the United Kingdom in this period. As she writes,

> A Dyche photograph shows a nurse in a starched and immaculate uniform; she proudly carries a pile of textbooks to suggest she is on the way up, advancing her knowledge and training. But it is unclear whether her uniform might be that of a State Registered or State Enrolled nurse. . . . To read this image culturally would be to acknowledge contradictory evidence about a profession that was to become a prime example of bitterness and disillusionment. Having fought hard in the Caribbean to become properly trained and qualified, women were recruited to nursing, tested in advance of joining and assured of proper career structure. On arrival in England, however, many nurses found themselves relegated to lower status jobs as auxiliaries or cleaners. . . . a photograph taken in a nursing uniform is [thus] a token of immense pride and a symbol of its wearer's successful fight against institutional racism.[58]

Photograph
Dyche
Birmingham.

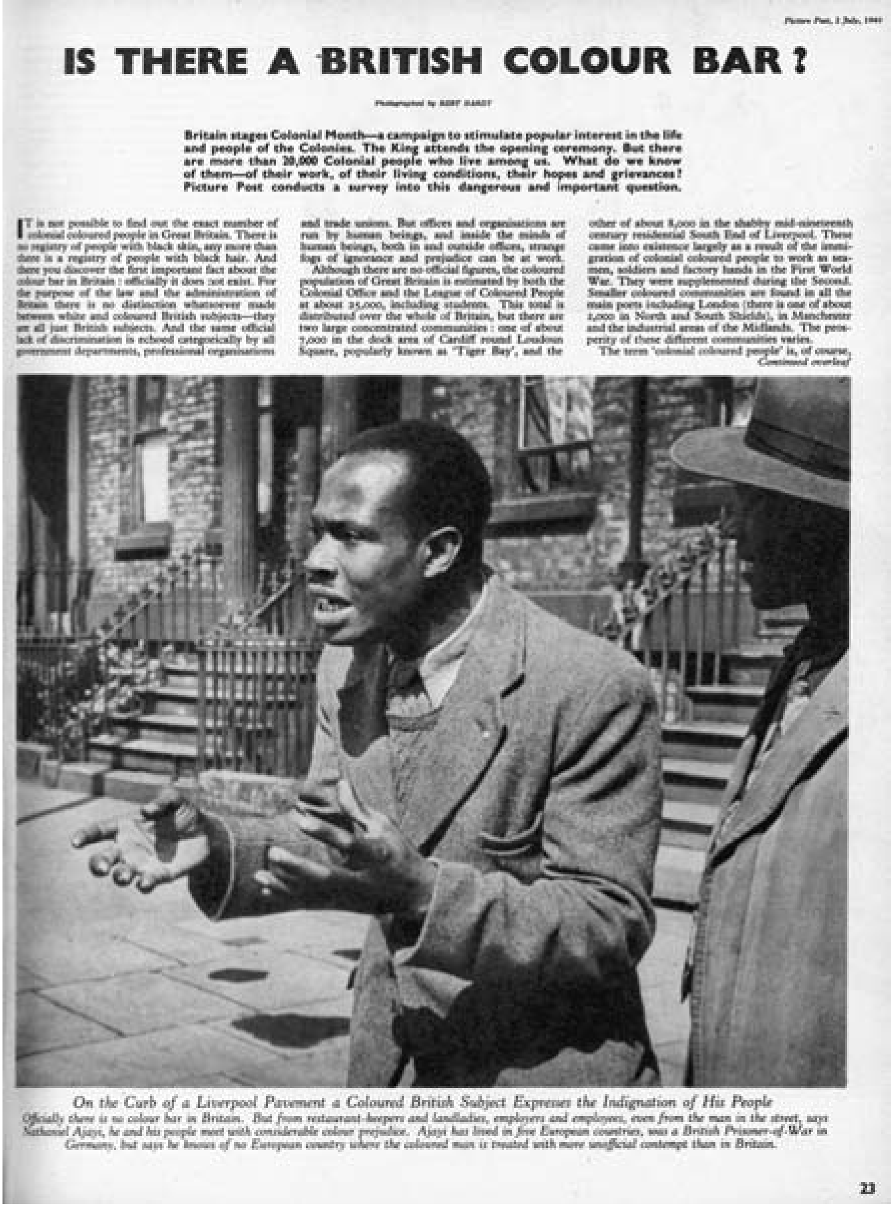
Photograph
Dyche
Birmingham.

Photograph
Dyche
Birmingham.

The portraits of the Dyche archive both resonate with the hopeful aspirations of diaspora and testify to the discontents and disappointments that were their backdrop. Those discontents were composed visually in a very different but highly recognizable form. It was a catalogue of images characterized not by the serial musics of the portrait, but by the narrativity of photojournalism. This visual catalogue narrates the racism, discrimination, and violence the Dyche portraits in many ways sought to sing over, drown out, and silence for families back home. It was a narrative that included jobs promised but not received on the basis of color; a narrative that often involved downward rather than upward mobility resulting from having to take positions below one's qualifications; a narrative of housing and benefits denied in spite of entitlement to the rights and privileges of British citizenship so highly touted as imperial beneficence abroad yet resoundingly rejected in the metropole when the empire came home.

From the late 1940s onward, numerous published photographs featured Afro-Caribbean migrants poised to take up the promises of employment and economic prosperity many felt they had earned through their allegiance and support of Britain in two world wars. Here photojournalism played a critical role in defining how this newly arrived population was seen and portrayed. Photographs of *Windrush* arrivals were published widely in mainstream newspapers and magazines, most famously, in *Picture Post*, whose significance in shaping British public perception has been examined in depth previously.[59] The images of West Indian migrants produced by journalists in their documentation of this population's arrival, settlement, and homemaking have made the *Windrush* migration one of the most iconic representations of Britain's multicultural history in a manner that inscribed these individuals in particular ways in the visual history of postwar Britain.

In contrast to the portraits we have just seen, these images are not necessarily musical in structure. Their genre, photojournalistic reportage, is highly narrative and depictive. Publications like *Picture Post* used photos not only to illustrate but to tell the story itself, frequently by way of captions that sought to narrate the images. *Picture Post*'s visualizations of this generation of West Indian migrants oscillate between the depiction of individuals and groups, shifting restlessly between huddled masses and lone travelers. Both these group and individual figurations have deeper gendered articulations. The figure of the lone black man depicted in these cityscapes is a man alone in the world yet a man making his own way. In spite of accompanying cap-



IS THERE A BRITISH COLOUR BAR?

Photographed by BERT HARDY

Britain stages Colonial Month—a campaign to stimulate popular interest in the life and people of the Colonies. The King attends the opening ceremony. But there are more than 30,000 Colonial people who live among us. What do we know of them—of their work, of their living conditions, their hopes and grievances? Picture Post conducts a survey into this dangerous and important question.

IT is not possible to find out the exact number of colonial coloured people in Great Britain. There is no registry of people with black skin, any more than there is a registry of people with black hair. And there you discover the first important fact about the colour bar in Britain: officially it does not exist. For the purpose of the law and the administration of Britain there is no distinction whatsoever made between white and coloured British subjects—they are all just British subjects. And the same official lack of discrimination is echoed categorically by all government departments, professional organisations and trade unions. But offices and organisations are run by human beings, and inside the minds of human beings, both in and outside offices, strange fogs of ignorance and prejudice can be at work.

Although there are no official figures, the coloured population of Great Britain is estimated by both the Colonial Office and the League of Coloured People at about 25,000, including students. This total is distributed over the whole of Britain, but there are two large concentrated communities: one of about 7,000 in the dock area of Cardiff round Loudoun Square, popularly known as 'Tiger Bay', and the other of about 8,000 in the shabby mid-nineteenth century residential South End of Liverpool. These came into existence largely as a result of the immigration of colonial coloured people to work as seamen, soldiers and factory hands in the First World War. They were supplemented during the Second. Smaller coloured communities are found in all the main ports including London (there is one of about 2,000 in North and South Shields), in Manchester and the industrial areas of the Midlands. The prosperity of these different communities varies.

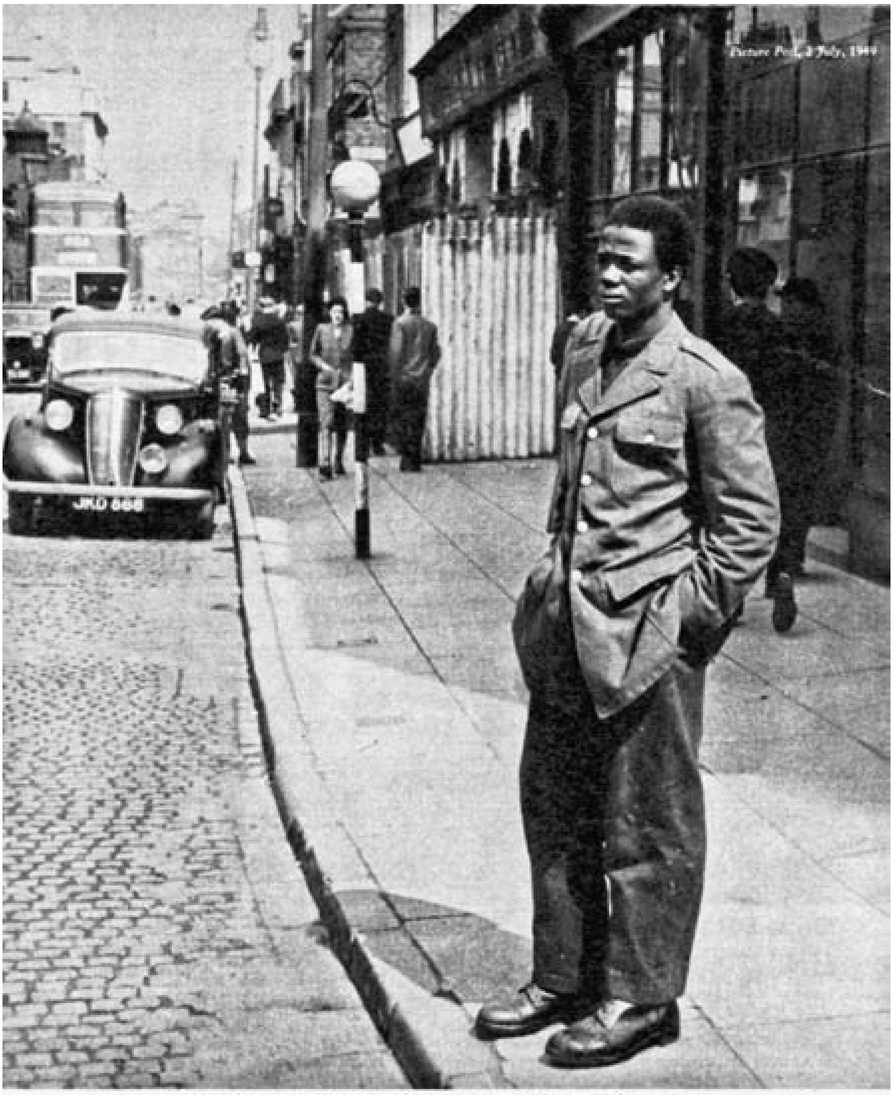
The term 'colonial coloured people' is, of course,

Continued overleaf

On the Curb of a Liverpool Pavement a Coloured British Subject Expresses the Indignation of His People

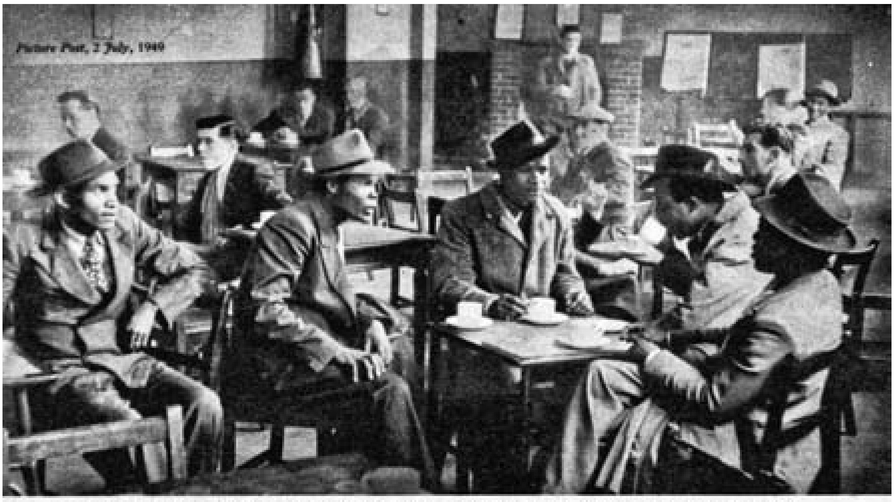
Officially there is no colour bar in Britain. But from restaurant-keepers and landladies, employers and employees, even from the man in the street, says Nathaniel Ajayi, he and his people meet with considerable colour prejudice. Ajayi has lived in five European countries, was a British Prisoner-of-War in Germany, but says he knows of no European country where the coloured man is treated with more unofficial contempt than in Britain.

“Is There a British Colour Bar?,” *Picture Post*, July 1949



The Stowaway Sees His Dreams Begin to Crumble

He stowed away from Lagos to realise his dream of working in the 'Mother Country.' The police gave him Service clothing, the Colonial Office gave him temporary lodging, the Assistance Board gave him £2 a week. But no one in Liverpool can give him a job. The danger is that he may drift.

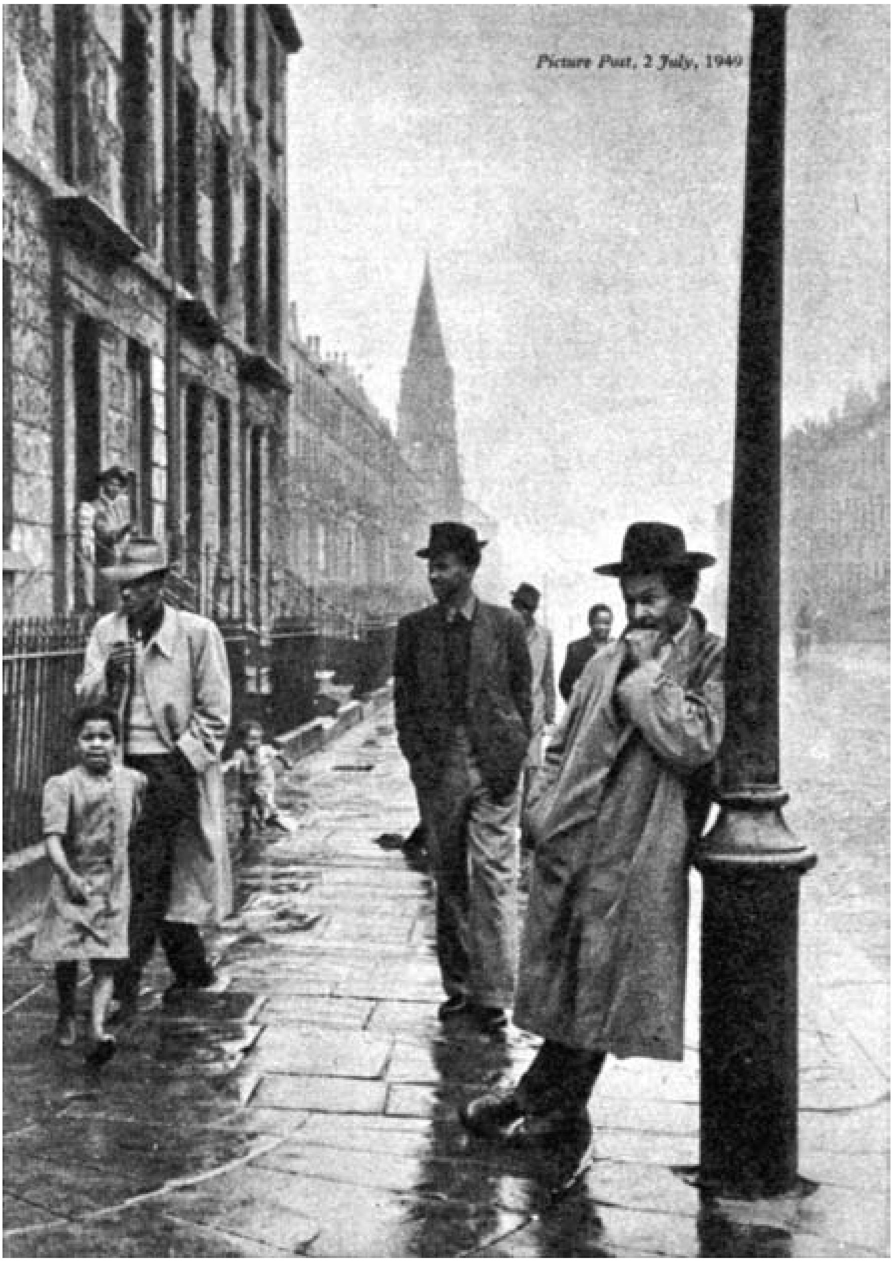


Picture Post, 2 July, 1949

Unestablished Seamen Sit Hoping for a Ship in a Seamen's Pool Canteen

They view life simply. In the war, when voyages were dangerous and Britain needed men, they could always get a ship. Now they need a job, but Britain has no ships for them.

"Is There a British Colour Bar?," *Picture Post*, July 1949

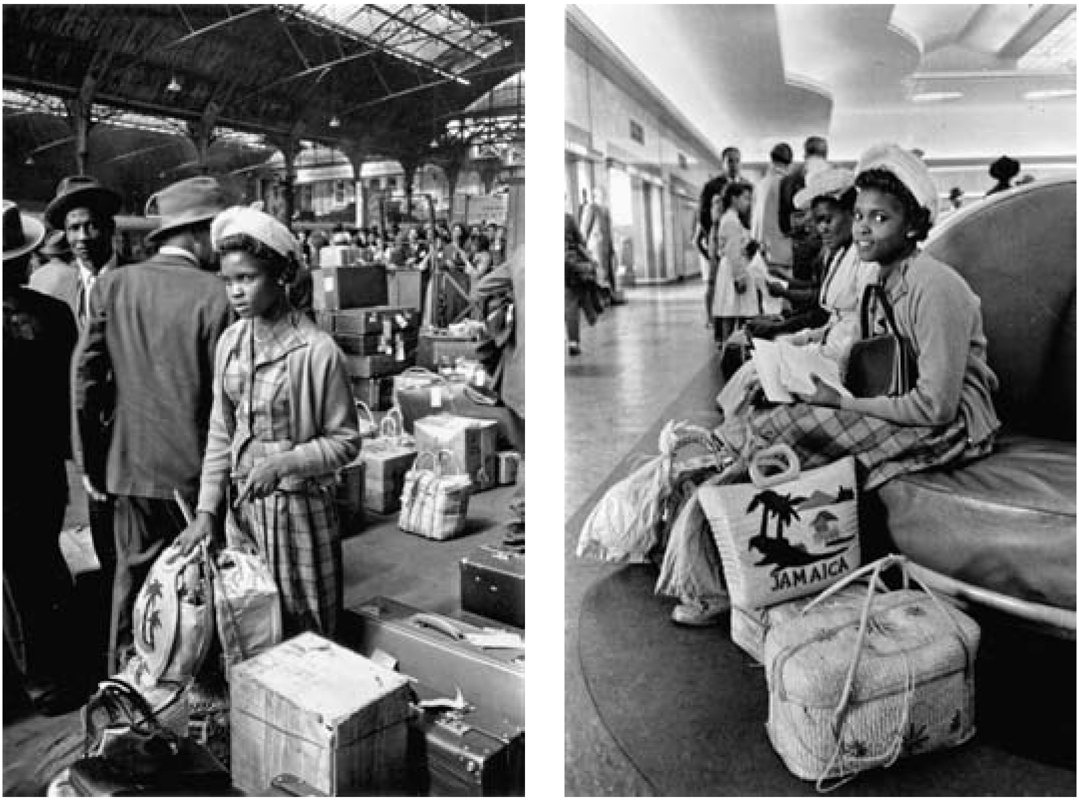

Picture Post, 2 July, 1949

“Is There a British Colour Bar?,” *Picture Post*, July 1949

tions and headlines of concern and dismay that ventriloquize the anxieties of a white British public, the gender of his isolation nevertheless situates him as the agent of his own destiny. These photos offer a striking visual accompaniment to Mary Chamberlain's watershed oral history of intergenerational Barbadian migration to the United Kingdom and to the highly gendered narrative structures revealed in her informants' accounts.[60] Chamberlain highlights that many of her male informants emphasized the spontaneity of their decision to migrate, which they narrated as tales of heroic adventure or masculine camaraderie against all odds. Their compelling accounts of agential autonomy often retrospectively justified the hurdles and travails they encountered on arrival in Britain with a happy end of accomplishment through cleverness and self-reliance.

The preceding images extend this theme through an atmospherics of shadow and light that amplify the risks and loneliness of diaspora that images like the Dyche portraits so effortfully tried to filter out or paper over. In the script this image writes, the lone male diasporic signifies autonomy, albeit without the economic opportunities that fueled his migration. As its caption confirms ("Social Segregation That Can Lead to Trouble"), such an image situates the black male diasporic as perpetually at risk and illustrates the potential dangers of diasporic failure. In the English imagination, those black migrants who did not attain the employment they sought became objects of concern and distrust, as idleness activated a threat to the availability to white femininity in other sites of urban sociality—a threat that revived and affirmed older discourses of moral panic about the dangers posed by black populations in the metropole and in the colonies.[61] These journalistic images of the *Windrush* generation provided another vehicle for the circulation of such moral panics. At the same time, they project the much-criticized anthropological script authored by Peter Wilson and Roger Abrahams to explain Caribbean masculinity wherein the black male finds affirmation through reputation and the male crew, and they transport this dynamic from the West Indies to the United Kingdom. In the scenes depicted in these frames, a sense of self bound up in autonomy and activity links the lone male as a daring and adventurous sexual agent in the anonymity of the city and the culture of the street as a site of asserting difference, independence, and autonomy.

Juxtaposed with this lone black man is the equally iconic lone black woman who figures somewhat differently.



“Immigrants Waiting in the Customs Hall at Southampton Docks,” May 1956 (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The first of these images overwrites autonomy with vulnerability in ways that evoke protection and caretaking. However, as Chamberlain demonstrates in her study, women were as autonomous as their male counterparts in migration, though in contrast to her male informants' emphasis on adventure, spontaneity, and risk-taking, women framed their journeys as deliberate and considered decisions to migrate, debated in the context of broader family networks and concerns. Reading against and beyond the script of photojournalism and its captions, we must also consider the second image of the same girl taken either moments before or just after, which finds her in the company of another woman. She no longer waits; she has in fact arrived. Her site of affirmation is not the protection of British paternalism but the collectivity of black womanhood. Diasporic autonomy is recovered in the context of the female networks that structured these migrations and often go unseen, undervalued, or unacknowledged in relation to a privileged male narrative of diasporic independence and singularity. These women's journeys were similarly motivated by the promises and expectations of economic opportunity and autonomy, as well as by a long-standing cultural tradition of travel and migration within the Caribbean.

The narrative of diasporic discontent in relation to and against which the cut of the Dyche portraits registers surely included as well events that occurred just fifty miles north of Birmingham in August 1958—events that emblazoned the pages of Jamaica's largest newspaper, the *Daily Gleaner*, under a headline that announced: "One Thousand Wage Bloody Battle in Nottingham Streets." The Nottingham riots followed the alleged attack of a white woman by an unnamed West Indian man, during which a police officer reported: "The riot was started by a group of 20 West Indians who set out . . . to avenge an attack on a fellow West Indian by a gang of teddy boys."[62] These events were followed a month later by more dramatic riots in the Notting Hill area of West London. As the *Daily Gleaner* also reported, during four consecutive nights of violence between black and white youth, the soundtrack to this scene was not music but penetrating calls to "Deport the niggers," "Lynch all niggers," "Kill the black bastards," and "Keep Britain white."[63] Less than a year later, those cries were gruesomely realized in the murder of the Antiguan-born Kelso Cochrane—a young man attacked by a group of young white men who reportedly shouted, "Hey Jim Crow," before killing Cochrane with a single stab wound to the chest.[64] While these events present moving depictions that mobilized important links of diasporic solidarity and resistance, the images they construct differ dramatically from those I have engaged in this chapter—images of a community not of its own making, and images that militate against the structure of a musical score.

Scoring the image-making practices displayed in portraits of the Dyche Studio against the visual archive of photojournalism helps us understand the significance of these images as a cultural event. The self-fashioned diasporic subjects that emerge in these photos compose improvised configurations of self and identity that demonstrate an enduring investment in and retention of West Indian aspirations against all odds. They are images that play off tempo but in time even with the negative forms of black visuality they sought to sing over, drown out, and suppress. To the extent that these portraits register the tensions within diasporic aspirations, the photography studio itself also functioned as a space that enacted these dynamics in interesting ways. For while the aspirations of many of these sitters were often thwarted in their daily lives, the Dyche Studio served as a momentary space of exception that pampered them and put them in charge. Caribbean migrants were received at the studio by the photographers' wives, who sat with them and solicited their vision of how they wanted to appear. They were offered dressing facilities, props, and accessories to help them achieve their desired look and then ushered into the studio, where their wishes were explained to the photographer as part of a collaborative image-making process. The visions and versions of themselves they sought to create catered to and were crafted both during the shoot and afterward, when they received proofs that were altered and retouched according to their wishes. These sitters were not only paying customers; they were also empowered consumers and agential subjects. The studio and these imaging practices were thus not outside the realm of politics, but instead constituted a space in which race, class, gender, and empire resignified in creative and collaborative ways.

Here the relationship between diasporic musical cultures and image-making practices and the synesthetic linkages between the sonic and the visual offer an illuminating lens for thinking through the photographs' role in the affective practices of diasporic formation. Similar to Paul Gilroy's conception of black music as an expressive vehicle of diasporic transcendence (what he describes as "a politics of fulfillment: the notion that a future society will be able to realize the social and political promise that present society has left unaccomplished"[65]), these photographs' aspirational registers demonstrate a similarly redemptive practice, albeit one where transcendence and redemption are neither escapist nor naive but pragmatically utopian.[66] The subjects constituted in and through these images aspired to transcend a here and now of racism, disappointment, and discrimination not as an erasure of those realities but as the foundation for building a better future for others. For what motivated the migration of both this generation and so many others was an explicit and unyielding investment in betterment and futurity—a future that would create a better world and more possibilities for their children and their communities, as well as for themselves.

Listening again to this archive of portraits, the cut of music and, more specifically, the musics of Sunday best return to resonate in yet another register. The ensemble performances this archive enacts parallels the call-and-response lyrics and rhythms of gospel in the black church. Central to the historic role of the church in black resistance and emancipation struggles in the Caribbean and the United States, gospel music hails its congregations as both subjects of their faith and subjects of a racialized cultural formation. Gospel articulates a tenacious faith in the face of overlapping histories of hope and despair—histories in which the cut of music was an expressive cultural practice of communication and connection, mourning and affirmation. Music and the cadences of gospel in particular provided a site of protest and pride, lament and resistance, whose rhythms invoke a relationality of suffering, struggle, redemption, and salvation. Those invocations do not merely reference the experience of families and communities separated and dispersed through the Atlantic slave trade but they cut back against it to produce affective connections between and among black communities in different locations and temporalities. The imaging practices of black families in diaspora mirror both these invocations and these connections, and in this way they enact the parallel tensions of diasporic aspiration and its discontents.

Break: The Shape of Things to Come . . .

LONDON, FALL 2009. It had been almost two years since I had been back to England, and it felt a bit like I had neglected an old friend. Originally planned as a conference trip, my journey was not really intended to include any research. But a few weeks before I left, my research assistant Samantha created an opportunity that I could not pass up. Her great-uncle was a Trinidadian tailor who had come to London in 1960. After working with the Dyche portraits for almost three years, I felt that I had committed hundreds of them to memory. Their poses, their faces, their gestures, props, and clothes had etched themselves into my memory to the point where I could describe many of them with my eyes closed. But I still wanted to know more, and Samantha said her great-uncle would be just the person to talk to. Her handwritten Post-it note hung on my computer screen for weeks: “Ashton Charles, 25 Wrottesley Road, Plumstead SE18, London. He would love to talk to you!”

Ashton told me to ring him when I got to London to set a date and time to meet, and I called him dutifully the morning after I arrived. He gave me detailed instructions on how to get to his home from my hotel in Bloomsbury, but stubborn bus fanatic that I am, I decided to take the number 53 bus all the way from Lambeth and tour a few old haunts from my previous lives in London along the way. Although I arrived nearly forty-five minutes late, he greeted me with a dashing white smile and a warm hug. And instantly I knew that this man was dangerous.

I had used the time on the number 53 to outline my questions for Ashton. I had come to talk to him about the people I had nearly memorized in the Dyche portraits and intended to enlist his help in dating and describing the striking West Indians in these images. I had planned to ask him to help me identify who they were in relation to the styles and sartoriality pictured in them. But Ashton was a man with his own story to tell. He had other things in mind and, as I would learn, more important things to teach me. He was born in the village of Point Fonte, an oil town in Trinidad, and his father was a Baptist minister in the village who worked alongside Ashton’s brothers in the oil fields. But Ashton had no taste for those fields. By the time he was nineteen he had his own tailor shop with seven employees. He had gotten his start making trousers, adapting US-style slacks by changing them to look more like those he admired in old photos of his father. Rather than “drill cloth,” he made them out of gabardine. “And no pleats, more functional,” he said. “With a fob and slanted side pockets, so that when you put your money in, you couldn’t see it from the outside.” Ashton insisted that style was not just about looking good—it had to have a purpose. “Every detail must have a purpose.”

Ashton said that the success of his designs in Trinidad made him want more. He wanted to expand, but no one would rent to him. So he decided to leave. He said he never wanted to go to the United States—"never have, never will." The newsreels of life in the United States at the time, particularly of the events at Little Rock, influenced him greatly. He left for London in 1960 at the age of twenty-two. Like C. L. R. James, Ashton described arriving in a place he felt he already knew. Starting out in Ealing, Ashton worked his way up rapidly. After working for two weeks at his first job making cotton thread in a factory, he was promoted to foreman, making twenty pounds a week as the only black employee among much older white men. While walking down Carnaby Street, he described being hired on the spot by a tailor who admired the trousers his friend was wearing—trousers designed by Ashton. After a year of illness and recovery, he worked his way back into the business and was later hired by Huntsman and Sons, bespoke tailoring on Savile Row, eventually rising to the coveted position of cutter.

Sitting in Ashton's living room mesmerized by the story of his journey from Trinidad to Savile Row to Plumstead, I slowly began to insert myself back into the conversation by way of the images I had brought with me on my laptop. As I asked him about the clothing and styles these sitters were wearing, he began to rattle off descriptions and associations. He contrasted the straight-legged, narrow trousers of the 1960s with "ali-baba" or balloon trousers. "The balloon trousers were the ones they brought with them from the West Indies," he said. The 1950s zoot suits were meant to distinguish them from British suit style, though he added that in Trinidad the zoot suits were cut smaller and a little narrower. Of a man in a belted overcoat he pronounced, "Most of the time they're belted in the back. He's just showing off." He said the same of a man in a single-breasted, two-button jacket, who he explained was trying to look like an Englishman. There was the man wearing what he called a "lumber jack" dressing to look smart, and another wearing a sweater and ascot trying to look studious. He had terms for each of them that described not just what they were wearing but why they were wearing it, and what their aspiration meant.

But it was when we came to the suits, Ashton's stock in trade, that the full depth of his words became clear: "In the early 1960s, we bought suits on credit. No one had the money to buy a suit all at once. You might have it at home. You might even wear it. But you were still paying for it weekly. You even borrowed money for suits or to go home for carnival." As Ashton explained it, West Indians expressed themselves through style. His generation had come to England to "do better"—to make and have homes and to elevate themselves from working to middle class. And style was part of doing better. The portraits from the Dyche archive were what he described as "packaging." As he emphasized, "It was important that you sent home good packaging," and the photo was the packaging of affluence.

But it was also much more. For what Ashton made clear was that if these portraits were staged performances or packaging, there was still something beneath it. And for him, the suit was the key to understanding what lies beneath the pretty covering. Looking at a series of portraits of couples, Ashton remarked that these photographs also registered a change between "home and here." "The men in the photos could go into a shop and buy a suit. That wasn't possible in the West Indies. First of all at home, we only wore trousers and a shirt. But a suit makes you look completely different. Look at these people. Look at their faces and their bodies. Every face is smiling. Every stance is proud. And look at these couples. Look at how they're standing. We never had this closeness. The only time couples got this close was on their wedding day."

Ashton went on to explain what he saw as the relationship between the experience of migration and what he described as the "feeling" of these images. To him, the status shift his generation experienced in migration, while it did not always materialize economically, manifested as a feeling. And it was this feeling that these photos were made to show. Clothing was the package for those feelings and photographs were their medium of display and connection to folks at home. As I quizzed him to further describe what these individuals were wearing and to try to date them on that basis, Ashton indulged me, but at a certain point, he resisted. Rather than simply looking at the clothing, he insisted that I look beyond what I saw to see instead *the shape* of people in the photographs: "It's not just the style of clothes, it's the whole *shape* of people: their smiles, their shoulders, their back. Even how you put on a jacket says something about you. You see, the shape of people changed when they got here. It changed when they put on a suit they could buy in a store, even if they couldn't pay for it all at once. And it changed when they got the feeling of where they were standing."

I sat in Ashton's living room and listened eagerly as he taught me how to see these images as he did—through textures and cuts, fit and hang. I focused intently on "seeing feeling" not only through the details of clothing and style but also and equally important, through shape. Ashton also saw the cut of repetition in these images. It was a cut back to the multiple forms of respectability these West Indian subjects brought with them to the United Kingdom and adapted and reappropriated on arrival. It was also the cut of diaspora—a cut that picked up on the other side of the ocean to move forward from a new aspirational place. It was a place that Ashton recognized in the cuts he knew best: in the shape of a person and the cut of a suit.

Coda

In her 1999 essay on the Dyche collection, "What's Missing from This Picture?," Courtman cautions that these images' anonymity almost invites fictionalization. She warns that the creation of narratives about their sitters has problematic implications and reminds us that such objects are always about the people they figure and that the agency of members of these communities to define their own self-presentation was historically quite limited.[67] Yet as I have argued throughout this book, it is equally important to theorize how such photographs function as images and as practices of social and cultural enunciation that exceed their biographical details. What is central to my own approach to these images is the conviction that understanding their significance as sites of enunciation requires modes of interpretation that engage their affective and semiotic capacity to marshal and transport the desires and imagination of their sitters and their viewers in ways that both did and did not always correspond to their intentions. This was true at the time of their production and circulation and continues to be the case today with respect to contemporary audiences both within this community and in other interpretive settings—settings that include the diverse publics of the museum, the archive, and the academy. Like the black German family archives explored in the preceding chapters, the Dyche archive is similarly subject to multiple haptic temporalities that circumscribe both the limits and possibilities of knowing the full complexity of their affects.

Let me conclude this chapter by posing the obvious question: Why reach so far afield to think these images through the idea of a score or the structure of music? The answer lies in the character of the archive in question and the structure of these images' production as what we must consider a cultural "event." Music offers a generative way of accounting for three particularly salient features of this collection: its *serial character* (continuity of form); its *simultaneity* (the collective production and circulation of images at and around the same time by a group of people as a culturally coordinated practice); and *the volume* of its production as an eventlike phenomenon of the historical past and as a set of images we encounter less as individual portraits than as an archive viewed retrospectively from the present. Music and score allow us to engage the aesthetic experience of these images (both present and past), as well as their common structural patterns while refusing to reduce them to genre or form alone. They give us access to some of the patterns that resonate across the sonic and the visual and allow us to see their repetitions as an interactive seriality that resonates within this collection of images in ways that connected their sitters, viewers, and recipients through improvisations that make them register with particular affects. The rhythms, hum, and patterns that these portraits evoke are produced through their repetitive predictability, yet it is also produced temporally through their consignation and domiciliation as an archive and a set. The multiple temporalities of their rhythms and their hum was created as well at the moment of their production as images that sought connection—images that wanted to brag, wanted to front and show off, and yet still yearned to hug and touch, weep and hide, return home and to stay away at the same time. Their rhythms and their hum confront us in this way with an intricate correlation between affect and archive.

And where does this emphasis on the cut of music and the serial registers of these images leave us? In the postwar Caribbean community, studio photography and portraiture resignified black people's everyday image-making as an active process that created the subjects we recognize within the frame. Like ensemble performers, Caribbean migrants used studio portraiture to improvise and instantiate themselves as British subjects in relation to a Britishness that both actively invited their membership and participation in English society and rejected them on arrival. Engaging these images through their musics—their rhythms, harmonies, synchronies, and pitches—allows us to access their meanings not merely as documents but as animate and affective sites of performance, projection, desire, and improvisation of the selves, subjects, status, and social relations they appear to record. Off tempo but in time, these images' musicality voices some of the diverse meanings and practices of self-fashioning that created the possibility for the articulation we now call black Britain. They voice, as well, a further and resounding affirmation that the image is and will remain a serious matter for black folks.

EPILOGUE

I heard he sang a good song
I heard he had a style . . .

On the night my mother died, we ate Kentucky Fried Chicken for the first time. A lot changed in the moment of her death, but at the time, Kentucky Fried Chicken was for me the most vivid and immediate marker of that shift. A nurse anesthetist by profession and, by many accounts, quite stoic to stories that would shock or repel most people, my mother was one of the true believers in the urban legend that the Colonel had fried up a rat and sold it, and that black folks had died eating it. Kentucky Fried Chicken was neither purchased nor allowed to cross our threshold while Mommy was alive. But everything changed in the week she died. We got to stay home from school, watch TV, and wear our pajamas for most of the day, and our house was full of people. Neighbors, church folks, and friends stopped by at what seemed like all hours, and family members drove in from far and wide. And as I would witness time and again at the passing of other family members, they invariably brought tons of food. Of the vast array of sweet and savory dishes that filled every available space on our kitchen counters, we gravitated immediately to the red and white stripes of that majestic cardboard bucket. My sister, brother, and I whispered conspiratorially as we stealthily snatched our first pieces. I secretly feared our mother might strike us down from on high as we ate, vengeful at such a betrayal so soon after her departure. As I licked my fingers and savored the taste of that famous secret recipe, I felt guilty but grateful that my mother had spared us.

But my guilt extended beyond the chicken. It felt like a big party during the week Mommy died, and as people continued to collect at our house, it seemed strange to be having such a good time. And the best time of all came on the night of the funeral, when my mom's and dad's friends and family descended en masse on our home. I remember passing from room to room being lovingly poked or tickled or hugged by a group of good-humored (and probably tipsy) mourner-revelers and listening intently to their stories of my mom and their exploits with her in various phases of her life. Looking back, I can remember occasional looks of compassion or concern that appeared conscientiously restrained from crossing the line to pity. But mostly I remember the smiles and the possibly forced or feigned cheer of people I had known or who had known me all my life. Looking around for my dad, I remember finding him in the basement, a space that doubled as our playroom and a party room for our parents. When my parents refinished it years before, they had installed a built-in bar and stereo system, which served them honorably for years of their rotating schedule of poker, pinochle, and whist matches. And it was in full effect that evening. My dad's friends stood around the bar while he manned the stereo changing records. Which is where Roberta Flack entered the picture . . .

Strumming my pain with his fingers
Singing my life with his words
Killing me softly with his song . . .

It was one of my father's favorite songs. Flack was a DC treasure and my father's contemporary. She was a Howard University alum, and so was he. She was a North Carolinian, and so was he. And she had a voice that was like balm to the soul. He put the record on and asked us to sing it for him. It was late in the evening, and I do not remember where my brother was at the time. Being only six, he had probably been put to bed by my grandmothers or aunts. But my sister and I were allowed to stay up late and had snuck our way down to the basement. We knew all the words to that Roberta Flack album and sang her song loudly through the bluish smoke of the many lit cigarettes that filled our basement. And my father hummed and swayed as we did. When it was over, he played it again and begged us to sing it one more time, and then one more time after that. He closed his eyes and continued to sway and hum, sometimes snapping his fingers, sometimes singing along.

He seemed transported by that song. My mom had died, and he was both upbeat and sad. It was clear even then that he was devastated by this loss. He was overwhelmed by its enormity and was marshaling his strength and the formidable resources of our family to deal with it. But not quite yet, for in that moment he seemed to be giving himself wholly and completely to the glorious Ms. Flack. I felt shy and confused singing in front of everyone. But we did it anyway because it felt important; it felt important for my dad. As we sang that song, I remember having no idea what the lyrics meant. They confuse me even now. But I can still see my father swaying with his eyes closed and humming along.

For the longest time I could not listen to Roberta Flack's signature song. I could not hear it without being transported back to our basement, that smoke-filled room, and the look on my father's face. I have tried hard to describe that look—eyes closed, head tilted slightly upward, lips pressed together in a hum—but I can do no more than list what seem like a few empty details. I can say, however, that it was not just the lyrics that produced that look, though they certainly gave expression to something deep within him. It was the rhythms and melodies of her soulful music that moved him. They moved him to play that record over and again; they moved him to sway back and forth in front of his eleven- and thirteen-year-old daughters; and they moved him to hum instead of cry.

My father still loves to hum. He hums incessantly and involuntarily and does not even notice when he is humming. My sister, my aunts, and I all have voicemails where my father forgets to hang up the phone and you here nothing but humming in the background. Humming keeps him company as its rhythm and melody move him from thought to thought, from task to task, and from place to place. I believe humming calms my dad and gives him solace. I believe Roberta Flack's music did the same on the night of my mom's funeral. I know that it did for me, since I did not understand the lyrics and was too caught up in the moment to ask what they meant or why we were singing them over and over. While I am not sure if my father or my sister remember that night, if they remember it in the same way as I do, or even if my memories are accurate, to me that song connected us in ways I had no words to describe. It bridged a gap of longing and loss, mourning and despair, fear and confusion for an eleven-year-old, a thirteen-year-old, and their forty-three-year-old father who had just lost a mother and a wife.

This book began with a reflection on my own family photographs and how those photos moved me and members of my family. It explored how such movements proceed through different modalities of touch that structure the photographic image, and it engaged the haptics of family photographs in terms of their materiality, their tactility, and their capacity to affect us. It sought as well to link the haptic affects of family snapshots to the sonic registers of an archive of photographic portraits. It engaged the affective "hum" of these portraits as the animating and irrepressible lyric of this archive, and it considered the musics of these images and how their musicality both scores and underscores an affective practice of image-making that forges links and connections among families and communities in diaspora.

But this story of my early memory images of the intensity of a song and a hum that moved and connected me raises an unanswered and unspoken question that seethes intermittently throughout this text: what about my own family photos? Should I have included them here, and if so, could I have read them in the same way as those I have engaged in these pages? My honest answer is that I cannot. Try as I might, my ability to engage my own family photos is hindered if not completely obstructed by the very forms of affect I attempt to read in the images of the families featured in these chapters. My wounded relation to my family photos hampers my ability to produce nuanced readings that do justice to their complexity; it hampers my ability to produce readings equivalent to those presented in the preceding chapters. Yet this wounded relation is, at the same time, a powerful demonstration of this book's central argument: that photographs are extremely affective objects.

Like many of the images discussed in this text, the affects of my own family photos are structured not only by what we see or what is visible in them but by what we enact through them. My family photos are structured by their enactment of a seething absence: the absent but unavoidable presence of a mother I can remember but never really knew. When I look at these photos, I see them on a timeline of before and after—an imagined teleology of wholeness, rupture, and fragmentation. Photographs that capture her presence, image the presence of loss, and the loss of her presence in my life. Photos that mark her absence, outline the ways we sought to fill the gap left by her departure, and the supplementarity of love, support, or stability, anger, rebellion, or silence that we produced in the face of that gap.

When I attempt to read my family photos alongside those of other families, my analytic skills fade as I try to engage images in which I see only before and after, rather than the multiple haptics of touch, sonic rhythms, synchronies, ensemblic improvisations or experience the humming of music. Affect saturates these images and dulls my ability to produce a critical reading—at least in this affective temporality, at least for right now. For at this moment in time, my family photos are caught in an affective temporality that, for me, is difficult to navigate and impossible to escape. Yet in a book on the affects of family photographs, the uncommented absence of my own photos would be a glaring gap of incommensurability; it would be a deafening and ethically untenable silence that would undermine much of what this project attempts to achieve. It is, however, *through* their absence and the meaning of that absence that I have sought to elucidate the intensity of these images and the strategies I have found most effective for engaging their intensity. Thus, while I find myself ill-equipped to adequately read my own family photographs because of the excavation of loss it requires and my own incapacity to analyze the photographs in the face of this loss, I can engage them indirectly, nevertheless. I engage them and I engage their affects through the filtered images of my memory and, in particular, through my memories of the affects of my father and my recollections of his responses. I engage them as well through necessary forms of triangulation that give me mediated but productive access to why such images—both remembered and photographic—matter to us. And I engage them through the photographs of others and through the sensory registers that make photographs meaningful.

My turn to the sensory, to the haptic, and the sonic is, in this way, an attempt to illuminate and materialize affect and the ways it attaches to objects, to people, and indeed, to other affects. Like a windowpane on a cold day, photographs are a locus of affective condensation that transforms affects into feeling, emotion, and sensation. My wounded kinship with my own family photos provides both a primary motivation and a significant reinforcement for my conviction that such images are powerful objects of affective condensation that register both the intensity of positive affects and the equally intense wounds of negative affects.

I began this exploration of the affects of family photos by citing Wexler's discerning insight that photographs are "a record of choices," and I end it with two recitations of a hum. Declining to read my own family photos records an equally significant choice, though it is not a choice to absent, silence, or obscure them. As we have seen, absence often seethes undeniably, and silence can resonate quite loudly. My choice not to read my own family photos records a seething presence. Like my father's hum, it is a record of the ever-present wounded kinship and the dialectic of belonging and unbelonging, presence and absence, of lost and found, orphaned and fugitive relations that is constitutive of both the family and diaspora.

Throughout these pages, a related hum has appeared in multiple forms—a hum that takes up the patterns and structures of music, or alternatively, the touch of familial, diasporic, or community relation. Yet it is a hum whose echoes we sense, as well as produce, as an affective vibration that is conscious and unconscious, quantitative and qualitative, and noticed selectively when we attune ourselves to the multiple sensory modalities through which particular sets of photographs register. It is a hum that connects my responses to my own family photos to the readings I offer here of black European vernacular photography. Yet this connection is not a form of equivalence. It is a linkage of intensity produced through the yearning and the necessity to create bonds of relation that mark us as kin, while distinguishing the differences, distance, and damage that those relations—diasporic, domestic, familial, communitarian, and national—also and invariably engender.

I have no photographs from the night my mother died or from the week of ambivalent revelry I associate with it. I cannot say I want any, for if I had them, I could probably neither look at them nor share them. I have instead the vivid and visceral, though certainly flawed and partial, images I have described here. I have the memories of a song I can barely and only recently listen to, the image of the swaying movement of my father's body, the reverberations of a hum, and the enduring look on his face. There are some moments, some feelings and emotions, and, indeed, some affects that cannot be captured in images and that escape visual capture even in the images that we have.

NOTES

Introduction. On Family Tales

1. "As the Dutch historian Gustaaf Reiner suggested half a century ago, it might be useful to replace the idea of sources with that of 'traces' of the past in the present. The term 'traces' refers to manuscripts, printed books, buildings, furniture, the landscape . . . as well as to many different kinds of images: paintings, statues, engravings, photographs. The use of images by historians cannot and should not be limited to 'evidence' in the strict sense of the term. . . . Room should also be left for what Francis Haskell has called 'the impact of the image on the historical imagination.' . . . They [images] bring home to us what we may have known but did not take so seriously before. In short, images allow us to 'imagine' the past more vividly. As the critic Stephan Bann puts it, our position face-to-face with an image brings us 'face-to-face with history.'" Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 13.
2. Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 133.
3. Ibid. (emphasis added).
4. Ibid., 167.
5. Berger, "Understanding a Photograph," 292.
6. The curator and art historian Sarah Greenough emphasizes: "The vast majority of [vernacular] photographs . . . were not made by people who considered themselves artists, nor were they made to be art. Rather, created as personal, social, governmental, or scientific documents, they were made as cherished keepsakes of beloved friends or family members, as evidence of squalor and deprivation or for use in social or governmental reform, or as records of new worlds. And just as often, the primary agent behind their creation and their intended initial use was not the photographer, the mere operator of the camera, but the individual who conceived and commissioned them. These kinds of photographs, which are now commonly described as vernacular and under-

stood to be any photography not made specifically as art, are also very often anonymous." Greenough and Waggoner, with Kennel and Witkovsky, *The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888–1978*, 5. See also Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies"; and Batchen, *Each Wild Idea*, 56–82.

7. Wallis and Willis, *African American Vernacular Photography*, 9.
8. Ibid., 13.
9. Massumi, "Pleasures of Philosophy," xvi. Michael Hardt points to Baruch Spinoza as the direct or indirect source of much contemporary theory on affect. As Hardt explains, Spinoza's concept of affect centers on two key affective "correspondences": that the mind's power to think or act corresponds with the body's power to act; and that the power to act corresponds to the power to be affected. Affects in this way straddles the assumed divide between mind and body, and between actions and passions. Echoing Eve Sedgwick's use of affect to refuse myopic forms of dualistic thinking, an analytics of affective correspondences foregrounds the inseparability of the mind's power to think and the body's power to act alongside a corresponding inseparability of and connection between the power to act and the power to be affected. Hardt's notion of "affective labor" is particularly useful in this context as an example that brings together and grasps simultaneously both the corporeal and the intellectual aspects of new modes of production and labor that engage at once with rational intelligence and passions and feelings. Like Spinoza's theory of affects more generally, the perspective of affects forces us to focus on the correspondences that extend across the divides of mind/body and reason/passion toward a goal of what Hardt contends is the possibility of "a new ontology of the human with direct implications for politics." See Hardt, "Foreword."
10. Shouse, "Feeling, Emotion, Affect," paragraph 5.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Tompkins, *Exploring Affect*, 54.
14. Shouse, "Feeling, Emotion, Affect," 6; emphasis added.
15. Ibid., 14.
16. In "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," Hall describes two kinds of identity: identity as a form "being" that provides a sense of unity and commonality; and identity as a process of "becoming," a process of identification that demonstrates forms of rupture and discontinuity. "Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being.' It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (225).

Part 1. Family Matters

1. See also Bechhaus-Gerst and Klein-Arendt, *Die (Koloniale) Begegnung*, 197–210; Campt and Grosse, "'Mischlingskinder' in Nachkriegsdeutschland"; Grosse, Lemke Muniz de Faria, and Campt, "Black Germans and the Politics of Imperialist Imagination, 1920–1960"; Grosse, "Zwischen Privatheit und Öffentlichkeit"; Campt and Gilroy, *Der Black Atlantic*; Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*; Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins*; Lemke Muniz de Faria, *Zwischen Fürsorge und Ausgrenzung*.
2. Oguntoye, *Eine Afro-Deutsche Geschichte*; Reed-Anderson, *Eine Geschichte von Mehr als hundert Jahren*; Oguntoye, *Rewriting the Footnotes*; Grosse, "Zwischen Privatheit und Öffentlichkeit"; Bechhaus-Gerst and Klein-Arendt, *Afrikanerinnen in Deutschland und Schwarze Deutsche*; Van der Heyden and Zeller, *Kolonialmetropole Berlin*; Ames, Klotz, and Wildenthal, *Germany's Colonial Pasts*.
3. Achenbach, *Fasia*.
4. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 8.
5. Equally significant in this context is the work of Patrizia di Bello and Carol Mavor. See Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*; and Mavor, *Pleasures Taken*.
6. Edwards, *Photographs, Objects, Histories*, 1.
7. Ibid., 2. As Edwards and Hart make clear in their introduction, this approach is part of a broader "material turn" in anthropology and cultural studies that stresses the complex social meanings engendered by the sociability of objects. They anchor this material turn in Daniel Miller's foundational work on material culture and its emphasis on the close relation between materiality and social biography. As they contend, a critical focus on the role of the material in understanding images highlights that it is "not merely the image *qua* image that is the site of meaning, but that its material and presentational forms and the uses to which they are put are central to the function of a photograph as a socially salient object. . . . these material forms exist in dialogue with the image itself to create the associative values placed on them" (2). See also Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* and *Material Culture*.
8. Ibid., 3.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., 9.
11. See also Patrizia di Bello's explication of the relationship between photography, vision, and touch in *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 139–60.
12. Marks, *The Skin of the Film* and *Touch*.
13. Marks, *Touch*, 2.
14. Ibid., 4.
15. My thanks to Wahneema Lubiano for adding this important dimension to my thinking of this concept.

Chapter 1. Family Touches

1. Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 3.
2. Hall, "Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance." See also Brent Hays

Edwards's masterful exegesis of Hall's notion of diaspora as articulation as it emerged from his early engagement with Antonio Gramsci in "The Uses of Diaspora," 59–60.

3. Brown, *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail*, 99–100.
4. Raiford, "Notes toward a Photographic Practice of Diaspora," 212 (emphasis added).
5. Ibid., 213.
6. Lebzelter, "Die 'Schwarze Schmach'"; Marks, "Black Watch on the Rhine"; Nelson, "'The Black Horror on the Rhine'"; Reinders, "Racialism on the Left."
7. Burleigh and Wippermann, *The Racial State*; Campt, *Other Germans*; El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*; Friedländer, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide*; Kesting, "Forgotten Victims"; Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims*; Pommerin, *Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbastarde*; Proctor, *Racial Hygiene*.
8. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 14.
9. Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 21 (emphasis added).
10. Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory," 225–28.
11. Patrizia di Bello argues for an explicitly feminist reading of the haptics of early photography in the context of women's photographic albums, arguing that "women used the feminist space of the album, a space that too had been shaped physically and socially by modernity, in ways that were not realistic nor failed attempts to be 'arty,' but used the realistic charge of photographs to give power to their fantasies and validate their experiences, represented phenomenologically—how they felt, including to touch—rather than according to established modes of representation" (*Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 27). She continues: "Touch was a sense most often associated with women and with feminine activities like weaving. . . . nineteenth-century feminine culture endowed women's touch with almost magic powers to bring harmony within the home, and in the relationships between family and friends. Often described as a lady's touch, it had the power to personalize bought, possibly machine-made goods, into signs of human care. Women's hands changed the meaning of objects from commodities valued by price, into fetishes endowed with affective powers. . . . We find a visual echo of these activities in the recurring representations in women's albums of the 1860s of personal or domestic items, personalized by the addition of photographic portraits. . . . These pages seem to illustrate not only real or fantasized objects, but also the complex relations between objects and people as arranged and manipulated by the hand of an accomplished woman." (145)
12. Maurice Merleau-Ponty as quoted in Stewart, "Prologue," 31.
13. Stewart, "Prologue," 31–32.
14. In *Pleasures Taken*, Carol Mavor reads the synesthetic nexus between sight and touch and the haptic encounter with the photographic image through the work of Charles Hay Cameron: "'It is by the sense of touch only that we at once acquire the notion of externality, and perceive external things. By the eye we perceive nothing but light, with its varieties of colour and intensity. Experience, however, very soon teaches us that many of these varieties belong to objects of touch, and, as soon as this connexion between the two senses is once firmly established in our minds, we trust our eyes to give us information in all ordinary cases, concerning the distances and figures of external objects; and the touch, which originally explained to us the meaning of the modification of light, is neglected, like the Dictionary of language with which it has made us familiar.'

I am taken by the words of Charles Hay Cameron, which tell us that we initially understood how to see the world through touch. . . . And according to C. H. Cameron, we still understand vision through the haptic; it is only because we have become so firmly entrenched in the connection that we no longer recognize it. Touch is the 'Dictionary' for sight" (69).

15. Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies," 263.
16. Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 137.
17. Marks, *The Skin of the Film*, 184.
18. The so-called father of eugenics, Francis Galton, saw photography as a technology that, analyzed through the older lens of the supposedly scientific principles of physiognomy, produced more precise visual evidence of hereditary laws and the superiority of racial purity. As Smith details, one of Galton's more effective deployments of photography for eugenics combined the use of family photos and family genealogy as part of public contests that solicited the submission of family albums and photographs to illustrate the purity of lineage in support of eugenic claims to the superiority of racial purity (Smith, *American Archives*, 5–132). As Allan Sekula convincingly argued, photographic technology was appropriated by the eugenic movement alongside similar uses of the photographic image pioneered by Alphonse Bertillon in the field of criminology to catalogue and classify individual bodies in an attempt to scientifically codify physical attributes of deviance, criminality, and pathology seen as indicators of deeper underlying social inadequacies. Sekula describes the formative body of images and imaging practices generated by Galton and Bertillon as a "shadow archive" of photography in relation to which a dominant, normative image of humanity was negatively constituted through an emerging archival logic of the visual in this period ("The Body and the Archive," 10). Building on Sekula, Smith argues that "over the course of the nineteenth century, 'baby's picture,' the 'treasure' of the family photograph album, became the evidence of the eugenicist album, the record of ancestral physical features and their supposed analogues, namely, racialized character traits" (*American Archives*, 125). She concludes: "We can begin to read the growing interest in 'baby's picture' not only as a commercial fad or a sentimental ritual but also as a desire to delineate the future of racial bloodlines through photographic artifacts. In this expanded cultural context, 'baby's picture' signifies not only as a sentimental memento but also as the scientific 'evidence' of the family's racial reproduction" (132).
19. Julia Hirsch, *Family Photographs*, 81.
20. Wexler, "Seeing Sentiment"; Smith, *American Archives*, 118–22; see also Stokes, "The Family Photograph Album," 194.
21. Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 203.
22. Ibid., 205–6.
23. Ibid., 202–12.
24. Wexler, "Seeing Sentiment," 255.
25. Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 7.
26. Indexicality is most frequently associated with the work of the US philosopher and pragmatist Charles Sanders Peirce, who in his tripartite definition of iconic, indexical, and symbolic signs defined the index as a type of sign that *references* a truly existing thing. Building on Peirce, Roland Barthes elucidated the indexical nature of the photograph as

a technological innovation that offers a form of representation capturing a material trace of the object before the camera at the moment of the image's production. As Marianne Hirsch explains, Barthes's theorization of the specifically indexical nature of the photograph extends Peirce's notion of the index. "[In the Peircean system] the photograph is defined as an index based on a relationship of contiguity, of cause and effect, like a *footprint*. Thus a photograph of footprints in the snow is a trace of a trace. At the same time, it is also an icon, based on physical resemblance or similarity between the sign and the referent. In his *Camera Lucida*, Roland Barthes goes beyond Peirce when he insists that photography holds a *uniquely* referential relation to the real, defined not through the discourse of artistic representation, but that of magic, alchemy, indexicality: *I call 'photographic referent' not the* optionally *real thing to which an image or a sign refers but the* necessarily *real thing which has been placed before the lens, without which there would be no photograph. . . . The photograph is literally an emanation of the referent* ("Surviving Images," 1, 14; emphasis added).

27. In designating three types of signs "indispensable to all kinds of reasoning," Peirce distinguished the indexical sign as representing its object by actually being connected to it (*The Collected Papers*, 195). Whereas an icon represents its object through imitation, an index is seen to stand in for that which it figures. As Peirce writes in "What Is a Sign?," photographs are both iconic (i.e., they have a mimetic relationship to their referent) and indexical (they share an ostensible physical connection and correspondence to the referent), for they "are in certain respects exactly like the objects they represent. But this resemblance is due to the photographs having been produced under such circumstances that they were physically forced to correspond point by point to nature. In that aspect, then, they belong to the second class of signs, those by physical connection" (6). What constitutes a given sign's indexical nature is an ostensibly real or direct connection to its object. It is in this sense that the photograph is a trace that "stands in for" its absent referent and functions as an indexical sign. The exact likeness captured in the photographic image and its inextricability from the reference it captures also constitute its iconicity. However, Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson maintain that "any identification of icon and the entire domain of the visual is wrong." They point out that Peirce is careful to specify that "the iconic is a quality of the sign in relation to its object; it is best seen as a sign capable of evoking nonexistent objects because it proposes to imagine an object similar to the sign itself. Iconicity is in the first place *a mode of reading*, based on a hypothetical similarity between sign and object" ("Semiotics and Art History," 189). Bal's and Bryson's reading of Peirce differentiates the icon as neither realism nor "visuality in general" but constituted instead by and as "the *decision* to suppose that the image refers to something on the basis of likeness [that] is the iconic act, and a sense of specularity is its result" (190). On the other hand, for Bal and Bryson, Peirce's index is symmetrically opposed to the icon: "While the icon does not need the object to exist, the index functions precisely on the ground of that existence. His example suggests that real, existential *contiguity* between indexical sign and object (or meaning) is dispensable. But that existence need not be confined to 'reality'; the indexical sign and its meaning can entertain such a contiguous relationship within the image itself" (190).
28. The notion of "performative indexicality" I develop here elaborates the work of scholars such as John Tagg, Elizabeth Edwards, and Nicholas Mirzoeff who also emphasize that

the photograph's indexicality has an equally significant performative dimension that enacts and thus produces that which it claims to record. See Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*; Mirzoeff, "The Shadow and the Substance"; and Edwards, *Raw Histories*. As Edwards writes, "Photographs have a performativity, an affective tone, a relationship with the viewer, a phenomenology, not of content as such, but as active social objects. . . . the heuristic device of performativity makes it possible to see images as active, as the past is projected actively into the present by the nature of the photograph itself and the act of looking at a photograph" (*Raw Histories*, 18). Citing Tagg's contention that photography is a medium with no inherent identity, but instead a technology constituted through the relations of power with which it is invested, Mirzoeff maintains that the photograph functions as a screen on which wider social forces become visible. The photograph thus operates dialectically, as an index of that which it attempts to capture visually, while simultaneously producing and becoming both entangled and invested in the meanings it produces. Because race is similarly a category of social differentiation that has no meaning outside of that produced socially and politically, photography thus appears to make race visible as "a process in which a 'nothing' is made visible by something that does not exist" ("The Shadow and the Substance," 111). To elaborate on Mirzoeff's idea, the performative indexicality of race in photography names a process of signification that materializes race as a meaningful category for understanding the individuals captured within the photographic frame, albeit in ways that engender a contradictory and contestatory racialized subject.

29. Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 8–11.
30. Mirzoeff, "The Shadow and the Substance: Race, Photography, and the Index," 111.
31. See Campt, *Other Germans*, 94–99.
32. Ibid., 73–79.
33. Ibid.
34. Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 21.
35. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 14.
36. The Ngandos' accounts are part of a larger collection of images and interviews contained in the private archive of the Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur and acquired by the archive's founders, Peter Martin and Christine Alonzo. Manga and Hertha Ngando shared their family history with Martin and Alonzo, as well as with the historian Tobias Nagl, who recorded their accounts in oral history interviews, along with those of other members of black German families from this rapidly disappearing generation of elders.
37. My thanks to Erica Fretwell for bringing this relation to my attention through her comments on an earlier version of this chapter.
38. Goldsby, *A Spectacular Secret*, 280; Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 76–77.
39. Cheng, *Second Skin*, 14.

Interstitial. The Girl and/in the Gaze

1. Curated by Sarah Greenough and Diane Waggoner, the exhibition *The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888–1978: From the Collection of Robert E. Jackson* was displayed at the National Gallery of Art in Washington from October to December 2007. The gallery gives

the following description on its website (http://www.nga.gov): "This exhibition of approximately 200 snapshot photographs chronicles the evolution of snapshot photography from 1888, when George Eastman first introduced the Kodak camera and roll film, through the 1970s. During this time it became possible for anyone to be a photographer, and snapshots not only had a profound impact on American life and memory, but they also influenced fine art photography. Organized chronologically, the exhibition focuses on the changes in culture and technology that enabled and determined the look of snapshots. It examines the influence of popular imagery, as well as the use of recurring poses, viewpoints, framing, camera tricks, and subject matter, noting how they shift over time. By presenting the history of snapshot photography instead of concentrating on thematic subject matter, the exhibition and accompanying catalogue mark a new approach to the genre." See also the exhibition catalogue, Greenough and Waggoner, with Kennel and Witkovsky, *The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888–1978*.

2. See Campt, *Other Germans*, 69–70.
3. "The actual image of woman as (passive) raw material for the (active) gaze of the man takes the argument a step further into the content and structure of representation, adding a further layer of ideological significance demanded by the patriarchal order. . . . Although none of these interacting layers is intrinsic to film, it is only in the film form that they can reach a perfect and beautiful contradiction, thanks to the possibility in the cinema of shifting the emphasis of the look. The place of the look defines cinema, the possibility of varying it and exposing it. . . . Going beyond highlighting a woman's to-be-looked-at-ness, cinema builds the way she is to be looked at in the spectacle itself. . . . cinematic codes create a gaze, a world and an object, thereby producing an illusion cut to the measure of desire. It is cinematic codes and their relationship to formative external structure that must be broken down before mainstream film and the pleasure it provides can be challenged." Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," 46.
4. "All attempts to repress our/black peoples's right to gaze had produced in us an overwhelming longing to look, a rebellious desire, an oppositional gaze. By courageously looking, we defiantly declared: 'Not only will I stare. I want my look to change reality.' Even in the worst circumstances of domination, the ability to manipulate one's gaze in the face of structures of domination that would contain it, opens up the possibility of agency. . . . Spaces of agency exist for black people, wherein we can both interrogate the gaze of the Other but also look back and at one another, naming what we see. The 'gaze' has been and is a site of resistance for colonized black people globally. Subordinates in relations of power learn that there is a critical gaze, one that 'looks' to document, one that is oppositional. . . . one learns to look a certain way in order to resist." hooks, "The Oppositional Gaze," 94.
5. Deitcher, "Looking at a Photograph, Looking for a History," 31.
6. Moten, "Preface for a Solo by Miles Davis," 223.

Chapter 2. Orphan Photos, Fugitive Images

1. *Orphan works* is a legal term defined by the Orphan Works Act of 2006, which based its conception on the "Report on Orphan Works" by the Register of Copyrights: it is "a term used to describe the situation where the owner of a copywrited work cannot be

identified and located by someone who wishes to make use of the work in a manner that requires permission of the copyright owner." See Schwartz and Williams, "Access to Orphan Works," 141–42.

2. Cohen, "The Orphanista Manifesto," 719.
3. Ibid., 722. See also Cherchi Usai, "What Is an Orphan Film?"
4. Ibid., 727.
5. Ibid.
6. Deitcher, "Looking at a Photograph, Looking for a History," 34.
7. In an interview reflecting on the photos of the Davis family, the scholar and archivist Peter Martin reads them as visualizing the milieu of integration and belonging in which Davis lived as a member of a closely knit community. Martin emphasizes their portrayal of both everyday life in the Third Reich, and of the sheltered and protective environment of the farm as a place where Davis was shielded from Nazi scrutiny and potential harm: "It is clear from these photos that he lived a public life. He loved the others [pictured with him] and they were about the same age. They clearly had a close relationship—one sees it in all the images. They're lounging on the sofa and he is present at all the family celebrations." [Der lebte nun, dies ist offensichtlich, wenn man die Bilder betrachtet, in enger Freundschaft mit den Übrigen, sie sind ja auch gleichaltrig gewesen. Es gab offenbar ein enges Verhältnis zwischen ihnen. Man sieht es auf allen Bildern: Sie räkeln sich wie alte Kumpel auf dem Sofa und er ist bei allen Familienfeiern wie selbstverständlich dabei.] (Martin, audio interview). Describing this series of photos of Harry Davis, Martin commented: "This was a family event that they celebrated at the farm. It shows that he was present; he was part of the family. And one cannot forget that this was a time in Germany when racism was at its most virulent. They were living on a farm and in such a farming community one was also able to hide. It was a small community; a community in which one developed close personal relationships very quickly. And this changes things because [in that context] prejudice and the fetish character of such ideas disappears." [Das war eine Familienfeier auf dem Gut, und das Bild zeigt eben: er ist ein Teil der Familie—und das zu einer Zeit, als in Deutschland der Rassismus Konjunktur hatte. Das darf man nicht vergessen. Die waren auf dem Hof. Und natürlich ist so ein Landwirtschaftsbetrieb weit ab vom Schuss, ein abgelegener Ort, wo man sich leichter verstecken konnte, wo man überdies in einer kleinen Gemeinschaft lebte, in der die Beteiligten in sehr persönlichen Beziehungen zueinander standen. Da verschwinden Vorurteile sehr schnell und der Fetischcharakter mancher Ideen löst sich leicht auf.] In addition, Martin also points to the highly modern and successful "model" character of Thomae's farm as both significant and exceptional for the time period. He maintains that it produced important provisions during a period of wartime shortages and restriction. Moreover, he asserts that this likely influenced or at least played some role in the farm's ability to shelter both a black German like Harry, as well as other apprentices who were of Jewish heritage or affiliated with leftist political groups.
8. Momolu Massaquoi was the grandfather of Hans-Jürgen Massaquoi, the former managing editor of *Ebony* magazine and the author of the bestselling memoir *Destined to Witness: Growing Up Black in Germany*. Although separated by only a few years in age, Jansen was Hans-Jürgen Massaquoi's aunt. Yet although Jansen and Massaquoi reportedly lived

in proximity to one another during the war, each was unaware of the other's existence during their youth.

9. Campt, *Other Germans*, 149–67.
10. According to the testimony of an acquaintance who intervened to arrange this position (translated from the affidavit reproduced on page 111), Jansen's initial assignment for her *Pflichtjahr* was to work in an underground munitions factory. Fearing for the health of her child under the grueling work conditions in the factory, Jansen's mother asked a friend to arrange that she be taken on instead as a cook in the barracks kitchen where she worked. Based on this intervention, Jansen was allowed to accept this substitute position in fulfillment of her compulsory year of service, albeit under the supervision of a Nazi women's overseer.
11. Campt, *Other Germans*, 100–104.
12. Citing Avtar Brah's influential concept of "homing desires," or the desire to feel at home in the context of migration that is produced in migration yet defined against a physical return to an original homeland, Sara Ahmed extends Brah's argument to encompass what she describes as "a longing to belong," which, she maintains, "suggests that 'home' is constituted by the *desire* for a 'home,' rather than surfacing from an already constituted home, 'there' or 'here.' In this sense, home is produced through the movement of desire" (Ahmed et al., *Uprootings/Regroundings*), 129. See also Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 180.

Interstitial. "Thingyness"

1. The granting of equal rights of transit and residence for all citizens of the Commonwealth was both a hotly debated and strongly contested extension of citizenship rights that was challenged at different points by both liberal and conservative politicians, as well as by a variety of other interest groups. Bob Carter, Clive Harris, and Shirley Joshi offer a nuanced and critical assessment of the extent to which the act was either motivated by or achieved its egalitarian objectives and in what ways it facilitated a more fluid circulation of labor or addressed chronic labor shortages that characterized Britain at the time. Their study and the research of black British social scientists in particular documents the contradictory role of race in parliamentary and cabinet-level debates and discussions before, during, and after the passage of the Nationality Act, and the stakes of different groups in whether nonwhite citizens of the Commonwealth should be entitled to the same access to the "mother country" as white citizens (for example, in Ireland and the home countries). See Carter, Harris, and Joshi, "The 1951–1955 Conservative Government and the Racialization of Black Immigration," 55–72; and Harris, "Postwar Migration and the Industrial Reserve Army." The work of these scholars also details some of the many negative responses to the presence of black citizens in the workplace and in shared housing accommodations, as well as attempts to hinder access to social welfare resources such as education, healthcare, and unemployment benefits. For a comprehensive overview of historical literature on these debates, see Perry, "Black Migrants, Citizenship, and the Transnational Politics of Race in Postwar Britain."
2. Although the 1948 Nationality Act made the prospect of traveling to the United Kingdom a more attractive option for residents of the British Caribbean, the United States

continued to be the preferred destination until the implementation of the McCarren-Walter Act in 1952, which restricted entry into the latter country and led to a dramatic increase in immigration to Britain. Prior to the 1952 act, annual immigration to the United Kingdom from the Caribbean numbered in the high hundreds. These figures more than doubled the following year to 2,200, leaping to 10,000 in 1954, to 27,550 in 1955, and peaking eventually at 66,300 in 1961 (a year prior to the implementation of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act), with the vast majority of these individuals migrating from Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados.

3. Lydia Lindsey notes that in 1951 Birmingham's Commonwealth population was at less than 1 percent. By 1961 the city's overall population had declined while the Commonwealth population had risen to 3 percent, of which West Indians comprised about two-thirds. Lindsey, "The Split-Labor Phenomenon," 121.
4. In addition to its large number of West Indian clients, the Dyche Studio maintained a large clientele of white professional and nonprofessional customers that it had cultivated from the earliest days of the studio's founding in the theater district. The studio was also patronized by a significant number of South Asian clients. The Dyche Collection contains an extensive selection of these portraits as well, which reflect the different waves of Commonwealth migration to Birmingham and the broader patterns of postwar immigration to Britain. While an analysis of these images is beyond the scope of the current study, it is interesting to note that unlike the images of the Afro-Caribbeans, the portraits of Birmingham's South Asian community in the majority feature multigenerational families. This contrasts markedly with the predominance (with the exception of wedding photos) of single portraits among the photographs of West Indians until much later on, approximately in the mid- to late-1960s, when family portraits of this community become more prevalent.
5. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 8.
6. For a discussion of some of the debates surrounding the exhibition and display of the Dyche portraits of Birmingham's Afro-Caribbean community, see Courtman, "A Journey through the Imperial Gaze," 135–36.
7. Hall, "Reconstruction Work," 106–13.
8. Ibid., 106–7.
9. Ibid., 108.
10. Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling*, 108. I gratefully acknowledge China Medel for suggesting this application of Sedgwick's work.

Chapter 3. The Lyric of the Archive

1. Shouse, "Feeling, Emotion, Affect," paragraph 6.
2. Moten, *In the Break*, 210, 205.
3. Ibid., 205.
4. Ibid., 208. Literally defined as "joint perception," synesthesia, the neurologist Richard Cytowic asserts, is not merely a metaphorical experience but a clinical condition in which one sensation *involuntarily* conjures up another. In lay terms, synesthesia is understood as an experience in which one sensory modality (e.g., taste) is experienced through

another sensory modality (e.g., sight). Combining two or more senses without sacrificing their individual distinctness, synesthesia points to a symbiotic relationship between otherwise distinct sensory modalities. See Cytowic, *The Man Who Tasted Shapes*, 4–8.

5. Moten, *In the Break*, 202, 198.
6. Ibid., 200.
7. Ibid., 201.
8. My use of music as method is also an attempt to take seriously the central status of music in the history of black cultural formations. The work of numerous scholars in black studies has consistently emphasized the purportedly singular status of music as a form of expressive culture that has historically articulated the black experience. Leigh Raiford similarly notes that "the elaboration of diaspora frameworks in the realm of the cultural have largely focused on literary, aural/musical forms and more recently performance." Indeed, as she maintains (and I concur): "There is a blindspot as it were or, perhaps more accurately, a reticence to consider visual forms, whether art, film or above all photography as a mode of joining up or linking diaspora." Raiford, "Notes toward a Photographic Practice of Diaspora," 212.
9. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 26 (my emphasis). Here it is noteworthy to engage Barthes's work through the (largely absent) lens of racial and gendered formation proposed by a number of more recent critical readings. See in particular Moten's critique of *Camera Lucida* cited above (200–209), as well as that in Beller, "Camera Obscura After All"; and Tapia, "Suturing the Mother."
10. Here again my reference to the synesthetic relation between the sonic and the visual or, more specifically, between music and the seriality of this photographic archive emphasizes the supplementarity of music for understanding these images, not as an additive but as essential to its historical and cultural import and its affective force, in ways that foreground the inseparability of sound and vision for this particular archive of images.
11. I am grateful to Guthrie Ramsey for his help in clarifying and formulating this relationship.
12. Shafer, *The Soundscape*, 9.
13. Ibid., 10.
14. Shouse, "Feeling, Emotion, Affect," paragraph 13.
15. See Hebdige, *Cut 'n' Mix*.
16. My argument here is in no way meant to erase the stories and biographies of the individuals figured in these portraits. It is instead an attempt to think through the relationality of their collective production and their social and affective impact. In this way, it is intended as a historical, intellectual, and methodological accompaniment to, rather than a replacement for, those individual accounts.
17. They are photographic practices that date back to the pioneering yet pernicious work of the criminologist Alphonse Bertillon and the eugenicist Francis Galton and their development of the criminal mug shot and the composite photograph, respectively. Each used photography as evidence to classify, document, and distinguish supposedly innate human differences defined as deviant or racially inferior. See Sekula, "The Body and the Archive."

18. For an extended discussion of contestations over gentlemanliness as an ambivalent pre- and postcolonial site identification and disidentification among West Indian intellectuals, see Collins, "Pride and Prejudice"; and Collins, "The Fall of the English Gentleman." See also James, *Beyond a Boundary*; and Lamming, *The Pleasure of Exile*.
19. Courtman, "A Journey through the Imperial Gaze," 141. See also Courtman, "What Is Missing from the Picture?"
20. "[A] felt sense of the quality of life at a particular place and time . . . a sense of the ways in which the particular activities combined into a way of thinking and living . . . a common element we cannot easily place." Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 63–64. See also Mary Chamberlain's explication of Williams in the context of Caribbean migration to Britain in *Narratives of Exile and Return*, 32–33.
21. Snead, "On Repetition in Black Culture," 150.
22. Ibid., 151.
23. See Congdon and Peters, "From James Brown to Hip-Hop."
24. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*.
25. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, 17. See also Patrizia di Bello's extension of this argument as it transferred later to the lower classes through the relative cheapness of photography and its mnenonic function as a tactile trace of a loved one (*Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, 18–19, 85–86).
26. Olwig, "The Struggle for Respectability," 93.
27. Central to Olwig's argument is a critique of the influential paradigm formulated originally by the anthropologist Peter Wilson in his essay of 1964, "Reputation and Respectability" and in his subsequent book *Crab Antics*. The paradigm was further developed by Roger Abrahams in his study *The Man-of-Words in the West Indies*, which explained Caribbean society as structured by what Carla Freeman synopsizes as "two competing but dialectically related value systems or cultural models: respectability (the inescapable colonial dependence through which patterns of social hierarchy are upheld and reproduced) and reputation (a set of responses to colonial domination and the elusiveness of stratification, through which people achieve a social leveling or 'communitas')." Summarizing Wilson, Freeman defines reputation as rooted in African tradition and as more authentically Caribbean, expressed most commonly in the styles of competitive verbal jousting, displays of sexual prowess, the occupation of public space, and participation in travel and a form of worldliness most often associated with working-class men ("Neoliberalism, Respectability, and the Romance of Flexibility in Barbados," 8). For Wilson, reputation is famously "that constellation of qualities by which (a man) achieves a place in the world of others where he is both an equal and a unique person" (*Crab Antics*, 152, as cited in Freeman, 8). In Wilson's analysis, respect is earned by men through acts of reputation. In contrast, respectability is the set of ideals, moral codes, and values against which social practice is judged, for example, formal marriage, education, church attendance, a well-maintained home, dressing "smartly," and maintaining sexual propriety. As Freeman explains further, "people hold in their heads a cultural model of what constitutes respectability, one that is made conscious most often in instances of its transgression. For instance, the style of dress appropriate for church as opposed to a shopping trip

in Bridgetown, or going to the doctor's office, are each encoded in signs of respectability that every woman knows but seldom has cause to articulate" ("Neo-liberalism, Respectability, and the Romance of Flexibility in Barbados," 7).

Karen Olwig extends this line of argument by emphasizing that what is implied in the juxtaposition of respectability and reputation is an understanding of respectability as "a foreign element being imposed from a larger, external society and [a view] of reputation as an authentic concept generated locally in peasant communities which have been relatively isolated from the wider society. This leads to the impression that women have chosen to identify with European values, whereas men are the upholders of Afro-Caribbean community" ("The Struggle for Respectability," 96). Affirming the arguments of feminist anthropologists critical of Wilson's and Abrahams's analytic paradigm (most notably the pioneering feminist critiques of these studies: Jean Besson's essay "Reputation and Respectability Reconsidered" and Constance Sutton's review of *Crab Antics*, "Cultural Duality in the Caribbean"), Olwig similarly maintains that any differential relation between men and women to colonial and neocolonial power structures should not be interpreted to reflect a situation where "men are more oriented toward local values, whereas women are inclined to support colonial societal values," but instead as "a result of the different access to public institutions that men and women have experienced as a result of the colonial gender structures which were imposed on them in the post-emancipation era" (96).

28. Olwig, "The Struggle for Respectability," 96–97.
29. Ibid., 110.
30. I am indebted to Pete James and Izzy Mohammed in particular for establishing this invaluable connection.
31. Hall, "Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance," 41. For an extensive explication of Hall's theory of articulation, see Edwards, "The Uses of Diaspora."
32. Steedman, "Englishness, Clothes, and Little Things," 37.
33. See also my development of the concept of performative indexicality in Campt, "Family Matters," 92.
34. I gratefully acknowledge Robert Beckwith for directing my attention to the spiritual dimensions of Caribbean respectability.
35. In his essay, "Migration, Material Culture, and Tragedy," Daniel Miller complicates the cultural meaning of respectability by setting it in relation to its multiple temporal and geographical locations. Miller uses a material cultural analysis to compare West Indian front rooms in the Caribbean and in the United Kingdom and through this analysis examines how ideas about respectability were transferred and translated to the United Kingdom by postwar Caribbean migrants to London. Using Michael McMillan's 2003 exhibition *The West Indian Front Room* at the Geffrye Museum in London as a site of engagement, Miller reads the forms of respectability materialized and enacted through the objects used and displayed in West Indian homes and how they projected aspirational identities as British Caribbean subjects in diaspora. In the essay, Miller explicitly distinguishes the forms of respectability displayed in the front rooms of migrants as markedly different from those left behind in the Caribbean: "The abiding memory of the front room as a special—almost sacred—space that was largely unused has no correspondence

with contemporary Trinidadian usage. It is, rather almost entirely continuous with the traditional English idea of the parlour, or front room, which comes from working class English traditions. . . . So the West Indians who colonized the front room that McMillan was exhibiting were not re-constructing a room they had left in the Caribbean, but were expressing precisely the form of respectability that they had been excluded from, and now aspired to, in this new London context. So what these young people in my audience thought of as an essentially West Indian experience of the front room, which they interpreted as syncretism of Caribbean and English middle-class respectability, was actually nothing of the kind. It shows much more continuity with a specifically English working-class history of aspiration" (401). While Miller's analysis is set in a different historical and geographic context, his larger, more significant point relates indirectly to that of Olwig, namely, that there is not *one* idea of respectability that governs universally. In the Caribbean or in the United Kingdom, or whether initially introduced as a foreign ideology in the colonial context or adopted and adapted thereafter, there existed *multiple respectabilities* that were appropriated by Caribbean subjects in different and at times irreconcilable ways on both sides of the Atlantic.

36. Tulloch, *Black Style*, 87.
37. Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 236, and "Minimal Selves," 116.
38. Tulloch, *Black Style*, 88. In other essays in this collection and in earlier publications, Tulloch shows that it was both the styles created and adopted as well as the fit of those clothes that shaped the sense of self and the status of clothing as an expressive cultural signifier. Tulloch notes the place of millinery as "a fervent chronicler of black culture (87). In an earlier essay, "There's No Place Like Home," Tulloch describes the importance of the tailoring and the fit associated with home dressmaking (in contrast with ready-made or "Wretch-e-dung" store-bought fashions) as an important marker of social status among working-class Jamaican women both in the Caribbean and in migration (506). In both cases, Tulloch maintains that a black dress aesthetic "is manifested not only by what is worn but also by how it is worn" and an ability to "transform the expression and personality of the wearer, and to signify 'what I am like—or this is what I would like to be.'" (Tulloch, *Black Style*, 87).
39. I am grateful to Piotr Szpuna for suggesting this to me in response to an early presentation of this chapter. The illuminating insights he shared in a subsequent e-mail exchange serve as the basis for my discussion in this section.
40. The thirty-two-bar form (frequently abbreviated as AABA) is a musical form common in Tin Pan Alley songs and, later, in popular musical forms such as rock and pop music, as well as jazz, that became one of the principal musical forms in the mid-1920s (Wilder, *American Popular Song*, 56). "In this form, the musical structure of each chorus is made up of four eight-bar sections, in an AABA pattern. . . . Thousands of Tin Pan Alley tunes share this scheme and Adorno is quite justified in arguing that to listeners of the time it would be totally predictable. Moreover, within the chorus, the identical music is heard more than once" (Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, 46). The A section or verse is harmonically closed, usually cadencing on the tonic. The B section or middle eight is often referred to as the bridge and sometimes as the release. Modulation is common and the bridge remains harmonically open, often ending on the dominant of the home key, pre-

paring the return of the verse (Covach, "Form in Rock Music," 69). See also "Thirty-Two-Bar Form," Wikipedia.com.

41. These formulations are borrowed from a generative e-mail dialogue with Fred Moten and are used with generous acknowledgment of the richness of Moten's descriptions of the variety and depth of iterations of jazz ensemble performance. In "Judging 'By the Beat,'" the ethnomusicologist Shannon Dudley points to J. Kwabena Nketia's use of the term *time-line* to describe a type of guiding rhythmic pattern that marks the musical period of multiple types of African music. Dudley extends Nketia's notion of time-line by way of Olly Wilson's notion of "the fixed rhythmic group" as "a composite generated by several instruments that play repeated interlocking parts" (Dudley, "Judging 'By the Beat,'" 274). She continues, "In order to describe the music's rhythmic character, however, it is not enough to describe the individual parts that comprise the fixed rhythmic group, because rhythm ultimately is perceived as a composite of those parts. . . . [In calypso,] this rhythm is not expressed as a single instrument (except sometimes in the melody); it is, however, consistently expressed through the interaction of the bass with other instruments, such as guitar, *cuatro*, or snare drum" (274).
42. Moten, "The New International of Rhythmic Feeling(s)," 25–26.
43. Piotr Szpunar, e-mail correspondence, 12 November 2007.
44. Ibid.
45. Moten's reading of Charles Mingus's concept of "rotary perception" offers a more expansive formulation of this improvisational structure in the context of the jazz ensemble. For Moten, Mingus's concept moves beyond a linear understanding of the ensemble's improvisation as a diachronic interchange between players to realize what he characterizes as a more flexible and capacious "geometry" of improvisation that figures a circular interaction among players moving between center and periphery—an improvisational structure Moten describes as the shifting play of "the centripetal and the centrifugal" (Moten, "The New International of Rhythmic Feeling(s)," 9). Quoting Mingus's comments in his autobiography, *Beneath the Underdog*, the concept of rotary perception is described as follows: "There was once a word used—swing. Swing went in one direction, it was linear, and everything had to be played with an obvious pulse and that's very restrictive. But I use the term 'rotary perception.' If you get a mental picture of the beat existing within a circle you're more free to improvise. People used to think the notes had to fall on the centre of the beats in the bar at intervals like a metronome, with three or four men in the rhythm section accenting the same pulse. That's like parade music or dance music. But imagine a circle surrounding each beat—each guy can play his notes anywhere in that circle and it gives him a feeling he has more space. The notes fall anywhere inside the circle but the original feeling for the beat isn't changed. If one in the group loses confidence, somebody hits the beat again. The pulse is inside you. When you're playing with musicians who think this way you can do anything. Anybody can stop and let the others go on" (Mingus quoted in Moten, "The New International of Rhythmic Feeling[s]," 11). Moten suggests that the circular geometry of rotary perception might be used to explain the seriality of intra-ensemblic play not as linear or merely sequential; rather, its "anti-linearity" is an interactive structure that enables a thoroughly relational

dynamic of call and response that is both wholly improvisational and, at the same, rigorously formal ("composed") through the interplay of its constitutive elements (ibid.).

46. Tulloch also directs our attention to the link between styles of dress and the role of music as forms of expressive practice that mutually reinforce one another in their articulation of particular moments of diasporic community and identity formation. In her introduction to the highly successful 2004 exhibit at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, *Black British Style*, Tulloch maintains that style and fashion are a necessarily visual component of the sensory experience of music that amplifies these powerful modes of self-expression. As she notes, "Music was the source that enabled African Americans, for example to create what Mark Anthony Neal has termed the 'Black Public Sphere.' . . . Neal cites gospel and popular music, and dance as examples. But what of the individuals who attended these places and helped to make them into the black cultural signifiers they have become? Their modes of dress actually served to strengthen their cultural definition. . . . When married with the associated styles of dress by those listening to or performing the music, then the particular black cultural experience is complete. By dressing their bodies in ways that affirm the cultural articulations meted out by black music, they create a heady and effective combination" (*Black Style*, 18–19).
47. See also Hazel Carby's influential essay, "Policing the Black Woman's Body in an Urban Context."
48. In addition to Freeman's and Olwig's readings, and Besson's and Sutton's critiques, Daniel Miller's study *Modernity, an Ethnographic Approach*, offers a useful overview of many of these arguments, as well as a critical assessment of Wilson's and Abrahams's respective theories of cultural dualism of reputation and respectability in the Caribbean.
49. For a useful overview of this literature, see Freeman, "Neo-liberalism, Respectability, and the Romance of Flexibility in Barbados."
50. See Besson, "Reputation and Respectability Reconsidered"; and Constance Sutton's review of *Crab Antics*, "Cultural Duality in the Caribbean." My thanks to Deborah Thomas for her insights into the complex debates in anthropology regarding the status of respectability and its gendered dimension in Caribbean culture.
51. Webster, *Imagining Home*, 37.
52. The National Health Service and public transport were two of the areas in which numerous West Indians found employment during this intensive phase of migration due to rapid expansion in both of these sectors. Yet despite widespread labor shortages here, Caribbean migrants faced both strong resistance (particularly from transport union leadership) and discrimination in hiring practices.
53. See also Noble, "'A Room of Her Own.'"
54. Webster, *Imagining Home*, 146–47.
55. Webster argues further that black women's exclusion from normative constructions of womanhood in this period resulted from a racialized colonial construction of black people that pathologized black life in the Caribbean and gendered them in the context of resettlement in the metropole in the postemancipation period. "The construction of black and Asian people as primitive acquired new meanings when the colonial encounter was reversed through migration to the metropolis, and was no longer repre-

sented in terms of colonizers bringing civilization to the primitive, but of 'immigrants' bringing physical and moral decline to the civilized. Since they were seen as primitive, black people were not attributed a complicated psychology or the capacity for emotional development. In the 1950s black women were rarely associated with motherhood, and the representation of black people as incapable of personal relationships and family life was particularly associated with black men, who were seen as rootless, transient and untamed. By the mid-1960s, however, this incapacity for relationships became part of the construction of black motherhood when black women's reproduction became an important theme of race discourse and was seen as over-fecund. A main symbol of intimacy, emotional well-being and psychological health—mother-love—was not attributed to black women." Webster, *Imagining Home*, xv.

56. Ibid., 141.
57. See, in particular, Mary Chamberlain's outstanding oral history of intergenerational Barbadian migration to the United Kingdom, *Narratives of Exile and Return*, which carefully unpacks the highly gendered narrative structures revealed in her informants' accounts.
58. Courtman, "A Journey through the Imperial Gaze," 140.
59. See Hall, "The Social Eye of Picture Post."
60. Chamberlain, *Narratives of Exile and Return*, 51–69, 91–112.
61. Carby, "Policing the Black Woman's Body in an Urban Context."
62. "Britons, West Indians Riot: 1,000 Wage Bloody Battle in Nottingham Streets," *The Daily Gleaner*, 25 August 1958. I am grateful to Kennetta Perry for bringing this incident to my attention.
63. As quoted in Perry, "'Little Rock' in London."
64. Ibid.
65. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 37. Gilroy elaborates: "In the simplest possible terms, by posing the world as it is against the world as the racially subordinated would like it to be, this musical culture supplies a great deal of the courage required to go on living in the present" (36).
66. "The invocation of utopia references what, following Sayla Benhabib's suggestive lead, I propose to call the politics of transfiguration. This emphasizes the emergence of qualitatively new desires, social relations, and modes of association within the racial community of interpretations and resistance *and* between that group and its erstwhile oppressors. It points specifically to the formation of a community of needs and solidarity which is magically made audible in the music itself . . . This politics exists on a lower frequency where it is played, danced, and acted, as well as sung and sung about, because words, even words stretched by melisma and supplemented or mutated by the screams which still index the conspicuous power of the slave sublime, will never be enough to communicate its unsayable claims to truth" (ibid).
67. Courtman, "What's Missing from This Picture?," 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahams, Roger. *The Man of Words in the West Indies: Performance and the Emergence of Creole Culture*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Achenbach, Marina, and the Fasia-Jansen-Stiftung e.V., eds. *Fasia: Geliebte Rebellin*. Oberhausen: Asso-Verlag, 2004.

Ahmed, Sara, et al., eds. *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*. Oxford: Berg, 2003.

Ames, Eric, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal, eds. *Germany's Colonial Pasts*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Baker, Houston A., Jr., Manthia Diawara, and Ruth H. Lindeborg, eds. *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Bal, Mieke, and Norman Bryson. "Semiotics and Art History." *Art Bulletin* 73, no. 2 (1991), 174–298.

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Trans. Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981.

Batchen, Geoffrey. *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001.

———. "Vernacular Photographies." *History of Photography* 24, no. 3 (2000), 262–72.

Bechhaus-Gerst, Marianne, and Reinhardt Klein-Arendt, eds. *Die (Koloniale) Begegnung: Afrikanerinnen in Deutschland und Schwarze Deutsche: Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2003.

Beller, Jonathan. "Camera Obscura After All: The Racist Writing with Light." Paper presented at the "Seeing Race Symposium," Columbia University, 30 October 2008.

Berger, John. "Understanding a Photograph." In *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg, 291–94, New Haven, Conn.: Leete's Island Books, 1980.

Besson, Jean. "Reputation and Respectability Reconsidered: A New Perspective on Afro-Caribbean Peasant Women." *Women and Change in the Caribbean: A Pan-Caribbean Perspective*, ed. Janet Momsen and Ian Randle, 15–37. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Brah, Avtar. *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Braziel, Jana Evans, and Anita Mannur, eds. *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003.

Bright, Deborah, ed. *The Passionate Camera: Photography and Bodies of Desire*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Brown, Jacqueline Nassy. *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail: Geographies of Race in Black Liverpool*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Burke, Peter. *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Burleigh, Michael, and Wolfgang Wippermann. *The Racial State: Germany, 1933-1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Burman, Barbara, ed. *The Culture of Sewing: Gender Consumption and Home Dressmaking*. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

Campt, Tina M. "Family Matters: Diaspora, Difference, and the Visual Archive." *Social Text* 27, no. 1 (2009), 83–114.

———. *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Campt, Tina M., and Paul Gilroy, eds. *Der Black Atlantic*. Berlin: Haus der Kulturen der Welt, 2004.

Campt, Tina M., and Pascal Grosse. "'Mischlingskinder' in Nachkriegsdeutschland: Zum Verhältnis von Psychologie, Anthropologie und Gesellschaftspolitik nach 1945." *Psychologie und Geschichte* 6, nos. 1–2 (1994), 48–78.

Carby, Hazel V. "Policing the Black Woman's Body in an Urban Context." *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 4 (1992), 738–55.

Carter, Bob, Clive Harris, and Shirley Joshi. "The 1951–1955 Conservative Government and the Racialization of Black Immigration." *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain*, 55–72. London: Verso, 1993.

Chamberlain, Mary. *Narratives of Exile and Return*. London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1997.

Cheng, Anne Anlin. *Second Skin: Josephine Baker and the Modern Surface*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Cherchi Usai, Paolo. "What Is an Orphan Film? Definition, Rationale, Controversy." Paper delivered at the symposium "Orphans of the Storm: Saving Orphan Films in the Digital Age." University of South Carolina, 23 September 1999. Transcript available at http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/archive/orphans2001/usai.htm.

Cohen, Emily. "The Orphanista Manifesto: Orphan Films and the Politics of Reproduction." *American Anthropologist* 106, no. 4 (2004), 719–31.

Collins, Marcus. "The Fall of the English Gentleman: The National Character in Decline, c. 1918–1970." *Historical Research* 75, no. 187 (2002), 90–111.

———. "Pride and Prejudice: West Indian Men in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain." *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 3 (2001), 394–99, 412–16.

Congdon, Darinda, and Camille Peters. "From James Brown to Hip-Hop: Snead's Theory of Repetition in Black Culture." *Critical Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (2003).

Courtman, Sandra. "A Journey through the Imperial Gaze: Birmingham's Photographic Collections and Its Caribbean Nexus." *Visual Culture and Decolonisation in Britain*, ed. Simon Faulkner and Anandi Ramamurthy, 127–53. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006.

———. "What Is Missing from the Picture? Reading Desire in the Dyche Studio Photographs of the Windrush Generation." *Wasafiri*, no. 29 (1999), 9–14.

Covach, John. "Form in Rock Music: A Primer." *Engaging Music: Essays in Music Analysis*, ed. Deborah Stein, 65–76. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Cytowic, Richard E. *The Man Who Tasted Shapes*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003.

Deitcher, David. "Looking at a Photograph, Looking for a History." *The Passionate Camera: Photography and Bodies of Desire*, ed. Deborah Bright, 22–36. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Translated by Eric Prenowitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Di Bello, Patrizia. *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers, and Flirts*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007.

Dudley, Shannon. "Judging 'By the Beat': Calyspo versus Soca." *Ethnomusicology* 40, no. 2 (1996), 269–98.

Edwards, Brent Hays. "The Uses of Diaspora." *Social Text* 19, no. 1 (2001), 45–73.

Edwards, Elizabeth. "Photographs as Objects of Memory." *Material Memories: Design and Evocation*, ed. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, and Jeremy Aynsley, 221–36. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

———. *Raw Histories: Photography, Anthropology, and Museums*. New York: Berg, 2001.

Edwards, Elizabeth, and Janice Hart. *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. London: Routledge, 2004.

El-Tayeb, Fatima. *Schwarze Deutsche: Der Diskurs um "Rasse" und nationale Identität 1890-1933*. Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2001.

Faulkner, Simon, and Anandi Ramamurthy, eds. *Visual Culture and Decolonisation in Britain*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006.

Fehrenbach, Heide. *Race after Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Freeman, Carla. "Neo-liberalism, Respectability, and the Romance of Flexibility in Barbados." Emory Center for Myth and Ritual in American Life, Working Paper no. 40, April 2005.

Friedländer, Henry. *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Fusco, Coco, and Brian Wallis, eds. *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*. New York: International Center of Photography/Harry N. Abrams, 2003.

Goldsby, Jacqueline D. *A Spectacular Secret: Lynching in American Life and Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Gordon, Avery. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Greenough, Sarah, and Dianne Waggoner, with Sarah Kennel and Matthew S. Witkovsky.

The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888–1978: From the Collection of Robert E. Jackson. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2007.

Grosse, Pascal. "Zwischen Privatheit und Öffentlichkeit: Kolonialmigration in Deutschland 1900–1940." *Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, ed. Birthe Kundrus, 91–109. Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2003.

Grosse, Pascal, Yara-Colette Lemke Muniz de Faria, and Tina M. Campt. "Black Germans and the Politics of Imperialist Imagination, 1920–1960." *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, ed. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, 205–29. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur, 233–46. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003.

———. "'Minimal Selves' in Identity: The Real Me." ICA Document 6, 1988.

———. "Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance." *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader*, ed. Houston A. Baker Jr., Manthia Diawara, and Ruth H. Lindeborg, 16–60. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

———. "Reconstruction Work." *The Critical Decade: Black Photography in the 1980's*, ed. David Bailey and Stuart Hall, *Ten-8*, no. 16 (1984), 106–13.

———. "The Social Eye of Picture Post." Working Papers in Cultural Studies, no. 2, 71–120, 1972.

Hardt, Michael. "Foreword: What Affects Are Good For." *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*, ed. Patricia Ticineto Clough, with Jean Halley, ix–xiii. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

Harris, Clive. "Postwar Migration and the Industrial Reserve Army." *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain*, 9–54. London: Verso, 1993.

Hebdige, Dick. *Cut 'n' Mix: Culture, Identity, and Caribbean Music.* London: Methuen, 1987.

Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race." *Signs* 17, no. 2 (1992), 251–74.

Hirsch, Julia. *Family Photographs: Content, Meaning, and Effect*. London: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

———. "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory." *Yale Journal of Criticism* 14, no. 1 (2001), 5–37.

Höhn, Maria. *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

hooks, bell. "The Oppositional Gaze: Black Female Spectators." *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, 115–32. Boston: South End Press, 1992.

James, C. L. R. *Beyond a Boundary*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

James, Winston, and Clive Harris, eds. *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain*. London: Verso, 1993.

Jones, Amelia, ed. *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Kesting, Robert W. "Forgotten Victims: Blacks in the Holocaust." *Journal of Negro History* 77, no. 1 (1992), 30–36.

Lamming, George. *The Pleasure of Exile*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.

Lebzelter, Gisela. “Die ‘Schwarze Schmach’: Vorurteile—Propaganda—Mythos.” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 11, no. 1 (1985), 37–58.

Lemke Muniz de Faria, Yara-Colette. *Zwischen Fürsorge und Ausgrenzung: Afrodeutsche “Besatzungskinder” im Nachkriegsdeutschland*. Berlin: Metropol, 2002.

Lindsey, Lydia. “The Split-Labor Phenomenon: Its Impact on West Indian Workers as a Marginal Working Class in Birmingham, England, 1948–1962.” *Journal of African American History* 87, no. 1 (2002), 83–109.

Lusane, Clarence. *Hitler’s Black Victims: The Historical Experiences of Afro-Germans, European Blacks, Africans, and African Americans in the Nazi Era*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Marks, Laura U. *Touch: Sensuous Theory and Multisensory Media*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

———. *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.

Marks, Sally. “Black Watch on the Rhine: A Study in Propaganda, Prejudice, and Prurience.” *European History Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1983), 297–334.

Martin, Peter. Audio interview with the author, 16 November 2006, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, Hamburg, Germany.

Massaquoi, Hans J. *Destined to Witness: Growing Up Black in Nazi Germany*. New York, Harper Collins, 1999.

Massumi, Brian. “Pleasures of Philosophy.” *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, trans. Massumi, x–xvi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

Mavor, Carol. *Pleasures Taken: Performances of Sexuality and Loss in Victorian Photographs*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Middleton, Richard. *Studying Popular Music*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1990.

Miller, Daniel. *Culture and Mass Consumption*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.

———. *Material Culture: Why Some Things Matter*. London: University College London Press, 1998.

———. “Migration, Material Culture, and Tragedy: Four Moments in Caribbean Migration.” *Mobilities* 3, no. 3 (2008), 397–413.

———. *Modernity, an Ethnographic Approach: Dualism and Mass Consumption in Trinidad*. Oxford: Berg, 1994.

Mirzoeff, Nicholas. “The Shadow and the Substance: Race, Photography, and the Index.” *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*, ed. Coco Fusco and Brian Wallis, 111–27. New York: International Center of Photography/Harry N. Abrams, 2003.

Momsen, Janet, and Ian Randle, eds. *Women and Change in the Caribbean: A Pan-Caribbean Perspective*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Mosse, George L. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*. New York: H. Fertig, 1985.

Moten, Fred. *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

———. “The New International of Rhythmic Feeling(s).” *Thamyris/Intersecting: Place, Sex,* *and Race*, ed. Sylvia Mieszkowski, Joy Smith and Marijke de Valck, 31–56. New York/ Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007.

———. "Preface for a Solo by Miles Davis." *Women and Performance* 17, no. 2 (2007), 217–46.

Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." 1975. *Feminism and Film*, ed. E. Ann Kaplan, 34–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Nelson, Keith L. "'The Black Horror on the Rhine': Race as a Factor in Post–World War I Diplomacy." *Journal of Modern History* 42, no. 4 (1970), 606–27.

Noble, Denise. "'A Room of Her Own': Gendering the Front Room." *The Front Room: Migrant Aesthetics in the Home*, ed. Michael MacMillan, 84–93. London: Black Dog, 2009.

Oguntoye, Katharina. *Eine Afro-Deutsche Geschichte: Zur Lebenssituation von Afrikanern und Afro-Deutschen in Deutschland von 1884 bis 1950*. Berlin: HoHo, 1997.

Olwig, K. "The Struggle for Respectability: Methodism and Afro-Caribbean Culture on 19th Century Nevis." *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 64, nos. 3–4 (1990), 93–114.

Peirce, Charles Sanders. *The Collected Papers*. Vols. 1–2. Ed. Charles Hartshorne, Paul Weiss, and Arthur W. Burks. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

———. "What Is a Sign?" *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings*, ed. the Peirce Edition Project. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Perry, Kennetta Hammond. "Black Migrants, Citizenship, and the Transnational Politics of Race in Postwar Britain." PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 2006.

———. "'Little Rock' in London: Jim Crow's Transatlantic Topographies." *Journal of British Studies* (forthcoming).

Pommerin, Reiner. *Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbastarde: Das Schicksal einer farbigen deutschen Minderheit 1918-1937*. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1979.

Poole, Deborah. *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Proctor, Robert. *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Raiford, Leigh. "Notes toward a Photographic Practice of Diaspora." *English Language Notes* 44, no. 2 (2006), 209–16.

Reed-Anderson, Paulette. *Eine Geschichte von Mehr als ein hundert Jahren: Die Anfänge der Afrikanischen Diaspora in Berlin*. Berlin: Ausländerbeauftragte des Berliner Senats, 1995.

———. *Rewriting the Footnotes: Berlin and the African Diaspora*. Berlin: Ausländerbeauftragte des Berliner Senats, 2000.

Reinders, Robert. "Racialism on the Left: E. D. Morel and the 'Black Horror on the Rhine.'" *International Review of Social History* 13, no. 1 (1968), 1–28.

Schwartz, Eric J., and Matt Williams. "Access to Orphan Works: Copyright Law, Preservation, and Politics." *Cinema Journal* 46, no. 2 (2007), 139–45.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Sekula, Allan. "The Body and the Archive." *October*, no. 39 (1986), 3–64.

Shafer, F. Murray. *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*. Rochester, Vt.: Destiny Books, 1994.

Shouse, Eric. "Feeling, Emotion, Affect." *M/C Journal* 8, no. 6 (2005), http://journal.media-culture.org.au.

Smith, Shawn Michelle. *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

———. *Photography on the Color Line: W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Snead, James A. "On Repetition in Black Culture." *Black American Literature Forum* 15, no. 4 (1981), Black Textual Strategies, vol. 1, 146–54.

Steedman, Carolyn. "Englishness, Clothes, and Little Things." *The Englishness of English Dress*, ed. Christopher Breward, Becky Conekin, and Caroline Cox, 29–44. Oxford: Berg, 2002.

Stein, Deborah. *Engaging Music: Essays in Music Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Stewart, Susan. "Prologue: From the Museum of Touch." *Material Memories: Design and Evocation*, ed. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, and Jeremy Aynsley, 17–36. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

Stokes, Philip. "The Family Photograph Album: So Great a Cloud of Witnesses." *The Portrait in Photography*, ed. Graham Clarke, 193–205. London: Reaktion Books, 1992.

Sutton, Constance. "Cultural Duality in the Caribbean." *Caribbean Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (1974), 96–101.

Tagg, John. *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

Tapia, Ruby C. "Suturing the Mother: Race, Death, and the Maternal in Barthes' *Camera Lucida*." *English Language Notes* 44, no. 2 (2006), 203–8.

Tompkins, Sylvan. *Exploring Affect: The Selected Writings of Sylvan Tompkins*. Ed. Virginia E. Demos. New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1995.

Tulloch, Carol, ed. *Black Style*. London: V and A Publications, 2004.

———. "Strawberries and Cream: Dress, Migration, and the Quintessence of Englishness." *The Englishness of English Dress*, ed. Christopher Breward, Becky Conekin, and Caroline Cox, 61–76. Oxford: Berg, 2002.

———. "There's No Place Like Home: Home Dressmaking and Creativity in the Jamaican Community of the 1940s to 1960s." *The Craft Reader*, ed. Glenn Adamson, 501–11. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2009.

Van der Heyden, Ulrich, and Joachim Zeller, eds. *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*. Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002.

Wallis, Brian, and Deborah Willis. *African American Vernacular Photography: Selections from the Daniel Cowin Collection*. New York: International Center of Photography, 2005.

Webster, Wendy. *Imagining Home: Gender, "Race," and National Identity, 1945-64*. London: UCL Press, 1998.

Wexler, Laura. "Seeing Sentiment: Photography, Race, and the Innocent Eye." *The Familial Gaze*, ed. Marianne Hirsch, 248–75. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999.

———. *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Wilder, Alec. *American Popular Song: The Great Innovators, 1900–1950*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Williams, Raymond. *The Long Revolution*. London: Pelican, 1975.

Wilson, Peter J. *Crab Antics: The Social Anthropology of English-Speaking Negro Societies of the Caribbean*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.

———. "Reputation and Respectability: A Suggestion for Caribbean Ethnography." *Man*, n.s., 4, no. 1 (1969), 70–84.

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

FIGURES ON PAGES 3–13
Collection of the author

FIGURES ON PAGE 27
Courtesy of the Fasia-Jansen-Stiftung

FIGURES ON PAGES 35–59
Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C.

FIGURES ON PAGES 61–63
Courtesy of Peter Martin

FIGURE ON PAGE 75
Courtesy of Robert E. Jackson

FIGURE ON PAGE 76
Courtesy of Senckenbergisches Institut für Geschichte und Ethik der Medizin / Bibliothek

FIGURES ON PAGES 76–77
Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University

FIGURES ON PAGES 83–97
Courtesy of Peter Martin

FIGURES ON PAGES 101–12
Courtesy of the Fasia-Jansen-Stiftung

FIGURES ON PAGES 123–72
Courtesy of the Birmingham City Library, UK

FIGURE ON PAGE 173
Haywood Magee / Hulton Archive / Getty Images

FIGURE ON PAGE 173
Evening Standard / Hulton Archive / Getty Images

FIGURES ON PAGES 175–80
Courtesy of the Birmingham City Library, UK

FIGURES ON PAGE 189
Haywood Magee / Hulton Archive / Getty Images

INDEX

Abrahams, Roger, 188, 217–18n27
affect, 128; definitions of, 15–16, 206n9; importance of, 141; as prepersonal, 15; reverberations of, 134
affiliates and familial circuits of kin, 162–63
affiliation, 54, 58; and military membership, 59; and photography, 9, 13
affiliative relation, 58
Africa, 23–24, 147
African American community and vernacular photography, 8. *See also* vernacular photography
African diaspora, 68, 70, 114; and black German diaspora, 24; counterparts in, 37–38; as disruptive historical account, 37; in Europe, 13, 23; and family and affiliation, 13; photographic archive of, 36–37; photographic portraits and transatlantic migration as part of, 147; and photography, 5, 20, 23; and racialization, 70; and sensate photographic registers, 13; and seriality and circulation, 13. *See also* Afro-Caribbeans; Afro-Germans; black diaspora; black Germans
Afro-Caribbeans, 214–15n2; in Britain, 19, 119, 125, 127, 139, 147, 150, 164, 174, 176–79, 190, 194–95, 197–98; and dress and self-image, 160–63; in *Picture Post*, 181; and studio portraiture and British society, 197–98; white British public's anxiety over, 188; and *Windrush* generation, 170, 173, 181, 188. *See also* African diaspora; black diaspora; Caribbean culture; West Indians
Afro-Germans, 19, 41, 67–68, 107; collective migration as exception for, 23–24; as eugenic threat, 53; in military uniforms, 65; as Other within, 100, 110; recognition of, through military affiliation, 109; as Rhineland bastards, 42; sterilization of, 53–54. *See also* African diaspora; black diaspora; black Germans
Agassiz, Louis, 75
agency, 79–80, 212n4
Ahmed, Sara, 214n12
Alonzo, Christine, 30, 211n36
amateur photography, 105. *See also* snapshots
Annie Wood Community Resource Center, 156–57, 162
anthropology, 207n7
archival encounter, 20
archive, 36

articulation and photographs, 7
The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888-1978: From the Collection of Robert E. Jackson (exhibit), 87; African American girl, gaze of in, 71–72, 74–75, 78–82, 86, 211–12n1
Aryan race, 59, 63, 66–67, 99, 103, 109. *See also* National Socialism (Nazism); Third Reich
aspiration: of black Europeans, 8–9; and photographs, 7, 150, 179, 181, 191–92

baby photography: and eugenics movement, 46, 209n18; and middle-class identity, 47. *See also* domestic photography; family photography; portrait photography; snapshots
Bal, Mieke, 210n27
Bann, Stephan, 205n1
Barbados, 214–15n2
Barthes, Roland, 65, 134, 138–39, 141, 209–10n26, 216n9
Batchen, Gregory, 45–46
Beckwith, Robert, 218n34
Bellevue Studio, 120
Beneath the Underdog (Mingus), 220–21n45
Benhabib, Sayla, 222n66
Berger, John, 7
Bertillon, Alphonse, 209n18, 216n17
"Besondere Kennzeichen: Neger": Schwarze im NS Staat ("Special Designation: Negro": Blacks in the National Socialist State) (exhibit), 29
Besson, Jean, 217–18n27
Birmingham (Alabama), 117
Birmingham (England), 19, 117, 121, 129, 156; Afro-Caribbean community in, 118–19, 122, 124, 215n3, 215n4
Birmingham Central Library, 130
Birmingham City Library, 118–20, 124
Black Atlantic, 25
Black British Style (exhibit), 221n46
black communities: photographic gaze as resistance in, 212n4; and photographs and cultural practices, 5
black culture, repetition in, 151, 154
black diaspora, 24, 192; photographic practices and musical structure in, 136; and photographs, 14, 17, 24. *See also* African diaspora
black family photographs, 1–2, 39–40
black German photographs, 29–30, 35–36, 48, 63, 102, 112–13; and belonging and unbelonging, 25; black child in, 105; diasporic subjects in, 55; making home in, 52; in military uniforms, 63–65; national subjects as visual affirmation of, 64–65; performative indexicality of, 48–49; presence and absence in, 30–31; race in, 47
black Germans, 19, 23, 25; diaspora of, 24; and gender and racial formation, 108–9. *See also* Afro-Germans; black German photographs
black identity formation and diaspora, 164
black migration and respectability, 155
black music and repetition through the cut, 154
blackness, 42, 48, 55, 69, 125; and image-making, 25; impossibility of, 67
blacks: and cultural identity, 5; as situated argument, 37
Bradford (England), 120
Brah, Avtar, 214n12
Brennan, Teresa, 15
Bristol (England), 119
Britain, 14; black male migrants in, 188, 190; black migration to, 119, 125, 127, 139, 147, 150, 160, 162, 164, 188, 194–95, 197–98; black women migrants in, 174, 176–79, 188, 190; Caribbean migrants to, 147; labor shortages in, 214n1; and nursing, 179; and *Picture Post*, 181; postwar immigration to, 215n4; riots in, 190; West Indian migrants to, 162; *Windrush* generation in, 170, 173, 181, 188. *See also* England; United Kingdom
British Nationality Act (1948), 119
Brown, Jacqueline Nassy, and counter/part concept, 37–38, 55
Bryson, Norman, 210n27
Burke, Peter, 6

Camera Lucida (Barthes), 138, 209–10n26, 216n9
Cameron, Charles Hay, 208–9n14
Cardiff (Wales), 119
Caribbean, 192, 217–18n35
Caribbean culture, 174, 178; black femininity in, 177; black women and motherhood in, 221–22n55; masculinity in, 188; migration of, 178; mother-child bond in, 174, 176; respectability in, 218–19n35; respectability vs.

reputation in, 217–18n27; sexuality in, 174; and style, 164; travel and migration within, 190. *See also* Afro-Caribbeans
Carnaby Street, 194
Carter, Bob, 214n1
Center for National Socialist (NS) Documentation, 29
Chamberlain, Mary, 188, 190
Charles, Ashton, 193–96
Cheng, Ann, 69
Clinton, George, 72
Cochrane, Kelso, 190
Cohen, Emily, 88–89
Cologne (Germany), 29
Commonwealth, 214n1
Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962), 119, 214–15n2
consignation, 36–37, 81, 197
counterpart, 37–38, 55
Courtman, Sandra, 150, 179, 196
Crab Antics (Wilson), 217–18n27
criminology, 209n18
cultural articulation, 17
cultural formation, 19
cultural studies, 207n7
cut of music, 136, 151, 154
Cytowic, Richard, 215–16n4

Daily Gleaner (newspaper), 190
Davis, Harry, 30, 83–86, 91, 94–96, 98, 103, 105, 108, 113, 213n7; and haptics of embrace, 100; images of, 87, 99–100
Davis, Hedwig Agnes Erna Pausin, 87
Davis, John, 87
Deadly Medicine: Creating the Master Race (exhibit), 25
Deitcher, David, 71, 80, 90
Deleuze, Gilles, 15, 32, 45
Demos, Virginia, 15
Derrida, Jacques, 89; and domiciliation, 81; and process of consignation, 36–37, 81
Destined to Witness: Growing up Black in Germany (Massaquoi), 213–14n8
diaspora, 23–25; articulation of, 37; black communities in, 17; black identity formation in, 164; and counterpart, 37–38, 55; cut of, 196; gendered dynamics of, 141–42, 174, 176–78; historiography of, 69; and objects of articulation, 158; photographic images of race and community in, 128; and race, 55, 69; as shared collectivity, 37; visual archive of, 69
diaspora memory, 19
diasporic affiliation, 162; articulation as forms of, 158
diasporic articulation, 147, 158
diasporic aspiration, 181, 192, 196; and disappointment, 179; gendering of, 170
diasporic autonomy, 190
diasporic cultural formation, 17, 20
diasporic discontent, 190
diasporic displacement, 37
diasporic dwelling, 54; and image-making and blackness, 25
diasporic enunciation, 141; and photography, 25
diasporic force, 140
diasporic formation, 23–24, 68–70, 191; and musical structure, 136; and national belonging, 55; practices of, 41
diasporic homemaking, 52
diasporic membership, 50, 67
diasporic migration, 17, 25, 52
diasporic mobility, 38, 52
diasporic photographic practices, 176
diasporic registers, 141
diasporic relationality, 24
diasporics and arrival and departure, 54
diasporic self-fashioning, 142
diasporic self-making, 160
diasporic subjecthood, 113–14
diasporic transcendence, 191
diasporic visibility, 37
diasporic visuality, 37
Di Bello, Patrizia, 45, 208n11; and belonging, 8, 13, 50, 52; and domesticity, 98; and photography, 38, 52; and unbelonging, 25, 49, 55, 112–14, 140, 204
Dietrich, Ellen, 29
domesticity, 65, 107; of haptic images, 99–100, 114; and power, 42; as space, 42
domestic photography, 33, 45, 86, 140; and diasporic homemaking, 52; as symbolic resource, 43; as tactile, 43. *See also* baby

domestic photography (*continued*)
photography; family photography; portrait photography; snapshots
domiciliation, 81, 197
dress: as cultural signifier, 219n38; identity, as essential to, 164; and music, 221n46; purpose of, 193–94; as self-expression, 195; and self-image, 160–63; and shape of people, 195; and Sunday best, 163–64, 170
Dudley, Shannon, 220n41
Dudweiler (Germany), 28, 41, 57–58
Durham (North Carolina), 9
dwelling, 17, 113–14
Dyche, Ernest Malcolm, 118, 120, 130, 176
Dyche, Ernest, Sr., 118, 120, 130, 176
Dyche Collection, 118, 124, 127, 135–36, 157, 193, 215n4; and affect, 197; anonymity of, 196; and aspiration, 150, 179, 181, 191–92; call-and-response dynamics in, 168, 192; as cultural event, 197; as cultural practices of diasporic self-making, 160; cut of continuity in, 178–79; cut of music in, 154, 174, 192; diasporic formation in, 191; and discrimination, 181; disillusionment in, 179, 181, 190; dissonant images in, 172–74, 176, 178–79; dress in, 160, 162–64, 193, 195; ensemble performance in, 192; and enunciation, 196; gender registers and female sexual autonomy in, 176; as group portrait, 142; haptic images in, 140, 158, 196; indexicality of, 158, 162, 164; as jingle, 142, 145; lone male diasporic in, 188; musicality of, 164–65, 168, 197; as "packaging," 195; and pencil retouchings on plates, 121; as performative, 164–65, 171; and portraits of Britons-in-becoming, 150; portraits in, as formulaic, 136, 138; portraits in, musical structure of, 139–42; portraits in, photographic registers of, 140; repetition as hallmark of, 151, 154, 197; purses in, 160, 162; and respectability, 145, 150, 154–56, 162–63, 170, 176, 196; serial character of, 197; seriality in, 158, 168, 174, 197; simultaneity of, 197; and spectral photographic presences, 122, 124; Sunday best in, 163–64, 170, 192; as synchronic, 158, 160; versionings in, 168, 170, 174; volume of, 197; women's portraits in, 170–74, 176–79
Dyche Photography Studio, 118–19, 122, 125, 130, 191, 215n4

East Germany, 121. *See also* Germany; National Socialism (Nazism)
Eastman, George, 211–12n1
Edwards, Elizabeth, 31–32, 43, 207n7, 210–11n28
England, 162–63, 179, 192, 195. *See also* Britain; United Kingdom
"Englishness, Clothes, and Little Things" (Steedman), 160
ensemble, 141, 174, 176, 178. *See also* jazz ensemble
eugenics movement: experiments of, 75; and family photography, 46, 209n18; and racial purity, 46, 209n18; and sterilization, 75
Europe, 5, 147; African troops and offspring in, 41–42; black diaspora in, 14, 20; black population in, 8; vernacular photography of blacks in, 8

family: and affiliative connections, 13–14; and African diaspora and photographs, 23
family photography, 5–6, 8, 13–14, 42, 86, 204; absence in, 202–3; as affective and material practice, 50; affective temporality of, 203; as affect-laden, 16; and affiliation between kin and nation, 48; and articulations of community, 50; and aspirations to middle-class status, 47; diasporic formation in, 41; and eugenics movement, 46; familial myths by, perpetuation of, 48; family looks and family gazes in, 49; haptics of, 45, 113, 202; image as object in, 49; and kinship rituals, 50; and middle-class identity, 47; as performative practice, 48; as public act, 47; and race and diasporic relations, 48; symmetry of, 40; as tactile objects, 114; vernacular image-making as form of, 48. *See also* baby photography; domestic photography; portrait photography; snapshots
Fasia-Jansen-Stiftung, 25
filiation and photography, 13
film, 31; film studies, 32, 88; film theory, 32. *See also* orphan films
film archive as orphanage, 88–90

Flack, Roberta, 200–201
Foucault, Michel, 36, 89
found photographs, 71, 82, 91, 124; appeal of, 81; and discovery and recovery, 81; and loss, 81; and race and gender, 80. *See also* vernacular photography
Freeman, Carla, 217–18n27
Fretwell, Erica, 211n37
fugitives, 86–87, 113
fugitivity, 79–80, 95; of adoption, 96; of domesticity, 107; of dwelling, 112; and kinship, 114; and orphans, 90–91; practices of, 113

Galton, Francis, 209n18, 216n17
gaze. *See* photographic gaze
Geffrye Museum, 218–19n35
German Communist Party (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, KPD), 107–8, 112
Germany, 5, 14, 24, 59, 75, 112. *See also* East Germany; National Socialism (Nazism); Rhineland
Gestapo, 53, 67
Ghosting the Archives (installation), 124
Gilroy, Paul, 38, 191
Goldsby, Jacqueline, 65
Gordon, Avery, 30, 122
gospel, 192
Greenough, Sarah, 205–6n6, 211–12n1
Guattari, Félix, 15, 32, 45

Hall, Stuart: and difference within unity, 37; and identity, 17, 206n16; and politics of reading, 125, 127
Hamburg (Germany), 100, 103, 107
Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 211n36
haptic criticism, 32–33
haptic images, 45, 60, 163; as affective touch, 43, 158; domesticity of, 99–100, 114; as indexical touch, 43; as "*kin*esthetic," 65; as modes of inclusion, 98; as physical touch, 43; seriality of, 98; as tactile, 44, 147, 162
haptics, 18–19, 31, 34, 63, 67, 128; of film and video, 32; and materiality of image, 32; as optical, 32; of relation, 95; and touch as embodied form of perception, 33
haptics of domesticity, 113
haptics of domestic photos, 44
haptics of embrace, 105, 108, 110, 114; as fugitive domesticity, 107; and racial Other, 100
haptics of family photography, 113, 202
haptic temporalities, 34, 196
haptic visuality, 32, 45; embodied viewing as practice of, 33
Hardt, Michael, 206n9
Harris, Clive, 214n1
Harrisburg (Pennsylvania), 10
Harry Jacobs Studio, 120
Hart, Janet, 31–32, 207n7
Hauck, Hans, 25, 28, 30, 36, 41–42, 44–45, 52, 68–69, 75, 86–87, 98, 103, 108, 113, 158; absent presences in, 53; as biracial child, 53; and family photographs, 50; and longevity of relation, 54; military affiliation of, 57–60, 65–67; national belonging and gender, as enabled by, 109; as prisoner of war, 66; and race, experience of, 46, 66; sterilization of, 53–54, 67; as subject, 52; suicide attempt of, 66; as synecdotal multiple, 60
Hebdige, Dick, 141
Hirsch, Julia, 47
Hirsch, Marianne, 48, 209–10n26; and definition of family photographs, 49
historical narratives: and disruption, 36; processes of silencing and absenting, 36
Hitler, Adolf, 58
Hitler Youth, 58, 67
Holocaust, 66–67; black survivors of, 28
homing desires, 113, 214n12
hooks, bell: *a* gaze vs. *the* gaze, and differences between, 79; and the Other, 79
House of World Cultures, 25
Huntsman and Sons, 194

Imperial Leather (McClintock), 42
improvisation, 9, 17, 170
indexicality, 209–10n26, 210n27
In the Break (Moten), 134
institutional portraits, 57–58
Ireland, 214n1

Jackson, Robert E., 71
Jamaica, 119, 176, 190, 214–15n2, 219n38
James, C. L. R., 194

James, Pete, 117, 119–20, 129–30, 218n30
Jansen, Fasia, 25–26, 28–30, 101–3, 105, 113, 213–14n8, 214n10; as focal center, 107–8; as fugitive subject, 112; sues German government, 110; marginalization of, 110; national belonging and gender hindered by, 109
jazz ensemble, 168, 170, 220–21n45. *See also* ensemble
jingle, 142, 145
Joshi, Shirley, 214n1

Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Racial Hygiene, 75
Kentucky Fried Chicken, 199
keynotes, 141
Kleinfelt, Ida, 62
Koblenz (Germany), 121
Kodak camera, 211–12n1
Kuntz, Dieter, 25, 28

Lindsey, Lydia, 215n3
Little Rock (Arkansas), 194
Liverpool (England), 119
London (England), 119, 192–94, 218–19n35; and Brixton, 120; Notting Hill riots in, 190

The Man-of-Words in the West Indies (Abrahams), 217–18n27
Marks, Laura U., 45; and definition of haptic criticism, 32; and definition of haptic visuality, 33; and surface and intensity of proximity, 32
Martin, Peter, 30, 211n36, 213n7
Massaquoi, Hans-Jürgen, 213–14n8
Massaquoi, Momolu, 102, 213–14n8
Massumi, Brian, 15
material cultural studies, 31
materiality: definition of, 31; and image, plasticity of, 32; and race and community in diaspora, 128; and social biography, 207n7
materialization: as performative process, 127–28
Mavor, Carol, 208–9n14
May, Karl, 83
McCarren-Walter Act (1952), 214–15n2
McClintock, Anne, 42–43, 58
McMillan, Michael, 218–19n35
melody, 141–42
Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, 44
"Migration, Material Culture, and Tragedy" (Miller), 218–19n35
Miller, Daniel, 207n7, 218–19n35
Mingus, Charles, and rotary perception, 165, 220–21n45
Mirzoeff, Nicholas, 50, 210–11n28
Mohammed, Izzy, 218n30
Mosse, George L., 155
Moten, Fred, 80, 134–36, 151, 165, 220n41, 220–21n45
music, 128, 196–97, 200–201, 204, 216n10; in black cultural formations, 216n8; cut, 136; diasporic transcendence, as vehicle of, 191–92; and self-fashioning, 19; and studio photography, 19

Nagl, Tobias, 211n36
National Archives (Potsdam), 121
National Gallery of Art, 211–12n1
National Gallery West, 71
National Health Service, 221n52
Nationalism and Respectability (Mosse), 155
Nationality Act, 214n1, 214–15n2
National Socialism, 42, 108; racial politics of, 53–54, 59–60, 63, 99, 109–10. *See also* Aryan race; Third Reich
Nazism. *See* National Socialism
Neal, Mark Anthony, and black public sphere, 221n46
Neuengamme concentration camp, 110
"The New International of Rhythmic Feeling(s)" (Moten), 165
Ngando, Ekwe, 62
Ngando, Ekwin, 60, 62
Ngando, Erika, 62
Ngando, Hannelore, 63
Ngando, Hertha Pilisch, 63, 211n36
Ngando, Mandega, 62
Ngando, Mandenga, 60
Ngando, Manga, 62–63, 211n36
Ngando family, 30, 60, 62–63, 68, 108–9, 113, 211n36
Nketia, J. Kwabena, 220n41
Nottingham (England), riots in, 190
Nuremburg Laws, 63

Oberhausen (Germany), 26, 28
objects of articulation, 158
Olwig, Karen, 155–56, 217–18n27, 218–19n35
orphaned photograph, 86
orphan films and film archive, 88–89
orphanista movement, 88, 90–91
orphans, 86–87, 113; fugitivity of, 90–91; in visual culture, 88
orphan works, 88, 212–13n1
Orphan Works Act (2006), 212–13n1
Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich (Campt), 25

Parables for the Virtual (Massumi), 15
Peirce, Charles Sanders, 209–10n26; on indexical nature of signs, 210n27
performative indexicality, 48–49, 162–63, 171, 179, 210–11n28. *See also* photographic indexicality
performative practice, 48
photo albums, 18, 44, 208n11
photographic gaze, 78, 80, 103, 113, 147, 212n3; and agency, 79, 212n4; and fugitivity, 79; impact of, 79; vs. look and stare, 79; as resistance for black people, 212n4
photographic indexicality, 31, 147, 150, 158, 209–10n26; as performative, 162; and racial difference, 127–28. *See also* performative indexicality
photographic materiality, 31
Photographics, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images (Edwards and Hart), 31
photographic theory, 32
photographs, 20; and absent presence, 30; as affective objects, 202; affective resonances of, 16, 18, 31; as affect-laden objects, 16, 128; and African diaspora, 5, 20, 23; as archival documents, 46; and archive, 24, 38; and articulation, 7; and aspiration, 7; and belonging, 38, 52; and black cultural formation, 5; and black diaspora, 14, 17, 24; and blacks and cultural identity, 5; and blacks and national belonging, 5; and blacks and negative stereotypes, 5; and choices, 6–7; and community, 50; and cultural articulation, 17; as cultural objects, 18; and diaspora, 38; as diasporic articulation, 147; and diasporic cultural formation, 17, 20; and diasporic enunciation, 25; and diasporic mobilization, 38; as diasporic resource, 38; and enactment of past, 7; enunciative functions of, 18; and eugenics, 46, 209n18; and family and affiliation, 13; and family and African diaspora, 23; as footprint, 209–10n26; as found objects, 7–8; and gaze and stare vs. look, 78–79; haptic dimensions of, 18–19, 31, 45; as haptic images, 44; as historical documents, 6; and historiographical authority, dynamics of, 38; and improvisation, 17; as iconic, 210n27; indexicality of, 38, 48, 127, 210n27, 210–11n28; and material cultural practice, 31; as material physical objects, 31; and memory objects, 44–45; multiples of, 24; and politics of reading, 125, 127; and presence and absence, 30–31; presentational forms of, 32; race representations in, 49, 68–69; as racialized index, 38, 50; racial science in, 74–75, 78; reading of surfaces and history of racial formation in, 33; as records of intentions, 6, 204; registers in, 140; and reiteration, 17; sensate photographic registers in, 13; seriality of, 16–17; seriality and circulation, 13; sets of, 24; social life of, 6; sonic dimensions of, 18–19, 134–36; and subjects in becoming, 17–18; as tactile objects, 31, 33, 44, 46; tangibility of, 128; and touch, 43–45; and traces of usage, 32; and transnational black communities, 38; visuality of, and racial formation, 33–34
photojournalism, 181, 191
physiognomy, 209n18
Picture Post (magazine), 173; *Windrush*-generation images in, 181
Piper, Keith, 124
Pleasures Taken (Mavor), 208–9n14
politics of reading, 125; and absence and presence, 127; and racialization and cultural formation, 127
Pollard, Ingrid: and “thingyness of image,” 128
Poole, Deborah, 47
portrait photography, 14, 18, 145, 150; affective attachments, as facilitator of, 179; by Caribbean migrants to Britain, 147, 162; and Edwardian portraits, 151; hierarchical social

portrait photography (*continued*)
  and racial differences, as evidence for, 147; and image-making, 197; indexicality of, 162. *See also* Dyche Collection; family photography; studio portraits
Prince George's County, 72
punctum, 138

race: as index of human difference, 127; and nation, 59; photographic representation of, 49, 68–69; visuality of, and indexicality of the photograph, 33; visualizing of, 42, 69, 128
racial and gendered formation, 19, 23–24
racialization: and cultural formation, 127; processes of, 70
Raiford, Leigh, 38, 216n8
Ramsey, Guthrie, 216n11
register as relative measurement, 140
Reiner, Gustaaf, 205n1
reiteration, 17
"Reputation and Respectability" (Wilson), 217–18n27
"Reputation and Respectability Reconsidered" (Besson), 217–18n27
respectability, 46; among Anglo-phone Caribbeans, aspirations of, 155–56, 163; and British migrants, 145, 150, 154–56, 162, 176; and cultural difference, 178; emergence of, 155; and front rooms of West Indian migrants, 218–19n35; gendered versioning of, 170; as multiple, 218–19n35; vs. reputation in Caribbean culture, 217–18n27; and snapshots, 105; spiritual dimension of, 163; and versioning, 170; among West Indians, 155–56, 196
Rhineland, 75; African troops in, 41. *See also* Germany
Riegl, Alois: and haptic visuality, 45; and optical haptic, 32
Roberts, Aldwyn (Lord Kitchener), 145
rotary perception, 165, 220–21n45
Rothenburgsort (Germany), 107, 110
Rüdersdorf (Germany), 84, 87–88, 91–92, 94

Saarland, 58
Savile Row, 194
Scott, David, 37
Sedgwick, Eve, 15, 128, 206n9
Sekula, Allan, 209n18
semiotics, 134, 160
sensate photographic registers, 18
serial character, 197
seriality, 141, 154, 158
Shafer, R. Murray, and soundscape, 140–41
Shoah. *See* Holocaust
Shouse, Eric, 16, 141; affect, reverberations of, 134; emotion defined by, 15
Silencing the Past (Trouillot), 36
simultaneity, 197
slave trade, 23
Smith, Shawn Michelle, 209n18
snapshots, 8, 14, 18–19, 40, 103, 113, 211–12n1; haptics of, 202; and middle-class respectability, 105. *See also* amateur photography; family photography
Snead, James, 136, 156; and cut of repetition, 151, 154
sonic, 18–19
soundmarks, 141
soundscape and keynotes, 141
Special Designation: Negro—Blacks in the Nazi State (exhibit), 87
Spinoza, Baruch, 15, 206n9
ss *Empire Windrush*, 119, 145
Steedman, Carolyn, 160, 164
sterilization and eugenics movement, 75
Stewart, Susan, 44
still photographs, 33
studio portraits, 8; and Caribbean migrants and British society, 197–98; and music, 19. *See also* portrait photography
studium, 138–39, 141, 151
Sunday best: aspirational harmonics of, 163, 192; and Caribbean migrants, 163; faith as demonstration of, 163; and gendered diasporic aspiration, 170; secularity of, 170. *See also* dress
surface reading, 33–34
Sutton, Constance, 217–18n27
synecdotal multiple, 60
synesthesia, 135, 215–16n4
Szpunar, Piotr, 168, 219n39

Tagg, John, 155, 210–11n28
"There's No Place Like Home" (Tulloch), 219n38
Third Reich, 53–54, 58, 63, 66, 127; Afro-German as Other within, 100, 110; race and gender in, 67. *See also* Aryan race; National Socialism (Nazism)
Thomae, Wilhem, 94–95, 213n7
A Thousand Plateaus (Deleuze and Guattari), 15
Tilbury (England), 119
Till, Emmett, phonographic content of photograph of, 134–35
time-line, 220n41
Tin Pan Alley, 219–20n40
Tom (Birmingham), 117, 120
Tompkins, Sylvan, 15
touch: embodied perception as form of, 33; and experience, 208–9n14; in family photographs, 114; photograph as critical sensory register of, 44; sensory register of, 112–13
trading fours: and call and response, 165; and drummers, 165, 168
Trinidad, 193–94, 214–15n2
Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, 36
Tulloch, Carol, 164, 219n38, 221n46

United Kingdom, 5, 162, 176, 196, 214–15n2, 218–19n35, 218–19n35; Afro-Caribbean migrants to, 19; Barbadian migration to, 188; black community in, 19, 165, 178–79, 188. *See also* Afro-Caribbeans; Britain; England
United States, 8, 24, 192, 194, 214–15n2; eugenic research in, 75
Usai, Paolo Cherchi, 88–89
US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), 25, 28

vernacular photography, 7, 13, 19, 33, 80, 112, 204; and aspiration, 8–9; defiance in, 90–91; and diasporic communities, 17; enunciative dimension of, 9, 14; historical value of, 14; intertextuality of, 86; as keepsakes, 205–6n6; and music and West Indian migrants, 19; ordinariness of, 14; and self-making, 25. *See also* found photography
vernacular seriality and circulation, 14
versioning, 141; and respectability, 170
Victoria and Albert Museum, 221n46
video, 31–32
von Verscheuer, Otto, 75

Waggoner, Diane, 211–12n1
Wallis, Brian, 8
Washington, D.C., as "Chocolate City," 72
Webster, Wendy, 177–78, 221–22n55
Wehrmacht, 59–60, 67, 69, 96
The West Indian Front Room (exhibit), 218–19n35
West Indians, 147, 155; in Britain, 179, 181, 191, 215n3, 221n52; and respectability, 218–19n35. *See also* Afro-Caribbeans; West Indies
West Indies, 188, 194–95
Wexler, Laura, 6–7, 43, 47, 58, 204
"What's Missing from This Picture?" (Courtman), 196
Wilhelm III, 62
Willis, Deborah, 8
Wilson, Olly, 220n41
Wilson, Peter, 188, 217–18n27
Windrush (television series), 145
World War I, 24, 41
World War II, 24

Zealy, J. T., 75
zoot suits, 194
Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt: Schwarze im Nationalsozialismus (*Between Charleston and Goose Step: Blacks in National Socialism*), 29