

A History of Encounter, an Encounter with History

The Emil Torday Expedition 1907-1909

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Abstract

This thesis examines the historical context of the 1907-1909 Emil Torday Expedition. This expedition spanned two years, and culminated in formative publications and museum collections in the anthropology, art history, geography and history of Central Africa, lynchpins of the historiography and narratives of Central Africa that followed.

With newly uncovered archival material, the conditioning and methodological development of an anthropologist and collector (Emil Torday) is re-evaluated. The first chapter is a re-examination of the historical and theoretical context that characterised Torday's work. Chapter Two includes an historical overview of the Congo and the areas relevant to this thesis, as well as the biographies of the expedition members. A close reading of the historical context in which Torday operated in early colonial Congo Free State and the Belgian Congo (1900-1905) has led to the discoveries outlined in Chapter Three about the nature of generating information through trading in the Kasai, and the role of the amateur ethnographer (Torday in his earlier years). Through archival research, Chapter Three extends the historical context of Chapter Two about the nature of annexation, trade, exploration and colonisation before the expedition reached the Kasai region in 1907.

The remaining chapters outline the encounters during the expedition among various peoples in the Kasai region in what was formerly known as the Belgian Congo. Given the transition in methods of the expedition members, and the varied reception among each of these Congolese hosts, these chapters work chronologically in order to examine the way in which specific encounters generate historical sources. Chapter Five unpicks the intricacies in the collection of the much-famed *ndop* (royal

sculptures), and the involvement of local elites and their oral histories in the making of Central African history. Following this chapter, a microscopic look at three months spent among the Lele people, neighbours and claimed relations of the Kuba-Bushong, revises this history, and extends our observations about the nature of collecting, trade and exchange (of artefacts and information) in the absence of visible authority (both local and colonial). By examining in detail Torday's methods in this part of the expedition, evidence of his continuing development of narratives which follow a Kuba vision of Kasai history and cosmology becomes apparent. Torday worked with these elites in order to mute the influence of a European, or European-related presence, to present the Lele people and their lands as a pristine culture, untainted by foreign influence. The final chapter looks to revise this Kuba vision of a 'glorious' past that reflected dominance over their neighbours (the Lele). This final chapter looks at the encounter with the Chokwe traders, who had been present and dominant in the Kasai trade networks in the years before European presence.

The thesis in its entirety examines the nature of historical and anthropological evidence/knowledge; how and why this is generated in a given context. The aims of this thesis are to engage with the way in which sources are produced in conjunction with local people and the way in which archives, museums and collections are made through the process of fieldwork, trade, photography and exchange before they reach these destinations. As Torday and his sources have been (and continue to be) formative in the historical and anthropological discourse of the area since their inception, this thesis will enrich the studies of scholars wishing to engage with Torday's data, as well as uncover the wider methodological concerns of the genesis of historical sources in conjunction with African agents.

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Chapter One

Introduction

I had been travelling a good number of years about Central Africa before it dawned on me that my peregrinations had taken me by pure accident through the pages of a nation's history [...] Historians generally rely for their information on books, manuscripts and inscriptions preserved by accident from the onslaught of centuries; my documents were, to a small extent, tribal traditions, but mainly the living people themselves. Such documents require gentle handling, and cannot be searched at the will of the student; the opportunities missed by want of experience could not be retrieved, not only because of the wide fields I covered in my journeys, but also because every year of European penetration sees more of the native customs destroyed.

Emil Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo*, 1925, 17.

Published retrospectively, fifteen years after Emil Torday had returned from Congo, this quote is the opening to his 1925 book, *On the Trail of the Bushongo*. It tells us about Torday's perspectives on history, and on local histories; his impressions of time and space encountered in a cross-cultural setting. It also tells us about his driving purpose: the preservation and writing of 'traditions' or histories before they

were 'eliminated.' This, in turn, gives us an insight into this historical period: Torday bore witness to the early years of annexation in the Congo Free State and its annexing to Belgium in 1908. He experienced first-hand the power of witness statements during the Congo rubber scandals, where reformists, missionaries, and journalists spoke out against the treatment of indigenous peoples at the hands of European rubber buyers and collectors working under King Leopold II's regime. He witnessed the results of change and the integration of Congolese people into a world economy, and heard a distant past of former glories through oral histories, and touched and materialised these histories through the collections he made. It was a romanticized vision: of hegemonic African imperial power in the distant past, and upheaval, a loss of power and rapid change in the present.

Introduction

This thesis is a study of an expedition that amassed artefacts and recorded local traditions; transcribed and re-worked into anthropological publications and popular accounts that were widely disseminated and read across Europe, Africa and the United States. This expedition was led by Emil Torday. Emil Torday, Melville Hilton Simpson, Iredell (Christian name unrecorded) and Norman Hardy left for the Congo Free State in 1907. Emil Torday was a Hungarian-born trader (fig. 1), turned ethnographer, who went with a companion, Hilton Simpson, a British-born landowner, to the Congo Free State (fig.2). Norman Hardy was introduced to Torday in a professional setting, and spent six months with the expedition painting and sketching for their publications. Thomas Althol Joyce, the assistant keeper of Mediaeval Antiquities (and later ethnography) at the British Museum, made contact with Torday from 1905 onward when he began to receive letters detailing ethnographic work that contextualised the collections Torday began making as a trader for the Compagnie du Kasai. After a period of six years working in Africa as a trader, Torday aimed to return to Congo on an expedition, with the single purpose of collecting and researching. He was granted permission by the Belgian authorities, and the British Museum provided institutional support and encouraged the expansion (from next-to-nothing) of their Central African collection. Torday was a

keen explorer with an eye for fine art works, textiles and sculpture. Torday collected over 3000 artefacts for the British Museum alone, deposited two-year's worth of photographs, published over 6 major works (Torday 1910; 1913a; 1925a; 1925b; 1925c; 1930), published a large number of articles (see bibliography 2.1 and 3.21)¹ and had many more monographs planned. In order to explore the nuances of various encounters, rather than a globalised view of the encounters of the expedition, the focus of study in this thesis is the time spent among the Lele, Wongo and Kuba peoples of the Kasai Basin. Figure 3 shows the location of the Kasai in relation to the rest of modern-day Democratic Republic of Congo (fig.3). Torday's linguistic skills were part of his profound understanding of the social interactions involved in good collecting and field work practice (see Fabian 2000, 139-140). He left for the Congo unmarried, and with no children, eager to amass a large collection of artefacts for the British Museum (which he sold at little or no profit to himself) and create a name for himself in ethnographic work. He developed ethnographic data on a large area of Central Africa.

The timing of the expedition coincides with a global moment in a local history. Because of the timing of the expedition, the early years of colonial occupation in the Congo, the sources manufactured by the expedition members can be used to explore the nature and exact timing of colonial occupation in under-studied areas of the Kasai Basin. In this area, specifically where the Lele, Kuba, Pende and Chokwe people lived and still live, between the Loange and the Kasai Rivers, the expedition's objectives were also to be the first explorers to cross this part of "uncontested" land, giving this objective of the expedition immense geographical importance (e.g. Hilton-Simpson 1911; Torday 1925, 228). This area is additionally important because the Lele people were linked in the colonial discourses at the time to warfare and resistance associated with the imposing colonial regime and the 'scramble' for territory. The reports from the Lele area were among the first to be transmitted to Europe, at a time when competitive commercial interests were intersecting with a

¹ Torday, 1905, 1909, 1910a, 1910b, 1911a, 1911b, 1911c, 1912, 1913b, 1913c, 1815a, 1915b, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1921, 1922a, 1922b, 1924, 1926, 1929.

new political administration: Leopold's Free State had become the possession of the Belgian State in 1908, after tactical lobbying from British commercial entrepreneurs. Ethnography and the exploration undertaken by the Torday expedition was part of the physical and ideological annexation of the Lele and his work among the Kuba embellished existing understandings of their 'empire' with newly furnished detail. Torday and the expedition made use of the Belgian trading stations and river steamers; the involvement of the colonial infrastructure in the field, and Torday's engagement with the research and work of the colonial administration, characterises the accounts from the expedition in general (Torday and Joyce 1922, 2, 61; see also Coombes 1994). Torday's work and collection is therefore bound up in the entangled colonial and political circumstances that is the context of this early academic enterprise.

The thesis title, *A History of Encounter, An Encounter with History* outlines the two main aims of the thesis. That is, to explore a history of encounter(s) by examining Torday and his expedition as central to the relations between the peoples of the Kasai and Europeans during the early years of colonialism. The second aim outlined by the second part of the title, "an encounter with history," explores how Torday met with local histories in the Kasai itself. This thesis will thus examine how local knowledge might feed into the developing study of anthropology in the early twentieth-century and the later development of African history. As such, it explores how encounters both generate and encounter history, and the relationship between European written histories and African oral histories (which can incorporate artefacts). As the expedition progressed, Torday at least felt as though he got closer to the more detailed ethnographic information he desired, a real insight into the cultural, historical and social dimensions behind the artefacts he was collecting. Indeed, he is most famed for his work among the Kuba-Bushong 'empire.' The collections made here made an international impact. Interestingly, this part of the encounter with history- that with the Kuba-Bushong 'empire'- was successfully presented, and transmitted to Europe, while the history of the Lele and Wongo

remained peripheral and largely un-regarded: the history of the Lele and Wongo peoples was overshadowed by Torday and his promotion of Kuba history.

This thesis looks to use the varied sources from the expedition in order to explore this silence and re-centre the Lele and Wongo peoples within this history of encounter and encounter with history. As such, this thesis will examine the more specific nature of indigenous agency in the presentation and promotion of history during an encounter, especially a colonial encounter. This work looks to rectify Torday's underplaying of Lele and Wongo agency, and the subjugation of their history and their material culture to the centralised Kuba 'empire': its aims are not only to centralise Torday as a key figure in the historiography of the Kasai, but to re-centre the Lele and Wongo peoples within trajectories of early 1900s international history.

So, aside from being a consideration of Torday's vision, as a stand-alone prism for analysis, this thesis looks to examine what made Torday: what influenced his approach, how he encountered the history and culture of others and formed his collection, and what forces were at play while he was in Congo. Torday will be seen as a 'fixer,' who reified and cemented certain perspectives and visions through materials, language, the written word, photographs and maps. The objects in the collection, too, will be examined as material reifications of encounter. This thesis will largely be characterised by the study of three main types of sources: the written, the visual and the material. However, it will be demonstrated that within these genres there is an overlap between the oral and aural, the visual, the material and the experiential.

Examining this particular expedition and its sources is important because of the formative role these materials have had in European and African narratives about the past in the decades following the expedition. A study of Emil Torday and his expedition is valuable firstly because Emil Torday's name features in many of the bibliographies of any study of the region (Vansina 1978, 1990, 2010; Douglas 1963; Bundjok 2008; Nkay Malu 2006), especially, but not exclusively, within art-historical

publications (such as Cornet 1975, 1978 & 1982; Neyt 1981; Perrois 1976; Vansina 1984). Given this, he is worthy of an in-depth study which looks at the conditions in which he collected artefacts and generated information. His publications are still used as reference tools in studies of the Kuba (Vansina 1978, 2010), the Lele (Douglas 1963) and the Pende peoples (Strother 1998, 2008). But his familiarity in bibliographies and indexes is not the only reason for his examination here. The collection is formed of items that are iconic and symbolic in Congolese and European narratives. These items play an engaging and active part in the way in which the history of the Kasai was written and transmitted in Europe and in Congo. Though diverse and complex, formed of many media, and falling into so many different categories according to their form and functionality, methods of making and authorship, their common denominator is Torday himself, his vision and his methods. Thus, this study looks to demonstrate the role of biography in the study of the wider phenomena of scholarly writing, expeditions and fieldwork.

This look at the nature of the Torday expedition will add to some of the existing literature, which is somewhat lacking in terms of studying Torday himself. This is the first time since John Mack's Museum of Mankind-British Museum exhibition and associated monograph in 1990 that Torday has been looked at as a central figure in his own right. He is a worthy subject of study, not least because of his enduring (and largely unrecognised) impact in the field of African history. While Rev. William Sheppard, the Presbyterian missionary, and the first collector of Kuba artefacts, has been subject of a number of biographies, and studies of his collection in relation to his own career and practice as a missionary, Torday has not (on Sheppard see Cureau 1982; Kennedy 2002; Phipps 2002; Beitelman 2002; Thomas 2001; Fullberge-Stolbery 1999; J. G. Turner, 2006; appendix 1.12).² Similarly, Frobenius, Torday's contemporary and rival from Germany who was in the Kasai in 1904, has an Institute named after him and is the subject of a number of studies (see Fabian 1998, 2000; appendix 1.4).

² There are numerous publications about William Sheppard, see appendix 1.11 for more details.

Torday's biography has only been briefly studied, and never in relation to the colonial, historical context for the Lele, Wongo and Kuba peoples. Very often, though with some notable exceptions (Strother 2013; Fabian 1998&2000; Binkley 1998; Mack 1990, 1991 &1998), Torday's work has been used to substantiate facts, with little consideration given to the way in which these sources were generated or the contexts in which they were received in Africa and Europe. John Mack (1990 and 1998), Strother (2013) and Fabian (1998, 2000)³ all provide notable exceptions to this trend, and have all begun to look at aspects of Torday's work, or fieldwork, more critically in terms of its historical construction and Torday's/anthropologists' methodologies, incorporating this into their work. This thesis looks to build on the work of these scholars, going further in the goal of centring Torday in the process of anthropological fieldwork in the early twentieth-century and the kind of archival/published material (knowledge) that results from this activity. In addition, Strother is a field-based art historian, Fabian is a social anthropologist and Mack is an art historian and an anthropologist; taking an historian's view in this doctoral thesis also adds potentially new dimensions to this existing scholarship.

To a large degree, Torday's work has to be examined in conjunction with the work missionaries, traders and colonialists in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries who were studying African peoples, often alongside their given professions. Torday, too, before the 1907-1909 expedition, was carrying out work of an ethnographic nature during his time as a trader for the *Compagnie du Kasai* among the Bambala people. As Chapter Three will demonstrate in more detail, the work Torday carried out as a trader may well also be defined as having had a formative role in the origins of the discipline (see Fabian, 2000); that is, if the parameters of these origins are stretched to include the pre-professional activities of those outside the ranks of the "official histories" of anthropology (see Van den Bersserlaar's 2012 chapter on George Thomas Basden). The skills Torday acquired

³ Fabian's overall objectives, in the study of the phenomenology of field work (2000), looks to rectify this uncritical reliance on materials generated by fieldwork in general. Strother examines in her 2013 essay the nature of taking photographs in Central African contexts (citing Torday) but the objectives of her essay are not to explore Torday specifically.

during this early period as a trader certainly influenced his approaches during the later expedition, where his *sole* purpose was to collect objects and document contextual knowledge across the whole of the Kasai region.

There is a vast amount of documentation attached to the expedition that allows us to explore the nature of expeditions in themselves. This facilitates a look at the way in which sources and knowledge are produced before they reach the archives and museums of Europe. Annie Coombes's work, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and popular Imagination in Late Victorian England* (1994), explored the role of material culture in the making of imperialism and British culture from the point of view of received images and representation within the UK. This thesis looks to move beyond Coombes by examining the generating of images of Africa before they were transmitted in the UK. Coombes's aim was to understand museums "as a repository for contradictory desires and identities, and the means by which different publics have been implicated by the narratives of belonging and exclusion produced *within its walls* [emphasis mine]" (Coombes 1994, 2). The line of analysis in this thesis is that narratives were contested and negotiated in the collecting scenario, before the items reached the museum, i.e. outside the museums' walls, across institutions, countries, continents, and people.

The next section is an outline of the primary sources concerning the expedition. This will be a basic introduction to the materials generated by the expedition members. The manipulation and movement of documents has led to a de-contextualisation in some instances. This de-contextualisation has been outlined following the overview of primary sources. This has been included to point out that a certain amount of scepticism has been applied to primary sources within their readings throughout the thesis because of a complex archival context. These materials and their archival context has had a role in the shaping of the histories in the years following the expedition.

The primary sources: collections and archives

The Torday (unpublished) material is comprised of museum collections and accompanying labels and stickers; a vast collection of photographs; an unpublished written diary authored by Torday's companion, Hilton Simpson; glass-slide lanterns from lectures; frequent correspondence of a professional nature from the field between Joyce of the British Museum Emil Torday and Hilton Simpson; extensive written (and annotated) fieldnotes; and Torday's later professional work (notes on readings, lecture notes, and unpublished manuscripts, correspondence). These are all held at various locations outlined in detail below, largely in the UK. There is also some documentation written in Torday's native tongue of Hungarian held in Budapest in the National Museum of Ethnography.

Where the Torday collection has an enhanced historical value - its main value for the purpose of this thesis - is that the majority of items in the collection retain primary documentation attached to them and associating them with Torday. This documentation includes labels that are stuck onto the objects, original accession numbers and records of purchase. Many of the artefacts appear to be held within the same groups within the British Museum that they were sent in. However, distribution of Torday's private collection means that there are isolated objects in private collections within the UK and abroad. Given the focus in this thesis of the African collecting context (the encounters themselves), I have not attempted to trace these isolated artefacts (in so far as it is even possible over one hundred years later).

The vast majority of the artefacts are in the British Museum, while a significant number are in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, the Horniman Museum, London, the Welt Museum, Vienna, the Ethnography Museum of Budapest and the University Museum, Philadelphia (see bibliography 3.21). A further four objects made their way to the Liverpool Museum, after passing through the collections of Henry Wellcome of the pharmaceutical company Burroughs and Wellcome.⁴ The artefacts from the

⁴ Zachary Kingdon, curator of the Africa collections at National Museums Liverpool, assisted tracing these artefacts to Torday.

Lele/Wongo collection at the British Museum constitute 180 objects while the broadly defined Kuba collections number 1,192 (of a total 3000 attributed to Torday at the British Museum). Other Wongo, Lele and Kuba artefacts at the Horniman Museum and the Pitt River's museum number 21 and 13 respectively (out of a few hundred attributed to Torday).

180 of the items collected by Torday at the British Museum are labelled Wongo and Lele (nine of these are labelled just "Lele"). The pie chart in figure 4 visually demonstrates the make-up of the collections in terms of the categories of artefacts (fig.4). The Lele and Wongo collection includes 50 carved wooden cups. 20 of these cups are anthropomorphic or cephalomorphic. A further four are more vase-shaped, with a small base at the stand. Three cups are canoe-shaped, while the rest are 'tankard style' cups covered in incised carvings. There are a further 14 items categorised as "vessel, vase, cup." The second most prolific category of items is arrows, making up 44 in total. There are 18 divination boards, named *itombwa*, and 13 rubbing implements that were used with them. There are 10 items labelled "cloth," although only three cloths labelled Lele were retrieved and documented. There are 6 decorated hair combs. Other items, numbering fewer than three each are drums, bags, hoe handles, 'stoppers,' enema funnels, a belt, knives (including a wood carver's knife), a ladle, a musical instrument, boxes and lids, a pipe, bows, a spear, a fire stick, a pouch, a staff and a strap.

There is significant evidence that points towards the Torday material being present in Belgium, although it is largely unacknowledged. However, some traces of Torday are present in the archival material of the Royal Museum of Central Africa (RMCA) archives. The presence of these collections is likely to be a product of Torday's ongoing affiliation with his previous (1904-1906) employers, the concession company, the Compagnie du Kasai. The Compagnie du Kasai furnished the RMCA with a large number of artefacts from the region during the time of Torday's employment between 1904 and 1906. Torday made a significant number of sales and donations to the Compagnie du Kasai, even throughout the expedition (1907-1909).

It is, thus, extremely likely that many items from Central Kasai now held in the RMCA were in fact originally purchased by Emil Torday, although Foldessy (2015) has recently contested this fact.⁵ Mack (1990) and Binkley (2009), and museum staff at the RMCA, attribute at least one *ndop* (Kuba 'king' figure) held there to Torday. A pamphlet from the Compagnie du Kasai's 1910 exhibition states that maps and fifty watercolours by Norman Hardy from Torday's expedition were included (RMCA DE42). Given the large number of artefacts Torday had requested the British Museum loan to the director of the Compagnie du Kasai (outlined in a letter from Torday to Joyce sent from Kikwit, March 8th 1909, KYS TOR M27068), it seems that just artefacts collected by Torday in 1909 were on loan for the 1910 exhibition, although a paper trail of this precise connection was not present in the RMCA archives. The Compagnie du Kasai collection at the RMCA was registered under an institution, rather than an individual collector. This collection was inventoried in 1905-1906 (the years Torday worked for the Compagnie) and thus perhaps contains artefacts collected by Torday as well as other employees. In saying this, at this early point, it should be remembered that Torday was already sending artefacts to the British Museum, rather than directly to Belgium.

Torday's companion on the expedition, Hilton Simpson, also made a small collection, which was donated and sold to the Powell Cotton Museum in Kent during Hilton Simpson's lifetime and after his death and the sale of his estate in 1938. Hilton Simpson's small collection is held at Quex Park in the Powell Cotton Museum, Kent. Major Powell Cotton and Hilton Simpson enjoyed a personal and professional friendship and after the death of Mrs Hilton Simpson, and the sale of the estate in 1938, Major Powell Cotton purchased a number of rifles and artefacts from Hilton Simpson's private Congo collection. Surviving as both an institution and an archive related to (and built by) one person, Major Powell Cotton, the Powell Cotton Museum is one of the best preserved archives in terms of contextualisation. The founding collection was made by Major Powell Cotton, and his daughters

⁵ Given Torday's mention of sending items (in the plural) to Victor LaCourt at Tervuren within correspondence March 1909 (KYS TOR068), and that Torday was the only ethnographer and collector present among the Kuba at the time the exhibition was being put together, I would strongly disagree with Foldessy's claim.

continued to collect and research throughout the twentieth-century. This museum is continually maintained by the family and was linked to other families in the area with similar backgrounds (i.e. the Hilton Simpsons). In addition, the archivists there have conserved the library of Major Powell Cotton in its entirety and therefore provide a resource for the *type* of networks in place between people, their work, their exploration of Africa and their collections in an early twentieth century UK context. Hilton Simpson's published travelogue (1911) was found in Powell Cotton's library, for example, and had been gifted to him by Hilton Simpson.

Aside from artefacts, as mentioned, there is a significant amount of written and visual documentation authored by the expedition members held at two main locations, the British Museum and the Royal Anthropological Institute. Torday's field notes and photographic collections are held at the British Museum Anthropology Library, while Hilton Simpson's diary and an extensive collection of photographs, lantern slides and Torday's unpublished writings are held in the Royal Anthropological Institute (see bibliography 3.22).

The location of this diary, which is held at the RAI with Torday's later work, the post-expedition material (1910-1931), as well as its format, leads to a number of important points that are relevant to its interpretation. There are some considerations to be aware of when reading the Hilton Simpson diary, held at the RAI. Although I use Hilton Simpson's diary as an eye-witness account, and indeed it is more of an eye-witness account than the published, travelogue, version of his diary (1911), the transcript held within the Royal Anthropological Institute is typed, with pencilled corrections. Either Torday or, more likely, Hilton Simpson, typed this diary upon their return from Congo and the original manuscript was lost. Copies of the photographs were also inserted into the text to correspond with appropriate pages (these have been identified as more or less correctly placed because some of the copies show the original captions from the glass plate negatives). It is nonetheless likely, given the chronological format, detailed entries and the dates that are typed as headings, that this follows the structure of the original. It is also

complete: the narrative makes sense from day to day and there are no gaps or disjunctions in the events or people described. As well as this, it is reasonable to suppose that the diary is Hilton Simpson's, as the voice mirrors his own and contrasts with the language and rhetoric employed by Emil Torday in his published and unpublished sources. Rather than this typed copy being a disadvantage, the context in which this diary is held (along with Torday's own archival material) leads me to think this copy of Hilton Simpson's diary was in the possession of Emil Torday - typed and used as a resource by him as much as Hilton Simpson in his work when he returned from Africa. In addition, the photographs that are inserted seem to have been put in by a member of the expedition: some are captioned (in what looks like Torday's handwriting) and all correspond roughly with the pages before and after their placement, thus providing the most orderly corpus of photographs from the expedition.

The photographs taken by Torday and Hilton Simpson are split among the RAI and the British Museum, with a number of duplicates, reprints and copies present in both locations. Some of these photographs appear to have been copied, manipulated and moved around during Torday's lifetime. Some contain original documentation and captions but there are so many duplicates spread across both the RAI and the BM that it is not always evident when the copies were commissioned and by whom. There are some indications that Torday used his photographic archive in lectures that he gave around the UK, as some glass lantern slides are still present in the RAI along with typed notes of lectures that refer to slides (although these cannot easily be matched).

Where possible, given a lack of information in the secondary sources about the early colonial context among the Lele and Wongo people, supporting primary source material, largely from Belgium, has been drawn upon. The Compagnie du Kasai, the most prevalent concession company in the Kasai at this time, who were once Torday's employer, has no centralised archive nor written history of its movements and activities. Thus, the expedition's unpublished and published material (largely

HS v.1-7) was used initially to search for the location of Compagnie posts, the names of the posts' attendants, as well as the location of various missionary posts and the missionaries present at these posts (see appendix 2). The *Biographie Coloniale Belge* contained some information as to the most familiar names of the area which aided this search.⁶ The inventories of the *Archives Africaines* in Brussels and the inventories of the RMCA were then searched in order to locate the retrieved names and the reports of the area between 1900 and 1909 (see bibliography 3.23).

This archival material was consulted during this research with a view to acknowledging the context in which it is found. The following section will outline the state of the archive in the Belgian (colonial) context in order to situate the archival material drawn upon from the colonial *Archives Africaines*.

The archive and the shaping of history

There were large gaps in the archives from the 1900s, especially concerning the Lele people. While Torday's material assists in filling these gaps, it was initially disappointing that reports concerning the Lele and Wongo were absent from the record, as it was hoped that more triangulation between Torday's sources and the eye-witness accounts of traders could be inserted into the doctoral research for the purposes of contextualising Torday's work. A small amount of triangulation was largely only possible from the trading posts surrounding the Lele and Wongo people. Finally, though, this absence became a telling sign of the state of the archive in relation to the historiography of the Belgian Congo, as well as confirmation of the lack of European knowledge of the Lele and Wongo peoples prior to the Torday expedition. There are ideological reasons behind the silences in the archive as outlined for the broader Congolese-Belgian context by Vanthesheme (2012). These gaps are important to note because they demonstrate the rarity of eye-witness accounts, such as Torday's and Hilton Simpson's, in reconstructing the history of colonialism in the region.

⁶ This biography has not been relied upon entirely, Monsieur Dandoy, the head archivist at the *Archives Africaines* stated that the *Biographie Coloniale Belge*, where Emil Torday has an entry, is full of factual errors (personal correspondence, 2014).

This archival context is in itself part of the context within which the Emil Torday material should be understood. The creation of the 'colonial archive' in Belgium itself is part of the shaping of the historical treatment of the Belgian Congo. Guy Vanthemsche, an historian of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Belgian politics and Belgian colonialism, has provided a useful overview of the historiography of the Belgian Congo (2006) and an important work entitled *Belgium and the Congo 1885-1980* (2012) which will be referred to here. According to Vanthemsche, "[t]he particular context in which Belgian colonialism was born influenced the first writings on its origins and development" (2006, 91-92). After international pressure and the hugely publicized court cases led by Casement, Morel and the proto-antislavery lobby group, the Congo Reform Association, the Belgian authorities tried to manipulate the record to eliminate the worst excesses of King Leopold's era from that date on (appendix 1.2, 1.8, 1.11. See Chapter Two for a discussion of this history). Thus, the archival context itself needs outlining, as this has its own historiography and is linked to the outcomes of historical writings about the Congo.

The *Archives Africaines* in the department of Foreign Affairs held in Brussels are known to contain gaps, having undergone a process of 'weeding' when the government changed from being a royal possession to a Belgian government colony in 1908 (see Vanthemsche 2012; Van Grieken and Dandoy 2008, bibliography 3.1). However, in addition to this elimination and destruction of material, history was 'made' through the insertion of specific documents that contested contemporaneous narratives that were critical of first Leopoldian, then Belgian, activities in the Congo. Press clippings and documents as early as 1908 were inserted into the Belgian records in order to begin constructing a history *through* the archive, as the introductory sections of the archival inventory at the Africa Archives⁷ make clear (Van Grieken & Pierre Dandoy 2000).

⁷ Africa Archives are held by the Belgian Department of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation. See: http://diplomatie.belgium.be/en/documentation/archives/sections_and_collections/africa_archive

There are other examples of archival material being selected or eliminated in the early twentieth-century. Some of this material has been drawn upon in the chapters that follow, and this context for its creation needs to be outlined here. The archives in the RMCA, are largely copies of files from the Africa Archives held by the Belgian Department of Foreign Affairs and contain identifiable examples of the 'creation' of history through the archive and its authors. Aside from their selection in this sense, some papers were also transcribed from original copies and thus have undergone a process of retrospective manipulation. One example are the records of Paul Grenade, a factory manager in Dumba, a post neighbouring the Lele peoples, during 1906-1908, at least (see Chapter Three). Retrospectively typed, ordered and sub-titled within the archive, are excerpts from this trader's hand-written notes, demonstrating visible, historical, constructions within the archives themselves. As well as hand written letters that are included in his file (RMCA HA 01.086) there is a typed sheet of "extraits conformes [sic.] de quelques lettres adressées aux membres de sa famille....par Mr Paul de Grenade durant son séjour au Congo Belge en 1906-07-08" (RMCA HA. 01. 086). This, along with some further biographical details written in the third person, is followed by short sentences of extracts from the letters.

Another example of the extensive manipulation of supposedly contemporaneously written documentary evidence is in the papers of Monsieur Bombeeck is a Compagnie du Kasai employee and a former State officer who worked at Dumba (the trade post near to the Lele) and who features in Chapter Six of this thesis (see appendix 1.1). Hoping to examine the accounts of the owner of a factory in Dumba in 1909, I consulted Monsieur Bombeeck's papers. While his contemporaneous accounts of his time in Dumba during Torday's encounter with him were not there, an account of the Arab Wars in Congo of the late nineteenth-century were found. However, these, too, were written in the 1950s to assist Olbrechts with his history of the Congo. At the top of a typed document entitled an "eye-witness" account which details Bombeeck's experience, is a handwritten note by Bombeeck penned in 1954 to Monsieur Olbrechts of RMCA hoping that his account will assist in his "petit histoire" of the Congo Independent State. Further to this handwritten note, the typed

account (that we can assume is written by the author because of his signature on the document) states that the information is extracted from correspondence written to his parents (presumably held within a personal archive). Unlike the Grenade folder, the original letters do not exist and the typed constructed document is all that remains. It is clear that Monsieur Bombeeck was called upon as a 'reliable' source to contribute in later years to a history of the Congo.

The idea of selection and the retrospective insertion of biographical detail *within* the archival file should certainly heighten the vigilance of the researcher when drawing upon private correspondence, interviews or 'eye-witness' accounts. The shaping of the Belgian archives were driven by two historical moments: the era of either decolonisation in the case of the RMCA archives, and the early context of the Congo Reform Association. In both cases, 'empirical' evidence was needed in order to reconstruct a revisionist history of Belgian activities in the Congo. The Reform Congo Movement, and its use of documentary evidence in compiling a 'case' against King Leopold, especially drove a vision of colonial activity that would instantly stand in opposition to the Congo Reform Movement's 'case.' These sources, to some extent, reflect a revisionist history of colonialism under the guise of being primary sources with a more contemporaneous authorship. Indeed, it is worth taking note of the contemporary restrictions placed on the published sources of Emil Torday that were driven by this context; in exchange for the support he needed from the Congo Free State operations, he was not allowed to report of atrocities in the Congo within his publications.

The following section will detail the role of collections and collectors in the development of knowledge about the Kasai and where Torday fits within this broader context. As will be made clear, Kuba collections, accompanied with more detailed information about their history and ethnicity, had just begun arriving at museums in the US and Belgium, and later the UK in the early decades of the twentieth-century. The accompanying detail about history and ethnicity that Torday collected meant the status of some of these artefacts, and thus the Kuba themselves,

had been elevated to a new level by the time his expedition had returned. In contrast, Lele collections, or items, were not present at all in museum collections until Torday's return in 1910 and lacked a certain visibility in contrast to the Kuba within art historical treatments of the Kasai Basin.

The Context for the Kasai Collections

Torday had an important role in the contribution to knowledge about the Kuba peoples in both Britain and Belgium. He created the first Lele collection for European museums and, while collections from the Kuba were first made by the Presbyterian missionary, William Sheppard, Torday's Kuba collections and ethnographic work were certainly the most prolific, detailed, and well-known at the time. In order to demonstrate this, the following section will offer some context for the reception of the expedition's outputs.

Torday's collection was received in a context of heightened political interest in Europe about the Congo and a drive for knowledge about a new colony that had unknown areas and peoples as late as 1907. In 1894 the Congo Free State expressed the desire to receive collections of interest after the Antwerp International Exhibition, which included a few selections from Congo (DR) in its colonial section (Biebuyck 1986, 7). By 1897, in view of the Congo exhibition held that year at Tervuren within the framework of the Brussels International Exposition, the collection of objects and information had intensified (Biebuyck 1986, 7). After the success of the exhibition it was decided that the Congo section at Tervuren would be maintained permanently (Biebuyck 1986, 7). Its first curator was Masui, who had compiled the exhibition catalogue (1897) which illustrated a few groups (Zande, Kongo, Teke, Kuba, Kusu, Luluwa, Luba) and techniques (smithing, carving, matting) but gave inadequate documentation (Masui 1897, 4-8 in Biebuyck 1986, 7). The Bureau International d'Ethnographie, established in 1905, issued a number of monographs between 1907 and 1913 under the general direction of Van Overbergh, with some having exceptional ethnographic value (Biebuyck 1986, 7). Cordella (1906) wrote on eastern Congo (DR); Frobenius (1905-1907) began his explorations in the

Kasai-Kwango region; Torday, from 1905, researched peoples in the Kwango-Kwilu area and compiled a detailed study of the Kuba (Biebuyck 1986, 7).

In the early twentieth-century, the range and quality of primary documentation about Congolese ethnography and ethnographic material gradually began to increase through a variety of channels, including Torday's sponsored expedition to the Kwango-Kasai-Sankuru area (Biebuyck 1986, 8). Vansina stated that "[t]he three great early collections of Kuba art are those of Sheppard (1892), Frobenius (1905), and Torday (1908)" (Vansina 1978, 211; see appendix 1.4 and 1.12; see bibliography 3.21). Maes, one of the first curators at Musée du Congo Belge (now the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Belgium, the RMCA) also went on a scientific expedition to the Kasai in the year's 1913-1914 (a few years after Torday's). He then published a number of works on the Kasai area between 1913-1924, and in his large synthesis published in 1934 (see Biebuyck 1986, 8).

Although the items in Torday's collection were never described and inventoried in separate catalogues, valuable data about the major polities/ethnic groups of the Kasai-Kwango-Sankuru areas appeared in Torday and Joyce's classic works on the Kuba (1910) and on the Kasai-Eastern Kwango areas (1922), both published by the *Annales du Musée Congo Belge* (Biebuyck 1986, 8; see bibliography 2.2). The Kuba collection amassed by Torday at the British Museum is prolific considering it was collected by one individual during a two-year expedition (with only around six months spent among the central Kuba and a few months among peripheral Kuba groups). It is in itself made up of multiple sub-collections (including the Kuba royal collections, the Bushong collection), and is both prolific and iconic in terms of visual style and representations (Cornet 1978, 1989; Neyt 1981; Perrois 1979; Vansina 1984). It is also considered to be Torday's main and most profound contribution to the anthropology and history of Central Africa, within the Kuba royal dynasty itself and beyond (see Mack 1990; Kwete Mwana 2010; Vansina 2007&2010). Vansina (2007) has gone as far as to say that the survival of the Kuba realm throughout the twentieth century is partly as a result of the recognition of these arts. He attributes

the survival of the Kuba realm to a few factors: namely a centralised government upon the arrival of colonialists and the quality of its art.

It was not just the presence of new Kuba art works that render Torday's collections important. The detailed ethnography developed in the field helped to elevate the status of Kuba pieces beyond the categorisation of curios into the that of art within the colonial metropole of Belgium. Kuba works (of which at least one, *ndop*, was collected by Torday) were displayed prominently in the International Exhibition at the Musée du Congo Belge as 'master' art works (see Van Beurden 2013 and fig.5). In figure 5, the Kuba *ndop* can be seen in its own central display case. The International Exhibition in Belgium in 1910 contained Torday's maps and some drawings illustrated by Norman Hardy (RMCA DE 42). In a letter to Joyce, Torday also states that he was sending over items to Victor Lacourt (the director of the Compagnie du Kasai in Belgium) for the 1910 exhibition (a letter from Kikwit, March 8th 1909, KYS TOR M27068).⁸

Likewise, Torday's publications about the Kuba made an impact in Belgium. According to Vansina, Torday and Joyce's book, *Les Bushongos* (1910) made "quite a stir" and was well received in the arts community in Brussels (Vansina 2010, 182; Cameron 2012). Published by the series *Annales Coloniales Belges*, this book was a watershed in ethnographic work, with large colour plates, and extremely detailed pull-out maps of the Kasai basin which marked ethnic groups, village and town names and features of the landscape.⁹ In the UK, where the majority of the artefacts

⁸ Torday asked Joyce to send the items to Victor Lacourt without giving "the show away" and that Joyce should label things "Bushongo" or "Basongo Meno" and for Joyce to keep a register with the "full information" (March 1909 KYS TOR M27068). Torday then said he would write to Victor Lacourt to say he would "do the supplementary labelling on his return" (March 1909 KYS TOR M27068). There is no record of this letter, and there is no record of Torday ever completing this task at the Musée du Congo Belge (i.e. no documents that link Torday to the artefacts within the Compagnie du Kasai collection). What is likely to have happened is that Torday's detailed ethnographic information remained disconnected from the collections housed in Belgium because of his desire to be the first to publish it in his anthropological tome (Torday and Joyce 1910).

⁹ On October 13th 1907, Torday told Hilton Simpson that he wanted the "joint book to be 60000 words," indicating that Torday and Joyce (of the BM) had agreed to co-publish a "scientific work" before the expedition set off. Torday also suggested at this point that Hilton Simpson ought to publish "a serious travel book." Both books were published soon after their return from the Congo. The agreed coverage of the expedition (with Torday writing the scientific aspect and Hilton Simpson writing the travel aspect) means the expedition was carried out with a chapter-by-chapter agenda; that to a large extent experience and ethnography were

from the collection now reside, Torday's work also made an impression. He gained a name for himself within anthropological circles, with Joyce, Rattray and Malinowski all revealing their respect and scholarly debt to Torday in obituaries and an address after Torday died in 1931 (Malinowski, Torday's Obituary, *The Times*, 14th May 1931). In terms of popular interest, the expedition and the collections were widely reported across most local newspapers in Scotland and England, distributed by Reuters Telegraph Company, to national and local press (e.g. *Illustrated London News*, *Dundee Courier* (1909), *The Cornishman* (1909), *Manchester Courier* (1909), *Nottingham Evening Post* (1909), *Western Times* (1909), *Liverpool Echo* (1914), *Yorkshire Telegraph* (1914)). Torday was clearly fastidious in his promotion of the collections and the coverage of the expedition. In contrast, Sheppard's collection, held at Hampton University was the first Kuba collection, but, according to Cureau, "throughout the decade, 1900-1910, Sheppard's collection was, then, impressive in terms of size and quality but was rarely mentioned publicly. For many years it was generally unnoticed by most except as an accumulation of souvenirs and curiosities" (Cureau 1982, 340).¹⁰ Emil Torday's Kuba collection made a significant impact in the 1910s (see Boas 1911; Balfour 1912 in bibliography 2.3).

In further demonstration of Torday's impact, there is evidence to show that his work was also circulated contemporaneously among important, yet non-professional, fieldworkers, such as missionaries. Some of Torday's published work on the Kuba was requested in Africa by missionaries in Luebo (the post closest to the Kuba until 1908), for example. In a letter dated 1931, and headed with "Conférence Générale des Missionnaires Protestants du Congo" and addressed to Torday, Mrs L.G. Deland of the American Protestant Congo Missions (APCM), Luebo, ordered a copy of *On the Trail of the Bushongo* (RAI MS 194(2)). While the letter also states it was out of print, her request demonstrates the importance of Torday's work as a practical guide to

moulded into the sub-categories of the kind suggested in the traveller's manual of the time, *Notes and Queries* and also the more anecdotal "travel in Africa" approach that is clearly demonstrated in both accounts of the expedition (see Young 2006 on travel writing in Africa, especially p.47 which mentions Hilton Simpson).¹⁰ Attention was drawn to the collection by Richard A. Long, director of the Hampton Institute from October 1966 to June 1968, with an exhibition entitled "Primitive Art from the College Museum at Hampton Institute", held at the Union Carbide Exhibition space on Park Avenue in New York City, October 1967.

ethnography for those working alongside or among the Kuba peoples, even as late as 1930s: the letter states “she works at Bulape among the Bushongo and wants the book for their station library” (RAI TOR MS 194 (2)).

One puzzle that does remain in the history of knowledge about the Kasai region (and Torday’s role within this) is the unevenness of the aforementioned impact of the collections and materials for different regions that Torday visited and studied. In general terms, as the quality of documentation and collections for the Kuba improved and increased, along with its publicity after 1910, it remained inadequate for the Lele and Wongo groups, even after Torday’s expedition. There is one explanation for an early neglect of the Lele (within Belgian sources at least) in a letter Torday wrote to Joyce in 1909: the collections that were sent to Belgium were done before the expedition had visited the Lele (March 1909 KYS TOR M27068). However, similar examples of material culture later labelled as Lele and Wongo by Torday in the British Museum collection was visible in early artistic surveys of the Congo. For example, in Ratzel’s 1898 publication, *The History of Mankind vol.3* (translated by Butler) cephalomorphic cups and double-headed cups, mostly now attributed to the Lele and Wongo people, or even Kuba, are drawn and documented with patterned mat textiles and patterned crescent-shaped boxes labelled as Luba and baskets labelled as Kuba (Ratzel 1898, 85, see fig. 6). The items that *appear* to be Lele (and retrospectively labelled as Lele and Wongo by the online curators of the Ross Archive of African Images (Yale University)), are labelled BenaLusamba [Lusambo] and BasingoMeno [Basongo Meno] (both place names located along the Kasai and Sankuru rivers with an ethnically cosmopolitan make up that includes Kuba inhabitants) (Ratzel 1898, 85; see www.raii.yale.edu).

There are also more explicit examples of items from the Lele collection Torday made being mis-labelled in other publications, eliminating the Lele and Wongo authorship of these items entirely. Indeed, even after the dissemination of Torday’s work on the Lele and Wongo collections, specifically Lele and Wongo cups (pictured on page 200, figure 289 in Torday and Joyce’s 1910 publication and captioned and described as

Lele and Wongo made), these labels did not feature in early surveys of Congolese arts or illustrated travel monographs from the region. A telling example is the 1913 Michaux publication, where he uses cups from the British Museum Torday collection to illustrate his book, but avoids the specific Wongo and Lele labels assigned to these exact items three years earlier by Torday (Michaux 1913, 265, see fig. 7). As can be seen in figure 6, it appears Michaux even used a cropped version of the same photograph used by Torday in his 1910 tome (Torday and Joyce 1910, 200, figure 289; see fig. 7). This shows that, despite access for scholars to information about the Lele peoples published by Torday, it did not have an impact on the art historical treatments of the Kasai region.

This thesis will explore this neglect of the Lele peoples and the Torday sources will be examined in more detail in order to look at the reasons that some narratives and representations leave more of a lasting impression than others. Despite the continued use of Torday's work on the Kuba in art-historical and ethnographic surveys of the region (Cornet 1989; Neyt 1981; Perrois 1976; Vansina 1984), the ethnographic work Torday did to accompany his Lele and Wongo collection *remains* less known. The potential reasons for this lie in the general treatments of large empires and royal collections versus collections from 'peripheral' peoples. More specifically for this context, because of Torday's and the Kuba people's descriptions of Lele and Wongo history - and thus Lele and Wongo visual repertoire - as being derived from a Kuba centre, their art works have been neglected to this day in survey texts of the region, being viewed as peripheral to that of the Kuba-Bushong. Despite undeniable similarities and the close proximity of the varied ethnic groups of the Kasai basin (see Vansina 1990, 3), which will be explored and challenged throughout this thesis, the notion put forward by Torday of Lele subjugation to Kuba-Bushong authority through an ancestral connection has been a long-lasting one, and one that had potential implications in the politics of the region for years up until and after independence (see Kwete Mwana 2010; Douglas 1963; Biebuyck 1986). In addition to this, this relationship typifies tropes of centre/periphery that characterise Africanist historiography and African art historiography.

After outlining this background, the section that follows outlines the research questions and further discusses the literature review and the methodology that informs this study.

Research questions

The overarching questions guiding this study are principally concerned with the nature of 'evidence' and the status of history. Most importantly, what is the role of collections and material culture in the telling of the past? And, how do local visions of the past integrate with global understandings of Central Africa? Involved in the exploration of these questions are further issues to be addressed which relate to the way in which people engage with their own past and that of others. And, the final question is, what can the history of encounter tell us about the way in which identity is formed, assigned, or disseminated?

In addition, there are a number of methodological questions that relate to cross-cultural studies, especially as they pertain to African history. Primarily, what is contained within written, visual and material documents of the past? If possible, how can we methodologically uncover multiple authorships and thus multiple perspectives of the past from a collection of sources? Is it possible to reveal a fluid process of genre and structure, before the paradigms of that genre manifest themselves in the final outcome, or in the growing expectations of a new genre? More generally speaking, how do micro-level transactions between Torday and indigenous peoples shed light on the ongoing practice of trade, economics and the opening up of the interior to European trading interests? Finally, what is the relationship between the generating of ethnographic knowledge and the colonial process?

Methodology

The methods employed with regard to archival material will assist in exploring the nature of anthropological field practices and its resulting outputs and the nature of European trade in Congo in the early twentieth-century. The common approach to

all sources from the expedition is that they are all examined in terms of the expedition setting in which they were generated. The section below will outline the approach taken to the varied sources of the expedition and address the methodology employed in this thesis. It will begin to explore the relationship between the published and unpublished sources from the expedition, and how all sources will be used to explore the nature of encounter, knowledge production, and the nature and status of history.

Sources from the expedition - visual, written, transcribed oral sources, material - will be examined alongside Hilton Simpson's detailed (unpublished) accounts of their collecting and of photograph taking (HS v.1-7). These sources have been used in a way that generates specific topographies; putting them back into a specific time or place during a particular encounter. Topographical detail obtained from Hilton Simpson's unpublished diary will facilitate this: photographs from the expedition of the Lele and Wongo people, for example will be relocated to their local origin, rather than remaining disconnected, uncaptioned and labelled according to their visual content alone. Torday's collecting process is outlined in this chronological diary, which will allow for a study of the day-by-day process of the origin and the source of the ethnographic information within the published material and the collections.

Hilton Simpson's source in particular, with its chronological sequence, the absence of an overarching narrative, and a thematic presentation as found in the published sources, highlights the 'every day' occurrences of an expedition. The use of Hilton Simpson's diary to anchor the experiential, daily, qualities of the fieldwork expedition will highlight local engagements within broader phenomenon, especially history 'writing' and colonialism.

Aspects of a micro-historical approach can assist with incorporating an interdisciplinary strand that is entirely necessary with such a broad range of sources. This especially applies to the integration of anthropological and historical approaches. The micro-historical approach has been influenced by anthropology, in what Peter Burke (2004) has termed "the moment of historical anthropology" (Burke 2004, 44-

45). According to Burke, “anthropologists offered an alternative model, that of an extended case-study, in which there was space for culture, for freedom from economic or social determinism and for individuals, faces in the crowd. The microscope offered an attractive alternative to the telescope, allowing concrete individual or local experience to re-enter history” (Burke 2004, 45). The benefits of this approach seem especially appropriate here, in a cross-cultural, colonial, setting, where Torday and his elite collaborators in the Kuba Kingdom had the final say: micro-encounters within Torday’s case study have the scope to illuminate not only the neglect of others in historical sources, but the reasons for this neglect in the process of history writing based on ethnographic fieldwork.

All sources from the expedition are revealing of encounters between a number of people, materials and technologies: colonial officials, Torday, Hilton Simpson, local leaders and authorities, local porters, trade goods, the camera, the phonograph recorder and artefacts. The varied genres of sources will be corroborated with each other within the thesis with a view to bringing together now often disparate and separated aspects of the archival and museological material. These were materials, after all, that were presented alongside each other within the experiential aspects of fieldwork practice in 1907-1909. Through this comparative process, multivocality can be uncovered: the idea that a source constructed ‘externally’ in fact contains referents and traces of many authors and audiences that create its meaning (as explored in B. Douglas 2006, 2007; Edwards 2009; Mitchell 2010).

Literature Review

Firstly, there will be an exploration of literature addressing knowledge production during an encounter and the role of proto-academic fieldwork in the formation of anthropology. Following this, the relationship between oral and written sources in African studies will be examined. This leads onto a section about the role of fieldwork practice in the generating of knowledge, especially historical knowledge (Macgaffey, 2005), and ethnographic knowledge (Fabian, 1983a, b &c., 1998, 2001&2004). The role of social relations within studies of museum collections

(O'Hanlon and Welsh 2001), especially ideas of value (Guyer 1993, 1995 & 2004; Thomas 1991) and visual repertoires (Edwards 2004 and Edwards and Morton 2009) will constitute the final part of the literature review.

The literature review thus looks at the source materials in terms of the social relations they embody. The detail of the discursive relations surrounding the items within the collections, materials written by Europeans, some held within European archives, can assist in uncovering the agency of the African vendors, or donors, informants, porters, interviewees and subjects of photographs. This study of the acquisition of knowledge in specific contexts will assist in questioning or examining the disseminated representations of the Lele, Wongo and Kuba people and their histories. Sources, thus, will be examined as being fluid, and as resulting from anthropological fieldwork practice, at "the moment which meanings emerge from experience, before they become separated from physical encounters" (MacDougall 2006, 1).

The literature explored assists in addressing the research questions about Torday's role within knowledge production in Africa. Scholars across the disciplines of history, visual anthropology and anthropology have begun to address issues that assist in understanding the way in which knowledge comes about. As the following sections will outline, Torday's work has a number of parallels with both professional and non-professional practices, meaning it is at once comparable to the work conducted by those distinctly described as anthropologists in the 1920s and 1930s, and to those non-professional ethnographers who have only recently been incorporated into the mainstay of the history of knowledge production.

Knowledge production

Recent literature about knowledge production in a broader African context helps to situate Torday's fieldwork practices as well as his theoretical position. Maxwell and Harries's (2012) volume about missionary knowledge in Africa also offers important contributions in view of the production of knowledge within an Africanist fieldwork setting. The work on missionary ethnographers, in the 2012 volume, *The Spiritual in*

the Secular: Missionaries and Knowledge about Africa (Harries and Maxwell 2012), helps to explain Torday's approaches in terms of the pre-professional, field-based, origins of the discipline of anthropology and the production of knowledge. For their part, the role of missionaries (and their interactions with local communities) in the history of anthropology is addressed.

Official histories of the discipline of anthropology (e.g. George Stocking 1983) not only neglect Torday but also fail to help us situate his brand of fieldwork and ethnographic-come-anthropological practice (see van den Bersselaar 2012). Van den Bersselaar's (2012) study looks at an example of one "missionary ethnographer", George Thomas Basden, who worked in Nigeria among the Igbo peoples in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Van den Bersselaar (2012) discusses the "unfashionable ethnographers" (missionaries) whose work largely fell out of favour within anthropological circles during an increasing professionalisation of the discipline. He attributes this neglect to a lack of theoretical engagement on the part of these missionaries (colonialists and traders). This was because, he argues, of their unsystematic approaches according to increasingly defined anthropological principles and practices. However, he argues that, in the case of Basden, this was not through a lack of awareness of theoretical or academic debates, but through the favouring and valuation on the part of such men of in-depth field research and the detailed, locally-rooted, information it generated. Van den Bersselaar writes that while "mainstream anthropology was being forged [...] others were generating conceptions of what anthropology was about" (van den Bersselaar 2012, 135). This statement, if applied to Torday, could give his whole corpus of work an important role in knowledge production, whether or not it has so far been acknowledged in the literature.

In a Congo context, comparisons between Torday and the Hatton and Cookson trader, Richard Dennett (1857-1921), can be made. Sara Ayres's (2012) thesis offers the most recent analysis of Dennett in terms of his ethnographic activity in the coastal regions of Congo and French Congo between 1879 and 1906. As Ayres

outlines, Dennett's work in Africa bridged the pre- and post-colonial eras (Ayres 2012, 52). Dennett was involved in the unfolding events of colonialism in Congo (the Congo Free State and the French Congo), was an active voice in the Reform Congo Association, and studied indigenous Bakongo (coastal Bakongo) communities, recording his observations and publishing throughout the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹¹ Like Torday he also made collections which are now in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter which Ayres (2012) has studied at length. Much like some of the knowledge carried out by missionaries mentioned above, Dennett's later work and philosophy gained little recognition by his peers and Ayres (2012) writes that Dennett's work became increasingly speculative and eccentric (Ayres 2012, 9). Dennett "believed he had found a formula in the languages and socio-political structures of French Congo and southern Nigeria, a formula which he imagined lying '*at the Back of the Black Man's Mind*' (the title of Dennett's book 1906; Ayres 2012, 9). As Ayres (2012) explains, after years of fieldwork and linguistic research, as well as engagements with the scholarly communities and the field-based explorers, travellers, traders and missionaries in Africa at the time, Dennett began to increasingly theorise about the workings of African societies and communities he felt he knew more intimately than many others developing theories in this area.

Maxwell's (2008) article on W.F.P. Burton and the Luba helps contextualise Torday's work in a relevant geographical position. Burton (1886-1971) worked among the Luba of Katanga in the south-east of the former Belgian Congo. Like Torday, Burton made collections during his time in Africa; these are now held at the University of Witwatersand, South Africa and the Royal Museum of Central Africa (RMCA), Tervuren, Belgium (Maxwell 2008, 326). His lengthy time in Congo mean his work was used to feed into the knowledge needed for colonial operations, especially, according to Maxwell (2008), because of the implementation of indirect rule under

¹¹ After a time as a trader in what became the Congo Free State, he then moved to French Congo where he met Mary Kingsley, the British traveller Africa, in 1893. It was in this period that Dennett began to concentrate in earnest on ethnographic work, becoming an authority on local customs (by recording information, stories and songs), as well as taking a pronounced interest in African religions and religious practices (Ayres 2012, 82). Between 1886 and 1906, Dennett wrote and published three books and numerous articles about life in the Congo (see www.rammuseum.org.uk and Sara Ayres 2012).

Louis Franck, the Belgian Colonial Minister from 1918-1924 (329). It was a lengthy stay in one location, according to Maxwell (2008) that meant that missionaries played an important role as colonial scientists (Maxwell 2008, 330). Maxwell (2008) states that it is becoming increasingly apparent that missionaries were responsible for much of the knowledge about Africa before the establishment of university disciplines (326). Whereas Torday's work, especially that held within the archives of the Royal Anthropological Institute, was still read after his death during the 1930s, other missionary social scientists were increasingly marginalised from the growing academic community (Harries 2005, 248 & 2008, 326; Van den Bersselaar 2006, 449).

John Cinnamon's work (2006 especially) looks at the way in which the themes contained within local oral traditions guided the work of missionaries, explorers and anthropologists, for the Fang (modern-day Gabon) context, in turn having a lasting (yet largely unrecognised) impact on the anthropological knowledge about the region. John Cinnamon has also extensively published about the integration of local knowledge within European-written accounts generated through missionary fieldwork, or the fieldwork of traders and anthropologists throughout the twentieth-century in Gabon (see 2006 and 2011). He carries forward Jan Vansina's point in relation to the knowledge production of Central Africa, specifically, that the preoccupation about "migrations and origins" within oral histories of the broader region come about because Europeans were seeking out this type of data, and thus only recorded that aspect, and partly because this is what dominated the oral traditions themselves (Jan Vansina 1983, 75 cited in Cinnamon 2007, 228). The following section will give an overview of the relationship between oral and written sources that can be a product of such encounters.

The oral and the written

Some literature on the nature of oral sources has been useful in understanding the written products of the encounter. This is because the encounter (and thus the resulting materials) were often rooted in oral engagements in the first instance. In this case, where Torday's ethnographic methods are so visible in the sources, the

way in which these written sources came about during an encounter will be retrieved. As such, it is necessary in the next section to outline the approach of various Africanists, who have begun looking at this relationship. Their approach has influenced and guided the interpretation of written sources and artefacts that relate to this doctoral work.

Given Torday's preference for oral sources about the Congolese past during the expedition (something which will be explored throughout the thesis), the following section will explore the secondary literature relating to the use of oral histories in within history writing relating to Africa. Vansina's *Oral Tradition: a study in Historical Methodology*, (published in 1961 in French, and 1965 in English), with its advocacy of the credibility of oral genres as sources, proved a ground-breaking resource for those engaging with the emergent discipline of African History. In 1985, published as a sort of second edition, *Oral Tradition as History* followed the 1965 publication. Rather than mirroring and reflecting the past, as Vansina (1985, 112) outlined, oral genres, Falola and Doortmont write in a later review of his work (1985, 237), are part of the social relations that brought them into being. A similar perspective can be applied to sources from an expedition, including artefacts, written materials and visual materials, such as photographs.

Also noted by historians and anthropologists working in Africa, is the notion of a feedback loop between text and oral histories; a sort of inter-textuality between written documents, and oral sources (Henige 1973 & 1982; Cinnamon 2011; Vansina 1985). Oral sources were found to contain traces of written history that had been incorporated into narratives (Cinnamon 2011; Henige 1973). Vansina stated that this "contamination" of oral sources was "the norm," even mentioning that archaeological sites can be incorporated back into oral histories (Vansina 1985, 156-157). We even have an example of this in the Kuba dynasty: a page of Torday's work (1910) was found to be inserted into the unpublished memoirs of a Kuba Prince, recently published (2010) and edited by Vansina, demonstrating the influence of Torday's writings within the Kuba realm well into the 1930s and beyond. Furthermore, this discovery and its publication provides a working example of the

relationship between oral and written (or even material) genres in the methodological understandings of African history.

The following section will detail the use of collections as embodiments of social relations and experience, especially within fieldwork practice. This will tie together the previous sections about the experiential and oral qualities of written materials generated in a fieldwork context. First though, the notion of fieldwork as experience will be addressed.

Fieldwork as experience

My approach to the collection is to carry out close analysis of the expedition's movements and transactions, enabling an examination of a certain aspect of an object's "social life" (Kopytoff 1986) within a deep, historically anchored context. Implicated in this approach is the notion that objects contain and uphold (or undermine) social and cultural relationships - including power - that would have intersected in various ways with colonialism and, indeed, local manifestations of power (Edwards 2004, 4, 8). I will examine museum objects, in order to "unpack the more subtle connotations with cultural lives and values that are objectified through their forms, because of the qualities they possess" (Miller 1998, 9-12; Edwards and Hart 2004, 5). The qualities that are mostly examined in this instance are those that appealed to Torday and his development of a theory and histories of the Kasai region, and those people selling the artefacts. The artefacts in the Torday collections all prompted particular narratives and versions of historical events, people and meanings, within an early twentieth-century context. This repertoire, as much visual and material as language-oriented, facilitated the widespread and complex expressions of cultural affiliation and the sharing of histories within the Kasai region. Where localised versions of both artefacts and their surrounding ritual and performance took on varied form, the collection of artefacts and the transcribing of oral histories evidence common tropes and shared meaning that Torday encountered from across the region. The transportable nature of systems of meaning is wholly evident from the collection, where the fixing and prompting of narratives

through materials took place before Torday sent the collection to the British Museum. The translation of such recurring material and oral features by Torday were various versions of ethnic affiliation and representations.

While much of the debate surrounding the nature of fieldwork concerns contemporary fieldwork practice, it is important, as Fabian has begun to do, to look at the historical, epistemological, origins of fieldwork, with figures such as Emil Torday (see Fabian 1998, 2000). Fabian has gone on to develop these notions ethnographic fieldwork (2001, 11-33), including its proto-academic origins (see Fabian 2000 & 2001a, 140-158). Fabian's *Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa* (2000) examined some of the experiential aspects of Torday's fieldwork in comparison with other explorers and collectors (such as Frobenius). For example, in relation to the Torday expedition in particular, Fabian addresses communication and gestures (132-140) and exhibitions of European material culture ('things') staged as a performance by Europeans (107-109). Fabian used Torday's two travelogues (1913&1925) and Hilton Simpson's published travel account (1911) rather than draw on unpublished sources (Fabian 2000, 12), as is the case for this thesis. His own experience as a field anthropologist adds a depth of experience to the process of language-learning, translation, and social engagement during fieldwork. In addition, his narrowing of the sources drawn upon mean he is able to focus in this study on the comparison of Torday with other explorers and contemporaries, as well as cover a much broader geographical range. His comparative work on Frobenius and Torday (1998&2000) has been especially useful for contextualising Torday within the history of collecting and ethnographic fieldwork, something which would not have been able to be adequately addressed in this thesis. As such, Fabian's work has permitted me to look more deeply into Torday's expedition through the unpublished sources from two key areas. Further to this literature, there are a number of authors within the discipline of museology and the history and anthropology of visual and material sources that assist in interpreting and understanding the Emil Torday expedition materials.

Recent literature in history, anthropology and museology has looked to move beyond the idea that sources written by Europeans contain only the perspective of these authors; demonstrating only a European 'gaze'. This has been especially questioned for sources generated in fieldwork contexts or through the practice of anthropology. In relation to various authors that go into the production of photographs, Elizabeth Edwards' work (2004) and Edwards and Morton's work (2009) have been formative. Bronwen Douglas has examined traces of local knowledge in European sources (written travelogues) generated during an encounter for an eighteenth-century, Pacific, context (2006&2009).

Artefacts and visual sources

There is a strand in the literature about artefacts and visual sources that addresses the way in which artefacts embody social relations. In a museological context, as suggested by Coombes (1994), objects *within the Kasai* could also "stand in metonymically for people" (Coombes 1994, 4). This means that where there was an absence of language and oral engagement with 'chiefs' and history keepers, as there were at certain points in the expedition, material and visual encounters and transactions instead took precedence. As such, the approach to visual and material sources does not differ greatly from the approach taken towards written sources: they too embody social relations and local dynamics to wider phenomenon.

Museum collections have previously been seen as static entities, divorced from the context that brought them into being. O'Hanlon argues that while this is true for many collections, a number in our museums act as 'genuine intercultural documents' embodying both the agency of the collector and of the local communities (O'Hanlon 2001, 214-215). Social relations are found in abundance in the Torday collections. Though recognised that object agency is a diachronic action, and that moving through time and space changes the relations surrounding an object, the Torday collection privileges a study of these changeable relationships after objects are sold in Africa, but before they reach the museum in Europe. The historical circumstances at the time, the political and economic infrastructures in place across the region, is something that will be taken into consideration when examining the

role of local communities in the collecting process. In order to do this, specific topographies (of selling and buying, rather than of making), will be reconstructed throughout the thesis, and the infrastructure and trading systems of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries will be examined through these micro encounters.

The photographs and visual sources from the expedition will be used as illustrative of the expedition's context and field methods, and as sites of engagement during an encounter. The approach and theoretical frameworks informing this treatment of photographs has largely been put forward by Elizabeth Edwards (2004) and Edwards and Morton (2009). This approach taken in Edwards and Morton's (2009) edited volume, incorporates current strands in all anthropological work, "namely the interface between anthropology, science and popular visual culture" and, especially pertinent for this thesis, "the historical ethnography of anthropological fieldwork practices, and questions of historical narrative, agency and institutional practice" (Edwards and Morton 2009, 14). The question of historical narrative is something that will be examined, where photographs, along with writing, illustrations and collections, form a sort of "visual witnessing" (Edwards 2004, 133). This multi-stranded "visual witnessing" will be explored: where, in the case of photographs and other sources, they will be looked at in terms of their 'real' temporal and spatial placement during the expedition versus their ideological placement in the final output of the expedition. One question that has arisen, which will be addressed throughout, is what was eliminated from the frame and what was included? Disjunctions and discrepancies between various media - tensions of representation - may illuminate the presentation, construction and genesis of historical narratives during an encounter, especially in the production of knowledge in a colonial setting.

This thesis will also examine the "historical ethnography of fieldwork practices"; looking at the role of the camera within the anthropological field work context and the evidential value of the photograph within anthropology (see Edwards and

Morton 2009, 14). The camera and the photograph performed a huge role in validating the research of the expedition in an anthropological sense (see Haddon and Myers, *Notes and Queries* 1912, 269; Bell 2009, 155). In addition, photographs and photograph-taking were integral to the expedition's need to 'preserve' "authentic cultural forms" and was an effective and important way of powerfully "preserving them in the face of change" (Clifford 1986: 112-5 & 2008 on the salvage paradigm and Bell 2009 on the salvage paradigm and photography, 152).

This thesis does not address the making of artefacts. Many of the artefacts that were sold and are in the collections can be dated to the late nineteenth-century, but with significant exceptions and a lot of resulting ambiguity about their full provenance history. Their makers are largely unknown and will remain so in the majority of cases. Artefacts were 'displaced' and categorised according to their place *sale*, rather than their production. This displacement is part of their original function, not extraneous from it. The most important point to carry forward in this thesis is that objects have lives after they are made, but before they leave the continent and reach their destination in a European museum. As such, placing the collections within their 'original' context is to place them within the narratives (and thus social relations, politics and systems of value) that upheld their sale. As the notion of value was key in terms of both colonial and knowledge-producing settings, during an expedition such as this, the following section will outline the literature that has addressed value and exchange.

Value

As the previous sections have begun to outline, the encounters that took place during the expedition encompassed a variety of social relations. Many of these relations are embedded in value mechanisms and spheres of exchange and sale that will be explored through the context of ethnographic fieldwork in the thesis. Thus, the following section of this literature review will address scholarly works relating to value in the many senses of the word. Vansina (1992), in a review of Mack (1990) posed the question: "how were the art objects paid for [during the Torday

expedition] since money only became accepted currency here [the Kasai] in 1910?" A deeper exploration of specific expedition contexts during the Torday expedition will provide some indication of exact nature of these exchanges and sales, without "money." However, it is important not to engage in this question on too superficial a level, at the expense of ignoring the development of, and variation in, value systems *within* which money and currencies were eventually (or had already been) incorporated. Berry writes that while economists might argue that money creates value, "if we turn the question around, however, and ask not how money denotes value, but what determines the value of money, precision and consistency give way to circularity, paradox, and uncertainty" (Berry 2007, 59). Berry's work, along with the work of Guyer calls for a cultural study of value and economics, where ethnographic sources - such as Torday's - can be vital empirical assets to theoretical debates.

Jayne Guyer's work has marked a huge increase in theoretical and empirical studies on the anthropology and history of money, value and wealth in African contexts (1990, 1993, 1995a&b, 2004). Her studies on value have been extremely influential in the treatments of encounter carried out in this thesis. It was Guyer's use of ethnographic sources (especially in her 1993 article) within her exploration of theoretical models of value - "Wealth in People, Wealth in Things" (1995) - that initially highlighted the scope for the use of the expedition setting to explore indigenous currencies and thus local variants of value during the early colonial setting. In her 1993 publication, Guyer combined "museum acquisition records with historical and ethnographic sources in a speculative attempt to interpret the value of things and the attributes of people at the end of the pre-colonial period" (Guyer 1993, 244).

The work on commodity and gifts explored by scholars of Melanesia and New Guinea, has been taken into consideration throughout in Jayne Guyer's work on value and wealth within a Central African context (Gregory 1997; Leach and Leach 1983; Munn 1986; Strathern 1988, Thomas 1991, 1992; Guyer 1993, 244). The origin of the 'gift vs. commodities' debate springs from the idea of Marcel Mauss that asserts

that there exist two types of exchange relations: commodity relations and gift relations (Mauss 1954; Kaplan 1997). The basic premise is that commodities can be singularised, and are part of market-transactions, and gifts retain and reflect the sociability of the exchange: these explorations relate to the relationship between people and things (Gregory 1998; Gosden and Marshall 1999, 173; Gell 1998). Appadurai rejects a dichotomous definition of “commodity economy” and “gift exchange”: he writes that commodities have been viewed as distinct from social relations (“free from moral or cultural constraints”), whereas gifts have been viewed as intrinsic to them (Appadurai 1986, 11). However, Appadurai’s work (1986), along with Thomas’s (1991, 1992) work, called for a reflection on context: Appadurai pointed out that gifts and commodities could be changeable according to context and that we need to look at the political and social circumstances surrounding exchange (Appadurai 1986, 14; Gosden and Marshall 1999, 174). A look at the political and social circumstances surrounding exchange is something with which this research on the Torday sources can assist. Although Thomas retains the “gift” and “commodity” distinction (Gosden and Marshall 1999, 174), his *long durée* approach to the changeable “entangled” relationship of gift and commodity in terms of valuation is especially relevant here: the early colonial encounter.

Further still, Jayne Guyer’s exploration of ethnographic sources in equatorial African contexts explores the complexity in models of a single value register based upon either ‘gift economies’ or ‘market commodity economies’ (Guyer 1993, 252). Indeed, as Guyer pointed out, ethnographic sources, particularly when located to each village and particular identified transactions, as in this case study, demonstrate that the only singular aspect of central African pre-colonial and early colonial economies was the ability to “play the register”; that is for skilled people and innovative things to remove and reinsert things into systems of value (Guyer 1993, 252). As Appadurai outlined: “exchange is not a by-product of the mutual valuation of objects, but its source” (Appadurai 1986, 4). Thus, this moment of encounter will be examined in terms of the ongoing negotiations of value, of which Torday was one part, and local agents were another. In this context, the varied value registers - their changeability,

their cultural and material constitution - will be explored through the ethnographic sources from two key areas, among the Lele and Wongo and among the Kuba.

Thesis Structure

This study will largely adopt a chronological structure. This structure is crucial in order to examine the development of the expedition's methodology, and their cumulative practical and theoretical knowledge of the Kasai. The growing collections and experiences resulted in 'evidence' in the form of photographs, objects, phonograph recordings and field notes. This sequencing of evidence into a chronological structure facilitates the methodological approach of micro-history, where Torday's work can be placed within a broader *existing* timeline. Integrating the Torday material into this wider temporal framework facilitates the fullest contextualisation of the detailed, empirical, approach underpinning all microscopic transactions and processes in the following chapters.

The next chapter, Chapter Two, outlines the key people mentioned in this thesis and offers an overview of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Congolese history. Chapter Three begins before the expedition, and is perhaps the only chapter that fully looks beyond Torday himself, toward a micro-history of the trading stations of the region concerning the Lele and Wongo peoples of the Kasai basin. This chapter considers Torday primarily in his role as a trader, one who was beginning to work, and thus define himself, as an ethnographer. This practical experience shaped his career trajectory, and, as such, this chapter will look at the role of amateur vs professional ethnography. More importantly for the contextualisation of later chapters, this chapter explores the notion that theory, anthropology and ethnography can (and have) begun in the field, developing their parameters based on pre-existing multivalent Euro-African-American relationships before the discipline itself was defined in earnest. Thus, this chapter looks at the development and genesis of broader colonial and trading networks of which Torday was a part, which in turn fostered various ideas about the people he encountered, their material culture, and opportunities for trade and exploration. In addition to these broad

parameters, there were also individual expectations and visions of the Congo that Torday began to explore and that would further inform his later extended visit to the Kasai.

Chapter Four will outline the expedition's itinerary through its various phases, making reference to the detailed timeline of the expedition in appendix 2 and the map of the expedition's route in appendix 3. In addition to this exploration, Torday's methods in collecting information and artefacts will be explored. This chapter will conclude with an examination of Torday's relative linguistic abilities, with particular focus dedicated to his encounter with the first Kuba peoples he met and interviewed on the Sankuru River, at Misumba in 1908.

After this orientation to the expedition and its movements, Chapter Five further 'zooms in' on one particular encounter between the Kuba-Bushong *Nyimi* [King] and Emil Torday. Not only was this particular encounter exceptional for Torday, it was some ways remarkable and noteworthy in the history of encounter and expedition. It was formative in two senses. Firstly, it was formative in the methods adopted by Torday, and his validation as an important collector and anthropologist. Secondly, it was formative in the local (and global) historiography of the Kasai and neighbouring people. Through and with Torday, the *Nyimi* Kwete harnessed the strength of previous monarchs and their epics or histories within this context, with resounding impact. This performance incorporated space and time, stretching the power of the *Nyimi*-ship back and projecting it forward. This chapter will explore the way in which it shaped Torday's vision of the Kasai and its history, and the role the Kuba *Nyimi* and the presentation and performance of material culture had to play in this. It is a vital piece of this history that helps inform Chapters Six and Seven, which will go on to look at the actual encounter Torday had with the Lele and Wongo people.

Chapter Six reconstructs, as far as possible, the transactions underway in the collection of artefacts where, in comparison to the encounter detailed in Chapter Five, there was no colonial infrastructure and no mission posts; the existing reputation of the Lele and Wongo people in the 1900s was largely negative and

affiliated with resistance and violence. Despite his linguistic skills, Torday spoke no relevant languages here; there were no maps and there was no precedent for crossing this southern part of the region. The anthropological value of Torday's material here has been questioned, as it should (it was much less informed by local discursive interactions). However, where Torday's anthropological work is lacking in precision, it is possible to examine these sources in terms of the anthropological processes that went into them in much the same way; where each transaction was a localised response to a global system. Through an exploration of local transactions in some detail, the Torday sources have revealed themselves to be an empirically rich resource for the study of Lele value systems and the role of regional trade patterns in the history of exploration, colonialism and political economy.

After the exploration of two key encounters, a final concluding encounter, will be addressed. This final chapter will look at whether or not the country between the Loange and Kasai Rivers where the Lele and Wongo resided was isolated from recent contact with regional and global market economies. It will also address the proto-academic origins of debates in African history, and how Torday used materials and oral histories in order to develop an enduring vision of the Kasai.

Conclusion

This chapter has begun to introduce the context for the expedition as well as the thesis. The following chapter looks at the primary actors during the expedition, namely, Torday, Hilton Simpson, Norman Hardy and T.A. Joyce. In outlining the life stories of the expedition members, especially Torday, their perspectives and methods during the expedition become apparent. Given the geographical focus of the thesis, to the time spent in south-central Kasai, a general overview of the Lele, Wongo and Kuba will be given, as well as a more general historical overview of activities in the Congo between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The focus where the Wongo and Lele are concerned is on ethnic appellations and geographical position. For the Kuba, some attention will be given to the confusing

picture of the Kuba system of authority within the existing historical and anthropological literature.

Chapter Two

Historical Overview

Introduction

This chapter, first of all, offers an introduction to the setting of the expedition, by outlining the history of the region and the current state of understandings of the Lele, Wongo and Kuba people within the literature. The first section will give a broad historical overview of the Congo Free State. Then, this chapter will go into detail about the expedition members and their life stories: these are those of Emil Torday, Hilton Simpson (the primary expedition members), Norman Hardy (the ethnographic artist) and T.A. Joyce, the keeper of ethnography at the British Museum. Appendix 1 adds to this biographical detail, outlining other peripheral figures that will be mentioned throughout the thesis (appendix 1). Although the individual African collaborators, especially *Nyimi Kwete*, are left out of this biographical section, Chapter Five addresses both Torday and Kwete in detail, going into much more depth through an analysis of the Torday material than is present in the existing historical literature. This chapter hopes to unpick the prism, the personality and the life-history of Emil Torday in order to truly understand his work and the collections.

It is necessary as a next step to briefly outline the Kuba 'Empire' and the Lele and Wongo in terms of their geographical and historical situation. Further detail about the historical relationship between these peoples will be addressed further into the thesis. The intention is to provide a broad picture of the geographical setting in order to fully situate Torday's work and collections which are addressed in more detail throughout the thesis. In addition, the Kuba were undergoing various changes to

their dynastic succession. This will also give further context to the local historical situation.

History of the Congo Free State

The following section offers a broad overview of colonial activity and trade in the Congo in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Through this discussion the placement of the expedition in terms of broader historical patterns will become more evident.

A geographical conference set up by King Leopold II of Belgium, in Brussels in 1876, saw a plethora of international travellers of Africa in attendance and led to the creation of the International Africa Association (Vansina 2010, 19). This association had the directive of exploring the continent and ending the slave trade there (Vansina 2010, 19). In 1887, the news that Henry Morton Stanley had traversed the Congo River from east to west had reached Europe, something which rectified gaps in the European knowledge of the Congo. King Leopold II immediately invited Henry Morton Stanley to be his representative (Vansina 2010, 19). By 1879, Stanley was back in the Congo with a directive of creating a colony (Vansina 2010, 19). Stanley set up an embryonic central government at Vivi and Boma in lower Congo, signed treaties with leaders and built a road between Vivi and Leopoldville (a newly named town on Malebo Pool, then known as Stanley Pool) (Vansina 2010, 19). Steam boats began to be launched on this lake and along the Congo River. These steamboats facilitated travel on the Congo River (and all of its tributaries), and concession posts thus increased in number. Leopold looked to expand from the outset, extending his frontiers, for example in the east, where a collaboration with the 'Arabs' was hoped for (Stengers 1985, 317).

A number of European powers met in Berlin in 1884 to discuss the official boundaries and 'ownership' of African territories, later described as the "scramble for Africa" (Vansina 2010, 18). Leopold could attend the Conference as a representative of political endeavours in Congo because of his work alongside

Stanley in the preceding decade. As a result of these discussions, King Leopold II was recognised as the monarch of the newly named Congo Free State, which officially acknowledged in Europe on 23rd February 1885 (Vansina 2010, 18). The Belgian government also recognised this state on the same day (Vansina 2010, 18). The Congo Independent State (Etat Independent du Congo), under the personal government of King Leopold, lasted from 1881 to 1908 (Stengers 1985, 316; Jewsiewicki 1983, 96). The running of the colony had nothing to do with the Belgian government, and King Leopold was sovereign monarch of both Congo and Belgium, but as separate entities (Stengers 1985, 317).

Relationships between Congolese peoples and Europeans began long before official boundaries were determined in Europe. Contact began largely through trading, which essentially took place along trade routes that had been in existence since the early nineteenth century at least: one system linked the coast to Stanley (Malebo) pool (Stengers 1985, 237). Another reached from there along the main river to the vicinity of Basoko, while a third (the Luso-African sphere) tied Luanda and Benguela in Angola to points in the Kasai and Katanga (Stengers 1985, 237). This latter trade route is the most relevant to this thesis, which covers the geographical area of the Kasai river basin. As Martin explains, the pattern of extracting raw materials against cheap imported European goods across Central Africa is corroborated by economic data but pre-dates *actual* occupation (Martin 1983, 4). However, as the years progressed and steamer technology facilitated trade further inland, prices were cheaper for imported goods, and Europeans traders were by-passing African middlemen (Martin 1983, 12). In the Kasai, this was largely overland trade from Luanda (Stengers 1985, 330) whilst mobile African traders shot elephants and foraged wild rubber (the Chokwe people in this case) (Martin 1983, 3). A key notion to bear in mind is put forward by Stengers: “[t]he years 1890-92 constitute a more significant turning point than the date of the foundation of the Congo Free State, or Stanley’s arrival in 1879, as the earlier years still can be seen as an extension of the nineteenth-century dynamics of the European commercial penetration. The

structural realisation of European hegemony on the ground was only beginning to be effected between 1890 and 1892" (Stengers 1985, 358).

The Congo Free State was an enormously expensive venture for the King, and yielded few profits initially. Facing near bankruptcy almost immediately, and after borrowing 25 million francs from the Belgian government, a turning point came in 1895 with the *régime domanial* and the discovery of wild rubber (Stengers 1985, 318). The *régime domanial* was the King's private property, where goods, such as rubber, were immediately in his possession (Stengers 1985, 319). The harvest of rubber increased within a short period: in 1890, Congo exported only 100 metric tons of rubber but by 1901, this figure had reached 6000 metric tons (one tenth of the world production of rubber) (Stengers 1985, 319; for a discussion of this rapid expansion see Jewsiewicki 1983, 96). By the same date, 1901, the state took over 18 million francs from its *régime domanial* (Stengers 1985, 319). This figure marked an incredible increase from just 150,000 francs taken from the *régime domanial* in 1890 (Stengers 1985, 319). Profits and investments, however, were not fed back into Congo but into Belgium, even paying for the building of the Musée du Congo Belge in Tervuren, Belgium (now the Royal Museum for Central Africa, RMCA) (Stengers 1985, 320).

Maximising profits were the priority, and the means through which to get these were less of a concern for King Leopold II. The near bankruptcy of the Congo initially meant the Belgian government had been given the right to annex the Congo by 1885, with the treaty of annexation (although this was not to be enacted until 1908) (Stengers 1985, 324). This idea of annexation was revived around 1906, as a result of the campaign against the Congo abuses (Stengers 1985, 324; Jewsiewicki 1983, 98). This campaign, largely led by E.D. Morel (see appendix 1.10), head of the Reform Congo Association, was framed in the Belgian press in terms of the 'greed' of the 'Liverpool merchants' (Stengers 1985, 325). In 1904, the British consul, Roger Casement published a report denouncing the abuses of King Leopold's regime (see appendix 1.2). The Congo commission inquiry (made up of a Belgian, a Swiss and an Italian) ended up backing Morel's findings, and reversed the Belgian opinion of the

state of exploitation (Stengers 1985, 327). The annexation took place on 15th November 1908 and was a necessary condition, according to Jewsiewicki, for the massive intervention of public and private Belgian capital (1983, 98).

Colonial History of the Kasai

For the area of concern for this thesis, the patterns of annexation and trade differ slightly from the broader dates. It is worthwhile outlining the colonial history that relates to this region in terms of the first explorations and the growth and development of concession trading company posts and mission stations. This section largely relates to the Kuba, for whom Vansina's (2010) work has described this history in detail. For the Lele and Wongo people, chapters Three and Six in this thesis outline the history of trade posts and explorations for this region. Lele and Wongo people were largely encountered from surrounding trade posts in the years up until 1909 (as in Chapter Three), and Torday was the first European to directly visit the area in 1909 (the subject of Chapter Six).

The Kuba were not in direct contact with Europeans, and, after an initial visit by Europeans, explained below, spent years rejecting foreign visitors and resisted direct European trade and trade posts. In terms of expansion and exploration of the Kasai basin, just one year before the Berlin Conference, King Leopold had financed an expedition which arrived in Luluabourg in 1884. This expedition had two leaders, Hermann Von Wissmann who had already travelled across Africa, and his second in command, Dr. Ludwig Wolf (Vansina 2010, 20). This is the point at which the Kasai was first visited by a European, and thus the beginnings of the region's *direct* involvement with Europeans and its link to the Congo Free State. In 1885, just ten days before the Congo was officially recognised, Ludwig Wolf arrived at the marketplace of Ibanc within the Kuba-Bushong Kingdom (Vansina 2010, 20). Wolf wanted to gain permission from the Kuba King, then Mbop Mabiinc maMbul, via his deputy, "Mbotte Kumambwa" (Mbot Ikumaam) to descend the Kasai River along the Kuba realm's western border (Vansina 2010, 20). This journey was realised, and thus the hitherto unknown (except to the Kuba) course of the Lower Kasai River was

made known (Vansina 2010, 20). These two explorers found that the Kasai River joins the Congo River further upstream and so the region of the Kasai was actually physically linked by way of the river system to what was soon to become the Congo Free State (Vansina 2010, 20). Wolf made a journey from Leopoldville (modern-day Kinshasa) on board the largest steamer at the time, *The Stanley* and ascended the Lulua River as far as possible, founding Luebo at the first waterfalls (which blocked further access to the Lulua River) (Vansina 2010, 20). Luebo became an important place of trade and lay next to a Kete village on the furthest border of the Kuba realm (Vansina 2010, 20). Wolf was accompanied by an English government official, Bateman, who declared (not to the Kuba) that the whole region was for the new Congo State (Vansina 2010, 20). Wolf then continued his travels, exploring the Sankuru while Bateman remained at Luebo to build a trading station (Vansina 2010, 20).

After this first visit, no traders surrounding the Kuba had managed to establish trading relations with the “masters of ivory”, the Kuba Kings (Vansina 2010, 21). Foreign visitors were unwelcomed within the core areas of the kingdom until the first decades of the twentieth-century, as discussed in a range of sources (Verner 1903, Sheppard 1908; Torday 1913 and 1925; see also Vansina 2010, 124). Until 1892, the Kuba refused all gifts and foreign presence: they ignored the foreign presence both at Luebo and in the government post of Luluabourg (Vansina 2010, 21). No-one was permitted to enter the Kuba Kingdom and caravans could not travel below Kabaw (Vansina 2010, 20-21). This was part of a pattern in Central Africa in the latter decades of the nineteenth century (for the most part), where Africans hindered European ambitions to extend its trading links further inland from the coast, and trade routes were strictly checked in order to prevent a loss of control (Friedman 1991, 52). It was not until several years later that foreign visitors were allowed back into the Kuba capital, however, as Kwet aMbweky, the monarch responsible for the policy of non-cooperation, had by then been overthrown (Vansina 2010, 67).

As mentioned previously, King Leopold II, the monarch in charge of the Congo Free State, had to agree to the Congo Basin being an international zone of free trade and granted unlimited access to any individual or company (commercial or religious) that desired a plot of land to settle or wanted to traverse the country (Vansina 2010, 19). The Congo Free State was made up of a plethora of international trading and mission stations. These were largely privately-owned trading companies but the lines between 'colonial' authority and trading activities were extremely blurred in the Congolese environment. This is important to remember; that the Congo Free State 'belonged' to King Leopold but that it was an 'international zone' and not, before 1908, a Belgian Colony (Vansina 2010, 22). The way this played out in the Kasai region will be summarised below in terms of the various mission stations and trading and administrative posts. These concession companies (largely) marked an end to a certain amount of autonomy that continued to be exercised over inland trade routes and saw an end to the indigenous systems in place in the distribution of wealth and raw materials (Friedman 1991, 56).

In the Kasai there were such low numbers of colonial personnel; the only nearby government headquarters was in Dima (on the Kasai River, see Vansina 2010). Even amongst the Kuba, a direct administrative presence only began in 1910 (Vansina 2010, 180). Districts and *chefferies* in the area between the Loange and the Kasai came into place after the Torday expedition, when as part of the colonial project trading companies began penetrating further into the interior (Friedman 1991, 53). The following section will outline the increasing role of trade companies and mission stations, which were part of a colonial system, and which often exercised arbitrary authority; exacerbating social tensions through profit-driven strategies. In order to discuss these processes in more detail in later chapters, it is first necessary to describe the structure and location of the key trading and mission posts (which for this region overlapped and changed from one to the other). In addition, the placement of Torday's detailed ethnographic work within the system of colonial knowledge will become evident. Belgian colonial policy looked to fix territories for the implementation of direct rule with a "first right of occupancy" (a historical and

legitimate claim to land), and, in the Belgian Congo, the monopoly in trade depended upon the fixity of trade concessions (Harms 1975, 75; on the pre-1914 implementation of indirect rule, see Meeuwis 2013, 190).¹² Ethnographic information was necessary for the implementation of colonial policy and trade monopolies in an area with very few European personnel (Masui 1897, 210 in Meeuwis 2013, 190; Martin 1983, 6).¹³

The nearest mission post to the Kuba was Luebo, where American Protestant missionaries had resided, including Lapsey, Verner and the famous William Henry Sheppard, the African American Missionary who was first to gain entry into the Kuba capital in 1892 (at the time of *Nyimi Kot aMweeky*), and who also played a large role in the Congo Reform Association against the Belgian treatment of Congolese peoples in the collection of rubber (see Campbell 2007 and appendix 1.8, 1.11, 1.13). According to Vansina, Luebo was typical for the whole of the early Congo State: traders came from a number of different nations, including Great Britain, Belgium, Portugal, Germany and France (Vansina 2010, 22). Missions were the same: they were made up of, firstly, different religious denominations and secondly, many nationalities (Vansina 2010, 22).

Luebo transitioned from a government post to a trading station that was on the road to the government station of Luluabourg (Vansina 2010, 20). By 1886, Luebo, the key trading/mission post near the Kuba and the Lele peoples, had been outsourced to an American commercial company, the Sanford Exploring Expedition (Vansina 2010, 20). Two years later, Luebo was taken over by a Belgian trading company called the *Société Anonyme Belge* who continued to trade in rubber (Vansina 2010, 20).

Luebo's financial trouble was, according to Vansina, typical for the whole of the

¹² The decree of 6 October 1891 'recognized the validity of indigenous chieftaincies' (Masui 1897, 210; Van der Kerken 1943, 51) and conferred certain degrees of authority and obligations onto the chiefs. With time, the authorities came to realise that the system would only prove efficient if generalised throughout the entire territory and across the whole population: a decree of 3 June 1906 therefore obliged all Congolese to be part of a *chefferie* (Van der Kerken 1943, 51- 52; Meeuwis 2013, 191).

¹³ Interestingly, Masui was the first curator of the Congo section of Tervuren after the 1897 Brussels International Exposition. His exhibition catalogue (1897) illustrated briefly the groups Zande, Kongo, Teke, Kuba, Kusu, Luluwa and Luba (Biebuyck 1985, 7).

Congo (Vansina 2010, 23). With the outlawing of any custom duties at the Conference of Berlin, the State lacked sufficient income, meaning that outsourcing to private enterprise was resorted to (Vansina 2010, 22). There was a considerable lack of personnel in Congo, and so missionaries and concession companies had important roles that often overlapped into administrative arenas, as typified by the ongoing activities and changing nature of the personnel at Luebo.

The 1900s saw a significant number of changes in terms of the structural organisation of trade in the region as trade posts increased in volume. Firstly, in 1901, King Leopold was pressuring the fourteen companies that worked in the Kasai to amalgamate into a one new concessionary company in a fifty-fifty partnership with the state (Vansina 2010, 86). This was the company that became the *Compagnie du Kasai* on 24th December 1901 (Vansina 2010, 86). This company had a monopoly over trade in rubber, ivory, and other raw materials (Vansina 2010, 86). Much like an administrative colonial organisation, the *Company du Kasai* had divided its territory into “secteurs”. The head of each secteur left the running of individual factories to European managers or agents who were all in charge of keeping monthly accounts and stocking up the stores with items for trade and exchange in rubber and in ivory (Vansina 2010, 87). They began to hire Belgian agents, although before 1908, other foreign nationals were still employed (Torday, as a Hungarian, was hired by this Company in 1904) (Vansina 2010, 86-87). Most of the Kuba Kingdom, including the later post at Nsheng (Mushenge), the Kuba capital, belonged to secteur 10 of the Kasai Company and had its headquarters at Luebo, but the northern and eastern parts lay in secteur 11 with headquarters at Bolombo on the Sankuru River (Vansina 2010, 90).

The *Compagnie's* goal of increasing profits, and their often ambiguous role in a system of colonial authority, contributed to huge social tensions in the region. Trade in rubber had seen a serious decline in price and in volume of exports (Vansina 2010, 87; Martens 1980, 285). By 1908, prices for rubber were slowly improving but the price paid to African producers reduced during that time (Vansina 2010, 87). Despite

the falling market value of rubber, directors of the company continued to pay increasingly high dividends from 1905 onwards, indicating the use of drastic cost-cutting measures for which the company was famous and for which it began to receive heavy criticism by the Reform Congo Movement and the missionaries at Luebo, who provided evidence for this movement. The management of these Compagnie posts, by all accounts (see Leo Frobenius 1905 cited in Vansina 2010, 87), was largely down to the discretion of the agent: some skimmed off profits and goods for living expenses, or even a lavish lifestyle (in local terms), and compensated by buying rubber at prices below the already low rates (Vansina 2010, 87-88). Agents also practiced the age-old custom (in operation since the arrival of Europeans in Angola) of advancing goods to African entrepreneurs called *capitas* who then set out to buy ivory and rubber (Vansina 2010, 88). This in itself could cause conflict, especially when advances were liquidised to settle personal debts or fines and the store manager had to make up the losses (Vansina 2010, 88). Advances, at times, were also forced upon villages or people and rubber then demanded as a “due” (Vansina 2010, 88). Then armed *capitas* were set up in larger villages and rubber was demanded from larger villages as “taxes”, mirroring the practices in elsewhere in the equatorial regions of Congo: it was this practice that had been the main cause of violence and atrocities (Vansina 2010, 88).

There were also huge changes to social, as well as economic, structures in the Kasai region. All hired labour and all the *capitas* working on or for these posts came from outside the kingdom, mostly Lulua (Vansina 2010, 90). The large influx of Lulua and Luba foreigners; the system of taxation; the presence of the colonial army, the Force Publique; and the loss of land to plantations - all led to extreme social tensions in the region (Vansina 2010, 91; Martin 1983, 3). Contemporaneous missionary reports talk of the Kuba Bushong “flocking to the missions” on one hand, yet an increase of witchcraft accusations and the poison ordeal in villages (Vansina 2010, 91). Indeed, Vansina writes that heading towards a mission station for protection and the exemption from taxes was a common factor behind this movement (Vansina 2010, 91).

At more or less the very moment of Torday's visit to the Kuba Kingdom, missionaries at Luebo were in the process of compiling further evidence in support of the Reform Congo Association; publishing, in January 1908, reports of colonial abuses in the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) newsletter (Sheppard 1908 cited in Vansina 2010, 109). As Vansina writes, Sheppard's reports of the demise of Kuba country because of exploitative Compagnie rule "proved to be the opening shot of the last phase of the Reform Congo Association coordinated by E.D. Morel in Great Britain" (Vansina 2010, 109). William Sheppard and his Euro-American missionary companion, William Morrison, were later sued for libel by Torday's former employer, the Compagnie du Kasai (they were acquitted) (see Benedetto 1996) (see appendix 1).

These wider narratives and chronologies will be examined through the case study of the Torday expedition and its movements among the Kuba, the Lele and the Wongo of the Kasai. The notion of a clear-cut transition between 'pre-colonial' and 'colonial' will also be explored through this case study. The types of processual knowledge acquisition that was required by the Belgian authorities, and by British and Belgian prospectors, in order to 'annex' an area in such a vast country, took some time to assemble, and required the detailed information set out by Torday. In addition, this historical context can shed some light on the context in which the collections were made, the photographs were taken, and the oral testimonies were recorded. The next section will explore Torday's relationship with colonialism and the colonial authorities, before showing how Torday's archival material demonstrates how a vision of history was made during this period.

Torday and Colonialism

As has been demonstrated, Torday had affiliations with both Belgium and Britain where his work had a residual impact. These affiliations reflected and contributed to the political ambitions of both countries at the time. The following section will thus outline the nature of Torday's affiliations with the Congo Free State and the Belgian Congo, and his feelings about the colonial system. It draws upon the broader context

outlined by Shildkrout and Keim (1998) about the connection between colonial annexation and the surge of interest in collecting and expeditions in the Congo Free State and the Belgian Congo during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In a sense, Torday's affiliation with Britain and the British Museum was a product of a coincidence between the desire to create a collection in a colony, and the historical-economic circumstances that underpinned the impending shift toward free-trade in Congo. As his letters make clear, Joyce was talking about other Englishmen in the Congo (TOR 68), which forces him to assert his ethnographic authority in the face of perceived professional competition (May 25th 1906, TOR 68). Torday began to speak unfavourably about the Germans in Congo, who were also racing to make collections and record ethnographic information (TOR 68). He seems to have had some dislike for German nationals, and a particular personal dislike for his arch-rival, Frobenius. Given the increasing naval competition between Britain and Germany that led up to the outbreak of World War One, Torday's own national, personal and professional rivalries personify this contentious relationship. Schildkrout and Keim's volume (1998), *The Scramble for Art in Central Africa*, features two edited chapters that address Emil Torday, demonstrating his importance in the typifying of these trends: the 'scramble' for Africa was accompanied by a 'scramble' for art (Schildkrout and Keim 1998).

While Torday did not consciously describe himself as a contributor to this political system, he certainly was. He expressed some opinion about his stance towards colonialism, which was not straightforward in terms of being 'for' or 'against' the colonial system. Torday was a strong advocate of African systems of authority but he was also professionally driven and ambitious and saw employment opportunities within the Compagnie du Kasai in 1900s, which he took up. However, he left this employment on principal in 1906. He certainly saw no harm in the (colonial) 'system' itself, but rather in the poor administration of the 'system.' Privately, we find that Torday disagreed with the type of colonialism in the Belgian Congo in

particular. One edition of *Causeires Congolaises*¹⁴ has a typed note inserted into/onto the binding in English reading:

Private

This book is an attempt to smuggle surreptitiously, and by false pretences, some slight information on native thoughts and ways into the minds of those residents in the Belgian Congo who, however long they stay there, refuse to take any notice of, or read about, the “niggers.”

The end at which it aims must serve as an exercise for the motley in which it is cloaked.

E.T.

17, The Grove, Boltons, London, S.W. 10.

Perhaps Torday felt that the outcome of his research, in its potentially redemptive qualities, was a counter to the problems it generated, and the contributions it made to the colonial system.

Despite this example of private objections to certain European presence in Africa, there is an example of Torday publicly endorsing the Belgian government in the press. The Archives Africaines in Brussels show that Torday was only granted permission to visit Congo provided he gave no evidence against the state or the atrocities. An example of Torday's contribution to the creation of the political vision of the archive is a press clipping that was categorised with 'pro' Congo Free State evidence. It is about an interview Torday gave to a Belgian journalist whilst in Kuba

¹⁴ Torday, E. 1925. *Causeires Congolaises* (Vromant & Co., Imprimeurs-éditeurs. 3, Rue de la chapelle, Bruxelles).

country declaring that there were no atrocities in the Congo: “frankly I do not believe that the work of gathering rubber has had any unfortunate influence on the social life of the Kuba” (Van der Linden 1910, 228 cited in Vansina 2010, 113; see appendix 1.9). This information was stored and used as counter-evidence against the lobbying of the Congo Reform Association and the campaign against atrocities, coordinated by E.D Morel (see appendix 1.2, 1.10, and 1.11; Vansina 2010, 109). Torday also wrote a note to de Grunne (a state official) to ‘dispel rumours’ (Vansina 2010, 113; HS v.6). This took place in order to accumulate counter-evidence to the attacks underway at the time on the nature of the Belgian colonial trade in rubber (see Osborne 1999 and Pavlakis 2010). This ‘counter-evidence’, such as Torday’s interview, was *generated* with Torday and journalists sympathetic to the Compagnie. Torday’s claim was retained in the archive in a section that built up contemporaneous evidence for use in court in response to the international attacks led by the Congo Reform Association, whose activities are briefly outlined in the historical overview of the thesis. It was, therefore, inserted into the archive at an early date in order to create a particular vision of history.

The next section will detail the information we currently have about the Kuba, Lele and Wongo people, their governance and their social organisation in the late nineteenth-centuries, as recorded by the existing literature (Vansina 1972, 2010; Bundjok 2008). This information is much more detailed for the Kuba than for the Lele and Wongo respectively.

The Kuba

The Kuba peoples are part of a ‘realm’ normally referred to as the Kuba Kingdom, ruled by the Kuba-Bushong (Mbala) lineage in Central Africa.¹⁵ Their region, broadly speaking, is bordered by the Sankuru, Lulua and Kasai Rivers in the South-East of the modern-day Democratic Republic of Congo (see fig.14). The Kingdom itself is located on the edge of the equatorial rain forest between the Sankuru and Lulua

¹⁵ Of course, throughout the thesis, comment will be made about the definition of the Kuba as a Kingdom or Empire, but in terms of short-hand in this introductory section, the term Kingdom will be used.

Rivers, an advantageous location on two navigable rivers through which they exploited the resources from the savannah and forest. The Kuba developed into an important entity that controlled a rich trade network (fig.15). Figure 15 shows Vansina's (2010) map of Kuba trade networks in the late nineteenth century.

The Kuba kingdom was a conglomerate of several smaller Bushong-speaking principalities as well as the Kete and the Twa Pygmies. There are currently around eighteen different ethnic groups which are included within descriptions of the Kuba Kingdom, which is presided over by the *Nyimi*, or King, who is selected from the ruling Bushong lineage. The *Nyimi* at the time of Torday's visit was *Nyimi Kwete Peshange Kena*, or *KotaPe* [also referred to in historical sources and Hilton Simpson's diary by the Tshiluba term, *Lukengu*].¹⁶ The capital was called *Mushenge* by Torday, and is referred to as *Nsheng* according to modern-day orthographic conventions (largely put forward by Jan Vansina 1978, 1990). Vansina provides us with a summary:

A CLUSTER of some eighteen small tribes, numbering in all some 70,000 people, which lives on the rolling heights between the rivers Kasai, Sankuru and Lulua in the Kasai province of the Congo, are called Kuba by their neighbours. They form a kingdom which is in fact a federation of tribes, dominated by a central group, the Bushoong,¹⁷ whose chief is king of the whole congeries. This federation was imposed by the Bushoong upon the other tribes by conquest or threat of arms during the course of the three last centuries (Vansina 1960, 257).

¹⁶ The term *Nyimi Kwete* will be employed throughout as it was Torday's preferred name for the *Nyimi*.

¹⁷ Vansina employs the orthography "Bushong" in his 2010 text. Bushong, rather than Bushoong will be used throughout.

Torday established the label for the Kuba people “Bushongo,” which he felt was more authentic (‘historical’) than the Luba term, Kuba (Torday and Joyce 1910). According to more current historical understandings, the Kuba can be understood as a confederation of different ethnic groups, each with their own language, histories, and traditions, who were bound together because they all pay tribute to a single king (Vansina 1978, 140-42). Torday’s use of the term Bushong, for all of the Kuba is thus incorrect. It reveals the Bushong-bias in his sources and Torday’s close alignment with the ethnic labels given to him by the Bushong throughout his publications and museological labels, rather than, say, the Ngendi (another Kuba sub-group) or Lele versions.

Vansina (2010) has offered a more detailed overview of Kuba history in the early 1900s that will be explained below. In 1904, just a few years before the expedition had arrived in their country, Europeans had been faced with a large insurgency by the Kuba peoples, led from the capital, Mushenge [Nsheng]. Within these years, the Kuba monarchy had undergone a series of complex transformations. Kot aMbweky’s successor, Mushaape, assumed power in the summer of 1896 and consolidated his power by having seven prominent sons of his predecessor killed (Vansina 2010, 67). However, Kwet aMbweky’s favourite son Mishaamilyeng escaped. Mushaape reinstated a ‘policy of isolation’ (Vansina 2010, 67). Sheppard and Morrison of Luebo [see appendix 1.12] were prevented from entering the capital in 1897 but Sheppard had been an ally of Kwet aMbweky and was thus still an ally of Mishaamilyeng (Mishaamilyeng fled to Ibanc, the post set up near to Nsheng) (Vansina 2010, 69). As Vansina pointed out, Sheppard’s miscomprehension of matrilineal succession meant he essentially did not recognise Mushaape’s claim to power, or rather he felt that power had transferred from one family to another (Vansina 2010, 68). This had consequences for the relationships between missionaries at Luebo and the several kings that followed, who were in opposition to each other throughout the 1900s.

Mushaape died in 1900, and his two immediate successors also passed away, leaving a “political vacuum” that facilitated an increase in trade posts in the region at this

time (Vansina 2010, 80). Vansina writes that “in 1902, it seemed that the royal dynasty was coming to an end” but that the next King, Kot aPe, installed in July 1902, survived and thereby saved the realm in Kuba eyes (Vansina 2010, 80). The final Kuba analysis of this attack on royal succession, writes Vansina, was that its cause was supernatural, involving a curse, *Nceemy*, with the culprit and origin of this curse being the former king, Kwet aMbweky (Vansina 2010, 80).¹⁸ This curse would ensure that none of the men in the royal house would ever bear a child again (Vansina 2010, 81). His son, Mishaamilyeng helped craft that curse and thus Kot aPe ordered the execution of Sheppard’s Kuba friend and ally (Vansina 2010, 81). In 1903 Kot aPe arranged a counter-charm that ensured the survival of the *Nyimi*. This counter charm, *Mutoom* was made with a Zappo Zap man called *Lyoung*. The Zappo Zap (eastern Congolese, Songye people) were the “fiercest warriors in the Kasai” and “had the best sorcerers” (Vansina 2010, 81).¹⁹ The Kuba had experienced the might of the Zappo Zap in the years up to Mushaape’s death, through the extensive raids by Zappo Zap that had taken place on behalf of Dufour (the commander of Luluabourg) with the aim of producing revenue from Kuba country (Vansina 2010, 73). The counter-charm commissioned by KotaPe (Nyimi Kwete) was displayed outside of the entrance of the royal palace, and was photographed by Torday in 1908 (Torday and Joyce 1910, figs. 56-57). This overview of the 1900s Kuba Nyimi’s and their succession assists in situating the historical context of Kuba royalty upon Torday’s arrival, which Chapter Five will explore in more detail.

The Lele

Information about the Lele experience of colonialism is extremely scant. The expedition’s sources produced in this area thus offer us further nuance to the picture painted (below), and will be explored in the remainder of the thesis. The Lele people principally live in the Province of Kasai Occidental (Ilebo, Luebo, Mweka and

¹⁸ Vansina retrieved this information from the Vansina files, “Nyim-before 1920” (1953, 1954). Shaam aNce Evariste related this to Vansina in 1953.

¹⁹ Vansina used information told to Shaam aKoong, as told to him by Nyimilong a Mbobulaam, a contemporary of Kot aPe (Vansina 2010, 83).

Chikapa²⁰ territories) and in the province of Bandundu (D'idoga, Gungu and Oshwe territories) (Bundjok 2008, 10) (fig.16). Their close neighbours are the Wongo people (confusingly called "Bakongo" by Torday). Lele and Wongo people live between the Loange River (*Tembo*), to the West, and the Kasai River (*Ndjakolo*) to the North and East, enclosing their land within these only partially navigable rivers (Bundjok 2008, 4). To the north of the River Kasai is tropical forest and to the south, savannah. Within the two rivers, the landscape is varied with hills, mountains, plains, plateaus and forested pockets, as well as plenty of rivers and lakes that furnish the rich aquatic animal life. The Lele largely resided between the Loange and the Kasai Rivers in a territory of only 15.300 km²; to the East of the Bandundu Province and the west edge of the Ilebo and Chikapa territories. The Lele people speak *Lushideer*, although commonly, in basic ethnographic descriptions and language indexes, this language is referred to simply as Lele. The Lele were sub-divided by the Belgian administration into three Chefferies or Secteurs (Douglas 1963). The three Secteurs in 1948 were: the Secteur Lumbundji-Kasai (Lele 8, 322; Chokwe 7, 593; Others 2, 604); the Secteur Lumbundji-Loange (Lele 9, 728; Chokwe 544; others 106); and the Secteur du Sud (Lele 8, 197; Chokwe 1,980; others 434). The population of the Lele people, despite a lack of modern-day census material, is still much smaller than the large confederacy of Kuba groups.²¹

The term 'Lele,' according to Bundjok's recent work (2008), is not indigenous to the Lele as such. Lele was not originally an ethnonym used by the Lele themselves: the Lele of the north called themselves *BahiDeer*, or *BahiDeel*, and those in the south, *BashiDeer* (Bundjok 2008, 13). The Wongo and the Djembe call the Lele *BaDeer* (Bundjok 2008, 13). It is the Bushong that called the Lele *Bashilyeel*, perhaps the closest ethnonym to Torday's chosen 'Bashilele.' The Ding and the Mbuun call the

²⁰ The "ch" orthography will be used for a soft c, rather than the francophone version, "tsh" (as in Tshipaka/Chipaka and Tshoke/Chokwe).

²¹ Population estimates used by Mary Douglas in her 1963 monograph still remain in general overviews of Lele ethnography and geography (see Wikipedia entries on the Lele as well as the Joshua Project entry). These population estimates are for those Lele who largely live between the Loange and the "great crook formed by the Kasai as it turns from northward to west, until it meets the Loange" (Douglas 1963, 12). Including an additional 5,000 temporary immigrants working near Basongo, the total population in the whole territory of Basongo was about 44,000 in 1948, of which the Lele only numbered 26, 000.

Lele Oshilele. Torday was the first person to note the ethnonym that was taken up in the twentieth-century by the colonial administration, missionaries and ethnographers, where Lele, or Bashilele, was used.

Henry Bundjok attributes an alternative reification of the Lele ethnonym, answering the question of why Lele people refer to themselves as Lele. Torday's visit to the southern Lele country was a first, but some northern villages had been visited by the first Scheut mission (C.I.C.M) who came in 1908.²² They were accompanied by Lulula interpreters who could not pronounce *Deer*, and transformed the name into *Lela* (Bundjok 2008, 13). According to the same author, as the origins of teaching and textbooks were from Kisantu, in 1935, *BashiDeer*, aka *Bashilela* became the *Bashilele*. In terms of the French- and English-speaking traditions, where Torday's work was widely read, the Kuba term *Bashilele* was widely adopted before 1935. In addition, the Pende and Chokwe appellation "Tukongo" (transformed into *Wongo*) seems to have been found its way into the Belgian records via the *Compagnie du Kasai* posts, especially *Dumba* (the nearest CdK trade post to the southern Lele), which was heavily populated by Pende peoples.

Thus the labelling of the material culture collected by Torday as 'Tukongo', or *Wongo* and also *Lele*, *Bashilele* is indicative of Torday's (and other Europeans' before him) interaction with 'outsider' groups who were engaging with the Lele before Europeans traded directly with them. As Bundjok (2008) points out:

Mais on ne trouve aucune trace des termes
BashiDeer, Bahideer ou même Badeer dans la
littérature ethnographique où ont surtout circulé
les termes de *Bashilele*, *Bashi-lele*, *Bashilela*, *Ba-*

²² The CICM Missionaries (Latin: *Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae*, or the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary), is a Roman Catholic missionary religious congregation of men established in 1862 by the Belgian Catholic priest, Theophiel Verbist (1823–1868). Its origins lie in Scheut, Anderlecht, a suburb of Brussels, due to which it is widely known as the Scheut Missionary. See Vanysacker, Dries & Renson, Raymond (ed.) 1995. *The Archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM-Scheut) (1862–1967) - 2 v.*, (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome), 36-37.

Chilélé, Baschilele, Baschililé, Bashilehle, Bouxhililé (Maes et Boone 1935, 166). Plus récemment, et jusqu'à aujourd'hui, les Administrateurs coloniaux, les missionnaires et les ethnologues ont adopté le [sic.] termes *Lele* (ou *Bashilele*)" (Bundjok 2008, 13).²³

However, Torday, by 1910, was already using the ethnonym "Lele" [Bashilele] in his account which was published by the *Annales Coloniales Belge* (Torday and Joyce 1910). Also, knowledge contained within this publication, as we will further see, was a development of field multi-lateral knowledge exchanged during Torday's two stays in Congo that fed back into the works of the likes of Maes and Boone (1935) as well as the missionary and trading networks of the area highlighted for the northern part of Lele country by Bundjok (2008) and Nkay Malu (2006). Arguably, what was reified were the variations of Lele ethnic groups described by other Africans and Europeans, notably Torday whose collections and maps brought these local variants to a world stage. This recently outlined ethnogenesis (Bundjok 2008) serves to highlight significant factors within the production of historical narrative about the Lele in Europe, of which Torday was an early proponent.

The Wongo

The Wongo reside next to and among the Lele, yet are largely unnamed or studied in historical literature about the Congo. They were the canoe keepers during the expedition, and facilitated movement into the Lele territory from the left bank of the Loange. The Lele and Wongo languages are mutually intelligible. There is a shared history and relationships between the Lele and Wongo peoples although there is a great deal of ambiguity surrounding Wongo appellation within Lele oral histories and within written scholarship (Douglas, 1963). Where for the Lele ethnogenesis we

²³ But we find no traces of the terms BashiDeer, BahiDeer or even Badeer in the ethnographic literature where we especially find the terms Bashilele, Bashi-Lele, Bashilela, Ba-Chilélé, Baschilele, Bashililé, Bashilehle, Bouxhililé. More recently, and until today, the colonial administrators, the missionaries and the ethnologists have adopted the terms Lele (or Bashilele) [translation author's own].

have a number of local sources spanning a fifty year period (collected and published in Bundjok 2008 and Douglas 1963), providing alternative perspectives, we do not have this for the study of Wongo peoples or their ethnogenesis. According to Douglas, the “Lele were originally known as Wongo. The name of the Lele was given to them by the aristocratic clan, called Tundu, whose religious supremacy they accepted when they settled down together in their present territory” (Wautier, report on the Bashilele AIMO, 1935 cited in Douglas 1963, 14). Douglas also states the Lele talk of the Wongo as their subordinates (Douglas 1963, 14). She continues, with a quote from Torday, to demonstrate that Wongo has two uses:

Dans le village de Makasu les habitants disaient d’abord qu’ils étaient Bashilele; quand on leur demanda s’il étaient Bakongo, ils répondirent: ‘Certainement; nous sommes Bashilele-Bakongo.’ On leur demanda ensuite: ‘Tous les Bakongo sont-ils des Bashilele?’ et la réponse fut: ‘Non,’ mais à la question: ‘Tous les Bashilele sont ils de Bakongo?’ ils répondirent: ‘Certainement!’ (Torday and Joyce 1910, 47).²⁴

According to Henry Bundjok, the Tukongo is what the Chokwe call the Kakongo, who were the migratory companions of Lele people; they installed themselves in the region of Chikapa in the way that is described in the Lele origin history (Bundjok 2008, 2).²⁵ All we can really glean from this, is that Torday was the first European to

²⁴ In the Village of Makasu the residents first of all said they were Bashilele; when we demanded if they were Bakongo they responded: ‘Certainly we are Bashilele-Bakongo’ We then asked them: ‘All the Bakongo are they Bashilele?’ and they responded ‘no,’ but to the question: ‘Are all the Bashilele Bakongo?’ they responded: ‘Certainly’ (Torday and Joyce 1910, 47) [translation author’s own]. This quote calls into question the statement made in Torday and Joyce’s publication in 1910, and further quoted by Mary Douglas, that everything he [Torday] wrote was gleaned from Bushong sources or confined to what he could observe with his own eyes” (Torday and Joyce 1910, 16 & 46; cited in Douglas 1963, 9). It is unclear how, without a translator into Lele (*lushideer*)²⁴ or Wongo languages, that Torday asked these questions. As far as the rest of the Torday publications would make clear, the only verbal communication that took place in this region was in Pende and Lulula.

²⁵ This Lele oral history outlines the Wongo were recent inhabitants, with a Chokwe appellation: “During this second stage, the Lele’s ancestors had the name *Ban ba Mbandja Mbodi* (the descendants of the ore [coming]

publish any research about the Wongo people, and that Mary Douglas's fieldwork provided no further answers to Torday's explorations, other than adding the Wongo were subordinate to the Lele. During the expedition, the unpublished sources have revealed an almost interchangeable use of Tukongo [Wongo] and Lele within the same village. In contrast, the published sources differentiate the two peoples (Lele and Wongo) somewhat, locating the Wongo on the left bank of the Kasai (i.e. near where the Pende at the factory of Dumba lived) and the Lele further inland.

Biographies: Torday, Hilton Simpson, Hardy and Joyce

Before beginning to sketch out the expedition in more detail, it is first necessary to identify the participants: Emil Torday, Hilton Simpson, Norman Hardy and, as their point of contact with the museum and scholarly world, Thomas Althol Joyce. In light of the fact that Torday constitutes at least a footnote, if not a primary source, in nearly every history of this area of the Congo, a detailed account of how he collected the information and records he did is warranted.

This section incorporates new data from the archives in Budapest carried out largely by the Hungarian-speaking curator at the Néprajz Museum, Budapest, who recently reviewed the Torday collection for an exhibition held there in 2016. As such, this section fills in some of the blanks about Torday's life as out forward by Mack (1990). In addition, Torday's ambiguous place in the history of anthropology is rendered more understandable. If, as Edmund Leach remarked (1989), the biography of an

from the place of origin. They left Mbandja Deer, anxious to find a calmer territory where the treasury of the chief [trans. 'chef'], *Iboolo la pemba Ndambe* (emblem of the kaolin of God), would be more secure. They moved towards the south and reached *Tundu a Ngol*, the country of the King Ngola. They founded their capital in Manyenyi where they were designated the name Kakongo by the Chokwe. These people say of our ancestors: *Kwahokongo Tshimbadi* (the people coming from Kongo are imposing). They installed themselves next in *Ishadja la iyool* (the plain of overpopulation). They founded their capital *Nsheng Lubamba* close to *Shambwanda*, the ancient historical site of the Chokwe. Attacked by the Lunda, our ancestors decided to quit this area, ravaged by famine and the *Yung a Mboyo* epidemic [Yung means epidemic and Ying a Mboyo means fatal epidemic; Mboyo is the name of a woman which the tradition remembers as being the first to catch the fatal contagious illness and spreading it.] Not far from the *Shambwanda*, in the proximity of *Tshwakap* [meaning the small locality of Chicapa, on the river of the same name and on the frontier between Angola and DRC, and not the town of Tschikapa, situated in DRC, where the river Chicapa feeds into the Kasai]."

Translation author's own. See Bundjok 2006, M4, for original.

anthropologist is a vital contribution to understanding an anthropologist's theoretical stand-point, this section adds clarity to the history of early anthropology.

Torday

Knowledge of Emil Torday's biography remains incomplete, although advancements made last year by Foldessy (2015), mean we now know Emil Torday was born on June 22nd 1875, under the name Emil Böhm (2015, 47) (fig.8). His birth certificate was found in the Jewish Community Museum in Budapest, where his original family name (Böhm) was discovered. He was the second son of Lajos Böhm and Erzsébet (Bettina) Mannheimer (Foldessy 2015, 47). His mother was from Csáktornya (today Cakovec, Croatia). His brother, Imre, was born in 1869 to Ljos Böhm's first wife, (Malvina Weiss), while his two full siblings, Felix and Hedvig were born in 1874 and 1878 (Foldessy 2015, 47). The family lived in the "then fashionable" Terézváros district of Budapest, at 74 Király utca (see fig.9) (Foldessy 2015, 47). Through finding Torday's birth entry, Foldessy has discovered that his father was an insurance agent, rather than a wealthy landowner (2015, 47). Torday changed his name from Böhm to Tordai following a decree in 1890 by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (decree 6948/90, March 20th 1890) (Foldessy 2015, 47) - only in Emil's case this was changed to the spelling of Torday, for unknown reasons. Torday's sister, Hedvig, retained the name Böhm. Mack (1990) seems to have been right that the name Tordai was given to people from the place Torda.²⁶ T.A Joyce wrote that Torday "took his family name from the town of Torda (where he had estates)" (Joyce 1932, 48). "In the end", wrote Joyce, "the territory was allotted to Romania, and Torday was given the option of retaining it [his land] if he would accept Romanian nationality. He refused" (Joyce 1932, 48-49). Torday's original, Jewish, family name casts and entirely different light on his biography. Thus, the reasons that Torday stayed in England after World War One may have not been in any way associated with the loss of family land after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the loss of Torda to what is now Romania. Piers Torday (the first cousin of the god son of Ursula, Torday's daughter), has stated that his own family, like certain

²⁶ <http://surnames.behindthename.com/name/tordai>.

other Jewish families, were given a “traditional sounding name” by the Hungarian government (Piers Torday’s family were originally named Weiss) (personal correspondence, 2016).

One huge gap in our knowledge about Emil Torday is about his early education. It is also unclear whether the entry in the *Biographie Coloniale Belge* and John Mack’s (1990) publication stating that he did not finish his degree in Munich, is correct. After a time in Munich, Torday apparently started to work for the Budapest branch of the privately owned Banque de Belgique, which was dissolved in 1898 (Foldessy 2015, Agárdi-Borsody 1954). Following a long, bitter liquidation process, Torday left; an event that Foldessy says may have been the deciding factor in Torday’s move to Congo (Foldessy 2015, 47). Some Hungarian authors have assumed he had an interest in ethnography and geography from the start (Kubassek 2006, 256 in Foldessy 2015, 47). Lopašić (1971; 1999) and Slukan-Altic (2008) have suggested Torday may have been in contact with the Hungarian-speaking Croatian, Dragutin Lermann, who took part in the Stanley expedition of 1882-1896 and assembled a collection of ethnographic artefacts (Foldessy 2015, 47). The *Biographie Coloniale Belge’s* entry on Torday also says Torday was a good friend of Lermann (1955, 4/883).

In light of this early gap in our knowledge, broader research into the type of education and upbringing Torday may have had is perhaps worth a section in this biography, given its seeming relevance for the methodological, theoretical and moral approach that Emil Torday later took in his field expedition and in his publications. These broader details will not be investigated here but it is worth positing a hypothesis about the relationship between German, Austrian and Hungarian traditions in anthropology and ethnography, with ethnography having a role within turbulent Hungarian nationalist agendas in the years before the First World War (Turda 2007). There are few English language works on the Hungarian Education system in the 1880s but Turda’s study (2007), gives an indicator of the kind of disciplinary training Torday would have received during his secondary education.

Broader scholarly trajectories of geographical and anthropological traditions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire are extremely relevant to Torday's life and thinking, and thus made their way via Emil Torday into British Social Anthropology in the 1900s. This aspect of Central European anthropology, which was used in Hungarian nationalist projects and in the study of ethnic and cultural hierarchies put forward *within* the Austro-Hungarian Empire, has never been thought of in terms of its direct influence on anthropology and ethnography in Britain. They are seemingly far removed from each other. However, it seems that Emil Torday is a 'missing link' in this history, connecting the two traditions. There are some parallels between these internal Hungarian anthropological works and the work of Emil Torday. In addition, Torday's treatment of African royalty and political systems expresses an empathy for self-determination within a rhetoric of nationalism that can perhaps be better understood with a knowledge of this context.

Marius Turda has an extensive bibliography centred on Eastern European, especially Hungarian, anthropology and its use in political projects. His work (especially 2007) discusses the interchangeable use of race and nationality in nineteenth-century Hungary and gives a broad context for those aspects of Hungarian ethnography that were used to further political goals. Interestingly, Turda writes that "[w]hile Western European ethnographers were enticed to visit and research various colonial settings in Africa, Asia and Australia, their counterparts in Central Europe focused on the heterogeneous representation of peoples offered by the region's diverse ethnic arrangement" (Turda 2007, 6). Torday, of course, straddled this divide, and brought to his field ethnography techniques and theories of race, nationality and diffusion that were part of everyday life as well as scholarship in Hungary at the time. With a term Turda has coined, "nationalist Darwinism" (2007), his work offers an insight into a locally-based Hungarian tradition that, in its later manifestations, contains traces of Torday's anthropological thinking.

Torday in Africa

As stated, this thesis will be centred on one small part of the 1907-1909 expedition in Africa. Given the extensive detail in later chapters of the thesis about the Congo Expedition of 1907-1909, this next section will briefly outline his early career prior to the expedition, before sketching out the expedition's itinerary, and then jumping forward to Torday's return from Congo in 1909.

In 1900, Torday undertook a brief administrative post for the Belgian government in Congo. *Camp and Tramp in the African Wilds* (Torday 1913) details his stay in the Congo between 1900 and 1907, which Torday states was only interrupted by "one short interlude" (Torday 1913, 17). Torday arrived in Boma, "the capital of the then Independent Congo Free State in March 1900 (Torday 1913, 20). He then travelled via Matadi to Kinshasa where he stayed for six months (Torday 1913, 20). He was then offered a post at the "other end of the Belgian Congo, near Lake Moeru" (Torday 1913, 22). Torday states that his official position (in Katanga) was "only really a formal one" and he "could indulge freely in [his] hobbies" (Torday 1913, 41). He travelled, collected birds, and "spent weeks roaming over the country" (Torday 1913, 41). During Emil Torday's work in Belgium at a Brussels bank (1890s), the Colonial Exhibition 1896 occurred, which Torday was likely to have attended if not heard about. In addition, colonial proceedings in Belgium at this time were widely reported and of interest to a vast audience. Foldessy (2012) has speculated that this sparked his interest in Congo. It is just as likely, however (given a lack of information) that Torday took up a job in Congo in an administrative post because an opportunity arose.

In 1904 Torday's appointment came to an end and he started on his journey home. In 1904, Torday had briefly visited England and the British Museum as "a casual visitor, offering a small collection of native objects collected during his extensive travels" (Joyce 1932, 48). Torday writes upon ending his initial posts that he "had not the slightest desire to see Europe again, and if it had been possible [he] would have stayed on for the rest of [his] life" (Torday 1913, 58). This passion for Africa is

something that is also reflected in Torday's lecture notes, held at the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI MS197). Torday's daughter, Ursula, wrote a romantic novel in 1938, *Mirror of the Sun*, which was based upon an anthropologist ("Simon") who always dreamt of returning to Africa (see Dundee Courier and Advertiser December 24th 1938, Review of Ursula Torday, 3).²⁷ "Mirror of the Sun" is a direct quote by Torday in *Camp and Tramp in the African Wilds*: "as I write the magical word 'Tanganyika' [a lake on the border of DRC, Tanzania, Burundi and Zambia] I am longing, longing, to be back at your shores again, O Mirror of the sun" (Torday 1913, 35). Ursula's novel is undoubtedly about her father's passion for Africa.²⁸ While written by a third party, it contains one of the most important aspects of Torday's vision of Africa, present in all his publications and private notes: Torday was a romantic with a sympathetic and positive view of Africans and life in Africa.

In February 1905, Torday started work for the Compagnie du Kasai, a vital step in the shape of his later work because of the networks, funding and infrastructure which were to be of use to him in the field 1907-1909. Chapter Three will return in more detail to Torday's earlier time in Africa, and will examine Torday in terms of the historical context of the Kasai, and the Compagnie du Kasai in the years between 1890 and 1906. Suffice it to say for the moment, Torday also began, alongside his employment, to carry out ethnographic research and he made some small collections of artefacts for the British Museum, publishing some of his findings in *MAN*, the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute in London* (Torday 1905; Torday and Joyce 1905, 1906a, 1906b, 1907a, 1907b). He was based among the southern Mbala people, around Kikwit, in the Bandundu Province, to the far West of Lele country.

²⁷ The review reads "An unusual yet entertaining novel, the characters which lit across its pages being endowed with a sense of convincing reality. Simon Bouchard, a Franco-British anthropologist and a widower, who spent many years in the Congo, can never forget the fascination of Africa. He lives in the past and fails to understand his son and daughter [...] graphically written with fine feeling (*Dundee Courier and Advertiser* December 24th 1938, 3).

²⁸ It may be possible to explore Ursula's novel for further biographical information about Torday. Vansina, after discovering a real link between Alfons Vermeulen's novel and his time as a trader in Kasai which is reflected in his unpublished memoirs, highlights the scope for the application of historical method to literary sources. See Vansina. 2012. "History in Novels and Memoirs: Alfons Vermeulen on Rural Congo (1899-1904)" *History in Africa*, Vol. 39 (2012), pp. 123-142. In this case, it was too complex to apply a sensible historical method to a literary source, when the thesis already engages with vast genres of sources.

Kikwit was, and still is, a vital trading town and an important river port on the River Kwilu for the transportation and production of palm oil. Kikwit saw a number of multinational traders like Torday take residence in the latter decades of the nineteenth-century and the twentieth-century.²⁹

There is some interesting correspondence from Emil Torday at this early point, as he had made contact with the British Museum and with Thomas Althol Joyce. Here is where Torday's love for Africa grew further and his knowledge and aptitude for languages is evident (even simply because of the turn-around time in which he published linguistic data). At this point, Torday made contacts with local people that he was to draw upon for assistance with portage when he later returned and learnt Mbala, and some Pende languages. By 1908 Torday was starting to build a reputation in Europe and had already been consulted to contribute to Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston's book, *George Grenfell and the Congo*.³⁰

Torday left the Company in 1906 and returned to begin to raise funds for the expedition which is the focus of this thesis (Joyce 1932, 48). By the following year they had sufficient funds to contemplate setting out. Torday, Hilton Simpson and Norman Hardy and Iredell left for the Congo in September 1907 with a partially pre-determined agenda. Torday would revisit his old Compagnie du Kasai routes, they would travel to new areas of Congo, 'achieve the impossible' and visit unknown lands, they would add to the maps of the Congo Free State, take photographs – and, if their ambitions were fulfilled, go down in history as great explorers after the

²⁹ It was, for example, an important hub for the Huileries Congo Belge from the 1920s onwards. In Kikwit, Torday is still remembered as 'Deke' or bird. William Parminter, too, the English operative of the Huileries Congo Belge, has a special commemorative space by a tree in a hill above the Kwilu River, and is remembered as the "founder" of Kikwit. Modern day presidents in DRC apparently visit his grave to take some earth back towards their administrative offices.

³⁰ *George Grenfell and the Congo: A History and Description of the Congo Independent State and Adjoining Districts of Congoland, Together with Some Account of the Native Peoples and Their Languages, the Fauna and Flora; and Similar Notes on the Cameroons and the Island of Fernando Pô, the Whole Founded on the Diaries and Researches of the Late Rev. George Grenfell, B.M.S., F.R.G.S.; and on the Records of the British Baptist Missionary Society; and on Additional Information Contributed by the Author, by the Rev. Lawson Forfeitt, Mr. Emil Torday, and Others*, Volume 1. 1908.

models of Stanley and Wissmann, not least, by making the most comprehensive collections of artefacts.

The expedition members, initially, were Torday, Hardy, Hilton Simpson and Iredell. They left London on Tuesday October 1st 1907, via Antwerp (reached on Wednesday, October 2nd). On board the *Bruxellesville*, they proceeded to La Rochelle (October 6th) (fig.10). They stopped briefly in Santa Cruz and Tenerife (12th October) and arrived in Dakar (Senegal) on Tuesday October 15th (HS v.1, 9). On the 20th, they stopped at Ivory Coast and by October 24th, they were “approaching the Mouth of Congo” (HS v.1, 15). The expedition, as we will see, was thus a huge enterprise and required enormous amounts of assistance in Africa with portering and had complex logistical requirements. For reasons unrecorded, Iredell resigned on October 10th 1907, before the expedition really even began.³¹

The Congolese coastal towns were the first ports of call: after stopping in Boma on the coast, they arrived at Matadi (October 27th 1907). Following this, on October 31st they arrived in Kinshassa, which was apparently deserted save for the Kasai Company’s steamers’ headquarters (fig.11).³² The expedition travelled upstream on the Sankuru River, travelling on foot from Batempa to Mokunji. Figure 12 depicts the first steamer the expedition travelled on (fig.12). They then travelled downstream from Batempa via Lusambo back to Bena Dibebe, where they travelled on foot further north toward Akela country. From here, they came down from Kikwit, and trekked across toward the River Loange. From the River Loange, they went across Lele country toward the Kasai River, which they had to go back up to the confluence of the Sankuru-Kasai. This venture took two years in total and led to the collections, photographs, recordings and publications contained within the appendices and the bibliography and drawn upon throughout.

³¹ Iredell resigned on October 10th and had to pay compensation (of £45) for his supplies. He admitted to Hilton Simpson that he had never liked Torday, and Hilton Simpson stated that he found this bizarre, as Torday had been kind to himself and to Hardy, and that he thought Iredell was afraid, and a “silly ass” (HS v.1, 5).

³² Kinshasa at this time was the name of a site that neighboured Leopoldville (which was later to be renamed Kinshasa after this site in 1966).

Torday back in London

Torday was married between January and March 1910 in Kensington, London.³³ He was married, according to his daughter's birth record, to a woman with the maiden name McDonnell (fig.13).³⁴ Little is known of Torday's wife or his married life. Caia Rose Torday (née McDonnell) lived most of her life in Kensington, London, but the record of her death states she died elsewhere in the South of England. She died long after Torday in 1968. Their only daughter, Ursula Torday, was born in 1912, also in Kensington, London.³⁵ Ursula Torday, as mentioned above, gained her own fame in later life through her career as a romantic novelist.³⁶ Photographs in figure 13 are of Torday's home in Kensington and were donated to the Royal Anthropological Institute (fig.13). Torday did some brief curatorial work at the Philadelphia Museum US just before the outbreak of World War One (see Torday 1913). After his work in Philadelphia Torday began a medical career in London but it was cut short by the beginning of the First World War during which he cared for prisoners of war. After the war, Torday continued his anthropological work publishing his last substantial piece *Descriptive Sociology of African Races* in 1930. He died of heart failure at the French Hospital Shaftesbury Avenue on the 9th of September 1931. Although influencing his contemporaries in the field, Torday's wider legacy in terms of histories of anthropology only remains in the footnotes or asides of scholarly works on the topic (Mack 1990, 15). Mack states he does not even receive a mention in the works on the history of anthropology in the early decades of the twentieth century by Langham (1981) Stocking (1983) or Urry (1972, 1984) (Mack 1990, 15). His large number of published works, however, remain a vital first step in any study of Central African material culture, anthropology, history or historical-geography.

³³ England and Wales Marriage Index, 1837-1915.

³⁴ Although the British Museum's biography states Torday's wife was called Gaia Rose Macdonald, this is a misspelling as the electoral roles and birth records of Torday's daughter, within the district of Kensington, The Grove (where Torday and his daughter lived), give a name of a Caia Rose McDonnell.

³⁵ England and Wales Birth Index, 1837-1915, full record, volume 1a p. 238.

³⁶ Ursula wrote 60 gothic, romance and mystery novels from 1935 to 1982. She also used the pseudonyms of Paula Allardyce, Charity Blackstock, Lee Blackstock, and Charlotte Keppel. In 1961, her novel *Witches' Sabbath* won the Romantic Novel of the Year Award by the Romantic Novelists' Association (see <http://www.romanticnovelistsassociation.org/index.php/awards>).

Hilton Simpson

Captain Melville Hilton-Simpson was part of a long line of aristocrats, war veterans, landowners and clergy men. His great grandfather, Henry Hilton, like Melville Hilton Simpson after him, lived at Sole Street House, Selling, Kent. His father, Reverend William Hilton Simpson was born 1845. Melville Hilton Simpson was born in 1881. Melville Hilton Simpson would be worthy of his own study, having continued after Congo to undertake a number of expeditions to Algeria and North Africa, writing detailed accounts of surgeries and medicine, as well as Berber ethnographies. These papers are now held, with his Congo diary, in the Royal Anthropological Institute archive, with some documents from his Algerian expedition held in the Pitt Rivers Museum Manuscript Collections, Oxford (PRM MS 1 and 2 RAI MS 65: 1; see bibliography 3.22).

In the summer of 1907, Hilton Simpson was “contemplating a journey in the Sahara Desert, a country with which he had had some previous acquaintance, when the trouble between France and Morocco led the French Government to decide that the state of affairs in the Sahara was too unsettled to admit of its allowing travellers to wander there unescorted” (Hilton Simpson 1911, v). He writes: “I was determined to go somewhere, however, and Mr T.A. Joyce of the British Museum, suggested that I should visit the Congo, in the natives of which country he was extremely interested. He introduced me to Mr Torday, the Hungarian traveller, with whom he had collaborated in the writing of numerous papers about the Congo natives for the publications of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and Mr. Torday invited me to join him upon an expedition which he was about to undertake in the Kasai basin of the Congo Free State” (Hilton Simpson 1911, vii).

Upon his return from the Congo, Hilton Simpson lectured locally in Kent (for example on 3rd January 1914 at the Queen’s Hall, see *The Whitstable Times and Tankerton Press* 1914, 5). He was close friends with the Powell-Cottons. Major Powell

Cotton was also an explorer of Africa (mostly Kenya and South Sudan).³⁷ As well as the purchase of Hilton Simpson's collection in 1938, Hilton Simpson also gave Powell Cotton one or two items while he was alive, including a signed book of the Congo expedition. Powell Cotton's museum and his own archive is in excellent order but having gone through these papers and Powell Cotton's meticulous diary, there are only passing mention to the Hilton Simpsons, highlighting their occasional social interactions.

Melville Hilton Simpson and Emil Torday became good friends during the expedition, and frequently commented on their good relationship in their correspondence with Joyce: from a brief note sent on the *Congo Maritime Belge* steamer, the *Bruxellesville*, dated 1907, Torday describes Hilton Simpson as "a brick" (KYS TOR M27068). Hilton Simpson kept an extremely lengthy and thorough diary, which remains in the Royal Anthropological Institute (vols 1-7) and is a key source of evidence within this thesis (herein referred to as HS v.) Hilton Simpson was largely interested in sports, tourism, mapping and especially hunting whilst in Congo, although he takes pains to record Torday's ethnographic and collecting activities. This detailed reporting of Torday's activities will become apparent throughout the thesis, as will the value of this unpublished diary, which until now has not been referenced in any of the existing studies of Torday and the expedition, or aspects of the expedition (Mack 1990; Strother 2013; Fabian 1998, 2000). Hilton Simpson also acted as the photographer during the expedition. Like Torday, he reports an absence of state brutalities, something they both assure the press of upon their return and also writes in a relatively favourable fashion about the Kuba-Bushong. His own methods in ethnography seem in no small part to have been developed during his time with Torday and in Congo.

³⁷ Diana and Antoinette Powell-Cotton, Major Powell Cotton's daughters, travelled to Angola in 1936 and 1937 to collect objects for the Powell-Cotton Museum and the British Museum. They collected over 3000 items (see <http://www.quexpark.co.uk/museum/current-temporary-exhibitions/past-exhibitions/tala-visions-of-angola.html>).

Norman Hardy

Norman Hardy was the official artist of the expedition. Less is known about Norman Hardy's biography, although he had a long professional life of ethnographic drawing. Hilary Averly wrote about Hardy's contribution to the expedition in an unpublished Master's thesis submitted at the University of East Anglia (Averly 1993). Averly explains her difficulties in finding biographical material about Hardy but offers a vital contribution to our lack of knowledge of him. Norman Hardy's illustrations, to this day, furnish the walls of the Royal Anthropological Institute. He was only with the expedition for 6 months. It seems Torday did not much value his contributions, especially in terms of knowledge of geography and exploration: "I am afraid he does not take much interest in anything else than his pictures and that he is unable to tell, in what parts of the country he has been!" (Letter to Joyce March 6th 1908, TOR KYS M27068). In addition, Torday wrote that he was "disliked by natives" (Letter to Joyce March 6th 1908, TOR KYS M27068) and Hilton Simpson wrote that "I don't think he quite approves of the existence of Africa. I do not know why" (Hilton Simpson, letter to Joyce, 6th April 1908 TOR KYS M27068). Some of his paintings were completed from photographs and descriptions upon his return, as it seems "he paint[ed] little" during his time in Congo (March 6th 1908 TOR KYS M27068). As Averly pointed out, Norman Hardy was the only trained professional on the expedition (Averly 1993, 35), however, Torday and Hilton Simpson detail a number of issues with his professionalism (March 6th, April 6th, 10th May and June 10th), even expressing concerns with his work ethic (June 10th KYS TOR M27068). Given that Hardy had left the Kasai after the first six months, he will not greatly feature in this thesis. However, despite Hilton Simpson's claim in 1908 that he was a "passenger so far as the making of the expedition [was] concerned," his work did make a vital contribution to the visual content of the eventual output of the expedition. This can be seen in the prolific use of illustrations in Torday and Joyce 1910 and Hilton Simpson 1911: Hilton Simpson also makes the value of his contributions clear in his published diary (Hilton Simpson 1911, vii).

T.A Joyce

Thomas Althol Joyce OBE was an assistant to the curator of the Medieval Antiquities Department under Charles Hercules Read at the British Museum, to later incorporate ethnography. He was born 4th August 1878 and died 3rd of January 1942. He co-authored the anthropological texts with Torday, which were under development during the expedition itself (see field notes held in the British Museum Anthropology library, TOR KYS M27068). Joyce's annotations of Torday's questionnaires are the only surviving dialogue between the two as we have only Torday's letters to Joyce but none of Joyce's correspondence back to Torday has yet come to light (and is likely to no longer exist). It is clear from Joyce's annotations on the archival material at the British Museum Anthropology Library, that Torday's approach was much more holistic in assessing the oral histories he was collecting and responsive to the experiences he was having, whereas Joyce was concerned with 'restoring order' and categorising the anthropological data Torday was providing.

Additionally, in contrast to Torday's perspectives and approaches about the superiority of (certain) African Races, Joyce expressed a stronger prejudice in his section on ethnology to the article on Africa in the eleventh edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910–11), attempting a racial classification of the continent's indigenous populations (see Oxford Dictionary of National Biography). His subsequent entry on "Negro" discussed racial characteristics in terms of mental inferiority and cultural backwardness, and was singled out as 'ridiculous' by the African-American scholar W. E. B. Du Bois in a book on the same subject (Du Bois 1915). Joyce later gave lectures to British colonial administrators on the ethnology of 'native races.' In later years, he became a leading expert on Mayan archaeology, conducting only one expedition himself – not to Africa but to British Honduras.

Conclusion

The next chapter looks at the early explorations of the area in and around where the Lele and Wongo people lived. Using archive material from the *Archives Africaines* and the RMCA, as well as some travel accounts from the area, this next chapter will

begin to look at the presentation of the Lele and Wongo people before Torday's expedition (1890s-1900s). It will largely address where Torday's eventual presentation of the Lele and Wongo people fitted into existing presentations. The desire to explore the region and its rivers, and for Europeans to gain material control, will be examined through looking at European sources written about the region. This exploration of trading stations in the Lele and Wongo areas also highlights a general silence with regards to their presentation visually, within collections at the time and on the ethnographic maps of the region; that is before Torday arrived. In addition, this chapter will begin to look at Torday's developing interest in ethnography during his time as a trader southern Kasai in 1904-1906. Another Compagnie du Kasai trader, Paul Grenade, left behind some archival material that allows for a comparison between him and Torday. This comparison will help to examine the extent to which Torday was (or was not) an exceptional figure. Were his ethnographic activities at this point common to all traders and a necessary part of being a trader? Or was the work Torday started with the British Museum at a level beyond what was needed to establish successful trading relationships?

Chapter Three

Early Encounters: Resistance and Rivers

Introduction

This chapter is the first step in contextualising the Torday expedition among the Kuba, Lele and Wongo peoples during 1908 and 1909, part of the two-year expedition (1907-1909). It is about the development of knowledge of the Congo from the 1890s until the crucial moment of June 1909, when Torday was the first European to *directly* encounter the Lele and Wongo people in their own territory. The chapter reconstructs the historical context of the years leading up to the expedition in the area surrounding the Loange and Kasai Rivers where the Lele, Wongo, Kuba, Pende and Chokwe peoples resided. Torday himself was in the periphery of this area (Kikwit, in Pende country) as an employee of the Compagnie du Kasai between 1904 and 1906. Before Torday's period of employment, inland rivers, tributaries of the Kasai River, were difficult to navigate. However, in the 1900s and late 1890s, the exploration of the rivers began to happen on behalf of European directives from the metropole, as the first parts of this chapter will outline.

The area in question was not properly or extensively explored until the late 1900s. A considerable time after official annexation of the Congo Free State, the Compagnie du Kasai trade post of Dumba was established, which set the wheels in motion for more direct trading to begin. Torday's later trekking across the Loange River towards the Kasai constituted the final step in this process in establishing direct trade between Europeans, Lele and Wongo peoples. This chapter will outline archival research that demonstrates that, despite considerable importance being given to access (via the rivers) to the South-West Kasai from the 1890s onwards, Europeans, through the Compagnie du Kasai, were only present from 1905 onwards.

This chapter's purpose is thus multivalent. It examines the nature of annexation and occupation through trade in this area. It also examines the way in which local resistance can hold-off direct occupation through trade for a considerable number of years after official colonial annexation of a wider area. In doing this, this chapter sets up the later chapters and situates the trading activities during 1904-1906 in the area Torday was working before the expedition, Kikwit. Thirdly, and relating to the last point, it looks at the way in which ethnographic research and trade went hand-in-hand, and begins to examine whether Torday was a unique character in relation to other traders in this exact region. This chapter will be formed of a number of sections. Firstly, the reputation of the Lele and Wongo people at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century will be covered. Then, the mapping of the Loange River, which bordered (and protected) the Lele and Wongo from trading directly in their own country, will be the subject of the next section. The Lele had a reputation for resistance; this resistance will be analysed in terms of the European and indigenous perspectives in the following section. This section will also explore the Kuba rebellions following Vansina's historical reconstruction (2010). Finally, Torday's time in Kikwit will be looked at but in a rare perspective: one of Torday's Compagnie colleagues was in a post that neighboured the Lele and the Wongo and left behind some comparative correspondence detailing his life in the factory of Dumba. The role of amateur versus professional ethnography will be addressed.

A number of archival materials and documentary evidence have been used to meet the aims of this chapter. Research in the Belgian *Archives Africaines*,³⁸ as well as the papers of individuals (such as Georges Hohnmann) in the Royal Museum for Central Africa (RMCA), Belgium,³⁹ has provided a picture of the methods and approaches taken by the Belgian colonial authorities and their wider apparatus (especially trading companies) in the long-term plans for infiltration of areas of the

³⁸ *Archives Africaines* (Institute Congo Royal Belge), Brussels, Belgium.

³⁹ These archives are rather disjointed, containing various papers from officials and concession company managers that seem to have been duplicated from the official archives of colonialism which ceased to exist in their complete form, as many of them were destroyed at the fall of King Leopold's rule in Congo in 1908.

Congo that had not yet been physically annexed. The published travel accounts of Wissmann (1891), Ernest Stache (1897) and Samuel Phillips Verner (1903) (see appendix 1.13 and 1.14) have also shown that the Lele were very much on the periphery of European representation that resulted from the early colonial explorations and trade networks of the Kasai. A comparison between the letters of Torday and Grenade (held in the RMCA archives), who were both Compagnie du Kasai employees at the same time (1905), also provides supporting evidence of Torday's developing methodology in conducting transactions and generating ethnographic texts and collections.

The Compagnie du Kasai posts, especially that closest to the Lele country, Dumba, was the first point of indirect access to trade with the Lele and was the closest post to these peoples in the late from around 1904 onwards. The Compagnie du Kasai's history was therefore important to reconstruct for this area in the years before the expedition members arrived. Placing the Compagnie posts geographically and chronologically has been a task undertaken for the purposes of better situating the Emil Torday material within this broader context. There is no written history of the Compagnie du Kasai, or other concession companies in the Belgian Congo. For French Congo, Coquery-Vidrovitch's *Le Congo au Temps des Grandes Compagnies Concessionnaires 1898-1930* (1972) offers some insight into the nature of concession companies and their operations within the French Congo. Nor is the Compagnie du Kasai archive in one place (in fact, there is no real archive to speak of), unlike the Lever archive, for example.⁴⁰ As such, the preliminary investigations necessary for setting the background - the purpose of this chapter - have relied upon detailed research on the Emil Torday material. Where names and trade posts were mentioned in Torday's letters at the British Museum (TOR 68) or in Hilton Simpson's diary (HS), the inventories for the RMCA archives (Van Schuylenbergh and Marechal 1997) and the *Africa Archives* at the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Van Grieken and Dandoy 2008), were searched for those names. Jan Vansina (2010) constructed a

⁴⁰ In saying this, some archival material about Lever's Congo Company, *Huilleries du Congo Belge* are held in the *Africa Archives* in Belgium.

history of colonialism for the Kuba that relied upon archival material from traders, government officials and oral histories he collected in the 1950s. His book covers the trade and mission posts surrounding the Kuba (such as Luebo and Ibanc) and to the east of Lele country (near the Kasai) and offers a more nuanced chronology in the early years of colonialism. It is within this context that Torday's early trading and ethnographic activities, as well as his later encounters with the Kuba, Lele and Wongo peoples, should be understood.

Beginnings of representation

The following section will address the representation (or lack of representation) of the Lele peoples in the years following the establishment of the Congo Free State, and those years preceding the expedition (roughly speaking 1890-1910). This is a first step in situating Torday's information about the Lele people, published only in 1910; marking a watershed in detailed published descriptions of the Lele people, and constituting the first ever mention of the Wongo peoples in European sources.

When reviewing the primary sources from the early years of colonial exploration in the Kasai region, in the first decades of the twentieth-century, the Lele people were not always identified by European traders as 'Lele,' or else only passing mention was made to them and the Wongo people, referred to as Tu/Bakongo. After all, it was only in the 1880s that the better-known neighbouring peoples, the Kuba peoples, were encountered in their capital by the European expedition led by Wissmann and Wolf and funded by King Leopold II (Vansina 2010, 19). The European desire to assign fixed ethnic affiliation and abodes was not matched in reality to the ethnically diverse areas of the Congo and the vast amount of migration, marriage, trade and nomadism that had been underway for centuries (Vansina 1990; Torday and Joyce 1910; Hilton Simpson 1911 and unpublished diary), not to mention the *déplacements* resulting from missionary and trading activities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Wissmann, in 1886, apparently visited the Kuba and the Lele (Nkay Malu 2006, 24) but it is unclear exactly where and how these encounters with the Lele took place; it was certainly not as far down the Loange River as Torday went in 1909 (most likely near the Sankuru-Kasai confluence). There is only one mention of the Lele by name in Wissmann's work about his travels in 1886. However, this is simply a brief reference to the people of the "Cassai" (the Kasai) being termed "bashi," which Wissmann translates as the pre-fix for "people" (Wissmann 1891, 306). Clearly, his dealings in Luebo, along the Kasai River and with the Bashilange (the Luluwa or perhaps Luba people who assisted his journey and marked on Wissmann's maps as living to the east of Luebo) had provided him with the information about the Lele people. However, this only informed him of their existence and nothing more (Wissmann 1891). Ernest Stache further makes a mention of the riverine peoples of the Loange:

Les riverains (du Loange) sont dans le bas, rive droite,
les Bashilele, rive gauche les Badinga. Dans le haut,
les Tukongo, et plus haut, les Bapende ou Kiobo
(Stache 1897).

The languages of the Ding [Badinga] and the Lele are completely different, although the languages of the Lele [Bashilele] and Wongo [Tukongo] are mutually intelligible. Stache writes: "Les Bashilele, les Badinga et les Bakongo ont le même langage. Tous sont des hommes de haute stature, fortement constitués" (Stache 1897).⁴¹ Nkay Malu has noted that this error in the report of Stache with regard to language shows the difficulties in identifying ethnic or linguistic groups from a river-led expedition (Nkay Malu 2006). It also demonstrates the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic nature of African riverine trading villages, where one person could speak at times three languages (Nkay Malu 2006). Thus, any mention of a person or group of people identified by these labels-"Bashilele/ "Bapende"/ "Badinga" - at this time could be

⁴¹ The Bashilele, Les Badinga and the Bakongo have the same language. All are men of a tall stature and are strongly built [translation author's own].

erroneous in terms of generically representing people by broad terms. Even in 1909 when Torday crossed the Loange, he really only distinguishes between people very poorly, allowing for little or no multi-ethnicity because of his preconceived notion that the Lele were isolated. A further example is in the early work of Grenade, the Kasai Company employee (RMCA archive HA.01.086). In February 1906, Grenade seems to be using “Bassengé” as a blanket term for all people around the area of Dumba (the trading post to the west of the Lele, on the Loange River) and these people are associated with ‘savagery’ (his father also refers to the reports in the press about Europeans who were killed in the area) (RMCA archive HA.01.086). With the exception of the Pende, towards whom Grenade is relatively positive, he refers to the “Bucongo” to the South (the “Bakongo” or Wongo) as hostile to the European and to trade and also the Tschock (Chokwe), to whom many Europeans were negative and disdainful because of their widespread commercial foothold across the country.

This exploration of the Kasai River, which, of course, borders the Lele to the east, and the Kuba to the west, marked a turning point in the relationships between the Kuba-Bushong and European traders, colonialists and missionaries. Vansina writes that this meant that “the region of the Kasai was physically linked to the Congo state” (Vansina 2010, 20). However, as archival research will demonstrate (below) the river that borders the Lele to the west remained largely un-navigated until 1907. This river, nonetheless, was seen as vital to the colonial project. The Kuba were incorporated into some aspects of Euro-African trading in rubber and ivory through trade posts in the west of their country (although a policy of isolation was reinstated in 1892). The Loange River was an unknown entity that marked a boundary to essential trade routes (from the west to the east of Lele and Wongo country) that remained one of the sole areas in the 1900-1910 in the hands of Luso-African caravan trade. This caravan trade, in other areas, and after the exploration of the Kasai River, was gradually being overtaken by the riverine European steamer trade. “Almost from the day Luebo was founded, caravans could no longer compete with the river route [...] the river route decisively altered the existing commercial patterns in favour of the Congo State” (Vansina 2010, 28). Nonetheless, access to the land

between these rivers, and the establishment of posts along the Loange River, remained an unattained goal of colonial exploration.

Because of its location on an imperial border, arguably the Loange River remained crucial for larger imperial designs as well as in the establishment of trading with the Lele and Wongo people who lived between the Loange and the Kasai. According to Vansina, the Kasai was lost to Angola (Portugal) the moment it was found that the Lower Kasai River route directly linked Kinshasa to Luebo (Vansina 2010, 29). There was a huge rush to establish posts on these rivers, as according to the Conference of Berlin, the formal occupation of posts was a valid basis for any territorial claim (Vansina 2010, 28). By 1886, there were Congo state agents in Luebo and Luluabourg and no official Portuguese agents anywhere in Kasai (Vansina 2010, 2). Thereafter despite bitter protests in Lisbon and despite continued Angolan commercial activity in the region, the international boundary was finally outlined around 1891 and agreed on in 1910 (Vansina 2010, 28). Ongoing “Angolan” commercial activity gives the early explorations of the Loange River, and especially the eventual crossing of this area in 1909 by the expedition (the year before the international border was formally recognised), huge significance in the early colonial history of the Kasai.

Mapping and navigating the Loange River: “the key to penetration”

As already mentioned, the river bordering the Lele was of vital political importance in the colonial projects of the Congo Free State. The following section outlines the desire on behalf of the Congo Free State officials to explore this river with a view to establishing trading networks. In a flurry to make sure occupation was truly comprehensive, explorers and traders were encouraged to carry out some preliminary mapping the twentieth century as archival sources and travel accounts reveal.

Before the expedition arrived and crossed the Loange River in 1909, its navigation had been of utmost importance, especially to Belgian Companies. In 1886 Wissmann (4th September 1853 – 15th June 1905) speaks of the Loange River:

[o]n the 6th April 1886 we entered the Salé-Temboa so called after the junction of the Loange and Lushiko from a southern direction; 3 kilometres above the mouth we found the measurement, with an average depth of 3 meters of water, a breadth of 100 meters, and a speed of 120 meters a minute: which allowed us to proceed but slowly (Wissmann 1891, 31).

Between the 26 April and 14th May 1897, Monsieur Stache, an agent of the S.A.B. [Société Anonyme Belge], explored the Loange River on the “Katanga” steamer: “[I]e Loange, auquel les indigènes donnent partout le nom de N’tembo, se jette dans le Kasai au village de Pangu” (reported in the *Mouvement Geographique* and noted in Nkay Malu 2006, 22).⁴²

In 1907, Georges Hohmann was instructed by the Governor General in Dima to continue the navigation of the Loange River. According to Hohmann’s biography in the *Biographie Coloniale Belge* (1955), he was an agent for the Compagnie du Kasai and lived in the factory post at Luebo before founding the Ibanshe [Ibanshi] factory in the region of Mushenge (Nsheng, the district of the Kuba-Bushong capital) (see appendix 1.7). He was informed of the ‘gaps’ on the map: “[I]l y a quelques 10 à 15 ans, plusieurs voyageurs et explorateurs ont traversé cette région de la Haute-Loangé en venant directement de L’Ouest. Nous citerons Van de Velde, Lehrman, Wissmann, Grenfelt, qui nous ont laissé sur la région les renseignements que porte la carte de L’Etat Indépendant...” (RMCA archive HA.01.066).⁴³

Later in 1907, the directives from Dima intensified, and once he had conducted a few journeys, Hohmann was instructed to attempt to travel the whole river, with a goal to establishing a post should he be successful in this. The stages of his journey, his

⁴² The Loange, by which all of the indigenous call by the name N’Tembo, flows into the Kasai [River] to the village of Pangu [translation author’s own].

⁴³ Ten to fifteen years ago, many travellers and explorers have crossed the region of the Haute-Loangé coming directly from the West. We cite Can de Velde, Lehrman, Wissmann, Grenfelt, who have left intelligence/information for the map of the Congo Free State [translation author’s own].

“étappes” can be seen in figure 17, which has been modified to highlight the key village names or trading posts that will feature throughout the thesis (fig. 17). Georges Hohmann produced this first detailed map of the River Loange, now held in the RMCA archives (RMCA archive HA.01.066). This map is a fascinating early map of the river, villages surrounding the river, chieftaincies, natural resources and territories, some of which can be seen in figure 18 (fig.18). Monsieur Hohmann’s report, referred to in the first letter of this folder as “rapport no 1,” is missing but the directives and the continuation of this exploration is well-documented, culminating in the crayon-drawn map authored by Hohmann, in a notebook (fig. 18).

Acquiring knowledge of the workings of this river in a format understandable by Europeans was a prerequisite to easier “penetration in the South-West.” The following quote from a letter to Hohnman situates the culmination of knowledge and experience that resulted in the eventual crossing of the Lele country by Emil Torday and Hilton Simpson:

En comparant [sic.] les indications de cette carte avec la carte de la région dont vous avez pris copies sur la nouvelle carte de la Compagnie et en se basent sur les données fournies par ces voyageurs, lesquels ne signalent pas, en leurs points de passage, d’obstacles à la navigation sur la Loangé, il devient évident que c’est par la Loangé que se fera le plus aisément la pénétration du Sud-Ouest de la région C.K[asai] (RMCA archive HA.01.066).⁴⁴

Interestingly, the intentions behind this particular expedition were also cited alongside the accompanying map, so it is possible to reconstruct in great detail the

⁴⁴ When comparing the indicators of this map with the map of the region of which you have copies on the new Compagnie map and basing it on the information given by these voyagers, of which are not marked on their voyages, the obstacles to navigation on the Loange, it becomes evident that it is by the Loange that we will penetrate the South West of the C.K region [Translation the author’s].

motives for such an enterprise in the time before Torday's arrival. The rhetoric and approach are distinctly of colonising and occupation. The immense competitiveness that took place even within the same concession company to gain access to trade goods also becomes clear. Hohnman went on multiple voyages up the river, and was asked to complete the voyage that others had begun by following the river further south.

Resistance from the Rivers

As the section above outlined, the first stages of occupation were mapping and exploration. This clearly took place much later than the 'official' recognition of the Congo Free State at the Conference of Berlin. Local people also reacted to the increasing pressure from Europeans along the rivers in order to prevent direct trading with Europeans, as the next section will outline.

It seems these rivers were equally viewed as key in terms of barriers and protection they afforded to local people, as well as access they provided for Europeans to trade with locals. Firstly, the reputation for 'primary resistance' (violent acts) among the Lele from the left bank of the Loange will be explored. Then, the following subsection will take a look at the potential importance of the rivers for local people, the Kuba and the Lele within their own cosmological world and its relation to colonialism.

Resistance from the rivers: reputation of the Lele

Putting up opposition to trade with Europeans led to persistently negative representations in European reports of local people during the 1890s and 1910s. Colonial publications, as well as the experiences of Compagnie workers and state officials and their reports, had led to a damning picture of the Lele/Wongo/Pende people, who, by all accounts, were only known from the Kasai River banks. There was a persistent fear of the various peoples that lived in the area beyond the Loange River that had resisted the establishment of trading posts. By 1909, because of this established reputation of the Lele and Wongo people within the Kasai and in colonial publications and reports, the expedition members felt a great deal of

trepidation as they crossed the river and the 'heroic' aspect of the expedition was emphasised in subsequent publications.

In a 1903 publication, based on missionary work in the 1890s, Verner provides an early picture of the Lele people from a distance, attributing to them a reputation for violent resistance. Verner travelled along the Kasai River from Ndombe (see fig.19), encountering "Baschilele" from the West bank of the river near the abandoned SAB (Société Anonyme Belge) post at Bena Luidi founded by Mr. Stache (Verner 1903, 214). The Lele or the "Bena Luidi" had killed a state official at the post in 1898 (Mr. Chambier), and were reported in the *Mouvement Geographique*, and other pro-colonial publications as 'savages' at odds with European occupation (Verner 1903, 102). According to Verner, abandoned posts such as that at Bena Luidi were commonplace (Bena Luidi was in fact burnt down).

Speaking about the 1890s, Verner reports of an attack by Lele residents on the west bank of the Kasai (see fig. 19) (Verner 1903, 206-208). One of the canoes on Verner's journey was also lost and poisoned arrows were fired against the intruders in the canoes (Verner 1903, 208-209; 222). Verner writes that the Luba with him had "lived near Bena Makima before, and knew the character of the Baschilele natives on the west bank of the Kasai" (Verner 1903, 208). In addition, Linden, visiting the Kasai district in 1908, writes that the post of "Bashi-Chombe" (on the "Lele side of the Kasai River," see Vansina 1910, 96) had been "incendié, detruit par les indigenes et puis abandoné" (Linden 1910, 232 cited in Vansina 2010). Vansina calls these "troublesome posts" and refers to the Kuba attacks on these posts as part of the unrest in 1904: "[t]he Bushong and Kete attacked all the stations from Bashi Shombe on the Lele side of the Kasai River to Ibanc and overran all of them except for Bena Makima and Ngel iKook" (Vansina 1910, 96).

The Lele were known to the authorities from these interactions, as Verner's reply from the Chef de Poste at Luluabourg attests:

“[the commandant of the poste] warned me [Verner] concerning the savage character of some of the tribes in the district, and concluded with an explanation of the fact that in due season it would be the duty of the state to demand reparation of the Baschilele” (Verner 1903, 224).

As late as 1910, published after a study visit to Congo in 1908 on behalf of two Belgian newspapers, Fritz Linden reports on a reputation of those who lived between the Loange and Kasai Rivers: “[l]a partie district comprise entre la Loange et le Kasai est occupée par une tribu resté très farouche: le Bachileles. Cette contrée n’a guère été parcourue par les agents de la Compagnie du Kasai. Aussi les postes installés sur la rive gauche, entre le confluent du Sankuru et la frontière portugaise, sont-ils peu nombreux” (Linden 1910, 232 cited in Vansina 2010).⁴⁵

Resistance from the Rivers: the Kasai River

Similarly to the Lele peoples, the Kuba had resisted a foreign presence. As such, the Kuba peoples too, initially, had a negative representation within the colonial literature. A magistrate, Paul Bossolo, wrote that the Kasai region, before 1902, had enjoyed a well-deserved reputation for peace and quiet (Vansina 2010, 92). This ‘peace and quiet’ within the wider region, however, changed between 1902 and 1904 when the Kasai region and the aforementioned posts became the scene of military interventions (Vansina 2010, 92). Relationships in the east of Lele territory were not yet established but in the west, from the Kasai River, they were at a critical point. During 1903, the Compagnie managers at Ngel iKook, Luebo, and Bena Makima all banded together to destroy two large Lele villages across the Kasai River as “reprisals after the locals there, provoked by repeated ill treatment, had destroyed a post of the company in their neighbourhood” (Vansina 2010, 93). According to

⁴⁵ The district between Loange and Kasai is occupied by a very fierce tribe: the Bachileles. This country has hardly been traveled by the agents of the Kasai Company. Consequently, the posts installed on the left bank, between the confluence of the Sankuru and the Portuguese frontier, are few in number [translation author’s own].

Vansina there were further attacks targeted at Compagnie officials traveling along the Kasai River from “the same insurgents” (Vansina 2010, 93).

The Kuba Kings, or *Nyimi*, had wavering relationships with Europeans. *The Kuba King, Nyimi Kot aPe* [hereon referred to as Kwete], who had been in power since 1902, had established some relatively conciliatory policies towards the various colonial agents in his country in the first two years of his reign (Vansina 2010, 93). He allowed the building of a Presbyterian chapel in the capital, agreed to the building of a Catholic mission in Bena Makima, sent copper crosses (taxes) to Luebo upon request and began in general to cooperate with the American Presbyterian Christian Mission in Luebo as well as the Compagnie du Kasai (Vansina 2010, 93). The *Nyimi*, however, had two incidents with state officials which led to his support of rebellious villages that were already beginning to oppose the colonial regime and its increasing demands on the population for rubber. He was arrested, somewhat arbitrarily, and a fine of 100 000 cowries (in the end paid by the Presbyterian mission) was imposed upon him (Vansina 2010, 93). In the second instance, his ‘tax’ in copper crosses was refused by a new state agent in September 1904, who in fact demanded the *Nyimi* himself and 50 Bushong recruits do a seven-year stint in the army (Vansina 2010, 93-95). These incidents marked a turning point: under immense pressure from his council members to carry out his protective duties for Kuba village residents, the *Nyimi* now supported the rebellions that had begun in the north-east a few months before and that were spreading throughout Kuba country (Vansina 2010, 93). In November 1904, a well-organised general revolt broke out in the South: the Bushong and Kete attacked all the stations from Bashi Shombe on the Lele side of the Kasai River to Ibanc and overran all of them except for Bena Makima and Ngel iKook (where Europeans drove them off) (Vansina 2010, 96).

At the same time, no post had managed to establish a relationship with the Lele or had entered Lele country any further than the edges of the rivers. Their resistance could be seen as successful as it did deter a more direct colonial/Compagnie presence until the collection of taxes and the appearance of the Lele on colonial maps

from 1910 (Bundjok 2008, 218). The following quote from Grenade confirms that there was no state presence in the area: “[l]e secteur de la Loangé, où je suis installé, est une région où l’Etat n’est même pas encore représenté” (RMCA archive HA.01.086).⁴⁶ European presence was made up of missionaries and employees of concession companies situated in the fringes of the area. Until Torday’s crossing of the southern part of Lele country, and the arrival of a mission post to the north, the Loange River, was critical to penetration *via* the south-west: the establishment of surrounding trade posts (Dumba in particular) was key.

Despite all the aforementioned intentions outlined by European reports, resistance had been successful in keeping out an overland presence from the area between the Loange and Kasai Rivers. Where the Kuba had started to permit relationships with Europeans, it is evident, even at this point, that the rivers continued to afford Lele and Wongo peoples some form of protection from outright European territorial occupation. The European reports discussed above, with their emphasis on rivers as a key access point to trade and then occupation demonstrate their importance. The success of this resistance - which meant occupation came at a later date - came about partly from this ‘primary resistance,’ mentioned above: that is, the violent encounters between European and Congolese peoples from the river or along the river banks that took place before territorial occupation.

However, there is evidence that demonstrates the integral importance of rivers in the protection of residents from a more local perspective. This resistance had dimensions, for both the Kuba and the Lele. In part, for the Kuba at least, it involved a widespread anti-European measure called Tongatonga, a ‘charm’ that had spread rapidly throughout the Kasai and warded off European incursions. This anti-colonial measure was part of the aforementioned ‘primary resistance’ (the Kuba rebellion mentioned above). This measure has been discussed at length in Vansina’s work (2010), and so will not form part of the detailed discussion here. However, as the

⁴⁶ The section of the Loange where I am based is a region in which the state is not yet represented [translation author’s own].

next section will demonstrate, resistance was multi-stranded, and even involved a number of important divinatory items found in the Emil Torday collection, *itombwa*, and water spirits, *ngesh*.

Resistance from the rivers: rivers and ngesh

The Rivers, to a large extent, dictated the movement of travel around the Kasai. For centuries, as Kuba-Bushong, Kuba-Ngendi and Lele oral histories make clear, these rivers created local borders, dictated trade monopolies and were the site for stories of the migration of both objects and people (these oral histories will be addressed in Chapter Five). In addition to this physical importance, the rivers also possess a sociological and cosmological importance. In the Kasai area, rivers are held to be the domain of *ngesh* (water spirits) and, as such, are often sites of ritual and spiritual significance. According to John Mack: “[t]he spirits which most immediately influence the course of human affairs are the *ngesh*, the so-called spirits of nature. The *ngesh* are said to reside in the depths of the forests and are especially identified with watery places, with the sources of streams and with marshes. But each individual spirit also has its own defined sphere of influence outside the forests, on the boundaries of savanna and in the clearings where Kuba villages are sited” (Mack 1981, 51).

For both the Kuba and the Lele (see Douglas 1963) *ngesh*, apart from their other significance, might be described as contributing to ways of “conceptualising space”: while humans live in “proper human habitat” (the savanna), the *ngesh* reside in the places mentioned above, the dark swampy forest or rivers and streams. As the territory of spirits, these are places that are particularly susceptible to the conflictual whims of the *ngesh* (Mack 1981, 52). This shared belief about the nature of watery places has arguably had a deep impact on their historical understanding of and movements across the rivers which are the boundaries of their countries - the Kasai and the Loange. The Lele are effectively surrounded by rivers, as if on an inland island, and this watery frontier may be understood to have been conceived as affording some kind of protective quality both by themselves and by others sharing

the same concepts of space and the same beliefs in the unpredictable nature of *ngesh*. We might argue, therefore, that this conceptualisation of the significance of rivers was implicit in the ways in which control of the movement of people and resources across the Kasai Basin was exercised in practice and recounted in oral histories. In Torday's time and at the advent of colonial incursions, we could also argue, increasing incidents of infringements of long-held restrictions on movements across these rivers heightened the fear of *ngesh*. Lele and Kuba were confronted with external challenges to their whole understanding of the cosmological balance within their riverine environment. New measures were needed to regain control.

Resistance from the rivers: itombwa

There is a link between *ngesh* water spirits and *itombwa* which potentially connects the use of these items to resistance to European occupation. One of the most prolific items in the Kuba and Lele collections are the *itombwa* rubbing oracles. The divination devices known as *itombwa* often take the form of animal figures, their backs forming the rubbing surface. The diviner obtains responses to inquiries about human misfortunes by rubbing the implement back and forth across the surface of the oracle. When the most appropriate answer is named, the rubbing implement suddenly stops moving, and the diviner feels it resisting his efforts and sticking to the oracle (for a description of this in use among the Kuba, see KYS TOR M27067, 499). Torday and Hilton Simpson paid for the services of a 'diviner,' who used *itombwa* divination boards to find a knife that had gone missing in Kuba country (Hilton Simpson 1911, 210-211). According to Mack (1981), Vansina (1978) and Bundjok (2008), these *itombwa* are all linked to the *ngesh* nature spirits, which Bundjok calls "maître des eaux" [master of the waters] (Bundjok 2008, 186; Vansina 1978, 219). *Itombwa* were collected by Torday among the Lele as well as the Kuba (see figs 20-32), and evidence of their use among both the Lele and the Kuba has been documented (Bundjok 2008; Vansina 1978; Mack 1981; Douglas 1957).

The *itombwa* among the Lele represent animals, largely bush pigs (figs. 24-25), crocodiles (fig. 25), dogs and many human forms (figs. 20-21, 22-23).⁴⁷ These particular animals all reside in, or mediate between the watery or forest habitats of the *nghesh* (see Bundjok 2008, 187; Mack 1981, 52; Douglas 1957). There is a lack of concrete evidence for the use of *itombwa* in the pre-colonial period. Thus, there is no evidence that suggests the use of *itombwa* escalated during the colonial period. However, the documented advent of anti-sorcery cults at this time (Douglas 1963b, 1963 & 1999) is consistent with the interpretation of colonial incursion as not just a question of challenging internal governance and trading monopolies but of disrupting the cosmological order. Indeed, Bundjok offers further insight into the use of animals allied with *nghesh* and anti-colonial movements. The crocodile representation, in particular, seems to be most associated with the control over rivers. It has to be noted that within the collections made by Torday, the crocodile representation is most numerous among the Kuba *itombwa*, rather than those labelled Wongo or Lele (figs. 28-32). Those labelled Kuba Ngendi (figs. 28-32) were collected along the Sankuru River, most likely in Misumba. Especially crucial for evidence of a link between *nghesh* and crocodiles, is the *itombwa* made with a crocodile jaw in figure 31, which could be interpreted as an implement that metonymically harnesses the qualities of the crocodile (fig. 31). According to Bundjok, the official of the *bwangambuya* (1910-1924) among the Kuba, apparently inspired by etiological Kuba myths, claimed that a drum depicting a crocodile among the Lele was a receptacle of “magical power” to protect the Kasai, Loange, and Lumbundji Rivers, to attack and inflame spirits that lived there so that they sank colonial boats (Bundjok 2008, 217).⁴⁸ Given the ethnographic evidence that suggests the *itombwa* engage the agency of these same *nghesh*, it is perhaps arguable that the prolific “crocodile diviners” (see Hilton Simpson v.2 and v.7) were part of an anti-colonial measure too.

⁴⁷ Often, distinctions are difficult to make between animals. These are general impressions of their representative qualities.

⁴⁸ This information is likely to be drawn from an oral history interview Bundjok collected in 1970s and 2000s however, the origin of this particular piece of information is not directly cited in his work.

Despite sustained efforts in the first twenty years of European presence, resistance - in all its forms - became less effective and trading relationships from the periphery of Lele country began around three years before the expedition arrived in Lele country. New trade posts emerged in the 1900s that mobilised the increase in knowledge of the Loange and Kasai Rivers, and employees of the Compagnie du Kasai, including Torday who was in nearby Kikwit between 1904-1906, began developing information about the local area in order to facilitate trade.

Beginnings of trade

With the River more or less taking shape on maps and the existence of a people called the Lele established from a distance, traders in the early 1900s looked to begin establishing precious relationships with local people, even those most 'volatile,' in order to begin trading directly. Torday himself was part of this wave of traders in the employ of the Compagnie du Kasai, who saw varied success in the establishment of trade posts in the 1900s. The following section will look at the trading phase in the south-west central Kasai during 1900-1907. Vansina's (2010) work on the trade around the nearby Kuba-inhabited area will be explored. This research will be situated in the historical debates about the nature of trade (especially in rubber).

Posts at this time arrived, disappeared and also changed hands a number of times, leading to a patchy and complex archival record. This history of posts has nonetheless been constructed. The Lele were effectively surrounded by trade posts from the 1890s (see figs. 33-34). The process of establishing districts and provinces was underway during Leopold II's reign, evident from the vast numbers of maps that were being compiled in the area and now found in the reconstructed Africa Archives (see figs. 33-34).⁴⁹ After the formation of the Compagnie du Kasai in 1901, these increased in number. These maps outline the emergent territorial sections of the lands ready for eventual direct control in 1920s and 1930s (for this area specifically). A map was produced on August 1892 (scale: 1: 5000000) titled "Placement of factories of the Belgian Society of Haut-Congo" by the National

⁴⁹ *Archives Africaines*, ICRB (A7) (Institute Congo Royal Belge), Brussels, Belgium

Institute of Geography in Brussels and published in a supplement of the *Mouvement Geographique* on 29th October 1892. On the map shown in figure 33, the posts of Luebo and Bena Luidi are mentioned (fig.33). In the same year, Major William Parminter, director of the S.A.B [Société Anonyme Belge] (and founder of the post of Mangai) provides the first information with regards to the post of Nzonzadi in 1893 and also mentions Bena Luidi (“sur la rive gauche” of the Kasai) (Nkay Malu 2006).⁵⁰ Henry Bundjok (2008) notes that Pangu was the first post to be occupied that implicated the Lele in missionary and European trading activities in 1908 (see fig. 34 for a map of the region between 1898 and 1901). Pangu, however, was in the northern part of Lele country that Torday did not pass through later in 1909. Linden mentions the revival of the “destroyed” post of Bashi-Chombe (on the right bank, the Lele side, of the Kasai River) by at least 1908, or perhaps 1910 when he is writing-up the account: “[...]restauré, le poste de Baschi-Chombe reprend vie. Des récolteurs batchoques lui fournissent du caoutchouc noir bouilli contre des machettes et du sel, qui sont presque les seuls articles d’échange en faveur (Linden 1910, 232 cited in Vansina 2010).⁵¹ The trading post of Dumba (to the east of the Loange River) and the mission and trading post of Luebo (at the confluence of the Sankuru and the Kasai (to the West of Lele country) were the first for which there is supporting archival documentation.

This ‘back and forth’ - the creation and destruction of posts, and oscillating relationships between European and Congolese peoples - can be explained to an extent with the analysis of Jan Vansina (2010) that the coming and going of trading posts were part of various phases of trading within the Kasai that he has identified.⁵²

⁵⁰ As an interesting aside, William Parminter is remembered in Kikwit, a large town on the Kwilu River (where Torday also worked). I was shown his grave-stone by a local guide who pointed out that it was a place perceived by politicians and local people as containing a powerful force that could be harnessed by collected some of the surrounding dirt.

⁵¹ [...]restored, the post of Baschi-Chombe resumes life. Batchoque [Badjok/Chokwe] collectors furnish it with boiled black rubber against machetes and salt, which are almost the only articles of exchange in favour [translation author’s own].

⁵² The context for Vansina’s work is important to note: it is largely a response to the journalistic, extremely polemic, work by Adam Hoschild published in 1998 which, according to Vansina “revived” the debates of the Reform Congo Movement that laid out the ‘red rubber atrocities’. Vansina outlines that exploitation was not all about the suffering incurred in terms of deaths in the rubber trade. The analyses of the extent of the

Vansina's monograph, *Being Colonised*, has provided an essential update to the broader chronologies of trading in the interior of Congo, offering a nuanced picture of commercial activities in the trade posts surrounding the Kuba kingdom (of particular interest here, of course, are those that bordered Lele eastern country). Vansina's analysis, importantly, demonstrates the peaks and troughs of trade (and also power) in the region. These phases will be explored in the following section. Some background will be given to Vansina's history of rubber trading, the trade that characterised the 1880s-1910s. Special attention will be given to the trade post of Luebo, the mission posts, and the place of a number of businesses in these decades. In addition, these peaks and troughs had very specific implications for the Kuba Kingdom, which was apparently on the brink of collapse in 1902 (as already mentioned in Chapter Two). This context is vital in understanding Torday's first encounters with the Kuba Kingdom covered in later chapters.

Vansina, importantly, highlights the importance of local trajectories in larger chronologies of rubber 'exploitation.' In relation to the Kasai and the Kuba Kingdom in particular, their experience was to some extent different to those parts of the Congo that were incorporated into King Leopold's 'regime dominale' (mentioned in the historical outline in Chapter Two). While other areas of Congo were already subject to exploitative and extractive policies found in this regime, Vansina actually claims that the Kuba villages enjoyed one decade of relative prosperity from around 1892. Vansina makes a strong argument that various factors allowed the African, Kuba, rubber vendors to hold the initiative, and achieve the highest prices. The price of rubber began to "skyrocket" in 1890 onward as a result of technological development in Europe and North America (Vansina 2010, 61).⁵³ In addition, 'Kasai Red Rubber,' as it was technically known, fetched the highest prices in the international market as it had the highest reputation for quality (Vansina 2010, 61). Importantly, this boom 'saved' Luebo which had by 1890 become a 'backwater' in

atrocities are based, as Vansina rightly states, upon extremely limited population data in any case, as no coherent survey of populations was ever carried out.

⁵³ Vansina also makes an interesting comparison with the modern-day surge in the price of coltan (columbite-tantalite). He refers, of course, to the metallic ore that is used in the production of tantalum capacitors, used in many electronic devices. The majority of this is from DRC.

the eyes of the state after the decline of the ivory and slave trade that had dominated Euro-African trade in the mid-nineteenth century and inter-regional trade in the decades before that (Vansina 2010, 62). By 1890 “half a dozen” or so businesses began to (re)settle around this post next to the Kuba hinterland. This generated competition in a ‘free trade zone,’ according to Vansina, where all Kuba villagers were incorporated into a trading opportunity in which vendors could find the highest paying European buyer (Vansina 2010, 63).⁵⁴ However, Vansina also states that the formation of the *Compagnie du Kasai* in 1901 was a turning point, which eliminated competition and thus brought the Kasai further “in line” with the exploitation experienced elsewhere in the Congo during the early 1900s.

The history of the nature of trade in the area is rendered all the more complicated by evidence suggesting that the concession companies did not always trade directly. This has potential implications for the historical debates about how European exploitation occurred in this region. Jumping ahead briefly to the time of the expedition (1907-1909), there is evidence (presented below) to suggest that transactions in rubber between Kasai peoples and Europeans was conducted indirectly. This evidence challenges the notion that coercion happened later in the Kasai region than in other areas of Congo. The *Compagnie* employees had no hand in the direct collecting of rubber unless (in unusual cases) there was a plantation around the factory (for example in Bena Dibebe, see Hilton Simpson 1911, 124-125).⁵⁵ During the expedition, unpopulated or ‘abandoned’ rubber camps were found among the Tetela and Kete [“Bankutu”] villages in the eastern Kasai district, to the east of the Sankuru River: “on the way [to the Bankutu village of Twipolo] we passed a deserted camp built by Batetela rubber collectors” (Hilton Simpson 1911, 134). These posts suggest that there were transactions in rubber beyond the factories.

⁵⁴ Vansina uses a memoir from Vermeulen from 1901-1902 as representative of this “decade of prosperity,” which outlines an African vendor negotiating prices and winning the barter (Vermeulen 1933, 166, 168, 233).

⁵⁵ “About three miles above Bena Dibebe, also on the right bank of the river, are situated very extensive rubber plantations belonging to the Government, and under the control of a white official with an expert knowledge of rubber planting.” The number of vines planted must be enormous, but about twenty years must elapse, we were told, before any extensive output of rubber can be expected from them” (Hilton Simpson 1911, 124-125).

Among the Babunda, rubber was used as a currency, and the people they encountered refused to trade in anything else (Hilton Simpson 1911, 266). Hilton Simpson writes that this was “peculiar” because

[i]n most other places the native, when he requires any of the commodities that the white man sells, collects some rubber and takes it to a factory; but among the Babunda, however, and their neighbours the Bapindji, rubber is used as a currency, and a weekly market is held out in the open plains to the west of Alela, where the natives exchange rubber for their goods or food-stuffs among themselves. The rubber therefore is not, as a rule, brought to the white man by the native who has collected it, and the greatest care is taken by the people that the European should not be allowed to attend one of these markets and so ascertain the price at which it there changes hands (Hilton Simpson 1911, 266).

While this quote does not mention where this currency eventually ended up, we can assume, because of the trading systems in place for rubber and ivory at the Compagnie stations, that it may have changed hands a number of times before being purchased and packed at the factory posts.

Thus despite Hoschild’s (1999) claims that coercion in the Kasai came later than elsewhere in the Congo Free State, arguably *local* systems of coercion were involved at a date earlier than 1910 because of a lack of pre-government (colonial ‘proper’) posts, with most authority in daily activities, such as tax and rubber collecting, falling into the hands of individuals at posts of various concession companies (see Martin 1983, 20 and Vansina 2010). Further, as Hilton Simpson alludes to, there were local systems of trade in place that meant the rubber collectors still had some say in the prices they fetched (beyond Vansina’s ‘decade of prosperity,’ as late as 1907-

1909). This draws our attention not only to regional variability in the trade in rubber, but also that the trade in rubber involved multiple agents within a matrix of economic transactions, rather than a direct transaction between collectors and Compagnie employees. With some evidence of transactions outside of the Compagnie post, it might also be assumed that Kasai red rubber was being traded on the fringes of the Kasai which bordered the régime dominale before Compagnie du Kasai trade posts became numerous.

Beginnings of trade: identifying 'needs'

Trade with the Lele came about through establishing relationships with the peoples of the south-west. As we have seen, trade with the Lele from the east had been a failed endeavour, due to the numerous rebellions along the Kasai River.⁵⁶ The key to this trade with the Lele and Wongo, carried out at first through intermediaries in an indirect manner, lay in Europeans acquiring the knowledge of materials that would be traded by local people: Europeans were looking for goods by which they could engage local populations in trading in rubber and ivory.

The director of the Compagnie du Kasai within Africa wrote from Dima that the

“Bapendés [...] n’étant pas réellement hostiles vous connaissant maintenant, se montreront d’autant plus accueillants pour vous quand vous vous présenterez chez eux, venant du Sud-Ouest. Le fait qu’ils ont des besoins et ne possèdent pas de plaine à CTC [caoutchouc] vous sera d’un puissant secours pour l’organisation éventuelle

⁵⁶ Indeed, it was in this direction, west to east, that the expedition members eventually travelled overland through Lele country in 1907-1909, the alternative route, despite being more convenient in terms of distance travelled, was not advisable.

des transports (in Hohman's papers, RMCA HA.01.066).⁵⁷

This demonstrates, again, the nature of relationships based on the buying and selling of goods in the area and that, by Torday's time in 1909, the South West entry point and the "needs" of the Pende had been identified. The "needs" of the Pende were essential, as we will see in Chapter Six, as the Pende people populated the Lele and Wongo areas in and around the periphery, and were involved in trade networks with them.

In the nearest trading station to the Pende, Lele and Wongo peoples, Dumba, a young Compagnie du Kasai employee, Paul Grenade, had begun manning the post. His archival material is mostly formed of correspondence between him and his father. Grenade's correspondence allows us to look at the start of relationships that facilitated trading, and moved beyond the reports of the early years of 1900s which contained no indicators of the prospect of trading with the peoples identified loosely as Lele. What is clear from the quote below is the delicate balance at Dumba in maintaining the relationships that were needed in order to continue trading with those people living around the post. Grenade writes:

La mission "Chemins de Fer" nous a enfin lâchés pour partir vers la région de la rivière Loangé et de là vers le Kasai et Lusambo: il n'y a vraiment pas de mal, car leur passage nous fait du tort et nous suscite des ennuis dans nos rapports avec les indigènes?!⁵⁸ Maintenant, tout se calme"

⁵⁷ Pende [people] are not really hostile now as you know, they will be more welcoming of you when you present yourself to them, coming from the South-West. The fact that you have needs and do not have rubber plantations will be a powerful aid in the eventual organisation of transport [translation the author's own].

⁵⁸ This punctuation does not seem to make sense here but I have copied verbatim the typed transcript of the original letters.

(Grenade, April 1906 from Dumba, RMCA
HA.01.086).⁵⁹

That foreign visitors and unknown Europeans could destroy the trust of local people is evident in the part of the quote that states “nous suscitez des ennuis dans nos rapports avec les indigènes.” It is not mentioned whether this journey was in fact realised by the “la mission “Chemins de Fer,” but certainly no maps or reports materialised in the archive as a result (or are mentioned by Emil Torday or Hilton Simpson). Nonetheless, the important aspect is Grenade’s reaction to the unsettling of the relationships he had made amongst people who were difficult to trade with. Seemingly in 1907, resistance among the “Pende” had quietened because of personal familiarity (RMCA HA.01.086). This was still, in 1905-1907, seen as a difficult area in which to work: Grenade calls the experience of Europeans in Boma and Matadi (more centralised locations) a “noce,” nicknaming them “pen pushers” and “explorers of documents” and says that he deals with people of the bush, “Bassengés (sauvages)” (RMCA archive HA.01.086).

One of the reasons for outlining in such detail the nature of trading in the Kasai at this time is because Torday, of course, had also worked for the Compagnie du Kasai as a trader. Another reason is that Torday developed important strategies in the collection of ethnographic information that moved him beyond a typical Compagnie employee. The following section will explore the nature of trade through two case studies, Torday and Grenade, traders for the Compagnie du Kasai in the Bandundu Province and, in Kasai Occidental, on the left bank of the Loange River, respectively. Torday’s case study in particular highlights the relationship between successful trade and ‘good ethnography.’

⁵⁹ The “railway” mission has finally left us to go to the Loange river region and from there towards the Kasai and Lusambo: it’s for the best, because their stay here did us some damage and gave some trouble in our relationships with the indigenous?! Now, everything has calmed down [translation author’s own].

The Role of European Traders: Torday and Grenade

European traders played an important role in knowledge production because of the need to establish certain trading relationships with local people, and, in some cases, such as Torday's, because of a personal desire to understand the peoples of various regions. In the following section, Torday's early correspondence whilst a trader in Kikwit will be compared to a trader at the post of Dumba, Paul Grenade. This comparison will serve to establish the extent to which Torday was unique in his approach to ethnography, or whether other traders in the region were conducting similar work. Finally, the comparison will broaden in order to include a look at another trader in Africa, Dennett, in order to place Torday within a wider history of knowledge production in Africa.

Grenade's correspondence gives some contemporaneous perspective to the correspondence between Torday and Joyce in the years 1905-1906. Although Grenade's correspondence is largely personal between him and his family, and Torday's was largely professional, between him and T.A. Joyce at the British Museum, it can nonetheless be used to corroborate or elaborate on Torday's views. Grenade's correspondence provides a contemporary perspective of a trader who was in the Kasai at the same time as Torday, during his position as a Compagnie du Kasai trader in nearby Kikwit in 1904-1906. Correspondence between Torday and Joyce at the British Museum started in 1905, when Torday was working for the Compagnie du Kasai at his post in Kikwit (around 200 km to the left bank of the Loange River, and 626 km by modern-day roads to Luebo in Kasai Occidental). Overall, the correspondence of Torday and the correspondence of Grenade begin to reveal the basic recipe for trade between Europeans and 'hostile' Congolese peoples. In addition, this comparison highlights the detailed ethnographic information Torday was developing in comparison to his colleagues. The relationship was an uneasy one, especially in the region of Dumba and its surroundings, where, as we have seen, constant rejection of European trading and government posts, as well as distrust of individual Europeans, was ongoing throughout the early twentieth century (Bundjok 2008).

Grenade's correspondence in general gives a balance to Torday's self-projection as someone who has good relations with local people and speaks local languages (established during Torday's first role for the Compagnie du Kasai in Kikwit). Grenade certainly expresses prejudicial views toward African people, common amongst Europeans at the time, but which are lacking in Torday's correspondence and general attitudes (especially in the years after the expedition). However, equally present in both sets of letters is a paternalistic attitude and also the notion that, even for someone with prejudice, in order to enact successful transactions in trade (and this includes collecting), as well as recruit workers that were necessary around the factory and for portage in both expedition and trading contexts, it was almost a prerequisite for a trader to both speak the language and attempt to understand and be sympathetic to local life. What is meant by this is that even Grenade had to comply with such methods in order to carry out his duties as a trader purchasing rubber. The other alternative was heavy coercion but, outnumbered by Congolese subjects, coercion was as ineffective and risky as it was unpopular. Indeed, the Compagnie was already at this time under scrutiny from the British Congo Reform Movement about their responsibilities in Congo. Torday himself writes "[n]ew-comers in savage lands are too often forgetful of the fact that they are intruders; traders and travellers especially should bear in mind that they sojourn in the land by the goodwill of the native, lacking as they are in the support of the European Government" (Torday 1913, 243).

Compagnie employees negotiated and dealt with chiefs, or those who put themselves forward as chiefs. Grenade (1906) certainly talks of having good relations with "*my* two chiefs [emphasis mine]" (19th April 1906, 4). Thus, in newly established posts from 1900 onward at least, relationships were established, successfully or unsuccessfully. Good relations with a chief meant controlling the populace and thus the rubber collectors, with whom, it seems, the government officials had at best the most fleeting of direct contact. European rubber buyers (Torday and Grenade) and Congolese vendors and workers - as much as they could be amicable or mutually respectful in order to conduct trade - were not "friends" as Torday and Grenade

would both claim. Torday's tone was dismissive of the ability of other Europeans to conduct proper ethnographic research (whether professional ethnographers or not). As he makes clear to Joyce on May 25th 1906, other Europeans neither spoke the languages he could, nor were they as favoured by 'natives' as he was because he understood local customs, and could thus avoid causing unnecessary offence (May 25th 1906, TOR 68). Torday also claimed that he was a chief of a small area, and capable of establishing a small monarchy that could rally to keep out authorities for a number of days (May 25th 1906). Much of this was an expression of bravado rather than any real prospect.

The biggest difference between Grenade and Torday was in Torday's approach to people, and his insight into the growing field of ethnography: Torday, unlike Grenade, translates his experiences into anthropologically legible data (or thereabouts) for the purposes of scientific research. Similarities between the two men include the learning of languages whilst at a trading post. However, whereas Torday specifies and distinguishes between the languages he learnt (Kimbala at this point), Grenade talks of the "Kasai" language which he started "baragouiner," rather than "parler" (RMCA HA.01.086). It stands to reason that Grenade communicated in Tshiluba, which already had currency as the trading language of the area and increasingly became (and still is) the lingua franca of the Kasai region.⁶⁰

Torday travelled extensively around the region, partly in pursuit of artefacts for the British Museum and ethnographic information for Joyce. Grenade on the other hand stayed in his post, only moving to "Baaba" [?] when the Compagnie moved him there in 1908, or travelling along the Loange or Lubue River when necessity dictated (RMCA HA.01.086). Over the course of the year, Grenade becomes increasingly aware of the subtleties involved in distinguishing between ethnic groups and languages and makes one or two comments about his surroundings that could be considered as ethnographical information in an empirical sense. He compiled lists of

⁶⁰ This is one of four lingua franca's in modern-day DRC: Kikongo (Kituba), Lingala, Tshiluba and Swahili. Aside from Lingua Franca's developed through both trade and conquest (pre- and post-colonial), there are an estimated 242 languages in Democratic Republic of Congo.

vocabulary, but the majority of this was for the general interest of his father and reflects a vocabulary relevant to his role as a trader (“travailleur”; “homme” and numbers 1-100, for example). Again, the purpose of the correspondence has to be considered (as personal correspondence to family members does not exist in Torday’s case) but Torday was nevertheless developing his *experiences* and ethnographic outlook in responding to Joyce’s prompting along the lines of the *Notes and Queries* questionnaire, *seeking* out information and thus going above and beyond the recollected descriptions and (often un-nuanced) reports of the average Compagnie trader.

By 9th April 1905 (at least), Torday was sending collections to the British Museum (see correspondence from Torday to Joyce 9th April 1905, hereon TOR 68). Letters show that he was also by this point in contact with Henry Balfour of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, who requested that artefacts be sent to him at Joyce’s discretion (18th March 1905, TOR 68). Torday briefly visited Britain in 1905 before returning to his post in Congo. John Mack (1990) calls this time in Kikwit Torday’s “ethnographic apprenticeship” and, as evident from correspondence, Torday became increasingly purposeful in his pursuit of ethnographic data, going beyond the parameters of a trader (who often doubled-up as amateur collector/ethnographers). Grenade, at Dumba, makes casual comments about his environment and the people he meets but his comments are an aside to his own career trajectory within the Compagnie.

There were other traders in other parts of Africa, at other times, that did make systematic contributions to ethnographic knowledge about the continent. Further to the Torday’s role within knowledge production in the Kasai, specifically for the Lele and Kuba, is the issue of placing Torday within a broader history of knowledge production in Africa. Even Torday’s early work in anthropology marked a watershed in knowledge production at the time, and was a result of scholarly engagement within the discipline of anthropology, largely through Joyce at the British Museum. Ayres (2012) writes that 1875 marked a change in Dennett’s ethnographic work, at that point focused on the Bavili people of French Congo, with

his previous works being neither objective or scientific (Ayres 2012, 97, 109). This shift, Ayres writes, could possibly be attributed to the anthropological guidelines published for travellers in 1874 (Ayres 2012, 109). These guidelines were *Notes and Queries* first published in 1874 and initiated by Colonel Lane Fox (later Pitt Rivers) to assist those who were gathering ethnographic data and provided in a sense an adaptable model of knowledge production. Certainly, Ayres makes a strong case that Dennett's later publications exhibited categories (such as religion) that mirror the increasingly scientific guidelines of *Notes and Queries*, initially outlined by Tylor (Ayres 2012, 112). However, she also outlines another distinct possibility; that traders and missionaries were not always exposed to these guidelines directly whilst in the field (as commented upon by the Baptist Missionary, John Weeks in 1912, see Ayres 2012, 112).

While Dennett's empirical work certainly addressed many of the categories important in the presentation and categorisation of knowledge within the emergent discipline, Torday was shaping his work along these lines in 1904-1906 during his time as a trader. Torday certainly had knowledge of, and access to, *Notes and Queries* in its later editions through his correspondence with T.A. Joyce at the British Museum.⁶¹ Indeed, his fieldnotes sent back to Joyce and now in the British Museum archives are organised in categories that bear the imprint of the organising principles advocated in *Notes and Queries*. Of course, it is noted here that Torday was operating as a trader in much later decades than Dennett. However, it has been remarked by Fabian (2000) that this early work was of exceptional ethnographic value and was carried out in a much more systematic fashion than his peers conducting fieldwork in the area. While comparing Torday to traders in *this* region renders him somewhat

⁶¹ This kind of correspondence is somewhat typical of non-professional fieldworkers (such as missionaries or traders) although Torday did seem to engage to a greater degree with theoretical concerns of his own accord as attested to by his extensive requests for publications, and his huge corpus of reading notes at the Royal Anthropological Institute. Burton's empirical data, for example, was fed back into the ethno-museological fields by scholars and curators at Witwatersrand and the RMCA, and to some extent, these scholars offered some guidance about generating information, and topics about which to write (Maxwell 2008).

unique, in comparison to other traders in Africa at this time and earlier, such as Dennett, Torday is more remarkable than unique.

Conclusion

The whole 1907-1909 expedition was dependant on these trading stations for accommodation, maps, European food and supplies, shipping, exports (of artefacts), transport, as well as access to the knowledge acquired by Europeans in charge of a post about local trading systems and local leadership practice. The following chapter details the expedition's itinerary, and provides the reader with a clear picture of the progression and movement of the expedition before they reached the Kuba, the Lele and the Wongo people.

This chapter has outlined the European perceptions of the Kuba, Lele and Wongo people in the years up to 1907. It has been demonstrated that Europeans felt the key to occupying the south-west was via the Loange River, and through establishing trade relationships in new directions from the new trade post of Dumba. It has begun to demonstrate the role of indigenous agency in the colonial process, and the tense and hostile relationships in the route to trading, which was, in effect, colonial occupation. Following this, the correspondence of Grenade and Torday began to allude to the requirement that more and more detailed ethnography was needed for the colonial process to work. This process, of developing and refining ethnographic knowledge (as was the case with traders such as Torday and Dennett) in conjunction with aspirations to grow hegemonic colonial power (that is, in part, total control over resources and labour), begins to explain the role of the expedition and emergent anthropology/ethnography in this process. The details provided in this chapter are part of a chronology that needs to be understood when situating Torday's work on both the Kuba and the Lele. The next chapter looks at the expedition's itinerary.

Chapter Four

Histories of Encounter: moving through the Kasai

Introduction

As we saw in the last chapter, members of the colonial and trading apparatus acquired local knowledge, even to a small degree, in order to stock the Compagnie du Kasai posts with adequate trading materials and undertake negotiations in either local languages, or regional trade languages, such as Lingala or Tshiluba. This chapter analyses and outlines the expedition's activities in the first year, 1907-1908. The chapter stops at the point in the narrative before Torday's extended stay in the Kuba royal capital, Nsheng, the residence of the Kuba Nyimi, or King (the subject of Chapter Five). It will also look in detail at the expedition's movements through the Kasai Basin. It will examine to what extent Torday was conducting engaged fieldwork beyond the veranda's of the colonial officials and concession company traders, and the type of knowledge produced through such encounters. This chapter will conclude with an examination of Torday's first encounter with those Kuba peoples that lived outside of the royal capital, in a place called Misubma. It will be established that this first encounter with a Kuba oral historian, Bilumbu, was in fact part of the preparatory work for Torday's stay among the royal Kuba-Bushong.

Overall, this chapter will begin to unpick the rhetoric in Torday's work, and assess to what extent he was truly immersed in Kasai life, distinct - as he saw it and presented it - from the life of others in and around the Compagnie's factories, attendants, and state officials. Through the minute examination of the expedition's itinerary in this chapter, and as demonstrated in the timeline in appendix 2 and the map in appendix 3, it will become clear that the expedition covered a huge amount of geographical distance in a relatively short space of time, thus barely spending longer than a day in some places. In addition, Torday writes that he acquired information only from local

'native' sources (Torday and Joyce 1910, 6; Hilton Simpson 1911, x). This chapter will explore this aim and Torday's evaluation of information acquired during the encounter, and thus of the quality of the interaction with his 'informants' also. In addition, as we will see throughout this chapter, the idea that local knowledge can be seen as completely distinct from the hybrid activities between Europeans and multi-ethnic areas in early colonial Kasai is called into question.

It is necessary to examine in detail the methodology of the expedition as this will shed light on the way in which the information presented in the ethnographic tomes, published sources and collections was generated. These published materials gloss over many of the social relations that were in fact involved in these transactions during the encounter. The colonial infrastructure and the presence of other Europeans were largely overlooked in the visual outputs (the photographs that were published) as well as the written materials. Further, where collections were made at the Compagnie du Kasai posts or with colonial officers, which was the case for the vast majority, these locations did not feature in the published materials, with items being submerged in a timeless ethnographic context the minute that Torday labelled them. In addition, short time spells spent with just one or two informants were recycled into large representative narratives and images of the history and culture of various peoples.

The map of the expedition, printed in full in this thesis (appendix 3), reveals only a superficial overview of the expedition's movement that is further outlined in the timeline in appendix 2. In addition to the information provided by this map, the expedition's route has been traced in minute detail, day-by-day, by examining Hilton Simpson's seven volume unpublished diary. The itinerary in brief is as follows: after descending from Dima downstream on the Kasai, the expedition travelled upstream on the Sankuru River, travelling on foot from Batempa to Mokunji. They then travelled downstream from Batempa via Lusambo back to Bena Dibebe, where they travelled on foot further north toward Akela country. From here, they came down from Kikwit, and trekked across toward the River Loange. From

the River Loange, they went across Lele country toward the Kasai River, which they had to go back up to the confluence of the Sankuru-Kasai. This venture took two years in total. The itinerary is extremely complicated to follow, because the journey itself was not linear or straightforward. The expedition members moved up and down the rivers. At times they stopped at the left bank or the right bank at various posts.

The expedition can be separated into a few distinct phases (see appendix 2). The first phase (September-December 1907) largely explored the River Sankuru and its posts and neighbouring villages. The second phase (December 1907-February 1908), was largely spent in and around the Tetela villages and towns and posts to the east of this river (with one full month spent in and near Mokunji). The third phase (February 1908- June 1908) saw the expedition in and around Lusambo and Misumba and was their first encounter with Kuba settlements along the rivers. The fourth phase (June-July 1908) was a trek among the villages of the Akela to the north of the Tetela. The fifth phase (September 1908-December 1908) was three months among the Kuba-Bushong at the capital in Mushenge or Nsheng (the subject of Chapter Five). The sixth phase was a hunting trip (December 1908-February 1909). The seventh phase (February 1909-April 1909) was among the southern-Mbala and Bunda peoples in and around Kikwit and Athènes. The final phase (April 1909-July 1909) was among the Pende, Lele, Wongo and Chokwe people who lived between the Loange and Kasai Rivers (the subject of Chapter Six). This chapter will discuss the first three phases.

The first phase (September-December 1907)

The first phase of the expedition was largely centred around stays at various colonial and trade posts along the Sankuru and Kasai Rivers and various tributaries, as this section will outline. The Congolese coastal towns were the first ports of call for the expedition: after stopping in Boma on the coast, they arrived at Matadi, the main coastal port of the Congo Free State (October 27th 1907). Boma was the administrative capital of the Congo Free State and the Belgian Congo. The governor-

general's (at this time, Théophile Wahis) house where the expedition members stayed (HS v.1, 19) was based in Boma (fig. 35). Shipping companies had branches here, and this is where all the items from the expedition were exported back to the UK in boxes sent over via the Boma Hatton and Cookson branch (the Liverpool shipping company that were employed as the main carriers for the expedition). In the Congo Free State, Dima was the main Compagnie du Kasai post. It is located on the Kasai River. After Matadi, Boma and a stop in Kinshasa, the expedition went to stay with the Director of the Compagnie du Kasai in Dima in early November 1907 (see fig.36) (HS, v.1, 42). The modern-day map shows the approximate distance by road between these three places (see fig. 37). In Dima, there was also a chef de poste. Dima was an administrative capital of the Kasai District⁶² and thus the point of entry for the expedition into the Kasai region, before they headed to posts along the Sankuru River.

From September 1907 until spring 1908, and apart from brief spells 'trekking' to villages and back, Torday had barely ventured beyond the rivers and the Compagnie posts along their banks. Although he had acquired good experience of seeking out ethnographic information and making collections whilst in Kikwit in 1905-1906, he was not to return to the area in which he had conducted this early research until spring 1909. Thus, this first phase was largely preliminary research conducted through information gained at the posts. As such, what he recorded began as largely topographical information and information about porters, infrastructure and local administration.

The expedition made considerable collections along the Kasai and Sankuru River in the first few months of the expedition. These collections, as we will see, were often even donated by colonialists or traders, way before Torday met the various people and ethnic groups associated with their making. Torday initially encountered people

⁶² The division of Congo into districts took place in the early decades of the twentieth-century. Each district was supervised by a *commissaire de district*. Each district was in turn divided into *secteurs*, which were run by a *chef de secteur* who then supervised the *chef de poste*. See Lewis Gann and Peter Duignan. 1979. *The Rulers of Belgian Africa, 1884-1914*, 94.

through their artefacts, sold or given to him at the Compagnie posts and their surroundings. This is interesting in light of Hilton Simpson's statement that "Mr. T never accepted an item of information concerning the natives imparted to him by a white man but only recorded what was told to him by members of the tribe concerned" (Hilton Simpson 1911, x). At Lubue during a brief stay of two days at the house of one of three agents there, Torday received a present of "ivory masks" which were worn as ornaments around the neck and "two cups of the Bapindi (Pende)" from one of the agents (Tuesday December 10th 1907 HS, v.2, 2). No cups in the collection at the British Museum could be identified as being collected in 1907 or even 1908. The "ivory mask" is likely to be a Pende ivory neck ornament of a "human face figure made of ivory" held in the British Museum, and inventoried to Torday at the date of 1907 (Af1907 0528 535).⁶³ Other 'pendants' made by Pende are inventoried in 1910 (e.g. Af1910 0420 447, and Af1910 0420 541). Further, at Basongo (fig.38), a military post run by Lieutenant le Grand, Torday saw a collection of arrows shot by "Bashilange on the left bank" (HS v.2, 2). Lieutenant le Grand gave Torday "a selection of arrows, a spear, some cloth and a wooden cup" (HS v.2, 2). These seem likely to constitute the items at the British Museum labelled as "Songo," which number 142 items but are inventoried as 1909 (this does not mean they were not collected in 1907, as they could have been formally accessioned at a later date).⁶⁴ As early as December 13th 1907, two months before encountering the Kuba settlements on the Sankuru and Kasai Rivers, Torday met two Kuba 'medicine men' and purchased an iron bracelet (HS v.2, 4). Torday and Hilton Simpson had by then already collected some "Bakuba things" in Dima (HS v.2, 48).⁶⁵

⁶³ These miniature masks are worn by male initiates, partly as a sign that have been through the initiation process but also as a token of the full-scale masks they hope to commission for themselves in the future (see Strother 1998).

⁶⁴ This collection of 142 items is indeed made up of cups, some cloth and predominantly, "currency," arrows and spears, with 65 of the 142 items being made from iron (see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/).

⁶⁵ This is referenced retrospectively later in the diary, whilst the expedition is in Lusambo as "the man who sold us some Bakuba things at Dima has been arrested in Boma for shooting two natives (HS v.2, 46). This shows not only the items purchased in various areas but also the networks of information between the administrative capitals of Dima, Boma and Lusambo.

As the expedition moves along the rivers, first of all in an easterly direction, they continue to develop an ethnographic map of the region but Hilton Simpson's unpublished diary reveals that much of the categorisation of peoples on this map remained vague and general, and largely fell in line with existing categories developed by participants within the colonial apparatus. This will be demonstrated below. On Hilton Simpson's developing map, people are mostly referenced vaguely as being either "left" or "right bank" inhabitants at various places: at Basongo, the Lele are left bank and the Basongo Meno are right bank populations (HS v.2, 2); at Bolombo "the Kuba live of the left bank and the Bankutu on the right" (HS v.2, 9). An almost museological notion of ethnicity, endorsed by the use of ethnic terms to identify the objects they were collecting, was already in place before the expedition really began. The expedition members were labelling and categorising artefacts before they carried out fieldwork with the makers and even the original vendors of these artefacts when they were acquired by Torday from Europeans at trading posts. Thus, part of Torday's later evaluation of items as 'local' and 'native' was actually derived from what he was told by other Europeans. Torday's ethnic categorisation and labelling practices at this point reflect those of the Compagnie du Kasai collection being generated at the time by their employees for later exhibition in Brussels in 1910 (see HS v.4, 55). The Compagnie du Kasai collections were sent to the Musée du Congo Belge, Tervuren (now RMCA) two years earlier in 1905 and added to in the years leading up to the expedition. They were largely made up of items labelled "Bushongo, dit Bakuba" or "Bapindi" (RMCA D.E.357). Individual vendors or collectors are not mentioned, and the emphasis was on the ethnicity of the makers (or vendors). At this point in the expedition (and until December 1907, Torday had only made field notes and collected a vocabulary, on the "Boboma people" who lived at Dima (HS v.1, 41-52). However, Torday's prior experience among the Bambala and his travels around the Congo cannot be discounted in his assessments of ethnic labels and stylistic analysis of objects at this early point in the expedition. As early as 1905, Torday had drawn up a map in pen for Joyce within a letter, which detailed a good number of ethnic groups of the Kasai and where he thought they lived (fig. 39).

Aside from one or two instances of camping 'out' in villages, the expedition members stayed at factories and concession company or administrative posts (or camped within their grounds). This is clearly demonstrated in appendix 2, where the timeline outlines the posts, the length of stay and the agents at each (where these were mentioned in Hilton Simpson's diary) (appendix 2). In addition to staying at these posts, the expedition members also "did rounds" with Compagnie employees on a number of occasions (e.g. HS v.7, 5 reports of a tour to the South of the post of Athènes). As much as the expedition (and colonialists and traders) drew on local sources of knowledge, the expedition's reliance on colonial structures dictated the patterns of the expedition. The majority of collecting and ethnographic observation during this first year (1907-start of 1908) was done via the river ports. People travelled *to* the expedition members, by and large, and interaction was modelled on that which took place with administrators and traders. This mirrors the system put in place by Magistrates and District Commissioners, who would occasionally pay visits, but were mostly visited by rulers and traders from various more inland locations. This system could be a hindrance for someone like Torday, who sought to disassociate himself from other Europeans and the colonial apparatus when working with local people. On interviewing a "Boboma chief" from a village "not far from [there]", Hilton Simpson writes that "[the chief] was suspicious in his answers because there is the magistrate in the town, and he appeared to be afraid his answers were being recorded for ulterior motives of state" (HS v.1, 47).

The second phase (December 1907-February 1908)

The second phase of the expedition, at first glance, seems to have been replete with extended stays. This phase certainly saw a marked increase in visual outputs (photographs and illustrations) and collections, especially those relating to the Tetela peoples of the eastern part of the Kasai. However, in looking in closer detail at the activities of the expedition day-by-day in the following section, fairly brief visits, like those of the first phase, can still be observed. The second major part of the expedition - the journey along the Sankuru into "Tetela country" - does not follow a straight line on the map (fig.40 and appendix 3). In fact, although the red line on Hilton

Simpson's map is single width, it should be three or four lines thick; the expedition went up and down rivers a number of times, and visited villages on more than one occasion, often travelling back to the trading posts after spending one or two days in a village. By using the steam boats, the men could go up and down the river on the left and right banks rather than their progress being dictated by the flow of the river and what could be achieved in open canoes. They were able to stop off at major posts, such as Lubufu once or twice, and spend two considerable periods in Lusambo. Torday may have generated information through indigenous informants, but the way he did this means that at this point this collection and his publications provide documentation of life along the rivers, only just beyond the verandas of administrators and the Compagnie du Kasai agents.

That said, the second phase of the expedition arguably constitutes the first 'real fieldwork' carried out in as much as it generated lengthy ethnographic descriptions and field notes, now held at the Anthropology Library at the British Museum (KYS TOR M27067). This phase generated the notes and collections largely labelled 'Tetela' in the museum collections at the British Museum (there are 438 items collected by Torday from these regions). These large collections were made in Kasongo, Mokunji and Osodui, where Torday worked with "Kasongo", "Jady," "Okitu" and a Tetela elder (HS v.2, 36). However, despite these local informants, and in turn the generating of genuinely useful ethnography, the 'pristine' ethnographic setting presented by publications of Torday and Joyce is largely a constructed one. Torday writes of the Tetela people "[by] deducting that which is obviously borrowed, and summarizing that which all, or any rate the majority, have in common, we may conclude what the Batetela were like in their ancestral home" (Torday 1921, 383). The cropping of photographs in the ethnographic publications, and the elimination of 'background noise' in the ethnographic paintings by Hardy, are evidence of this process of erasure. The three images in figures 41-43 demonstrate the changing or editing out of European cloth shown in the photograph (fig 41) to animal skins in the paintings (figs 42-43). They also demonstrate the alteration to background that was possible within ethnographic paintings, especially

in figure 43, where all signs of village or factory landscapes have been omitted (fig.43).

In fact, the isolated settings presented in Hardy's images in particular are in defiance of the chronology of the expedition as well as its geographical location. The expedition members only spent two days in Kasongo (and then passed back on the way to Lusambo for a further day) and spent one day in Osodui (HS v.2, 22-26). While they spent one month in Mokunji (fig.44), Mokunji the village, rather than the post of the same name, was only frequented for one day at a time over the course of this month (January 1908, HS v.2, 29-49). Basing themselves back in Lubufu, on the Sankuru River, between January 7th and January 23rd 1908, Torday, Hilton Simpson and Hardy worked on Tetetela vocabularies and oral histories from this post – working, for example, with “Okitu” on the history and customs of Mokunji and the Batetela (HS v.2,32), as well as with an elder (HS v.2, 36). From here, they revisited Mokunji for one day, and worked with “Jady” (fig.45) (HS v.2, 42) before going back to Lubufu to do “specimen labelling”, and note writing (HS v.2, 45-49). In other words, the expedition, their collecting process of both information and objects was always in close proximity, if not within the walls themselves, of Compagnie du Kasai factories. In addition, the posts and villages often shared the same name, with ethnographic work being carried out in a fluctuating manner between the two spaces over the course of a few months.

The third phase (February 1908- June 1908)

The third phase saw the start of repeated visits to Torday's favoured informants among the Kuba peoples. This section will outline this part of the expedition in more detail, and will begin to examine Torday's approaches in generating and recording knowledge. This section has a particular focus on Torday's growing awareness of Kuba culture and history, as told by key informants, namely, Bilumbu, an oral historian. By February 19th 1908, the expedition members were at Lusambo, where the district commissioner resided (fig. 46) (HS v.3, 2). Misumba, Lusambo and Lubumba was where Torday, Hilton Simpson and Hardy first met the Kuba (figs. 47-

49), before their extended stay of three months in the capital in Autumn 1908, Mushenge, with the “overlord” of the Kuba, *Nyimi Kwete* (which is the subject of the next chapter). They spent a considerable time with the Bilumbu, ‘the instructor of the young’ of Misumba, who can be seen in figures 50-51: these are a photograph that shows Torday engaged in transcribing oral testimonies with the Bilumbu (fig. 50) and Hardy’s depiction of a night-time village scene, with the instructor “relating the legends of his tribe” (fig. 51).

In Lusambo, a considerable amount of what might be called ‘preliminary work on the Kuba’ was carried out from this District Post. The following sections will look at these early pre-Mushenge encounters using Torday’s travelogues, field notes and Hilton Simpson’s published travelogue (1911) and unpublished diary (HS v.). This section will assess whether there was a shift in Torday’s depth of ethnographic knowledge in relation to Johannes Fabian’s (2000) work on Torday’s linguistic abilities. It will shed light on the notion suggested by Mack (1990) in particular that Torday’s work among the Kuba was of exceptional ethnographic value because of his profound understanding of language as an insight into culture. Where and how did Torday acquire this depth of knowledge that seemingly allowed him to go further than many of his contemporaries? What preliminary work did Torday carry out on the Kuba before he encountered the Kuba ‘culture centre’ in the royal capital, Mushenge?

Torday at first regards the Bakuba of Lusambo as distinct from *Nyimi* and his people, telling Joyce in his field notes: “[t]hese people, call themselves and are called Bakuba, it is only to distinguish them from the subjects of Lukengu [Nyimi] who are *equally* called Bakuba that we call them as above” [emphasis mine] (KYS TOR M27067, 245). Here, the use of the term ‘equally’, offers a sort of dual use of the same ethnonym (like Bakongo of the coast and the Bakongo of the Loange River, as we will see further on). At this point in 1908 in Lusambo, Hilton Simpson and Torday also reported a system of two chiefs, one recognised by the state (“Pongo Pongo”) and one recognised by the “Lukengo [*Nyimi*] (the overlord of [Bakuba] country)”

(HS v3, 13-14). Further into the journey, after repeated visits are made to a Bangongo village next to Misumba (the Bangongo being a sub-group of the Kuba), and after more in-depth discussions with the Bilumbu, the 'instructor of the young,' Torday elaborates his understanding of the Kuba, writing in his field notes:

the Bakuba inhabit the country which is roughly speaking limited on the West by the Kasai, the North by the Sankuru, East by 22°30 East, in the South by about the 5th degree, the people inhabiting the right bank of the Lubudi are called Bangongo, the left bank Bangendi. Those too the West are called Bosongo. The Bakuba of Lusmabo are said to be of the same race and are known by the people here (Misumba) IFUTA and ISAMBO (KYS TOR M27067, 259).

Torday was now recognising, or being told by an authority he valued, that the "Kuba" is an umbrella term with various appellations and allegiances within it. Indeed, it is this structure that is presented in *Les Bushongo* (Torday 1910), with the Kuba-Bushong capital and its King, (*Nyimi*) being placed centrally as a ruling "feudal-style" monarch. Torday was developing his ideas about Bakuba political and ethnic 'structures' as he moved towards the capital via various "Kuba" settlements.

Torday did a large amount of detailed fieldwork among the Kuba of Lusambo and Misumba. With Hilton Simpson he made repeated visits to a neighbouring "Bangongo" village, a recognised sub-group of Kuba people. Whilst visits here were fairly brief, Torday's field notes are extensive, much based on his interviews with the Bilumbu. The field notes on the Kuba-Ngongo and Kuba-Ngendi run to over 139 pages, just over the number of pages for the Kuba-Bushong. Many of the "yarns," oral traditions, stories, and myths are those related to Torday by the Bilumbu. Many of these, as we will see in the next chapter, helped Torday develop theories about the relationships the between various peoples called Bakuba, as well as their neighbours, and their placement in 'history'.

Torday's field notes about the 'Kuba-Ngongo' and the 'Kuba-Ngendi' contain clues as to the additional depth of Torday's research during this phase of the expedition. Although many of his field notes contain empirical data and observations, there are long sections containing 'stories' and morals of the people, as told to him by the 'instructor of the young,' and also a Kolomo (a minister, who apparently gave more 'detached stories' that were unknown to ordinary people) (KYS TOR M27067, 444). These stories contain tales of the past and lessons for the present (KYS TOR M27067, 511-513). Not only is Torday determining which people have access to which types of information, he is hearing about various Kuba understandings and relations with the world around them, as communicated verbally and through song, music and masquerade. Many of these stories, oral traditions, made it into the published sources co-authored by Torday and Joyce (1910). Each proverb or tradition that is related includes the name of the 'informant' from whom the information was obtained.

Torday's field notes reveal his very serious consideration of the nuances of language and its relationship to Kuba culture. Within Torday's Kuba field notes as recorded in Misumba, Torday methodically notes down the words in the native language whether relating to 'religion', 'hunting', 'magic', 'chieftainship' and 'governance' or 'food.' He sometimes does this at the expense of clarity, where on two or three separate pages the same terms may be translated into English in multiple ways.⁶⁶ He also offers diligent recordings of what he is told of religious and social organisation, offering in one example, multiple terms on the same page for the term 'soul' (KYS M27067, 501) and outlining in detail over two pages the six different versions of 'magicians' (KYS M27067, 507-509). He attempts to explain Kuba senses of self, giving each 'part' of a man a term of its own, and writing that man is divided into four parts (KYS M27067, 501). The reason for outlining this here is to highlight the fact that in attempting descriptions of these more profound areas of Kuba ideas and experience, Torday was pursuing a more complex approach: an aspiration to

⁶⁶ This perhaps reveals Torday's careful recording of the complexities of the translation process, that in translation a term may have multiple meanings.

use language and meaning to uncover the value and potential of materials and people.

Torday did outline what he saw as a somewhat fool-proof method for obtaining 'true' witness statements and 'pristine' (non-European influenced) information about societies, their culture and their history. He writes that "[t]outes les précautions ont été prises pour s'assurer que les renseignements fournis par les indigènes étaient compris dans leur vrai sense; ils ont tous été d'ailleurs, autant que possible, vérifiés par des témoignages indépendant (Torday and Joyce 1910, 6)⁶⁷ and he used various methods, outlined below, in pursuit of this aim. The more information and vocabularies accumulated as the expedition progressed, the further Torday could 'verify' (i.e. prove or disprove) the various versions of oral traditions he was recording. The phonograph the expedition had taken with them offered a tool with which to play back some recordings to various informants, thus generating a sort of dialogue. While interviewing a Tetela elder, Torday had played him the recorded oral histories on the phonograph, which he began to argue with, thus generating a counter-response (HS v.2, 36).

Torday also seemed to attempt to find the 'most reliable' traditions by himself drawing in key words or concepts (e.g. mentioning Woto, Woot in modern rendering, the etiological founder of the Kuba) to keepers of oral traditions with whom he discusses along his journeys. In Misumba, for instance, when the Bilumbu received presents because he had "captured lightning by invocation" (Torday 1925, 103), Torday asked what "Woto would have thought of this?" (Torday 1925, 103). This statement initiates a conversation where the Bilumbu asked "what do you [Torday] know of Woto?" (Torday 1925, 103-104). Torday responds provocatively by stating that the Bankutu told him about Woto but that the Bankutu had probably got it all wrong. The Bankutu, the Bilumbu said, only "eat people" and do not know anything of Woto (Torday 1925, 109). From this, Torday suggests that the Bankutu

⁶⁷ All the precautions were taken to assure that the information given by the indigenous peoples was understood in their real sense; they were all thus, wherever possible, verified by independent witnesses.

version must be in conflict with what the Bilumbu has to say, until the Bilumbu began furnishing him with the 'correct' information.

Torday also recounts other traditions to the Bilumbu that he had heard in order to learn what his version might be. Torday writes that it was the Bilumbu's "version of the origin of his people, which further investigation showed to be an unorthodox local one, was the beginning of [his] researches for local traditions; once the ice was broken it was much easier to proceed. By telling this version tinged with Basongo Meno ideas, [Torday] always roused opposition and was told another, the correct one. Each time something new cropped up, and it was thus that [he] managed to collect a considerable number of Bushongo traditions" (Torday 1925, 109). It has to be noted that there Torday is developing an inter-regional dialogue, and listening to oral traditions set up in opposition to various local versions. The evidence of Torday's techniques - the use of verbal "stimulants and cues" (Barber 2005) - show that the meaning was to some extent a work in progress based upon a matrix of social relations before it became a written version.

Communicating in the Kwilu/Kasai?

To a certain degree, those scholars (Mack 1990 and Fabian 2000) who have examined the evidence have credited Torday with refined and developed methods in ethnographic fieldwork; and especially relating to his linguistic knowledge and communicative abilities. These abilities will be explored in further detail in the following section in light of some additional evidence provided by Hilton Simpson's unpublished diary. Fabian writes that Torday understood the complications in interpretation more than most of his contemporaries (Frobenius) and his predecessors (Wissmann), that "comparing him to others, we give [Torday] credit for his ethnographic finesse: that all natural communication needs contexts and employs figures of speech and culturally appropriate images" (Fabian 2000, 138). Hilton Simpson also gives Torday more credit than others working in the Kasai:

An acquaintance with Chikongo and Chituba, two bastard languages (both very easy to learn) which serve as a medium for trade between the various

tribes, will perfectly well enable one to travel in the Kasai district unaccompanied by an interpreter speaking English or French, but a knowledge of the real languages of the tribes is essential to any one desiring to undertake serious ethnological researches, and this knowledge Mr. Torday possesses (Hilton Simpson 1911, xi).

Hilton Simpson writes that because Torday spoke “eight native languages,” this enabled him “almost always to dispense with the services of that very unsatisfactory person an interpreter, and also allowed him to pick up from the natives a lot of information and some legends which he was able to overhear” (Hilton Simpson 1911, xi). Indeed, Torday and Joyce write about Torday’s creation of unique linguistic exchanges: “[s]auf quand il n’y avait pas moyen de faire autrement, on n’a pas recouru au concours d’interprètes, et dans les renseignements à obtenir, les membres de l’expédition ont toujours eu soin d’apprendre suffisamment le dialecte local pour être à même d’entrer en relations directes avec les différents personnes à interroger” (Torday and Joyce 1910, 5).⁶⁸ While Torday took down vocabularies in these “local languages”, Tetela and Bushong for example, the majority of ethnographic work in the Kasai was done in Chiluba. The limitations in communicating in this language were only outlined in relation to the work Torday did among the Kuba-Bushong (which is the subject of the next chapter): “T[orday] got a number of proverbs which entailed a lot of work owing to the delinquencies of the Chituba [Chiluba] trade language” (HS v.6, 36).

Some aspects of Fabian’s (2000) assessment of Torday’s abilities can in fact be slightly amended. The following section details some slight chronological errors in Fabian’s (2000) work which cast a slightly different light on Torday during his 1907-1909 expedition. Fabian writes about Torday’s knowledge of rhetoric and the ability to communicate during the second expedition. Fabian cites page 161 of Torday’s 1925 work (which is about Torday’s time in autumn 1908 among the Kuba) when in

⁶⁸ As far as it was possible, we did not rely on the assistance of interpreters, and when making inquiries, the expedition members always took care to learn a decent amount of the local dialect in order to be able to engage in direct relations with the different people being questioned.

fact Fabian has based his conclusions about Torday's linguistic aptitude during the expedition upon Torday's primary ethnographic work in 1904-1906 (covered in Torday's 1913 work). Upon reviewing Fabian's quotations within the primary sources (Emil Torday's travelogues), it appears that Fabian has inverted the page numbers and the travelogues; thus confusing Torday's 1913 publication, *Camp and Tramp in the African Wilds* (which also covers Torday's first period in Congo, among the Mbala) with his 1925 publication, *On the Trail of the Bushongo* (which concentrates more heavily on the later expedition). Is it the case that Torday's ability to communicate was in fact more refined when he spent concentrated time among the Mbala people 1904-1906?

In reference to his earlier time in Mbala (not during the 1907-1909 expedition, as assumed by Fabian), Torday wrote that:

as I speak Kimbala fluently I had not much difficulty in bending them to my views [...] It is no use appealing directly to their reason with arguments based on the relative advantages of the various courses: the native mind is accustomed to allegories, and to argue successfully with a native audience it is necessary to draw one's illustrations from their daily life (Torday 1913, 161 cited in Fabian 2000 as 1925, 161).

While this shows Torday's knowledge of Mbala [Kimbala] it does not betray a general understanding of the importance of communication in other areas during the expedition. This revised chronology simply serves to show the sort of complications Torday might have seen in his relative *lack* of knowledge of the languages of the Tetetela and Sankuru regions (discussed above), compared to the earlier insights and abilities he had among the Mbala of Kikwit. Among the first encounters among the Kuba during the expedition, for example, despite the claims by Hilton Simpson and Torday and Joyce that Torday "dispensed with [...] interpreters," (Hilton Simpson 1911, xi; Torday and Joyce 1910, 5), Torday relied on the abilities of interpreters and assistants during the expedition. In saying all this,

Fabian's (2000) overall point about Torday's understanding of language, and an understanding of his own limitations, still largely stand correct.

Torday certainly did rely on assistants and porters who, while they were largely Congolese, were not necessarily local or themselves exempt from issues of mistranslation, miscommunication and misunderstanding in their work assisting Torday in recording histories and making collections. One of the ways in which Torday developed his depth of knowledge was through local interpreters, who were not trained in such jobs and also carried out a number of tasks on behalf of the expedition. With few exceptions the assistants only stayed with the expedition for a short spell of time. In Lusambo, Hilton Simpson writes, "we got our new boys today [December 26th 1907] 'Robinson, a cook; 'Brown', Hardy's boy; 'Sam' my boy; 'Onions' a sort of universal handy boy (HS v.2, 20) (fig.52). Brown, "Hardy's boy", was of Baluba origin, or more accurately, spoke Chiluba, and thus acted as an interpreter in the district where the factory of Mokunji was (Batetela country). He left with Hardy on April 16th 1908 (HS v.3, 53). Sam is only mentioned briefly in Torday's travelogues, as "a gentle boy of fifteen" who lent trousers to another assistant, a child of eight year's old, Buya (1925, 224). He stayed with the expedition until the end.

It is Buya and Mayuyu who feature by name and receive high acclaim from Torday for their assistance with the expedition's activities (1925, 222-244). Buya features in Torday's 1925 travelogue (1925, 222-244). Mayuyu, a southern Bambala man who joined the expedition on April 26th 1909 (HS v.7, 15), is also mentioned as having exceptional abilities in creating a comfortable setting for acquiring ethnographic artefacts, rather than ethnographic information:

Mayuyu was the best of all. Higher praise is impossible. It was always Mayuyu who by his charming ways and invariably good temper managed to dispose the natives in our favour even before our arrival, and when there was trouble Mayuyu knew how to make a friend in the enemy's ranks, and thus

keep us informed of his plans and intentions (Torday 1925, 223).

Buyu is also noted a number of times for diffusing difficult situations in the expedition, often with laughter (Torday 1925, 253). Mayuyu was used as an envoy during the expedition's crossing across the Loange River (the subject of Chapter Six). Mayuyu also had a hand in selecting and purchasing items in areas where he was sent ahead of the expedition members: "[h]e had on his own initiative bought some excellent cups" in Makusu (Lele country) (HS v.7, 43).

Johannes Fabian (2000) shows that ethnography could come "from the mouth of babes" and that Torday highly rated Buyu's abilities in acquiring ethnographic information (Fabian 2000, 139). This, however, is not demonstrated by Torday in the same way Fabian outlines because of the confusion in Fabian's work relating to the chronology of the cited travelogues. This has implications for the argument that Buyu was used during the expedition for the acquisition of detailed ethnography. To rectify the confusion in Fabian's work, he states that Torday must have referred to Buyu as Meyey in his later travelogue (Fabian 2000, 138): "it must have been the same person, under another name, about whom Torday notes in his second travelogue[...]" (Fabian 2000, 139). However, it would not only be entirely uncharacteristic of Torday to confuse these names, it is unsubstantiated once it is realised that the chronology of these quotes is wrong. Meyey was a Bambala boy from the time Torday was in the Kikwit (1904-1906), while Buyu was a Bayanzi boy who assisted in the latter years of the expedition in 1909 (March 10th 1909, see HS v.7, 67). It is thus about Meyey, *not Buyu*, that Torday writes:

His value to me in my ethnographical investigations it is impossible to overestimate. The native often refuses information, and in such cases I always explained to Meyey the point at issue, and left him to get the facts. He often said nothing to me about it for days, but carried on his inquiries systematically till he was able to give me the information required. When I brought up the questions before the natives in order to verify the information thus obtained, I found that

he had never failed to get to the bottom of them
(Torday 1913, 104, cited in Fabian as 1925, 104).

Page 104 in *Camp and Tramp in the African Wilds* situates this quote about this assistant, Meyey, in the years between 1904 and 1906 while Torday was in Kilokoto (which is on the west of the Kwilu, near Kikwit).

Torday does not bestow such high praise on Buya in actually searching out ethnographic information and posing questions to people (as the quote would suggest). Hilton Simpson, in fact, paints a picture of Buya that would render him of little use in acquiring ethnographic information: “[...a diminutive imp a Bayanzi called Bué who is always sitting in our chairs; drinking our bottles; or else lost. He is very young and full of *bonne volonté* I think but green” (HS v.5, 66). However, the general point about Buya assisting in difficult situations with rhetorical strategies and gestures (1925, 242-244, 253) still stands in relation to the later part of the second expedition (1909). There is a difference, however, between Buya working as an intermediary among the Wongo and Lele in the latter part of the expedition, where no languages were spoken and oral traditions or discursive information were not obtained, and Meyey who was working with Torday as more of an ethnographic assistant among his own Mbala people.

Fabian’s (2000) work allows us to contextualise such practices in the production of knowledge through fieldwork among Torday and his peers, especially Frobenius. Fabian remarks that children, and especially ‘unattached slaves’, were able to transcend and transform relationships between language and power that were essential to ethnographic information (Fabian 2000, 139). However, in some cases, the youth of these interpreters was not always an advantage, or a comfortable event, in the collection of information. In fact, among the Kuba and Luba people of Misumba for example, the Bilumbu, instructor of the young, is extremely careful to dismiss those who are too young to hear the information he is discussing with Torday. Masolo was a Chiluba-speaking youth, “...who had temporarily attached himself to the expedition in the capacity of guide to Misumba, interpreter” because

the Bilumbu “spoke no language but his own” (Hilton Simpson 1911, 105). As Hilton Simpson notes:

Then [the Bilumbu] would think of some particular legend which he wished to impart to us, and he would turn furiously upon the crowd of youths and children, who always tried to be present at these interviews, and drive them away with a flow of language ill befitting an instructor of the young. Everyone but Masolo having departed, he would turn to our youthful interpreter and inquire what he meant by remaining (he always did this, although he knew perfectly well that the lad was going to act as interpreter) (Hilton Simpson 1911, 105).

While being young was not necessarily an advantage, in that it could potentially limit the information obtained or at least challenge the status quo, or incur fines, being ‘unattached’ to local communities seems to have had an impact on the ethnographic information collected.

The practice of having ‘non-local porters’ was common in African expeditions: Stanley acquired 620 porters from Zanzibar before travelling in the Congo Basin (Martin 1983, 20). Martin states that this was common practice: bringing in foreign Africans who had no cultural bonds with the societies they were to work in (1983, 20). In an expedition context, this meant that people were less likely to collude with local peoples and had more difficulty in deserting since the majority of the territory was unknown (Smith 1972, 69-70; Martin 1983, 20). In this case, the use of youths or those who were ‘unattached’ to local communities seemed to be the preferred option for the expedition members. However, Buya himself was not likely to be an ‘unattached slave’, being the son of a “Bayanzi chief,” an “old friend” of Torday’s (Torday 1925 224). Buya, in fact, used his status from home to question the authority of a chief in Wongo/Lele country (Torday 1925, 222-234). It is not clear in any instances that any assistants or porters were of slave status, but they were generally from different locations from those visited by the expedition. The one place where local porters were used was among the Lele and Wongo, from where the vast

majority of Bambala porters had bolted. This had huge implications for the expedition, as we will see in Chapter 6, where these relationships are discussed in more detail than would be possible here.

Conclusion

Torday was accumulating resources, not just techniques, but specific vocabularies and etiological inklings, that were to lead to more and more detailed knowledge - and more contextualised collections - among the Kuba-Bushong. Among the "aristocrats" of the Kuba-Bushong, Torday credits the Bilumbu for him being accounted "an exception" among Europeans and a "privileged person" among the Kuba-Bushong (Torday 1925, 117). Torday writes "I think nothing appealed more to [the aristocrats] than my real interest in their country's history, and they were impressed by the fact that, thanks to Bilumbu of Misumba, I seemed to know something about it" (Torday 1925, 117). It seems Torday did go into considerable depth collecting various versions of histories and, where he lacked linguistic knowledge or appropriate interpreters, he understood very well his own limitations. Torday generally appreciated the complexities of linguistic translation and communication in the acquisition of ethnographic knowledge. However, he seems to have exercised some of these techniques from his time in 1904-1906 as a trader and an apprentice ethnographer. He did not fully exercise these techniques and understanding during the expedition until he had acquired information from the Kuba peoples who resided along the rivers (Misumba and Lusambo).

Following this period through to May 31st among the Kuba of Lusambo and Misumba - and the beginnings of the extensive field notes and Kuba collections - the expedition moved toward the Akela Vungi and Hamba people, where from Lodja, they did a circular tour and visited 19 villages in just under one month (July 1908), spending no longer than two nights in each village (HS v.4, 12-53, see appendix 2, fig. 53). From there they took the steamer to Dibele, spending nearly one month there (HS v.5, 4-16) (see appendix 1 & 2). From here, the expedition went to stay in Mushenge itself (HS v.5, August 16th 1908-November 10th 1908). This pivotal stay in Mushenge is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Five

An Encounter with the Kuba-Bushong

Somehow the King and I struck up a great friendship; this was no great achievement on my part, as his heart went easily out to one who felt great sympathy for him. He was only too ready to help me, and when I explained to him that I would let the world know the proud history of his country, and that I tried to collect specimens so that all nations might see what the Bushongo could achieve, he promised me his help, and there never was a man who kept his promise more faithfully (Torday 1925, 115).

Introduction

During the expedition to the Kasai in 1907-1909, Torday refined his approach as a fieldworker and a contributor to the fledgling discipline of anthropology; various processes were taking place before Torday eventually crossed the Loange River (the subject of the next chapter). One of these processes was the gathering of knowledge and the collection of oral testimonies on Torday's phonograph and their almost instant transcription and translation. These processes have been analysed using the published and unpublished sources from the expedition, as well as some key items from the collection. Before the Lele and Wongo were directly encountered by Torday and other Europeans, they had already been encountered in reputation. For Torday this body of expectation derived principally from what he learnt through his time amongst the Kuba-Bushong.

This chapter draws on information and interpretation derived by Torday and others from a set of objects within the large foundational collections Torday formed in Kuba country. The objects discussed are: 'shongo' throwing knives (British Museum ref: Af1910,0420.158; Horniman Museum ref:10.52, fig. 54) and an *ndop* ('royal figure' or sculpture) from Mushenge [Nsheng] (figs.55). These objects have been chosen

because of their importance in the presentation and negotiations of the nature of power in the early 1900s at the time of the expedition into this area. Narratives bound up in these examples provide clues as to the historical character of trade and sovereignty within local, regional and international networks at work in the Kasai at this time. Triangulated with the written sources from the expedition, and the many accounts of the experiences of the expedition members in the field, these materials also help evaluate the extent of change to trade networks and spheres of influence in the Kasai during the early years of colonialism. To take just a small sample of such objects, the *ndop* royal figure discussed here (fig. 55), reveals a complex history of the relationship between people, power and objects.

I have included within this analysis examples of information (knowledge, myth, history) collected by the expedition and published in the written accounts of the expedition. Johannes Fabian (2000) has addressed the commodity value of what he terms 'folklore' in the early twentieth-century - that is the ethnological value to explorers like Torday, or his contemporary Frobenius, in 'authentic' cultural performance (Fabian 2000, 126). The reason for the inclusion of this surrounding information within this chapter is to re-invigorate the active and contemporaneous properties of historical texts - especially their orality (See B. Douglas 2010; Barber and de Moraes-Farias 1989; Hofmeyer 1993). These items also present a particular version of Kasai history, which was 'corroborated' by Torday's own theoretical concerns with the migrations and history of Central African ('Bantu') people. The written accounts thus contain traces of performances in the field (Singer 1972; Bauman 1990; Kapchan 1995; Keane 1995). Recent studies in performance theory have successfully merged rich ethnographies of performance with history and local context (Askew 2002; Browning 1995). The 'performances' in this case were made up of a corpus of interconnecting materials and orality, and were a contemporary political expression that used history and myth to express power and engage agency (see Turner 1967; Kapchan 1995 on the political elements of performance; Austin 1962 on myth and performance).

In saying this, the local knowledge contained within the sources has to be balanced with the notion that texts are created in an oral context that included, and to an extent were prompted by, the presence of a European expedition. As well as this, there was a notable European presence in the area. The heightened media attention because of the activities of the Reform Congo Movement should also be considered when examining the sources produced at this time. The fact that such information was commodified for an external audience potentially changes the meaning and function of objects within Africa *before* they reach the museum. Indeed, this is one of the main objectives of this thesis: to re-integrate the often separated meanings and functions of artefacts in an 'indigenous' context, artefacts within the process of negotiation and acquisition, and artefacts in their museum contexts.

The previous situation of hostility to foreign visitors, as outlined in Chapter Two, had changed by the time Torday arrived in autumn of 1908. In the Kuba capital, there was now an established Roman Catholic Mission and a Compagnie du Kasai post. Seemingly, a young and cooperative *Nyimi* [King] had been put in place, who had quelled the insurrection to a large degree and was in support of both the Roman Catholic Mission (rather than the Protestant mission at Luebo) and the Compagnie du Kasai, as well as stabilising the realm. Thus, Torday was welcomed in Mushenge [Nsheng]. Further, the picture Torday painted of the Kuba *Nyimi* was one that was eventually welcomed by both the Kuba and European authorities, and settled the question of authority and succession for Europeans at Luebo that were mentioned above. The image conveyed was one of peaceful cooperation with the European colonialists, where the *Nyimi* modelled himself upon the 'peaceful' dynastic founder 'Shamba the Great,' who was said to have reigned in the 1600s, and who is depicted in one of the royal statues (*ndop*). Despite correctives required to nuance this picture (especially in the light of unpublished sources), the objective in promoting Kuba material culture was to enforce this cooperative image. The expedition among the Kuba, and subsequently the Lele and Wongo peoples thus deserves detailed examination in its own right. Not only was this moment among the Kuba-Bushong the peak in the sophistication of Torday's ethnographic methods, it was a pivotal

and enduring moment in the recording and reification of a particular vision of Bushong history and power.

The Encounter with the Kuba *Nyimi*

After time spent in Lusambo, Misumba and Akela country (north of Batetela country), the expedition made their way to Mushenge [Nsheng], the Kuba-Bushong capital (fig.58). On September 9th 1908, the expedition sent for porters (HS v.5, 11) and by the 19th September, sixty men had arrived to carry their loads towards Mushenge [Nsheng]. After stopping at one or two small Kuba villages en route, they were greeted at the capital by the Kuba King, Kot aPe [Kwete Peshanga Kena]⁶⁹ on the 24th September 1908 (HS v.5, 20).⁷⁰ Immediately, Hilton Simpson and Torday were struck by his “good appearance” and his “civil” nature (HS v.5, 20) (fig. 59). The agenda of the stay was outlined by Torday in this initial exchanges. Torday “pointed out how soon the Bakuba arts would change and explained how we [Hilton Simpson and Torday] came to permanently record them” (HS v.5, 20). Torday then gave the *Nyimi* an enlarged photograph of himself and his courtiers with which he was “much pleased” (HS v.5, 20). This photograph, published in both Torday and Joyce (1910) and Linden (1910) is likely to be that depicted in figure 60. This is the only formally staged photograph of the *Nyimi* and his courtiers and this must have already been in Torday’s possession before he had met the *Nyimi*. It was a gift that also demonstrated the power of the camera and other recording instruments; a demonstration of the kind of outcomes that might be expected from the ethnographic activity in which he hoped to engage. Torday also gave the *Nyimi* an impressive live eagle; an astute gift given the use of feathers in indicating office, rank and status among the Kuba (Vansina 2010, 45).

Torday bore witness to extensive European presence in the area, which instilled in him a concern that authentic and ‘untainted’ Kuba customs, practices and material

⁶⁹ He ruled between 1902 and 1916.

⁷⁰ At this point in the document (Hilton Simpson’s diary), the *Nyimi* is referred to as Lukengu. Lukengu is used as another word for *Nyimi*, as in “the Lukengu.” This is the case within some historical literature (see Sheppard 1917; Campbell 2007; Vansina 2010) where *Nyimi* and Lukengu are used almost interchangeably.

culture would be wiped out. Despite observing a hybrid mix of cultures, the visual outputs from the expedition eliminated this from the frame. As Torday stated to the *Nyimi* himself, he was there to record their culture and collect artefacts. This collection and recording had to be completed before they were 'destroyed' by European intervention and his vision of the 'inevitable' Kuba integration into world markets and processes of 'unstoppable modernisation' became a reality. Of course, this *machine infernale* of modernisation was set in contrast to the 'traditional', the 'African' and, in this case, the 'authentic' historical Kuba-Bushong. According to Hilton Simpson in Mushenge, "all fashionable people including Lukengu [the *Nyimi*] wear top hats" (HS v.6, 25). In September 1908, Hilton Simpson writes that the *Nyimi* "had not put on European dress since [they] have been [there] but that [the *Nyimi*] does so when he visits the posts of the white man" (HS v.6, 32). The *Nyimi*, visiting the two men in November, was wearing "loin cloth of European cloth as usual" while one of his attendants was carrying "an umbrella without any cloth" (HS v.7, 10). However, no image from the expedition portrays the *Nyimi* wearing any article of European manufacture. He is depicted in purely 'Kuba' attire.

Likewise, unpublished sources reflect the intensive presence and involvement of the Kuba King with Europeans; missionaries, traders and colonialists. Torday and Hilton Simpson spent three months here. The quality and depth of the fieldwork is in part because of their close proximity and ready access to the King and his court. In saying this, this capital was used to receiving and hosting frequent European visitors. The Roman Catholic Mission was on the left bank of the river in close proximity to the capital but with bridges connecting it (HS v.5, 20) and the Compagnie du Kasai Post manned by Franzman was "one or two miles south of the village" (HS v.5, 20). Mushenge was a hive of activity during the expedition's stay, with visitors to the capital (post agents, consuls, reporters and missionaries) reported on in nearly every entry of Hilton Simpson's diary during these three months (HS v.5, 19-HS v.6, 18). Torday and Hilton Simpson frequently lunched or dined with Franzman, the agent of the factory who was often also accompanied by visitors, or with the Fathers of the mission (e.g. HS v.5, 21, 23, 28, 33; HS v.6, 4-5, 7-9). However,

the expedition members told *Nyimi Kwete* they were not like the other white men around (HS v.5, 16). For two days, October 10th-12th 1908 Colonel Chaltin and a man Promontorio [a CdK/state agent?] visited Franzman's factory to look get a statement from *Nyimi Kwete*, and to look into the alleged claims apparently made by missionaries from Luebo that the *Nyimi* had had a role in forcing one village to make rubber and in the subsequent deterioration of quality of life in this village (HS v.5, 39). Following this Count de Grunne, the state representative, arrived the next day (October 13th) and Hilton Simpson mockingly writes "Bula Matadi has arrived" (HS v.5, 40).⁷¹ Hilton Simpson writes, at the end of this stay, that "work has naturally halted because of the presence of the whiteman" (HS v.5, 40). Here, he excludes himself and Torday from the category of "white men" or "Bula Matadi," and is implying that ethnographic work can only take place within the 'pristine' settings both he and Torday are capable of creating.

A lot of the ethnographic work here was done directly with the *Nyimi* and his *Kolomos* (council men), either in the expedition's *lupangu* (hut) (HS v.5, 21, 22, 26) or occasionally in the *Nyimi*'s (HS v.5, 23, 24.) For example on September 29th, a typical day: "[the expedition members] went to see Lukengu [*Nyimi Kwete*] this morning and he gave T the list of his predecessors, the *Nyimis* of the Bakuba [...] The 2 priests (Fathers Jansen and Crombi) came to see him [*Nyimi Kwete*] about porters while we were with him. After lunch Lukengu [*Nyimi Kwete*] came with some *Kolomos* to [our] shed and T worked at the titles and functions of various dignitaries and officials" (HS v.6, 26).

The purchasing of the majority of the collections was quite frantic according to descriptions in Hilton Simpson's unpublished diary. As Hilton Simpson describes, after four days of being in the capital: "[c]urio trade is literally roaring. You can't hear yourself speak for the would-be dealers who simply throng us. The things as a rule are very good indeed and we could spend any amount here" (HS v.6, 22).

⁷¹ Bula Matadi meant the 'breaker of rocks', the name given to the explorer, Stanley, but increasingly used in a Congolese context to refer to Europeans and colonialists more generally.

Similarly, on September 26th, Hilton Simpson writes “a more than busy morning for T, who has been at work curio buying. We have a shed, open at both ends, to work under and T began to work up some Bakuba grammar given him by Pere Jansens yesterday, but work was rendered utterly impossible by the swarms of people (especially children) who came to sell us things” (HS v.6, 22). These two instances sound like high speed sales, where little time would have been allocated to hear about the objects, their provenance, their makers, or even their use. This description of buying artefacts is quite unlike the purchasing of items from the *Nyimi*, items that were held within his ‘royal treasury.’ In that case, objects acquired were identified because their importance emerged through the frequent ethnographically oriented interviews and discussions that Torday was conducting with the *Nyimi* himself and selected members of the council.

The acquisition context of two key items of particular significance derived from rich interactions about the nature of Kuba history and power and are discussed in more detail in what follows. These are the *ndop* representing “Shamba the Great” - that is, *Nyimi Shyaam aMbul aNgoong*, the founder of the ruling dynasty in the seventeenth century (fig. 55) - and the ‘shongo’ throwing knife (fig. 54). The acquisition of each artefact, as well as their role in history telling and writing will be explored in the following sections of this chapter. It starts with a description of the *ndop*’s indigenous function, notably its role in the investiture process and as an object with particular significance in articulating surrounding histories. A description of the ‘shongo’ knife follows that. Against this background these and other associated items will be examined in relation to the oral histories which were connected to these material artefacts by Torday and the *Nyimi*.

The *ndop* in the investiture process: the ‘indigenous context’

The *ndop* are carved images of kings – in theory one for each ruler and carved during their lifetime (see Vansina 1972, 44). They are sculpted from hard wood and are coated in red camwood, *tukula*, which has specific social and cultural functions within the Kasai region, as well as providing the practical function of preservation

from decay. Tukula can be seen most visibly in Norman Hardy's portrait of the *ndop* where the red patina is much more evident than it is on the sculpture as it can be seen today in the British Museum (fig. 62).

Torday collected four *ndop*, each embodying a *Nyimi*. *Ndop* statues represent a human figure sitting cross-legged on a plinth with a carved wooden object in front which is attached to the throne (Vansina 1972, 42) (fig. 61). The figures wear personal emblems such as hats, arm-rings, belts, swords, and ceremonial pieces of cloth round the waist, but no other form of clothing (Vansina 1972, 42). These items are attributes of Kuba kingship (Vansina 1972). According to Vansina, in the eyes of the Kuba people, "each statue is a monument to a particular Kuba king [...] they know which king is represented because the *ndop* is his portrait; actually the king is identified by the personal symbol of his reign, his *ibol* which is represented in front of him [the statue]" (1972, 42-43, appendix 4). This interpretation of the *ndop* as portraiture, as representations of individual Kuba monarchs, however stylised or general, rendered these artefacts not only aesthetically desirable to Torday for his collection, but also immensely valuable to him as an historian as material evidence for - and illustration of - the histories of the Kuba royal dynasty he was keen to record.

According to Vansina, the Kuba people insist that if the *Nyimi* had not been present when the statues were carved, they could not have been carved (Vansina 1972, 44). Vansina writes that this belief "may be due to the role the *ndop* played in the installation of the monarch" (Vansina 1972, 44). However, it is now largely accepted that many *ndop*, and that of "Shamba" in particular, may well have been commissioned retrospectively. The last *Nyimi*, Kot aMbweeky aShyaang, died without his own *ndop* being carved, though he had visited the British Museum to view the three *ndop* there and discussed sending one of the best Kuba carvers to study them in preparation for the commission that never came during his lifetime.⁷² In the first of the ceremonies of enthronement for the Kuba *Nyimi*, the *Nyimi*-designate announced his official praise-name, indicated a geometric pattern of

⁷² John Mack, personal correspondence.

decoration which would become his sign and would be carved on his drum of office (*pel ambish*), and selected his emblem or *ibol* that would signify his reign (Vansina 2004, 44, see appendix 4). After the various rites of investiture were completed and he had been crowned in his new capital, the king ordered a sculptor to carve his *ndop* and his drum of office. Only one *ndop* could be made for a king (Vansina 1972, 44). Despite this claim, it has been widely accepted since Torday's time that *ndops* were not actually made within each model's lifetime and that replicas can and have been commissioned (see Maesen 1960; Cornet 1986 and Vansina 1972). There are so many stylistic similarities between Shamba's *ndop* and the later *Nyimis'* *ndop* that it is likely that the tradition did not start with the monarch of Shamba in 1650, as reported by Torday (Torday 1910, 37; on stylistic similarities see Vansina 1972, 44).

When the *Nyimi* died, the *ndop* was kept as a commemorative object in a storage room (see Drion in van der Linden 1910, 234 cited in Vansina 1972, 45). During a *Nyimi's* lifetime, *ndop* could stand in for a King during his absence, being housed in the women's quarters for the *Nyimi's* wives to caress when the *Nyimi* was away from the capital (Vansina 1972, 45). They could also occasionally be brought out for important ceremonies and display purposes (Vansina 1972, 45). But the essential role of the *ndop* was to capture the life force of a deceased monarch, as was reported to Albert Maesen (1960, pl. 19, cited in Vansina 1972, 45). After the successor to the king was selected, he spent a certain period in isolation, during which time he would lie beside and sleep next to the *ndop* of his predecessor (Maesen 1960, pl. 19, cited in Vansina 1972, 45), though as we have seen this role was in practice often impaired by the common practice of commissioning *ndop* retrospectively. These key aspects of the indigenous functions of the *ndop* impact on the collecting process, which is discussed below.

Collecting the Ndop

The acquisition of the *ndop* is described by Hilton Simpson in great detail. There are certain aspects of its acquisition that raise questions about the role of the *ndop* for Kuba royalty. There is also a great deal of exaggeration in Torday's published

sources about how skilful Torday was in acquiring the much-desired *ndop*, in order to emphasise that he was the first European to successfully add them to European museum collections. This dramatization of the *ndop*'s collection will therefore be balanced in the following sections by a detailed, slightly more nuanced, account of its acquisition.

Hilton Simpson details the acquisition of the first sighting of the *ndop*:

After breakfast [September 27th] we went to see Lukengu and went into the yard where his house is. This house is decorated like Bangongo houses but its door has a carved [word missing, lintel?] supported in the middle of the opening (T has bought a similar one) and there are carved pillars inside. The house, too, is much larger than Bangongo houses [...] Lukengu showed us the statue of Samba Mikepe of which Thesiger had spoken to us (HS v.6, 22).

Torday had heard from Thesiger (the British Consul in Boma) about the *ndop* statues (HS v.5, 22). William Sheppard saw four of these statues elevated on an earth platform in “the king’s council chamber” (Taylor-Wharton 1952, pp. 37-38; Kellersberger 1947, p. 55 cited in Vansina 1972, 45). The first sighting of the *ndop* by Torday and Hilton Simpson seemed rather low key and understated, according to Hilton Simpson’s report in his unpublished diary. It was on 25th September that Hilton Simpson wrote that “Lukengu [*Nyimi Kwete*] showed us the statue of Samba Mikepe⁷³ [...] this was a sitting wooden figure well polished and altogether a fine thing. Lukengu does not appear to treasure it so very much, so perhaps we shall get it” (HS v.6, 22).

⁷³ Shyaam aMbul aNgoong [Shamba Bolongongo], (seventeenth-century)

The day after seeing the *ndop* of Shamba, on September 26th, they saw another *ndop* statue, that of “Bipe⁷⁴” (HS v.6, 22). Upon Hilton Simpson and Torday asking for it to be given to them, the *Nyimi* said he had to refer to his council, or officials, who, after some negotiations with the *Nyimi* agreed it may be sold if some suitable things were given in return (HS v.5, 25-26). “Bope” was purchased on September 28th, at a price eventually fixed at one bale of red cloth, 5 tin boxes and 1 iron box (HS v.5, 27). That evening, the statue of Bope was brought to Torday and concealed in his tent as it could not be shown to anyone (HS v.5, 28).

It was the statue of “Shamba the Great” that was the most coveted. At this early point, Torday seemed to be relatively confident he could convince the *Nyimi* to part with it, as he did not appear to treasure it. This is contradicted later in the unpublished diary where Hilton Simpson writes that it was “a great wrench to Lukengu [the *Nyimi*] to part with it” (HS v.6, 37). Torday’s publications, too, emphasise the great difficulty and negotiating skills that were required in getting this statue. Both Torday and Hilton Simpson suggest, however, that this “wrench” was because “he said that with that image before him he could see the old king, who, too was looking down on him from heaven” (HS v.6, 37).

There is some suggestion in the unpublished sources that the *ndop* were communally owned, and that direct negotiations with the *Nyimi* as an individual were not as important as Torday would later claim in his publications (e.g. Torday 1925). Hilton Simpson writes that the way in which it was acquired was illustrative of local politics:

The King is young and advanced in his ideas; the Kolomos [the councillors], as a whole, are old and very backward. The king is pro-European; the councillors are anti-European [...] Lukengu [*Nyimi* Kwete] therefore, is allowing it to be thought that he himself is opposed to the sale of the statue, this being the best way to make them favour the sale; he has told T[orday] to catch each councillor separately and

⁷⁴ Mbop aMabiinc maMbul [Bope Mobinji] (1840-1885)

square him financially and ask him to intercede with the king on his behalf (HS v.5, 33).

There is certainly some confusion about the *Nyimi's* desire to sell the statue between the reports of its collection in Torday's (1925) publication and within Hilton Simpson's diary itself. The above quote suggests there was some kind of psychological battle being carried out. It certainly seems Torday may have exaggerated his own role in the purchasing of the statue; that only he was capable of obtaining it. It is important not to assume that the *ndop* was personally owned by the *Nyimi* as both Hilton Simpson and Torday seem to suggest. The evidence seems to suggest instead that the *ndop* was communally owned by the *Nyimi* and the councillors, who were made up of representatives from the Kuba realm (see Mack 1990 on *ndop* and Vansina 2010 on the *Nyimi's* councillors). Torday approached each councillor, with the remaining few being "squared" about the purchase on October 6th (HS v7, 37). Negotiations over the *ndop* of Shamba took a number of days, and there was certainly some complexity to the negotiation, especially compared with the speediness with which most transactions were carried out. There was a certain amount of secret and private negotiation, which required an intermediary between Torday, the elders and the *Nyimi*: an assistant to the *Nyimi* named, "Samba Samba" (HS v.6, 37). On 7th of October, Hilton Simpson writes that "it is 'got' after all" and that "Samba Samba had brought it round" (HS v.6, 37). He adds: "Samba Samba has been acting as an interpreter and sort of agent in the dealings with the elders and has shown himself very useful" (HS v.6, 37).

While these figures were heralded as unique treasures by Torday and later art historians (see especially Cornet 1982), there is some notion in the unpublished sources from the expedition that replicas of these figures existed at the time Torday collected them. It is worthwhile exploring the idea that the practice of carving one or more replicas of the same political figures, or example, Shamba, was in operation during the 1900s. Hilton Simpson's unpublished diary offers some clear evidence for this, which shed new light on the art-historical literature (Vansina 1972). Apparently the *Nyimi* "offered another statue [of Shamba] as a substitute, but gave the real one

afterwards" (HS v.6, 37). If this is true, it is suggestive of the practice of making replicas. This practice of 'copying' an 'original' is noted by Vansina (1972, 51). He writes that even if the *ndop* "are merely copies, their value remains much the same since in the case of the *ndop* it may be assumed they are faithful to the originals" (Vansina 1972, 51). Furthermore, Vansina states that "[...] if copies had been necessary, probably only two or three of the oldest statues would have had to be duplicated (that of Shyaam for instance) and since presumably only one copy would be required..." (Vansina 1972, 51). Vansina concludes that this absence of eighteenth-century made duplicates of Shamba means the *ndop* contain accurate evidence for reconstructing the past (Vansina 1972, 51). For example, Vansina attributes stylistic features to Shyaam's reign, suggesting that the *ndop* reflects seventeenth-century royal dress and attributes (Vansina 1972, 51). However, the *Nyimi*'s quote (above) during the acquisition process suggests that replicas of Shamba were at least possible, if not already in existence. All three *ndop* in the British Museum seem to be carved by the same hand (or at least atelier), as the other Kings ruled in that century, the *ndop* of Shamba is likely to be of that date (during the eighteenth-century) and there is no evidence that the *ndop* even existed in Kuba courtly art in the 1600s. The practice of each *Nyimi* commissioning his own *ndop* is only evidenced for the twentieth-century onwards (Kwete [Kot aPe] for example, has an *ndop* of himself with a basket and a hammer, see appendix 4). The *ndop*, even if they are replicas commissioned retrospectively by a later *Nyimi*, are valuable evidence for their potential to invoke previous *Nyimi*, their virtues and attributes, as well as their flaws. The notion of 'copying' an imaginary 'original' perhaps effaces this political purpose of the figures, and Torday was convinced that the figure of Shamba was unequivocally carved from life without any area for doubt.

Torday's claimed that it was his unique understanding of Kuba history that made him able to acquire the *ndop* for the British Museum. The justification, according to Hilton Simpson, was because of Torday's status as an historian - and thus a competent custodian of the *ndop*: "T explained [to the *Nyimi*] that more than

probably the image would eventually thrown [sic.] on a State man, and that it would be better placed with him as historian of the Bakuba" (HS v.6, 37).

Along with this prized object, came a story and history of a long and powerful Kuba-Bushong dynasty that Torday was keen to record. The narratives Torday heard while collecting this *ndop* highlight the way in which *Nyimi Kwete*, for example, used these symbols of power in order to illustrate political points. After learning of the Kuba royal predecessors from 'Lukengu' (HS v.5, 29), the importance of the *ndop* of S[h]amba, above all others, for demonstrating (and embodying) the zenith of historical Kuba-Bushong dominance and the power of the *Nyimi* office, became clear. The following section outlines the histories of Shamba as related to Torday, and recorded in Torday's publications (Torday and Joyce 1910; Torday 1925).

"Shamba the Great" (Shamba Bolongongo, Shyaaam aMbul aNgoong)

The histories of Shyaaam, the ruling Kuba monarch in the 1600s, in fact tell us more about 1900s ruling dynasty than they do about that of the 1600s. Shamba's reign was drawn upon as an example *par excellence* of *Nyimi Kwete*'s ideal of the attributes of power, looked upon by him as a model to be followed in present crises. The *ndop* and the oral testimonies (as well as the Shongo knife to be discussed below), are among the many objects that reflect Kwete's perceived opportunity to re-establish and renew Kuba power at a time of economic upheaval (underway since the 1840s at least) (Vansina 1960, 384). Shamba's agency was personified in the *Nyimi Kwete*; someone Torday presented to his readers as an ideal, 'pro-European' and 'progressive' monarch (Torday 1925, 1910). Torday and Kwete's objectives overlapped as Torday was determined to report accurately on Kuba history and culture for which the authentic source was Kuba themselves. Thereby, the future of Kuba culture and society had the best chance of resisting forces of change. Torday and Joyce stated that the very "goal of scientific and anthropological knowledge of history and institutions is to maintain the power of the "chef Bushongo" and the "rest of the political and social organisation" (Torday and Joyce 1910, 14).

Reports of the historical royal personages were a significant ethnographic 'discovery' for Torday and his readership in Europe. King lists that were and are still carefully kept in oral traditions date the foundation of the current dynasty to Shyaam aMbul aNgoong ("Shamba"), who is known to have ruled in the mid-seventeenth century (Vansina 1978, 245). Shamba was so central to the oral histories of the Kuba-Bushong as recounted to Torday that he suggested to Joyce in a letter from Mushenge that the Kuba papers should make up one volume, and that they should title it "In the Kingdom of Shamba the Great" (October 14th 1908, letter from Torday to Joyce, BM MS 27068). Torday attributed his reign to approximately the late 1600s because of the mention by the elders in the oral histories of a "period of total darkness" during his reign which Torday associated with a total eclipse of the sun (Torday 1925, 141-142). This evidence of a dateable dynastic king list enhanced understanding of African political structures in terms of centralised states and empires. To a newly interested Europe, the Kuba were an archetype of African royalty (Balfour 1912; Boas 1911). They had highly developed artistic practices, a complex political organisation of courtiers and council under a powerful King, and, importantly, a long history remembered and performed through oral histories. Stories on the grand scale describe transitions, often across a river, leading to the settlement of a new country. Shamba's reign was looked at in literal terms by Torday, and others since, as a turning point in the growth of Bushong dominance: a period of "reforms" and progress in the arts and in legal and "constitutional" matters (Torday 1925, 142, see especially Torday and Joyce's detailed timeline of the Kuba dynasty, Torday and Joyce 1910, 37).

The *ndop* held further clues to Torday and others about the nature of Shamba's reign. For example, Shamba's *ibol*, the symbol of his reign at the front of his *ndop* statue, can be understood from the detailed information Torday and others since have generated. The *ibol* shows the game *lyeel, lela*, as it is called in Kuba country, or *mancala* as it is known elsewhere in West Africa. This has been analysed as a sign of calm in the reign, of the poise and peace afforded to the Kuba during their most powerful period (the 1600s). In addition, in comparison to the normal game of *lyeel*,

only royalty are permitted to use cowrie shells as the pieces. Thus the King is presented as a unifier of people and the one in control of material wealth.

The oral histories of Shamba were designed to demonstrate a Kuba monopoly over trade and movement of peoples. The following sections will show how this history of power was presented to Torday through a series of material connections and historical tales of journeys in and around the various peoples of the Kasai. In these senses -in that it puts emphasis on the harnessing of regional knowledge, skills and qualities, as well as materials- this oral history is connected to others from Central Africa, according to Jayne Guyer and Samuel Eno Belinga's (1995) study.

Torday repeatedly states that Shamba was presented as the ideal monarch (Torday 1925, 147-149, 116), the famed "cultural hero" of the Bushongo who, according to oral histories, or "folk lore" from Mushenge [Nsheng] and westwards, outlawed the *shongo* knife (thereby bringing peace to the area) and travelled extensively, bringing back new arts and crafts (innovations) with him from neighbouring peoples and excelling in the arts (Torday 1925, 144, 211). The *Nyimi* used the *history* of Shamba to present an 'ideal' of Bushong power. The notion of an 'ideal' has a resonance with the sociological function of oral histories (as outlined by Macgaffey 2005) as models of the desired, rather than perhaps the actual nature of leadership.

Torday records Kuba narratives that Shamba undertook a long journey westwards. He writes:

Before the King Shamba was the King, he told his mother that he wanted to go abroad to see the world; she tried to dissuade him by telling him the dangers in countries that were far away amongst strange people. She said, when your Uncle dies, you will be Chef *Nyimi*, you cannot risk your life but he Shamba responded that the King is the grandest of men so he must be the wisest, if I stay here, I can only learn what the Bushong know, but if I go further amongst foreigners, I will have the opportunity to learn their virtues and their faults, their virtues in

order to copy them, and their faults in order to eliminate them before they become too dangerous. So his mother gave him three slaves and some provisions for a few days and he went in a westerly direction" (Torday 1910, 25).

Figure 63 shows Cornet's interpretation of this journey (fig. 63). The Moaridi⁷⁵ recounting one of the stories Torday termed "Shamba's reforms," told Torday that "he [Shamba] made the name of Bushongo so respected all over the land, and his subjects travelled freely amongst the neighbouring tribes in pursuit of commerce [...] it was enough to say 'he is a subject of the *Nyimi*, we must honour him'" (Torday 1925, 146). The story presented was of Bushong control over resources and commerce and commercial agents across a vast area. This control was seemingly hegemonic.

There are clues in the text about the nature of this journey, and the acquisition of knowledge by a successful, reigning, monarch. The tradition outlines "Shamba amamamona na Pene, amamamona na Abono, amona Badinga, amamamona Bapinji [Shamba visited the Bapindi, the Babunda, le Badinga and the Babinji] (Torday 1910, 25). Although, within Torday's vocabulary lists of the Bushongo language (Torday and Joyce 1910), he translates "mamona" as "savoir", "to know" and "ama" as the third person singular of the past tense, "ama." So "amamamona" should mean "Shamba knew." Ama is also translated as the possessive pronoun "leur" (their). The idea of Shamba "knowing" rather than visiting, suggests a meaning more in keeping with knowledge of each community obtained - or stimulated - through trade and commerce.⁷⁶ In addition to the description of this purported visit made by Shamba, the origins of various products and material practices are attributed to different groups that neighbour the Kuba- Bushong [broadly speaking, their neighbours

⁷⁵ The court historian.

⁷⁶ We cannot rely wholeheartedly on the compiled lists of vocabulary for accurate translation but it nevertheless gives a sense of the way in which Torday heard and transcribed the oral histories that connected the Bushong to their neighbours. Hilton Simpson confirms that the more fluent "proverbs" and oral histories were translated into Chiluba first of all, whereas vocabulary lists would have been taken in Bushong and translated into French or English. Hilton Simpson writes that the transcription of "a number of proverbs... entailed a lot of work" because of the "delinquencies of the Chiluba trade language" (HS v.5, 36).

outside of the Kuba confederacy proper]. Nyimi Kwete presented the “innovations” Shamba brought back, citing, according to Torday, “le tissage du drap de fibres de raphia qu’il avait observe parmi les Bapende” and “les broderies de tissus, pratiquées d’abord par les Bakele, qui furent cependant bientôt surpassées sur ce point par le Bambala (Torday and Joyce 1910, 26).⁷⁷

The harnessing of foreign knowledge as a source power, as reflected in Torday’s oral histories, is a common theme in Central Africa. This has been addressed by Jayne Guyer and Samuel Eno Belinga’s study, “Wealth in People as Wealth in Knowledge: Accumulation and Composition in Equatorial Africa” (1995). They write: “[g]roups not only captured knowledge from outside and mobilized it for action but also created, attracted and cultivated new qualities in their members, invented new ways of condensing and storing knowledge, and showed great receptivity to novelty brought in through trade” (Guyer and Belinga 1995, 94). Thus, in uncovering the embedded value of knowledge acquisition within these oral source transcriptions and the collections, they become a unique and significant source for the examination of pre-and early-colonial political mobilisation (see Guyer and Belinga 1995).

The ‘shongo’ knife

Further to the *ndop* and stories of Shamba the great, Torday was also amassing further material and linguistic evidence that would advance his theories of Kuba-Bushong origins, and their cultural, political and ruling superiority. Another significant artefact, emphasised by both Torday and the Kuba-Bushong was the ‘shongo’ knife. The ‘shongo’ knife was no longer found in the Kuba-Bushong area by the early 1900s. However, the memory of the knife was retained in the oral traditions of the Kuba, relating to the reign of Shamba in the seventeenth century (Torday 1910; 1925). According to oral traditions, it was outlawed by Shamba because the power of the Bushong was so great that they could trade freely without weaponry or fear of

⁷⁷ The weaving of raffia cloth among the Bapende and the embroidered fabrics practiced first of all by the Bakele but then surpassed in this by the Bambala (translation author’s own). It is unclear whether the Bambala here refers to the Bambala (who are also called the Bushong, and are the ruling line of the Kuba) or the Bambala who neighbour the Pende, Wongo and Lele, and resided in the Bandundu province.

being attacked (their hegemonic power was reported by oral traditions to be widely accepted across a huge area of the Kasai). For Torday, the description of this knife's presence was evidence of one of his theories, a migration of both languages and iron materials and tools from the Lake Chad region into the Congo forests, as illustrated on his map of migration (fig. 64). Knives of similar shape are indeed found in historical times amongst peoples like the Ingessana, Aande and Mangbetu in an area from lake Chad eastwards to the Nile/Congo watershed. The 'discovery' of this knife was to be one of the crucial pieces of evidence Torday needed to prove his migration theory: that the Kuba had come from Lake Chad and brought with them the ancient language of "Abira" (a proto-Bantu language, as Torday saw it). From here, the Kuba then branched off in various directions, including the ancestors of the Lele, who left to found their own polity to the left of the Kasai River.

While Torday could not collect a knife here with the Kuba-Bushong, he had the *Nyimi* draw this knife in the sand and he then copied the figure into his field notes and subsequently published it in his major ethnographic publication with T.A. Joyce (figs. 65 & 66, Torday and Joyce 1910, 36; Torday 1925, 145; TOR RAI MS 192). This knife, or rather its absence in Kuba country, along with the game *Lyeel* on the *ndop* statue of Shamba, was seen to represent peace and stability afforded during his reign. Torday did collect throwing knives in Basongo Meno that are now held in the British Museum and Horniman museum collection. However, these knives are of variable size and are flimsy, suggesting they were made entirely for purposes of trade (currency) whilst only replicating the shape of smaller real 'throwing knives.'

The provenance of the knife in the Horniman Collection is noted as Basongo Meno. The knife was a form of currency in the exchange, Torday writes, between the Bankutu, who imported iron from the Basongo Meno and exported it to the Akela, using as money the knife in question (Torday and Joyce 1922, 167-168).⁷⁸ Torday writes that "a conventional form of this throwing knife can be found amongst the Basongo Meno and the Bankutu, but that these tribes do not seem to know that the

⁷⁸ Translation author's own.

knife was ever a weapon; it could be that its introduction is because of the route the Bushongo took through their territory" (Torday and Joyce 1910, 43).⁷⁹ He then speculates that the Basongo Meno or the Bankutu may have converted the weapons of these "invaders" into money because they were made from metal, or because they were "too conservative" to adopt them as conventional arms (Torday and Joyce 1910, 43). Torday then surmises that on the migration of the Bushongo from the "north-north-east", they crossed through the "tribes" of "Mongo" and "Basongo Meno" (Torday and Joyce 1910, 43). The material connection is attributed to one migration, and a far-reaching connection is made between these areas because of a described knife that is no longer made or used among the Bushongo.

The naming of the knife itself, the 'shongo,' gave Torday a vital piece of evidence for his migratory theories: 'shongo' means 'lightning', and Bushongo, according to Torday and his royal source, means "people of the lightning" (Torday 1925, 145-165). The same word, 'shongo' also had another meaning amongst the Lele, according to Torday, that of 'currency' in the form of iron bars (Torday 1925). In an attempt to prove that the Lele were a sub-tribe of the Bushongo, Torday used the Shongo knife, writing:

Autre point intéressant à noter : parmi les Bashilele le terme Shongo s'applique à la monnaie courante de fer en barre en usage dans ces régions (Torday and Joyce 1910, 46). On peut inférer de cette circonstance qu'il y eut une époque où les Bashilele employaient aussi le couteau de jet, d'abord comme arme et plus tard comme monnaie. Postérieurement, cette forme de monnaie aura été remplacée par une simple barre de fer qui conserva le nom de la monnaie primitive (Torday and Joyce 1910, 46, emphases mine).⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Translation author's own.

⁸⁰ Another interesting point to note: among the Lele the term Shongo applies to the currency of iron bars in use among these regions. We could infer from this circumstance that in a certain time, the Lele also used the throwing knife, firstly as a weapon and latterly as a form of currency to be replaced by a simple iron bar which retained the original name of the primitive money (translation author's own).

This trade in iron bars will be explored within the next chapter, which describes how the Lele only traded with the expedition members in iron goods which were then traded between the Lele and the Pende and Wongo to the east (who purchased European iron from the European factories on the Loange River, i.e. Dumba). It was recounted to Torday that 'shongo' (lightning) was banished to the sky by 'Bumba' / 'Chembe' (the creator, God) but that it was allowed to return to create fire, and this facilitated the making of iron (Torday 1925, 127, 138, 211). Thus the performance and orality surrounding the 'shongo' knife found in the collections make an association between the various spheres of power that the *Nyimi Kwete* would ideally embody through this divine connection ('spiritual' domains and the material world). This connection, however, perhaps makes reference to the Lele and Kuba notions of the origins of iron, and thus its prestigious place within Lele and Kuba societies (see Bundjok 2008, 124).⁸¹

For Torday, as we will further see in later chapters, establishing a connection between the Lele people and the Kuba people was an important addition to the theories about the Lele being a 'pre-contact' 'version' of the Kuba. This was significant for Torday, and for the production of ethnographic knowledge, which was then concerned with 'discovering' 'untainted' African cultures, and presenting and preserving them in the face of rapid change (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Clifford 2008). Connections between the Lele and the Bushong group of the Kuba were presented by Torday through histories of migration (which Torday, and subsequent Africanists, took fairly literally), although it was understood that the Lele held sovereignty of some sort over their own land (Torday and Joyce 1910, 48). Migratory reconstruction was to become an increasingly familiar tool for anthropologists looking to explain indigenous histories in the opening decades of the twentieth century. Material culture similarities and parallels were to be the main evidence

⁸¹ Les Leele disent : "*Ilondo kumu*" (l'atelier du forgeron est "chef"). Il est considéré comme un sanctuaire dédié aux ancêtres et aux esprits de la nature. The Lele say "*ilondu kumu*" (the blacksmith's workshop is "chief"). It is considered as a sanctuary dedicated to ancestors and nature spirits (Bundjok 2008, 124).

deployed. Grafton Elliot Smith and W.J .Perry were leading exponents of what became 'diffusionist' approaches.

When discussing the Lele as a “preserved” Bushong people, Torday, writes that the Lele people were like the Bushong “prior to the reforms made by Shamba” in the 1600s. He concludes they are “simpler” in organisational matters their weaving capabilities and their carvings (Torday 1925, 170). The Lele are not mentioned in these tales of Shamba’s travels (above) because they are connected through oral histories instead as original partners of the Kuba in the Bushong foundational history. However, there is a possible link to Shamba through their appellation ‘Bashilyeel,’ meaning the people of Lyeel, sometimes spelt Lela, the name of the gameboard on Shamba’s *ndop ibol* (the symbol at the front of the statue). Bundjok (2008) has suggested this linguistic connection between the Lele as a people and the game Lela or Lyeel; but it is perhaps worth mentioning that the Lyeel, or Lele as it is sometimes referred to, is perhaps a reference to the dictating of the terms of trade and the direction that it took with the Lele. A later Kuba *Nyimi* told Father Joseph Cornet, the art historian, that Shamba- as representative of the Kuba-Bushong- was the only King allowed to cross the Kasai River in the direction marked upon the map as shown in figure, from the west to the east in Lele country (fig 63). According to Kuba oral histories collected by Cornet, the Lele, who lived on this eastern side of the river Kasai, had, during colonialism, crossed over the river the ‘forbidden’ way. The Kuba had never forgiven them for this (Cornet 1982). This statement is not to be taken literally. This is also a statement about the direction in trade being organised by the Kuba *Nyimi* and the changes that were underway in the control of trade routes and materials after the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was abolished (even before formal colonial annexation).

The *ndop*: ‘salvaging the life-force of the past’

Although hearing about the history of the Kuba leadership in the past, contemporary political issues came to the fore in front of Torday. For later historians, short of written archival data, oral history seemed to be suggestive of histories of migration

and conquest (Macgaffey 2005, 191.) Within the Bantu-speaking area, indigenous stories of the founding of the Luba, Lunda, Kongo and other 'empires' or kingdoms constituted accessible evidence for historians (Macgaffey 2005, 191). Torday, in this sense, can be viewed as a transcriber of oral performances, and as he only valued information from "native sources" on his quest for 'authenticity' or 'Africanness,' the data he collected from the Kuba monarch, Kwete, was primary evidence in support of his diffusionist and migratory theories.

The *Nyimi* and his courtiers were in a crisis of leadership, and histories told to Torday were part of the negotiations underway between the *Nyimi* and his counsel about the way in which they would proceed under his office when apparently threatened by European occupation, infiltration of the Congo Free State allies and the army of Zappo-Zap (the Songye merchants who had migrated to the Kasai in the 1900s with the support of Europeans) (Torday 1925, 114; see especially Vincent 2015; Vansina 2010).

The following quote about the acquisition of the *ndop* perfectly reflects its role in linking the present concerns of the *Nyimi* with the concerns of the past. Torday's hyperbole and nostalgic tone aside, this quote certainly reflects the essence of the way in which the *ndop* was used in this context:

As the words fell from his [the Moaridi's, the official historian's] mouth I translated them and Simpson took them down. The King, who had told me many times that Shamba was the ideal he wanted to emulate, got excited and spoke passionately to the elders. Why would they not listen to him, why would they not let him walk in the footsteps of his illustrious ancestor? Shamba had not disdained to learn from the foreigner and to teach his people new things! Shamba was always a man of peace, he would not have war and killing and burning (Torday 1925, 147).

Unlike the *ndop* of Bope collected by Torday, which was stored in an "old shed" or treasure house (HS v.5, 22), the statue of Shamba was with the *Nyimi* Kwete in his

own quarters (HS v.5, 22). Shamba's qualities seemed to have had a particular significance to the *Nyimi Kwete*. The presentation of Shamba can therefore be viewed in light of the contemporaneous political crises. The strategy may be that, like Shamba, Kwete wished to harness powerful aspects of foreign rule and customs in order to restore Kuba dominance over other groups in the Kasai and maintain a dynastic line.

Torday, like the Kuba monarch, used the past to validate and make sense of the present (the encounter and the current position of the *Nyimi* within a colonial system). Torday's understanding of the past was constructed through an examination of people who were supposed to be 'pre-contact.' Torday and the British Museum anticipated change and disruption during colonialism, where 'Africanness' would somehow become diluted through contact with other cultures. Torday and Hilton Simpson repeatedly state that they privileged local knowledge above any other, to the extreme that they began editing out anything that was "obviously borrowed" from the cosmopolitan societies they encountered (Torday 1925; see Clifford and Marcus 1986; Clifford 2008). In addition, they deleted all traces of European and colonial presence from their publications, leaving out the knowledge they acquired through access to written texts and colonial networks of the type examined in the previous chapter. The idea of 'salvaging' was a major motivation for the collection of objects in vast amounts and at great speed. There is also a dual implication to 'salvage ethnography': that the collectors were at once rescuing the objects from supposed destruction and disappearance, and perhaps a subtler connotation that the objects were somehow redemptive. If Torday was able to ascertain the authenticity and history of these people, he may be able to elevate their culture and change perceptions of certain African peoples (see Balfour 1912; Boas 1911; Van Beurden 2013; Clifford 1986, 112-5).

Far from the narratives that are contained in Torday's treatment and transcription of the collection and the expedition's data from "native sources" being of little historical use, they contain information about the historical context of the early

1900s. The same is true of artefacts collected and the documentation of their associated local significance. The objects acquired by the expedition can be viewed as part of the apparatus of a performance involving Torday and various sellers, traders and monarchs at the time of encounter. In this sense, the Torday collection is replete with a mixture of European and African narratives and histories that characterised this early anthropological and ethnographic expedition.

Conclusion

The next step in the expedition's route was apparently determined by this phase of encounter with the Kuba-Bushong. The expedition members wanted to head towards the Lele, convinced that in their country lay the answers to the questions they had about migration patterns (of people and things). Following advice from the Kuba-Bushong *Nyimi* and his elders, Torday was made aware that the Kuba could not assist the expedition in accessing the Lele country from the Kasai River. In order to successfully cross (and trade in) the land between the Loange and the Kasai, the expedition members had to go to south-west Kasai, and cross the Loange River. The next chapter follows Torday's journey as he crossed the lands between the Loange and the Kasai Rivers, looking to 'prove' or 'disprove' the origins of the Kuba-Bushong and to see what the Lele were like in their 'ancestral home.' This anthropological/ethnographic endeavour was coupled with increasing pressure from trading companies: the British push for free trade and the Belgian authority's desire to exert absolute territorial control. In addition to the vast amounts of information gained, as outlined in Chapter Three and Four, Torday's time among the Kuba royalty had heightened his already significant knowledge of the Kasai and the world of their monarchs, something which evidently influenced his dealings with the Lele people. Torday wished to dispel some of the myths that the Lele people were 'savages,' and were in fact distinguished and civil like their ancestral rulers and kinsmen. Torday and Hilton Simpson had learnt of the vast and valuable collections that could be made, and the in-depth information that could be recorded, when in contact with a 'big chief,' like the *Nyimi Kwete*. They thus set out on a quest

to find an equivalent *Nyimi* Lele, but they were to be disappointed (and hugely out of pocket) when this goal was not realised.

Chapter Six

An Encounter with the Lele and Wongo

I made my mind up to visit the country of the Bakongo and the Bashilele, who, as the descendants of Woto's and Nyim Lele's [the founding rulers, according to oral testimonies] followers were a living record of what the Bushongo were like at the beginning of the seventeenth century, before "Shamba's" far reaching cultural and political reforms (Torday 1925, 170-171).

Introduction

This chapter will outline the approach Emil Torday took between the Loange and Kasai Rivers, and how his experiences among the Kuba, where he certainly at least *felt* like an insider, changed among the Lele, where he failed to meet a Lele version of the *Nyimi* and encountered what seemed to him like a much looser political structure and less accessible, even hostile, responses. The expedition members encountered different kinds of difficulty in their efforts to cross the land between the Loange and Kasai Rivers, where Lele, Wongo [Tu/Bakongo], Pende and Chokwe peoples resided. In this area, in contrast to the rest of the expedition, there were a series of impediments to be confronted: the first was a lack of local languages understood by Torday or even his interpreters; a lack of colonial/concessionary infrastructure, and a lack of 'big chiefs' with whom to negotiate. Tackling these problems required some as yet unused techniques from Torday's fieldwork/'bushcraft' repertoire. This chapter will reveal the adaptations in Torday's approach, and the complex forms

these methods took at this, the final destination of the expedition. This chapter also addresses the role of Lele and Wongo agency in the dealings of the expedition, especially with regards to the terms of trade and the route the expedition was to take.

A return to Kikwit

After they left Mushenge on December 21st (HS v.5, 18), the two men went back toward Dima again, before heading to Kikwit (HS v.6) (fig. 67 and appendix 3). Kikwit was the large town on the Kwilu River where Torday had previously spent time working for the Compagnie du Kasai. On February 21st, they had arrived at Kikwit by Steamer (HS v.6, 51). Upon their arrival, they were given three rooms to stay in, in a house which Torday had previously built (HS v.6, 61). Torday, here, met “many old friends among the staff and among the sundry southern Bambala who were about” (HS v.6, 61) (fig. 68). The next day, “a number of Bambala porters came in and all remembered T [Torday]. They came in singing along the road and then form up into a group and sing a chorus [...]” (HS v.6, 61). In addition to travelling round the country to conduct ethnographic work with Babunda people, the expedition went to the newly established post of Dumba (see Chapter Three). On Tuesday 27th April 1909, the two men went from Athènes to Dumba (HS v.7, 14). The march to Dumba took two days from Athènes via an Alela village and a Bapende village (HS v.7, 14). Dumba is where they would meet Monsieur Bombeeck, a Compagnie du Kasai employee who, with Dilonda, a leader from a Wongo village on the left bank of the Loange River, would assist them across the Loange River into the “unknown lands.”

Dumba and Kangale, Bombeeck and Dilonda

The Lele and Wongo people were by-and-large located in the area enclosed by the Rivers Loange, on the left, and the Kasai, on the right. In Chapter Three, the process of establishing ‘friendly relations’ from Dumba in order to facilitate trade was outlined. By early summer 1909, when the expedition arrived in the mostly Pende post of Dumba (fig. 69) these relationships had been developed, meaning there was

at least a potential route identified for the expedition to take, however supposedly dangerous or unchartered it was for outsiders. Hilton Simpson explains the situation at the time the expedition reached Dumba in May, 1909:

Monsieur Bombeeck, whose popularity among the natives surrounding his factory is very great, had come into friendly contact with one or two outlying Bakongo villages. From him we learned that although the main portion of the Bakongo tribe resides in the unexplored country to the west of the Loange River, there are a certain number of their villages upon its left or western shore, dotted about among settlements of the Bapende, with which latter people Monsieur Bombeeck was on very friendly terms. He suggested to us that he should accompany us to one of these Bapende villages near the Loange whose chief he knew to be friendly with the Bakongo, and that having associated ourselves with this chief we should endeavour to obtain through him an introduction to the Bakongo (Hilton Simpson 1911, 278; see also HS v.7, 18, May 4th 1909).

In one of these outlying Wongo [Bakongo] villages, for example, Hilton Simpson says Bombeeck told them he had had difficulties being received owing to the “bad odour in which his predecessors had been held” (HS v.7, 21). However, he writes that [Bombeeck, Hilton Simpson and Torday] were “cordially received” (HS v.7, 21). The observations made in Chapter Three highlight the fragile nature of relationships, difficulties experienced by Grenade at this same post only two years before. According to Hilton Simpson, newly improved relations with locals at this time were wholly down to the work-ethic and practical attributes of this Compagnie du Kasai worker, Mr Bombeeck (HS v.7, 16). Nevertheless, there are other considerations to

take into account. Firstly, 'friendly relations' were still somewhat shaky, even though they seemed to have improved by this point. Hilton Simpson talked of a "promiscuous shooting [at Dumba] by workmen who got the upper hand of their white man and accordingly the factory got a bad name as dangerous" (HS v.7, 17). Although Hilton Simpson writes that this reputation was "quite without foundation" because of the observable good relations he saw during his time there, relationships between Europeans and residents surrounding the post were clearly still tense. There was still work to be done in terms of establishing direct trading relationships with the Lele and Wongo people who lived between the Kasai and the Loange Rivers.

In addition, the direction of trade had previously been dictated by the Lunda/Chokwe to the east. However, this appeared to be on the point of change when Torday and Hilton Simpson arrived. The post of Dumba was by this point accessible from the Kasai River; this access was facilitated by the 16-paddle whale boat; but, with the direction of the river's flow, it still took eight days down and two days back up (HS v7, 16). This technological change, no doubt, had a huge role to play in the relative success of Mr Bombeeck in initiating some trading contacts with outlying Wongo villagers and Pende neighbours in a relatively short time frame (we know this development took place within only the previous two years). The direction in trade had at least until this point, if not beyond, been dictated by both resistance and violence from peoples along the Kasai and Loange River banks, as outlined in Chapter Three, which in turn prevented Europeans trading directly with the Lele and Wongo peoples on the right bank of the Loange River. Direct trading with these people, and thus access to this area, had been monopolised by the Lunda/Chokwe residing in the east since at least Verner's time at Luebo in the 1890s (see Chapter Seven). This shift in the possible direction of trading had a role to play, also, in Torday becoming the first (recorded) European to walk across this area and trade directly with villagers on the right bank of the Loange.

At Bombeeck's factory, relationships had nevertheless developed to the point where Bombeeck had managed to run the factory and stock its shelves with trading goods that would be appropriate to local sales and transactions, even if this was still done largely through middle men and brokers (HS v.7, 17). He had gone further than other traders and Europeans too; he had steadily built up relations village-by-village with the Wongo inhabitants on the left bank of the Loange, and some on the other side, the right bank of the Loange River. In fact, even crossing the river itself required relationships with the Wongo gate keepers who, for reasons of limiting access, kept the canoes on the right bank of the river. These canoes had to be called for by left-bank inhabitants (residing in Kangala, south of Dumba, on the Loange River), and negotiations completed with the canoe keepers on the right bank for canoes before they would be sent over.

Along with Bombeeck, the expedition thus began to work their way through various villages; facilitating the necessary connections for crossing the River. Bombeeck had left them at Dumba to join the inspector, and re-joined them at Dibulu, a Pende village, before going toward Yassa 3 ½ hours march away (HS v.7, 19). They bought "a few things" at Yassa. From Yassa, they visited another Pende village, Kilumbe, before seeing their first glimpse of a Wongo village, which Hilton Simpson reports was stockaded (HS v.7, 21, May 12th 1909; Hilton Simpson 1911, 282). They went to a Wongo village called Ganji following Kilumbe on May 12th (HS v.7, 21). Hilton Simpson writes that neither they nor Bombeeck had been allowed into the village but that the chief came out with palm wine in black carved cups which they bought. After this, they were able to buy several more carved cups as people came out from the village with things for sale (Hilton Simpson 1911, 282). In fact in "every village [they] passed through" they took "all the opportunities they could at purchasing curios" (Hilton Simpson 1911, 282). These stop-offs, as well as getting them closer to crossing the Loange River, were opportunities to take photographs and begin collecting items of Wongo (and perhaps Lele) manufacture.

They reached Kangala, where an important introduction was made by Bombeeck. It was in Kangala where the two men met Dilonda (fig. 70 and appendix 5.1), the chief who was going to put them in communication with the Wongo people. Dilonda's village, Kangala, lay "in open country upon the ridge which forms the western or left-hand side of the Loange River" (Hilton Simpson 1911, 283). From Kangala, Dilonda and two other chiefs accompanied them to the Wongo village that was next to the Loange River (1 mile away through forest). This village, Kakese, as can be corroborated by photographs (appendix 5.2), was palisaded with tall stockades. The two men were well received and people asked them to camp (HS v7, 24). After a few days, Torday was permitted to go inside the village and then Hilton Simpson went inside to take photographs (appendix 5.2). They bought "crocodile diviners" (*itombwa* divination boards in the form of crocodiles as discussed in Chapter Three) at Kakese (HS v7, 25-26). Torday also made as comprehensive a vocabulary list here as he could. On May 20th, from this village, the chief Dilonda and a chief from Kakese crossed the Loange,⁸² paving the way for them to cross (HS v.7, 27).

The potential for hostility and a lack of access across the River Loange, are evidenced in Hilton Simpson's reports. According to Hilton Simpson, the chief from Kakese (later named M'bwete, HS v.7, 27) had to reassure the people on the opposite left bank of the Loange, at Insasi, that they had not come for war, and that the gun shots they had heard were the sounds of hunting activity. M'bwete assured the fearful Insasi residents that the two men had come to shoot monkeys, showing them some monkey meat (HS v.7, 27). Dilonda followed him over and the people agreed to send over three canoes for them the next day (HS v.7, 27). However, the canoes departed again upon sight of their luggage (at 8am the next day, May 21st) because it was judged too bulky and the people "thought they must have come for war" (HS v.7, 27). M'bwete yelled over, and canoes were sent back. When the two boats came back, Hilton Simpson initially hid in the swamp so as to not scare the people away.

⁸² Until this point in the unpublished diary, Hilton Simpson had been spelling it, Loanje. He then corrects this, writing that the Loanje is a tributary of the Loange, crossed between Molebo and Kalumbe (HS v.7, 27). He also gives the name "Katembo" for the Loange.

The crossing of the river was done in stages. The two men were now the only two Europeans to have gone beyond this point, and were entering an area with no nearby European posts. After Torday had left with the first load, Hilton Simpson prepared the next, having been reassured by a word from Torday to say he had been offered water and people had offered to carry their loads (HS v.7, 28). By 3:30 pm Hilton Simpson finally had arrived at Insasi (HS v.7, 28; see appendix 5.3). They were only in Insasi one day, and people promised to escort them to the next village (HS v.7, 29). Indeed, the next day, their loads were sent off to Boaboa/Bwa. Here they took photographs of a large central post inside the village, learnt more information about a 'big chief' and bought food and "curios" from women (HS v.7, 29). They stayed here a few days, with Dilonda until 24th May (Bombeek apparently went to Insasi and was still there), they bought "many curios" and "got on well" (HS v.7, 29).

In the hands of the locals

[...]so we can't get on... It is very disappointing as it is only a question of money; no one has opposed us so far and if we could afford the outlay it is very sure that we could cross. We can only go back. But we shall have some good collections and, I hope, photos and shall have learnt a good deal about the people (HS v.7, 39).

This journey and its complications is a reflection in itself of the agency of local people in determining the parameters of trade with Europeans or other traders. There were no existing maps of this area, and no systems in place for calling or bringing together porters as was altogether more feasible in other areas with posts and surrounding residents working within the colonial apparatus. Payment, the route followed, as well as the time taken for each stage of the journey, were to some extent determined by the porters themselves and the social and economic systems of

which they were a part. The production of the map of this area, therefore, and the outputs of the expedition in general had potential use in facilitating territorial control. This was a shaky moment, captured by Emil Torday, before this territorial control had taken place, but when the 'first stage' of colonial authority - that of economic engagement - was already underway.

The expedition moved from the village of Boaboa, to those of Bwao, Bompe, Bishwam Bura, Kanenenke, Kenge, Makasu and Makasu II (see appendix 5 for photographs and locations of each village). Hilton Simpson writes that the portage relied on local people taking loads for them: "expensive but the only way" (HS v.7, 31). The route across this area was complex and long-winded, replete with stop-offs that were not 'logical.' In other words, the route largely went against the wishes of the expedition members, or their desire to travel in the most efficient and cost effective way possible (for themselves). It was also more or less spontaneous and subject to change minute-by-minute and day-by-day. From Boaboa onward (appendix 5.4), the direction of the journey was very much in the hands of the porters. Hilton Simpson writes that they "wanted to go to Bompe but the people dropped [their] loads off at Bwao (HS v7, 31; see appendix 5.5). Porters from Boaboa returned the next day to take them and their loads to Bompe, although they were not keen as they said they were at war with Bompe (HS v7, 31). In Kenge, Hilton Simpson complains "we are now only at the village which we ought to have gone to straight from Boaboa from which we are only about four miles distant now" (HS v.7, 35-36; appendix 5.9 and 5.01). In what was a four mile distance, the expedition had stopped at an extra five villages (Bwao, Bompe, Bishwam Bura and Kanenenke). After Kanenenke, they got "nearer to the Loange" rather than the Kasai River (i.e. in the opposite direction to the one they wished to take) (HS v7, 37; appendix 5.7 and 5.8). In Kenge, one of the expedition's long-running porters and assistants, Mayuyu attempted to go ahead of the expedition with the Kenge "Chief's son" toward Makasu, he was instead taken a more "northern route" to Bishwam Bura" (back toward the Loange River to the West, rather than to the Kasai River to the East) (HS v.7, 47).

While this detour was illogical and expensive for the compass-holding Hilton Simpson, wishing to generate orderly coordinates and distances for his map, it is arguably more logical and understandable from the point of view of the porters. The incident mentioned above concerning the day-long detour to Bwao highlights the potential complexities with intra-village relations. Though it may not be true that the reason for not stopping there was because Bompe and Boaboa were at war, there is later ethnographic evidence to suggest complex, tense, if not hostile, relationships between villages at times during the colonial era - including numerous threats of sorcery - which restricted the movement of people (Douglas 1963). This later evidence, coupled with the restrictions placed upon movement in the area during the expedition, is perhaps worth considering. In addition, the landscape of the area, demonstrated in the hundreds of photographs of villages from Boaboa to Kenge, do show palisades and stockades (appendix 5.4 and 5.9), as well as central 'village charms' that extended from the centre of the village walls to each corner in some villages (appendix 5.3). These layouts, the protective 'village charms,' and numerous artefacts collected in the area that relate to 'sorcery' are suggestive of the protective function of the village unit in the 1900s. Within the village walls, inhabitants were less vulnerable to attacks of numerous kind, not just physical ones.⁸³

The expedition certainly saw porters offer payment upon arrival at another village, which, it could be argued, is suggestive of tribute-paying systems or perhaps even relationships of economic subordination/and/or debt that were not to be too deeply disrupted (see, for example, the extract in Hilton Simpson's unpublished diary which states that the people of Kenge freely gave their salt payments to the people of Makasu, HS v.7, 50). If relationships between various villages influenced the expedition's directions of travel, it could also be considered that villagers were offering others allied with themselves an economic opportunity, incorporating each other into the expedition's financial remit. As Hilton Simpson writes about Kanenenke, after people were "quite keen to sell anything [Hilton Simpson and

⁸³ Whether or not these had any involvement in 'magical' notions is beyond the scope of this chapter. These issues are better addressed in the history of material culture in the northern Lele region by Henry Bundjok (2008) and Mary Douglas's extensive studies of 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery' in the region (1963; 1967 and 1999).

Torday] ask about," the Kanenenke villagers were "asked if they object to our staying on a bit and they at once said no" (HS v.7, 40). Hilton Simpson outlines: "we are no nuisance to them and of course, increase trade out of all proportion to its ordinary state" (Hilton Simpson v.7, 40). Their presence seems to have been welcome at certain moments due to the surge in trading activity.

Another consideration from the porters' point of view might be the potential economic gains that could be generated by increasing the journey time. While short distances would be paid in salt, longer distances would be paid in the much coveted, expensive, and heavy, iron bars or knives made from iron. As Hilton Simpson writes, "porterage was ruinously dear" (HS v.7, 39). In fact, in Torday's 1925 travelogue, the photograph depicting porters carrying iron bars is captioned "an inconvenient currency" which, of course, refers to the inconvenience of the expedition members and not necessarily the porters (fig. 71). In comparison with other areas, especially among the Kuba, this porterage cost them dearly. If each load consisted of 5 iron bars or its equivalent, it cost 2 bars just to carry it, leaving much less for purchasing artefacts. The further the two men got, the more artefacts they accumulated, and the more money they needed to pay the porters. Elsewhere on the expedition, the two men could base themselves at Compagnie du Kasai houses, either travelling to villages or markets and back again in one day, or receiving visitors (mainly chiefs) on the veranda. They were able to re-stock their payment goods from the Compagnie du Kasai stores, or else reduce carrier costs by immediately boxing up, and sending off, items to England.

The expedition learnt from Dilonda, the chief in the outlying village of Kangala whoset them of their way, that the only two commodities which would prove the acceptable as trade goods in the country beyond the Loange were machetes and bars of iron and this did prove to be the only form of accepted payment for porter services or objects (Hilton Simpson 1911, 286-287, 298; Torday 1925, 234-235). Aside from the difficulties outlined above with the porterage costs of iron, it was also an extremely expensive commodity for Europeans to use to purchase artefacts.

Torday too “approached the Kasai Company with the request” that he and Hilton Simpson “might buy such goods [iron] as we required at the factories from the stock kept by the Company [Compagnie de Kasai] for the purchase of ivory and rubber” (Hilton Simpson 1911, vi-vii). All of Torday’s pricing, which is contained in his field notes (i.e. one dog costs a machete), is set against iron and iron goods, demonstrating that the only insight he could get into the workings of the Lele economy is in relation to iron (TOR 168). This is more or less the same system adopted in trade with the Pende people, who lived at the factory next to Dumba: evidence from the mid-1950s suggests that iron, tools and weapons were imported into Lele country from the Nkembe and the Pende (Douglas 1963, 54). Imported goods with the Pende were bartered for plain raffia cloth which the Lele made themselves (Douglas 1963, 54). The Pende thus had been trading in iron with the Lele, and the Pende had, in recent years, been getting this iron from the Compagnie du Kasai stocks, in all likelihood in exchange for rubber (as Torday outlines). In Kangala, a Lele village the expedition saw a “Baluba rubber buyer” (HS v.7, 23). The Lele were thus already implicated in trading relationships with Europeans, albeit indirectly.

The photographs demonstrate that the Europeans remained on the outside of Lele village walls. In a good majority of the photographs, the external palisaded walls are visible. This is corroborated by Hilton Simpson’s diary. Where photographs were taken inside the village, it has to be noted that these were largely taken when villagers were absent, or in one case, after a successful hunt, where Torday and Hilton Simpson were invited in. Again, this site of transactions, outside the village walls, reflects the standard method of sales in the 1950s for “durable bartered goods,” to use Mary Douglas’s terms (1963, 54): goods, such as iron, were traded for raffia cloth *outside* the village unit. On the other hand, food and drink were distributed *within* the village walls (see Douglas 1963, 54 on the ‘distribution of wealth’). There is nothing to say that this mode of transaction was not newly developed in the 1900s or at least 1890s (village buildings tended to last only ten years). Photographic evidence, as well as reports of transactions during the expedition in Hilton Simpson’s diary, do seem to point to this method of selling and

buying iron goods and carvings (with Europeans, the Pende and other Wongo and Lele locals) outside of the village unit. This routine of selling outside the village suggests that the stockades and palisades were not necessarily anti-European or anti-trading at all but demarcations of space where appropriate commercial activities might take place. Thus stockades, as evidence for the “suspicious” character of the Wongo people as reported in Torday’s field notes and in his ethnographic publications (TOR 168 and Torday 1910), is questionable.

“Tonga Tonga”

Torday wrote in his field notes that: “The Bakongo [Wongo] are very conservative; the only foreign goods found amongst them (and these are in small quantities bought for poultry from the Bapende) are iron, machetes and salt (Torday field notes BM ref MS 194; Torday and Joyce 1910, 17; see also Hilton-Simpson 1911, 310). The notion that the Lele and Wongo were ‘conservative’ falls into line with Torday’s assumptions that they were ‘traditional’ and pre-modern, and that the evidence of ‘modernity’, or the effects of colonialism taking hold, were limited to a restricted number of ‘foreign goods.’ As Torday further outlines:

Goma N’Vula had forbidden [the use of foreign goods] under the penalty of death! From his point of view it was a very wise though drastic measure: peaceful penetration is best achieved by creating a want and then making its supply dependent on the admission of the trader; after the trader comes the missionary, after him the state official, and they bring in their suite tax-collectors, judges, soldiers and other troublesome meddling people, whose activities bring about without fail the collapse of the native’s whole social fabric, as it happened with the Bushongo [Bushong-Kuba] (Torday 1925, 235).

There is, in fact, no substantial evidence that Goma N'Vula forbade the goods upon penalty of death in any of the unpublished sources (field notes and diary) or in the more measured anthropological tome, *Les Bushongo* (1910). In addition, as we will see below, Hilton Simpson and Torday never even met any chief named Goma N'Vula, despite their best efforts. The remainder of the quote, however, emphasises quite precisely what Torday had experienced during his time as a trader earlier in Kikwit, and among the Lele and Kuba on the expedition. Torday almost ignores the fact that he was instrumental in this process, in that he was trading these goods in order to collect specimens of this “native social fabric.”

This ‘drastic measure’ (the banning of foreign goods) has been analysed in the literature as a form of resistance during the early years of colonial exploitation. According to the historical literature, there was a ‘cult’ of *Tonga Tonga* across the Kasai region, whose stated goal was “to stop European exploitation” (Vansina 2010, 100). The *Tonga Tonga* cult, to which Torday alludes in his quote, apparently included an abstinence from European goods, in order to prevent European bullets working (Vansina 2010). The Kuba, wrote Torday, were seen to have abandoned this decree under the *Nyimi Kwete*, and were now “occupied”, culturally, socially and militarily (Torday 1925, 114). Vansina claims this cult accompanied the resistance among the Kuba peoples but continued until around 1906 (Vansina 2010, 10). Based upon the work of De Jonghe (1936) and Struyf (1933), Douglas also mentions that the *Tonga Tonga* was practised among the Lele as a “remedy against sickness” and attributes the phenomenon to 1904-1905 (1963, 244). Douglas’s work (1963, 245), based upon the primary information gathered by De Jonghe and Struyf, makes no mention that the cult involved any abstinence from European goods. After searching the historical literature, Torday’s recording of these events in Lele and Wongo country seems to be the only source for the observation. His report of this refusal to trade in European goods can, thus, be challenged. The long-running trade done with the Pende in iron (most recently from the Compagnie du Kasai stores), challenges the idea that the Lele had abstained from European goods at all in the

1900s. Torday does not seem to include European iron as a “European good,” or at least he constantly claims it to be an exception within the ‘decree.’

An Encounter with a *Nyimi Lele*?

Hilton Simpson and Emil Torday had heard plenty of rumours about a leader amongst the Lele:

Monsieur Bombeeck informed us that although he knew next to nothing about the Bakongo he believed there existed somewhere on the eastern side of the Loange one great paramount chief of the whole tribe, whose name he had heard was Goman Vula, a piece of information which seemed to coincide with what we had heard at Mushenge of a big chief among the Bashilele people (Hilton Simpson, 279).

In Baoboa, they were told the “big chief” is Goman Vula (spelt Goma N’ Vula in Torday 1925) who “must be the same as the Nyimi Lele” and who lives “behind Djoko Punda as Gustin [a colonial official] said” (HS v.7, 29). From Bompe, the two men had wished to go to see Goman Vula” (HS v.7, 35). They then believed Goman Vula to reside in Kanenenke (HS v.7, 37). He wasn’t there either. From Kanenenke, it was suggested they go on to Kenge (HS v.7, 40), still, at this point, believing that this was near Goman Vula’s village and that they might get to see him “after all” (HS v.7, 41). There was much uncertainty as to the identity or appellation of the ‘big chief’: “[they] later heard that GomanVula is the big wig, but that he has left a capita in his village and disappeared; the Badjok [that is the Chokwe from whom this information comes] have no idea where he is (or who he is if they have ever seen him) (HS v.7, 69-70).

Given the immense difficulties with portage, the expedition members were looking for a higher source of authority with whom to negotiate, and thus regain control of their route and progress. If a ‘big chief’ was found, the expedition

members would be able to stay in one place, and have artefacts brought to them, thus reducing the price of portage considerably. There were other valuable attributes to meeting a *Nyimi*: with a *Nyimi* is where the best collections were made, and those with the most 'historical' value attached to them. The value attached to 'royal collections' and the advantages gained by being engaged with a royal court had been demonstrated by their time in Mushenge. Perhaps Torday hoped for the same exciting discoveries and quality of collections as those made once he had met the Kuba *Nyimi*, as he outlined in his letter to Joyce in 1908, expressing his delight at the 'royal collections' he had made (KYS TOR M27068). The *Nyimi* Lele, if they had found him would perhaps offer the expedition important symbols of the Lele 'nation,' along with the oral histories that had so far accompanied and enriched the 'royal collections.'

Hilton Simpson writes that on July 4th, after bypassing Mikope, which was en route from Kitambi to the Kasai river, they sent a note asking the men why they had not visited: "[T]he bashilele of Mikope say that they were ready to receive us with open arms and are sorry we did not go to there. The chief, Katwela, whose village is close here [sic.], has authority over about 8 villages, but would not accept the royal brass as a present from T[orday]; he cannot therefore be the chief [emphasis Hilton Simpson's]" (HS v.7, 69). Torday was clearly unsure as to the system of authority in place, but was associating the identification of "the chief" with his experiences of exchange elsewhere during the expedition.

Based on Bundjok's field research in the historical literature, the Lele do have an ancient ruling system headed, like the Kuba people, by a *Nyimi* (Bundjok 2008). During 1880-1922, according to later Lele oral testimonies (see Bundjok 2008) the *Nyimi* was *Nyimi* Ngwamashi a Kinda, aka *Nyimi* Bushoshi according to this study (Bundjok 2006, 20). According to Mary Douglas, this King was Ngoma Nvula but was called by Torday and Hilton Simpson, Goman Vula (Torday and Joyce 1910; Torday 1925; Hilton Simpson 1911). It may be that Douglas uncovered supporting evidence for this in the memories and reports of her interviewees during 1950s.

However, Mary Douglas's *NgomaNvula*, so similar to Torday' and Hilton Simpson's *Goman N'Vula*, suggests that she may have used Torday's material to generate this name. Douglas does seem to rely unequivocally on Torday's research as a source of history, while analysing the present ethnographical situation through the interviews she conducts. This point could be developed by examining Mary Douglas's archive and field notes.⁸⁴

A violent encounter?

Hilton Simpson complained from Kanenenke that they couldn't "get on [with the journey...]. It is very disappointing as it is only a question of money; no one has opposed us so far and if we could afford the outlay it is very sure that we could cross. We can only go back" (HS v7.39). Of course, he misses the fact that this "question of money" is the opposition. Without the right "money," on the right terms, porters bolted or the expedition members could not recruit them and they could not move (see HS v7, 35). Relations were extremely tense in certain areas. In Bompe, the two men encountered their first real difficulty in the form of payment as Torday had refused to pay immediately, and had been threatened with a bow and arrows upon arrival at the next village (HS v7, 35). The expedition members were "refused water" at first in Bishwam Bura, and Hilton Simpson writes that the people were not very "civil" (HS v7, 35). This was because "they had learnt of the presents of iron and knives given to former chiefs and so the local chiefs want some too and [they had] none" (HS v.7, 44). When these systems of payment and negotiation broke down, opposition sometimes took a serious turn. By June 10th, one day after Hilton Simpson's arrival, he opens his diary entry by saying "the people here are no longer friendly at all" (HS v.7, 44). He continues, "people want us to go away and [they] talk continually about war" (HS v.7, 44). Despite eventually boasting about not having to resort to violence, Hilton Simpson and Torday clearly felt inclined to threaten the use of violence here. Hilton Simpson writes that they rectified the

⁸⁴ These are held within the Northwestern University Library archival and manuscript collections. The Mary Douglas papers (1921-2007, ref: 11/3/2/2) include her African research materials, consisting of research notes, diaries and correspondence, and her publications, including notes, drafts, clippings, reviews and correspondence. See <http://findingaids.library.northwestern.edu/catalog/inu-ead-nua-archon-1201>.

situation by putting “Albini boxes...in each tent ready for eventualities. The people, of course, do not know we have many guns, nor do our own men as a matter of fact. All the morning we have been left severely alone and the people continually talk war” (HS v.7, 44).

The expedition members began to consider the threat of violence when their techniques in peaceful negotiations fell apart (i.e. when they ran out of the goods people were prepared to render a service for). Despite Hilton Simpson saying people did not “know [they] had guns,” he immediately paraphrases Torday’s conversation with a “chief” which completely undoes his previous statement: “[Torday] explained that we had many guns in [their] boxes (this chief had previously said we could wipe out the village with our 2 guns when the other people wanted war) and that we also had some pretty potent “medicine” (HS v.7, 45). He also states that same day (June 11th), that they “showed people [their] Mannlicher, Express, Winchester, shot guns and revolvers” (HS v.7, 46). After these created a “wonderful impression on the people” according to Hilton Simpson, the “spectators began at once to say Poro (peace) and to talk about carrying loads for us” (HS v.7, 46).

Alternative ‘payments’: an encounter with the clockwork elephant

Given the difficulties outlined above, Torday, at times of tension, had to look for alternative means of controlling the parameters of the trade, and keep the peace. Torday talked of using ‘potent medicine.’ This ‘medicine’ took the form of invented ‘fetishes’ used by Torday in order to impress/intimidate locals who would not cooperate. Photographs of this stage of the journey show Torday in his role-playing as a magician (figs 72-74). He attached various dolls to his tent in order to protect it (and himself), as can be seen in this photograph in figure 72. The principal ‘medicine’ of which Torday talks, however, is a clockwork elephant. Torday took some British-bought material culture to the Kasai to use in the acquisition of artefacts. Amongst the Lele and Wongo, he used his “magic Elephant” in order to try and win the confidence and respect of villagers. Small clockwork elephants were used by Torday and given away as gifts to helpful leaders or in exchange for

artefacts or knowledge. This was a mechanical elephant that moved its legs and its trunk when wound up, and was sold as a children's toy at Hamley's toy shop in London, UK. The elephant anecdote (and a photograph of it) made it into three publications, and was reported in the Illustrated London News - an indicator of its 'novelty' value and newsworthiness. Zoe Strother writes that "despite claims to science, Europeans enjoyed playing the role of "wizards," "medicine men," "sorcerers" and "magicians" (Strother 2013, 186). Citing Taussig (1993, 198) on the reception of the phonograph, she remarks that late nineteenth century and early twentieth century colonial literature framed technology as something antithetical to magic" (Strother 2013, 183). The ability to distinguish between "technology" and "magic" served, according to Taussig, as a cornerstone for one's "civilised identity formation" (Taussig 1993, 198 cited in Strother 2013, 186).

Torday generated a good deal of hype around the elephant and its potency as 'medicine' in Lele and Wongo country. Its utility to the expedition was twofold. The first was to attempt to create a need for an item the expedition had in order to continue trading when trading goods aside from iron was impossible. The second was to create the impression of the properties of certain local 'medicines,' using the elephant in the manner of a protective measure against ill feeling, danger, or theft, much as a local 'diviner' would when attempting to control the unpredictable nature of *ngesh* spirits with the *itombwa* divination boards and other divinatory equipment (See Mack 1981 and Douglas 1963).

Hilton Simpson and Torday both attribute their initial crossing of the Loange River and peace-keeping negotiations to their possession of the clockwork elephant: on seeing the elephant, Dilonda [the Wongo chief who facilitated the crossing of the Loange] wished to acquire one immediately according to Hilton-Simpson:

During this time we showed Dilonda our clockwork elephant, and nothing would satisfy him but that we should present him with one if he could establish friendly relations with the

Bakongo [Wongo]. The less inclined we were to part with the elephant the more anxious was he to possess it, and after a time we became certain that there was very little that he would not do for us in order to obtain so powerful a fetish (Hilton-Simpson 1911, 286).

Hilton Simpson's unpublished diary also corroborates this account: chief Dilonda was "awfully keen to have one" (HS vol.7, 24). In Boaboa they "displayed it [the elephant] to the chief, but we were very careful not to allow it to become 'cheap' by showing it to any passing native who might express a desire to look at it" (Hilton Simpson 1911, 300). We learn that in Kanenenke, the chief's son, Gandu, wanted to consult the walking elephant after his wife had a son during the night of June 4th 1909: "Torday consulted their walking elephant as to its future and predicted a favourable and prosperous career. Later Gandu wanted to ask the elephant some more but Torday refused saying it was a mighty medicine and not to be spared too lightly. It created an impression" (HS v.7, 41).

Tracking back briefly to the southern Bambala (Kikwit), Torday also heightened the 'mystique' of the elephant:

Evidently the Bambala believed that it was the most potent fetish they had ever seen. We did not display the elephant to everyone who came to see us in the hope of getting a glimpse of it, for we were afraid that the awe which it inspired might be lessened if we allowed it to become too common a spectacle. We therefore showed it only upon one or two occasions, and made a great favour of letting it walk at all (Hilton-Simpson 1911, 261).

While the display of the moving elephant may have offered the prospect of some kind of engagement with locals, beyond that of threatening violence, it seems it was not as totally effective a 'protective fetish' the two expedition members would both claim in their later publications. Both Torday and Hilton Simpson tell their Lele porters and chiefs that their powerful 'fetish', the elephant, was guarding their 'much coveted iron bars' and other materials from being stolen by porters on route between one village and another. Hilton Simpson's published diary reports an incident where one of their chests containing an elephant was opened, but the porters involved abandoned the chests without stealing anything (1911). However, the unpublished diary reports that the men carrying the chest only stole a "phonograph stand." However, this was made of iron so the elephant was not complete protection against the theft of this material, though of course the elephant itself which was also made of metal and was not taken. However, it seems that the object may not have been a total protection in that, when not aroused and set in motion, it was less effective in its surveillance roles or in eliciting fear of inevitable retribution when disturbed.

The elephant did, nonetheless have agency when the circumstances and context were right. The following incident demonstrates Torday's use of the elephant in a protective sense:

The chief [of Kenge] was then shown the elephant secretly in T's tent. He entered the tent and as soon as he was in he jumped out backwards with a squeak and then stood, with staring eyes, wagging his tongue. He was then induced to look again, but he would not stay more than a few seconds and hurried off to the village saying "I'll fetch those chickens." A little later the old aggressive chief came along and T talked straight to him and pointed out how Bula Matadi would come to fetch us; how we did not care

whether there was war or not etc., T remarked to one chap “I sleep but the elephant never sleeps” and wagged his finger in his face. This had a capital effect though it nearly made us both burst with suppressed laughter. T then burnt some grass over burning whisky; it being daylight the fire on the spirit was invisible till the grass caught light; this too was most nerve shattering for the aggressive chief [...]he aggressive chief brought back chickens (not all as doubt tell some had gone away with their former owners, it being a subscription present) and again T told him straight what a “to do” there would be in anyone tried to interfere with us.” (HS v.7, 45).

The next day (June 11th) Hilton Simpson says that the chief “kept in the village all day”, writing, “probably he is crest fallen after seeing our various “medicines” (HS v.7, 46). Earlier in the same entry, this same chief of Kenge was shown the guns, as cited above (HS v.7, 46). In addition, the mention of Bula Matadi - the common name for colonial forces taken from Stanley’s nickname as the “breaker of rocks” - also demonstrates a threat of wider violence and an unequal power relationship that involved the wider threat of violence and control. This was not the first experience Lele or Wongo people had with guns. The Chokwe, close neighbouring traders, used guns rather than bow and arrow, and effected a seemingly unequal trading relationship with the Lele. The general engagement the Lele had had with the colonial state and surrounding mission posts (especially Basongo and Luebo) had also been fraught and tense, and full of constant retribution, scapegoating and violent encounters (such as those reported on in Chapter Three; see also Verner 1903). Clearly, whether or not the term “Bula Matadi” translated well, the presence of Europeans, and the thought of a violent encounter with gun-wielding colonialists or their military arm, the *Force Publique*, may have been a decisive factor in the chief’s ‘withdrawal.’

On March 1st 1909, among the southern Bambala, Hilton Simpson writes that the walking elephant was met with great success and there were “constant demands made to see it, and also to hear the phonograph. (HS vol.6, 64). Back in April 13th 1909, in Bondo, or Kimbondo, Kwilu district, the chief, Bondo, could not walk well, and “was sure that the elephant would restore his waning influence, protect him from poisoning” (HS v.7, 11). Hilton Simpson writes “Bondo is not a big enough chief to be able to get us enough things for the elephant so he can’t have it. But T told him he could have a small phonograph for a number of curios. He is to send to the factory for it” (HS v7, 11).⁸⁵

Refusal, and resistance to cooperate was demonstrated in some areas (Kenge) toward photographs being taken. Photographs are scant from Kenge, as apparently people were “suspicious” of the camera (HS v7, 37). The unpublished diary reveals that the two men had to take photographs in a quite underhand (“cunning”) manner (HS v7, 37). The published diary of Hilton Simpson lays an entirely different emphasis on the taking of photographs in Kenge. He attributes the ‘superstitious’ attitudes of ‘natives’ toward the elephant to a free rein to take photographs: the expedition lingered to take photographs [in Kenge] “for the natives were too much frightened of our elephant to object to our wandering freely about, and using our cameras as much as we liked” (Hilton-Simpson 1911 (reprint 1969), 323 cited in Strother 2013, 189).

We should be wary of accounts that report a “hostile” attitude of natives to having their photograph taken on the grounds of suspicion of the camera, or indeed other items assumed by Europeans to be seen as ‘superstitious’ from the perspective of local people (Strother 2013, 186). When looking at other experience in Lele and Wongo villages, it is clear that the suspicion aroused by the camera had little to do with the taking of the photographs in themselves. As Strother points out in her article, “The History of an Idea: A Photograph that Steals the Soul”, the atmosphere of intimidation reported in travelogues written by Europeans has little to do with a

⁸⁵ They had their discussion through the medium of his [Bondo’s] two sons (HS v.7, 11).

superstitious belief in the camera, or other artefacts, including Torday's clockwork elephant (Strother 2013, 189). She writes: "Africans could be wary of Europeans, as strangers of an unknown agenda, rather than of photographs as a novel representational practice" (Strother 2013, 189). Indeed, where payments ran out in Kenge, the expedition's agenda and purpose was rendered altogether unclear. If the expedition were not there to trade in the expected terms, how might their intentions have been perceived? To take it one step further, we could even ask what proof there is at all that the clockwork elephant was not wholly irrelevant in this interaction.

This is especially important to consider when, as Strother (2013) also points out, Torday's clockwork elephant was displayed alongside guns.⁸⁶ Where Strother makes a clear and logical point about challenging the accounts that state that indigenous perceptions of technology are somehow 'magical,' and that the traveller's self-presentation thus as 'wizards' or sorcerers, the in end, Strother offers an alternative analysis of Torday's perception by indigenous peoples as 'magical' (Strother 2013, 186). She writes that in using the clockwork elephant with the display of guns, "Torday was presenting himself as a conscienceless killer" (Strother 2013, 186). This potential perception of Torday is based upon contemporary evidence she draws upon from "horror stories...from southwestern Congo" that recounted "how the most depraved of sorcerers create miniature robots to execute their crimes" (Strother 1998 cited in Strother 2013, 187). Despite the more measured approach throughout the article, toward the near impossibility of predicting the reception of an artefact such as the camera or the clockwork elephant, she then undermines her argument by stating that there is in south-western Congolese belief systems a 100-year long link between violence and mechanical moving figures. While one might entertain this enticing connection, it is not proven in the unpublished sources from the expedition. The answer to the "mystery" Strother presents, as to whether Torday was judged as "a dangerous maniac" or that they, the Wongo people, "feared his magic," is perhaps that neither or both assumptions are true. The only thing we can say with certainty is

⁸⁶ Although she writes this display was done with the elephant marching on top of guns, she based this on Hilton Simpson's published diary, 1911. However, we have still seen in the unpublished accounts that Torday does associate guns and violence with this clockwork elephant.

that there is no scenario - no controlled experiment - where the guns were present and the elephant wasn't, that would prove whether one or the other were effective in diffusing the situation.

Photographs: a scarcity of ethnographic information?

In the village of Kenge the expedition had to take photographs in an "underhand manner" because they were unable to offer payment at this point. Where payment was offered, in Kanenenke, the two men took "a good lot of photos of people. They weren't at all shy and to be photoed has become a crazy with them; each sitter gets a little salt" (HS v.7, 40). On June 5th in the same village, they took photographs of people "at various kinds of work today; result one half of the village is being shaved ostentatiously by the other half in hopes of getting salt if we photo the process" (June 5th HS v.7, 42). The photographs themselves from this village demonstrate the cooperation of locals in staging photographs of 'ethnographic interest' (fig. 75 and appendix 5.8). Three photographs in particular (fig. 75 and appendix 5.8), from Kanenenke, were all taken in the same place: despite the difference in activities being recorded, and the gender/age division between the subject of the photos, the same background can be seen in all three. This is suggestive of staging the photographs in quick succession, which people of other villages were unwilling to allow to happen.

As the photographs demonstrate, the expedition was able to document basket weaving, raffia fibres in preparation and the removal of facial hair. These photographs all correspond with the field notes Torday wrote about weaving, body adornment, hair removal and so on, which Joyce neatly organised into sub-categories, as can be seen in the arrangement of these images in the field notes held at the British Museum (figs 76). These categories correspond with the categories of scientific interest present in the anthropological journals at the time, and in the most recent edition of *Notes and Queries*, a guide to questions travellers might ask, and, in

its most recent edition, a guideline to factual information of ethnological interest (see Urry 1972; Coote 1987; Stocking 2001; Petch 2007).⁸⁷

Reflecting a concern with collecting information about particular categories of ethnological interest, Joyce had written to Torday in 1908, to “please pay particular attention to methods of weaving and let Hardy make as many small sketches showing the workings of looms etc as possible. I am becoming more and more anxious that the expedition report should include a treatise on African weaving; it is quite a new subject and would be great contribution to science; with a great deal of credit attached to it” (TOR BM m27069). Figure 75 shows the expedition’s attempts to record weaving and raffia production among the Lele. The 1892 edition of *Notes and Queries*, was directed by Charles Hercules Read, the head of the department at the British Museum where Joyce worked (Petch 2007, 23). Read had suggested that observers use cameras and drawings as much as possible to record data, “for by these means the traveller is dealing with facts about which there can be no question” (BAAS 1892, 87 cited in Petch 2007, 23). During this part of the expedition, where payments were possible, the scientific ‘objectives’ of the expedition could be met through the photographs taken.

John Mack has queried whether Torday’s “bushcraft” might not have backfired and might account for the poverty of information he collected in communities where he staged his performances (Mack 1990, 76–77, also cited in Strother 2013, 186). While it is true that there was no ethnographic information of the type collected among the Kuba-Bushong, or the Tetela, Torday *was* generating valued ethnographic information among the Lele in the form of photographs and collections. In addition, it is misleading to think that this relative scarcity in information obtained among the Wongo and the Lele is a result of these ‘bushcraft’ performances alone. It is true that in Kenge there was a scarcity of information, including that to be derived from photographs. However, that this is the result of ‘performances’ is questionable. It is

⁸⁷ Several editions of *Notes and Queries* were published between 1874 and 1951. For further reference see Petch, A. 2007. *Notes and Queries and the Pitt Rivers Museum*”, *Museum Anthropology*, 30, pp. 21–39.

important to note here that performances involving the 'elephant' occurred in areas where appropriate payment had run out (i.e. Kenge). Whilst this is not to refute Mack's point- as the performance only took place in Kenge- it should be noted that not all of the ethnographic information here in Lele and Wongo country is 'scant', when the subject of photographs from Kanenenke and Bishwam Bura demonstrates the expedition were still meeting their- and their scientific peers'- ethnographic ambitions in documenting cultural practices.

Strother and Mack's interpretation of these events has been based largely upon the published sources from the expedition (namely Hilton Simpson's published version of the Diary 1911), or on the (largely uncaptioned) photographs in the British Museum. This is the first study that has looked at the unpublished diary in order to examine the sequence of events in more detail. In addition, this is the first study to sequence the photographs, according to information held in Hilton Simpson's diary, and collated them with the captions on the glass plate negatives held at the Royal Anthropological Institute. This demonstrates the importance of identifying precise locations and social situations before reaching any conclusions about the social relationships these items are thought to contain.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the expedition's journey among the Lele and Wongo people who live between the Kasai and Loange Rivers. By looking in detail at these transactions during the expedition, the contrast with earlier parts of the expedition becomes evident. The next chapter looks at the final encounter, a brief one, with the Chokwe peoples who in fact resided in the eastern part of Lele country, already having had a long-standing relationship with Europeans at trading posts such as Baschi-Chombi, Manghay and Luebo. Finally, the relationship between the Lele and Kuba peoples will be re-examined.

Chapter Seven

The Concluding Encounter

Introduction

This chapter addresses an encounter that was muted in the expedition's outputs in comparison with that with the Lele and the Kuba. In the final month of the expedition, Torday and Hilton Simpson met the Chokwe people in Lele country. These people were known locally for their trading activities from the west coast of Africa, through Angola and far into the interior of Congo; right the way through Lele country to the eastern side of the continent. This meeting, and its subsequent absence from the published materials of the expedition, as well as collections, raises questions about Torday's theoretical concerns when writing about African peoples. Thus, after exploring this concluding encounter, this chapter will go on to discuss Torday in an Africanist historiographical context; exploring the proto-academic fieldwork origins of the Bantu migration debate that has characterised the discipline.

Torday and Hilton-Simpson decided that the goal of the expedition would not be met unless they crossed Lele country which they explicitly saw as a means "to complete [their] study of the Bushong" (Hilton Simpson 1911). This act says much, not just about the expedition as a whole, but about Torday and his intentions. Torday was on a quest to assemble materials to confirm historical theories that had emerged from his interactions with the King of the Kuba. He thought that, in addition to the Lele being a Kuba sub-tribe, their 'isolation' should mean they would also possess a culture and material culture that would illuminate the mythical origins and history of the ancient Kuba peoples. For Torday, material and historical evidence was sought to prove that the Lele were not a separate political or administrative African state, but a detached part of what was otherwise a centralised Kuba people - a sort of 'super tribe' with an imagined historical centre and imagined

(ancient) identity, bound by a proto-language to which Torday even gave a name: 'Abila/Abira' (Torday 1925, 164).

Torday imagined the area between the Loange and the Kasai as a means to somehow go back in time and space to a pre-colonial, pre-contact, "version" of the Kuba. In fact, he thought that a reserve should be created in the Lele area, to protect them from foreign influences.

I should like, in all humility, to suggest the Belgian authorities that the country between the Kasai and the Loange be made a human reservation, and the natives be preserved from all contact with Europeans, so that, when the whole continent has been altered, there should still remain a spot where the black man is left in his original simplicity (Torday 1925, 237-238).

According to Dunn, this discourse might be classed as 'colonial discourse', where the journey into the interior of Africa was presented as a journey back in time, and where spatial advancement was equated with temporal reversal (Dunn 2003, 32). This was a time when ideas of 'salvage ethnography' informed field collecting and early anthropology: 'pre- (European) contact' meant 'traditional,' frozen and static, and those societies that had had contact with European culture had somehow forfeited their essential 'Africanness,' authenticity and authentic culture. Torday's ideas exemplify Clifford's description of the 'rescue' strategies by which collectors and ethnographers sought to acquire and document in a sort of frenzy before so-called traditional practices wore out (Clifford 2008).⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Although he was writing later than Torday, Burton and Torday did both have the same approach to collections, which is that they both only collected items that they felt reflected traditional (distinctly 'African') practices (Maxwell 2008, 337). Their work and collections both reflected an approach that Clifford (2008) has identified; these fieldworkers/ethnographers were inspired by a mission to preserve Congolese culture in the face of change (Maxwell 2008).

This drive for 'authentic' culture led to a particular bias in the expedition's outputs. This chapter will begin by exploring a somewhat 'muted' encounter with long-distance African traders and residents to the east of Lele country, in and around Luebo. The activities of these traders will be examined through a discussion of the encounters between the Chokwe people in the area, the Lele, and the expedition members. More recent historical literature will be taken into consideration in contextualising the trading activities reported by the expedition between the Lele and the Chokwe. The notion of Lele country as a *terra incognita* will also be explored through drawing out the implications of these encounters for Torday's view of the deeper original historical connections between Lele and Kuba. Finally, assessing Torday's theoretical leanings in terms of his interpretation of material culture and history will shed light on the genesis of historiographical debates that attempt to explain the connections between the people of Central Africa, particularly speculations about the Bantu expansion.

An Encounter with the Chokwe

This section will explore Torday's growing understanding of the Chokwe traders and their activities, learnt from the local histories of the Kuba and colonial officials who had had many dealings with these traders. While Lele country was presented as a *terra incognita* for Europeans, this was an area well known to the Chokwe, and some of these people lived in settlements in the east of the country. The idea of the Chokwe as threatening, menacing, slave raiders was propagated by the expedition, and perhaps had its origins in Belgian colonial opinion. The Belgians were looking to eliminate once and for all the strong hold the Chokwe held over interior trade. This was really the start of European hegemony over interior trade, and the loss of a monopoly previously held by the Chokwe.

Torday had already 'encountered' the Chokwe by reputation from existing reports he had acquired during the expedition; however, he was not to meet any Chokwe traders until the final month of the expedition in Lele country. Torday had heard two reports of Chokwe being slave raiders in and around the Lulua Rivers, Kuba

country and Lele country. One was from the Bilumbu (the Kuba, informant, “instructor of the young”, they had met in Misumba) and the other was corroborated by Count de Grunne: “a few days later we found [what the Bilumbu had said] was all true” (Torday 1925, 151). Torday writes that Count de Grunne had heard the Chokwe were encamped on the Lulua River (a tributary of the Kasai River, to the east) (Torday 1925, 151). They had removed all native dug-outs to their side of the river, and the Lulua was infested with crocodiles making it difficult to cross (Torday 1925, 151). However, de Grunne made it across, and battled with the Chokwe, setting fire to their encampment, leading to forty-seven fatalities compared with two on the European side. Two hundred slaves, women and children, were liberated (Torday 1925, 153).⁸⁹ Hilton Simpson (1911) also writes: “[e]ven to this day ‘razzias’ or raids for the capture of slaves, occasionally take place in the south-western part of the Congo.”

Usually the offenders belong to the Badjok [Chokwe] tribe occupying part of the frontier between Angola and the Belgian Congo, with whom we came into contact at the end of our journey” (Hilton Simpson 1911, 78). The high-profile media campaign initiated by the Congo Reform Association drew attention to the continued practice of slavery and exploitative practices during the Congo Free State era. The Belgian government were under even more pressure to make steps towards the complete extinction of the inter-regional slave trade. According to Vansina, after the middle 1890s the number of Angolan caravans around Luebo dwindled (Vansina 2010, 29). A growing scarcity of ivory played a minor role in this decline, but most of this decrease resulted from the suppression of the trade in slaves, especially after state agents finally acquired enough military means in the early 1900s to attack even the largest slave-trading caravans (Vansina 2010, 29).

While Lele and Wongo country had not been visited by Europeans, Mr Gentil, a Belgian agent, had “travelled south (east) from his post of Kandale, which was upon

⁸⁹ Torday writes that de Grunne’s report of the incident eliminates de Grunne’s own name in this, but that he had heard it was de Grunne from his soldiers and “several independent native witnesses” (Torday 1925, 153).

the upper Kwilu, about six days south-east of Kikwit” and “had come into contact with a number of Badjok [Chokwe] traders from near the Angola frontier with whom he had established most friendly relations” (Hilton Simpson 1911, 232; HS v.6, 34). Hilton Simpson writes that “some of these people [Chokwe] had informed him that they were in the habit of proceeding to the upper Kasai to Mai Monene, and also further north in the direction of Bena Makima and Luebo, the point at which we hoped to end our overland journey” (the eastern area between the Kasai and the Loange Rivers) (Hilton Simpson 1911, 232). Clearly the Chokwe were known locally to be in this region. After travelling among the Lele and Wongo villages between the Loange and the Kasai, the expedition visited Itambi (HS v.7, 63), Kabwanga (HS v.7, 67), Mayila’s village (which they name Mayila) (HS v.7, 69), and finally, Ibangi (HS v.7, 73).

The first encounter with Chokwe came in Lele country, in the village of Makasu II, although there was some talk in Kenge of Chokwe [“Imbangala⁹⁰”] being in Makasu. Hilton Simpson reports that for the Kenge villagers, the Chokwe presence was a “reason why [they] should not go [east, to Makusu]” (HS v.7, 46). Hilton Simpson wrote in his 1911 publication:

The chief difficulty lay in persuading the natives to carry us on to the next village. They flatly refused to take us over the rolling grassy plains which lay to the eastward, for they told us that a party of Badjok traders were encamped in a village in that direction, and that these Badjok, with whom the Bakongo were friendly, would not allow the white man to be brought anywhere near them. This struck us as rather remarkable, for we knew that the Badjok were enthusiastic traders, who like nothing better than to

⁹⁰ This ethnonym is dropped in the literature in favour of “Badjok” (Tschock/Chokwe). Imbangala may be a Lele term for Tschock, whereas Badjok/Tschock/Chokwe was the Pende term for the Chokwe largely adopted in European authored works.

purchase goods imported from European and to sell ivory and rubber to the white man. We came to the conclusion, therefore, that this particular part of Badjok must be engaged in buying slaves from the Bakongo, for in the old days, before the arrival of the European Government, these people were noted slave traders, and this unexplored country between the Loange and the Kasai would be one of the very few remaining places where they might be able to carry on this trade unpunished (Hilton Simpson 1911, 306).

However, there is little evidence for this slave raiding activity, or its occurrence in Lele country. Interestingly, in this description, it is the “Bakongo” [Wongo] and not the Lele who are named as participants in the slave trade. In the unpublished diary, by the time the expedition were in Kenge, the villagers are all named Bashilele [Lele], not Bakongo [Wongo]. Of course, we have no way of corroborating the ethnic make-up of each village, but the interesting point is that the Lele were disassociated in the published literature with active involvement in the trade. In other words, the expedition situates the Bakongo to the west part of the southern land between the Loange and the Kasai, and the Lele further inland. However, in the published sources, the Lele appear to have been moved to suit the presentation of the Lele as peaceful and not ‘savages’ as earlier European sources suggested.

There was one encounter reported in the unpublished sources which is suggestive of the Chokwe as ‘threatening.’ Whilst they sat in the village of Makasu II, the expedition members report hearing someone shout “Minchenzi (i.e. Imbangala or possible other similar traders like Badjok [Chokwe]) were coming” (HS v.7, 56). They report that “instantly every male being, from boys of 5 and 6 years old upwards, rushed into the village and came running out with bent bows and numerous arrows...” (HS v.7, 56). There was an atmosphere of tension reported, as more

people and traders arrived, women and children stayed out of the way (HS v.7, 56). The Makusu II villagers said that [these people, the Chokwe traders] “would burn all the grass and very likely the village and that they were therefore going to kill the whole lot” (HS v.7, 57). Torday threatened to shoot anyone who attempted this. After some calm, “the uproar began again” (HS v.7, 57). A [Chokwe] child, who had been reported earlier, spoke up and “explained that these people were Badjok, friends of the white man, that they only wanted to make rubber and would make no fire and give no trouble” (HS v.7, 57-58).

Hilton Simpson reports of the ‘friendliness’ of the Chokwe with the ‘white man’ but also that it was in their best interests to “remain on friendly terms with the tribes whose country they passed through” (Hilton Simpson 1911, 306). In the following village, Itambi, the expedition members had been told by Mayulu (their porter/assistant) who had gone on ahead that “a lot of Badjok installed with their women who make rubber themselves and sell to the factories on the Kasai” (HS v.7, 59). However, these traders had all left by the time the expedition and their loads had arrived (HS v.7, 60-61). The exchange in goods described by Hilton Simpson between Chokwe and Lele village of Itambi was in palm wine sold by the Lele to the Chokwe for unspecified “European goods” (HS v.7, 62-64). Hilton Simpson writes that the Chokwe were not permitted to make malufu (palm wine) at their residence, although they had plantations at their village and so they purchased this from the Lele (HS v.7, 71). A dozen Chokwe returned to Itambi whilst the expedition members were there, having come from Lubudy (to the south “not Misumba”) but communication with them was not possible as they could not speak Chiluba (HS v.7, 64). There is thus no further reports of the relations between the Chokwe and the “tribes whose country they passed through” (Hilton Simpson 1911, 306).

Upon closer examination, the presentation of the Chokwe is far from uniform – they are portrayed as long-distance traders, slave raiders and strangers to the region, but they are also resident in the area with relatively established posts in close proximity to the Lele. While it seems the Chokwe traders did establish “temporary rubber

camp” near some Lele villages (HS v.7, 64) - and indeed visited these villages, sometimes as far as Makusu - they also had their own dwellings locally and apparently, good trading relationships with the Lele in the surrounding area.

From Itambi and after a very brief stop at the village of Kabwanga, the expedition went to one of these villages. Hilton Simpson writes from the Chokwe village of Mayila that “the people of Mayila’s village live in absolute harmony with the Bashilele owing to each being necessary to the other. The Badjok supply the Bashilele with white men’s goods and the Bashilele supply the Badjoks with food when the latter is on a rubber collecting trip” (HS v.7, 71). In addition to this evidence of intermingling, the notion of the Lele country as a *terra incognita* is comprehensively challenged in the unpublished sources. Hilton Simpson writes, from further on in Ibangi that this village was made up of “Bashilele much affected by whiteman’s followers [*sic.*] influence in that European cloth is worn and Chituba [*sic.*] spoken” (HS v.7, 74).

Chokwe Incursions

The following section outlines the reputation of the Chokwe according to local Kuba oral histories, as noted by the expedition. There are also a number of Chokwe oral histories reported in the historical literature (O’Collins and Burns 2007) that will be explored. One European source written by the missionary, Samuel Philips Verner (in Congo during the 1880s and publishing in 1903) offers an alternative view to Torday’s about local power structures and trading monopolies; reporting that the Chokwe were in charge of the Lele and were connected to royal Kuba-Bushong lineage. These claims will be explored in the passages that follow; intended to offer a balance to Torday’s favoured Kuba- centric notions of local history.

Torday writes that Badjok meant “people of the elephant” and that they had migrated vast distances in the process of hunting for ivory (Torday 1925, 268). Torday also writes they had “imperialistic ambitions” and had overrun the King of the Lunda during what must have been large and well-organised hunting

expeditions (Torday 1925, 268). One of these reports, from the Bilumbu in Misumba, highlighted the menacing reputation of the Chokwe, and described them as a terrifying threat to the status quo:

[b]efore the arrival of Europeans, the Bakuba had much to suffer from the hands of a certain people coming from the South whom they called Imbangidi and who called themselves Badjoke. They came on slave raiding expedition [*sic.*] under the leadership of a chief called CHIMBUNDU MOANA N'GALA. He was so feared that it is still a curse to say to someone: "may chimbundu moana n'gala take you" (KYS TOR M27067 see also Torday 1925, 151).

Like those of the Luba, Lunda traditions of origins remember that the arrival of a foreigner inaugurated a new dynasty among a previously divided people, and that the stranger was a Chokwe hero named Cibunda Ilunga (c. 1600-1630) (O'Collins and Burns 2007, 146). Cibunda (or Chibunda) Ilunga is the civilizing hero of Chokwe mythology depicted in some of the most powerful and well-known sculpture to come from this part of the continent. According to O'Collins and Burns (2007), "the new interlopers who followed Cibunda Ilunga brought with them not just new intuitions of kingship, but the sophisticated material culture of their more prosperous homeland, which facilitated the ultimate acceptance of authority. Upon his arrival and marriage, Cibunda Ilunga created a new royal office, a monarch called the *mwaant yaw* ("Lord of the Vipers") who could only be succeeded by a member of the male bloodline of the royal couple" (O'Collins and Burns 2007, 146-147). Oral traditions indicate that the establishment of authority by these intruders was a lengthy process over many years (O'Collins and Burns 2007, 146-147). When their rule was finally acknowledged by the Lunda, the success of the *mwaant yaw* became dependent upon the support of the pre-dynastic chiefs who as tax collectors and counselors became the backbone of the royal administration. Thus the state

evolved into a confederation or commonwealth of chiefdoms paying tribute to the king who redistributed a portion of his treasury to the provincial chiefs in an exchange that was as much an act of trade as royal largess (O'Collins and Burns 2007, 146-147).

Samuel Philips Verner (appendix 1.13) who was based near the missionary post of Luebo (on the right bank of the Kasai, neighbouring the Lele on the left bank, and the Kuba-Bushong to the right) reports a leader in the mould of Cibunda Ilunga. This chief, based to the south of Luebo, was Ndombe, a Kuba chief (Crawford 1982, 50). He presented himself to Verner as the great chief of all of the Kasai [River] (Verner 1903, 164). He was in good relations with the missionaries at the post of Luebo. There was an attack on Verner's canoes (mentioned in Chapter Three). Ndombe's reaction to an attack by the Lele on Verner's canoes was indicative of a measure of responsibility he felt over their actions, and Ndombe expected Verner to hold him responsible for a Lele attack on his canoes (Verner 1903, 229-230). Ndombe claimed that the Lele had long been in rebellion with both himself and the government despite their joint efforts to pacify relationships (Verner 1903, 229-230).

Verner subsumes Lele and (all) Kuba under Ndombe's authority, as evident in the following quote:

I [Verner], never did fully ascertain the extent of Ndombe's direct sovereignty, but I believe that it prevailed, in greater or lesser degree, over a territory about the size of New Jersey, and of a population of about one hundred thousand people, comprising Bakuba, Baluba, Biomba, Bashilele, Bampende and Bena Mfula, with many sub-chieftains, and a considerable additional territory under friendly allied chieftains, with a total population of three million (Verner 1903, 186).

Ndombe's state histories also connected the Lunda nobility and his famed predecessor Mai Munene to Kuba nobility: Mai Munene had left Lukengu in the town of "Bashibushong" and established a Kingdom of their own to the south of Lulua (Verner 1903, 184-185).

That Lunda chieftaincy had somehow been overrun by Chokwe traders is supported by the historical literature (Verner 1903, 88; Torday, 1925; Clarence-Smith, 1983, 173; and Vansina, 2010). The Kuba also suffered from a loss in trade due to Chokwe traders penetrating further inland and establishing permanent settlements in Lele country (Torday 1925, 266). By 1880 or even earlier, the caravans from Angola began to travel first eastwards in order to buy slaves there before turning westward toward Kampungu and Kabaw in order to sell them to the Kuba. This pattern of indigenous trade was to persist for nearly twenty years (Vansina 2010, 16). However, there was a distinct transition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The long-distance nature of these trade routes, according to Vansina (1960, 385), was a new thing: regional trade networks prevailed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries, and these were not incorporated into the long-distance Angolan caravan trade until at least the 1880s. Chokwe caravans from Angola pushed further inland as the price of ivory rose, and its scarcity elsewhere meant that the Kuba had a strong hold on ivory at this time (Vansina 2010, 16). Trade patterns and routes shifted, however, with the arrival of the steamer and the enhanced European engagement with river systems. One result was that Chokwe traders were obliged to penetrate areas beyond the river system to conduct their newly illicit trades out of sight of Europeans (Hilton-Simpson 1911; Vansina 2010). The basis of valuable trade was the exchange of ivory for fabrics, guns and gunpowder (Stengers 1985, 339-340). Since the last two products could not be sold - or at least not openly - African traders even in the Lower Congo had to find other means to compete with European trading companies. Because African (predominantly in this case Chokwe) traders could obtain these items from Angola, they provided the principal market for ivory rather than for the companies. Yet, as

the companies launched steamer ships and were able to penetrate further along the river systems, the advantages of the African middlemen were eroded so that on the main river the whole trade in ivory had fallen into European hands by 1900s (Stengers 1985, 339-340). Stengers writes that the competition with the Luso-African trade in southern Kwango, Kasai and Katanga had begun to favour the *Compagnie du Kasai* after 1903 (Stengers 1985, 339-340).

Vansina notes that imported items of European manufacture, such as trade cloth (which the Angolan caravans normally traded in), were of no value at this time in this area. Therefore the Kuba usually refused to accept any imported cloth and sold their ivory for cowries or for slaves. This was detrimental to the Angolan caravans that relied almost entirely on imported cloth to pay for the ivory they wanted to buy (Vansina 2010, 15). Politically, according to Vansina, the Kuba kingdom was powerful enough to push Angolan traders further south to trade only in Kampungu and Kabaw and to prevent any outsider hunters inside its realm (Vansina 2010, 16). Also, ivory was still available after 1875 in Kuba-Bushong country and was only available in or around these markets. Hence, their refusal to buy imported cloth resulted in the almost immediate reorganisation of commercial activities in all of the Kasai as far east as the lands beyond the Lubilash River (Vansina 2010, 16).

Downplaying Chokwe presence

In the previous section, it has become clear that the Chokwe were present in the Kasai with a strong hold on trade until the early 1900s. Torday, however, muted this connection, and the following section explores how and why this happened. The part of the expedition that details the first meeting with Chokwe people serves to highlight the engagement the Lele and Wongo had with their neighbours. An exploration of this particular encounter gives further context to the motivations behind Torday's collections in the area, as well as the presentation of the position of Lele and Wongo in international markets and their supposed 'suspicion' of outsiders.

Despite the notable, permanent, residence of the Chokwe in the unpublished sources, Torday makes clear that the Chokwe, “the Badjok/Badjoko/Kioko” were “strangers in the Congo Basin inasmuch as they belong rather to the southern than the central Bantu” (Torday 1925, 268). More than anything else, this was to do with Torday’s ideology and presentation of the people encountered in the expedition: he wished to affiliate the Lele with the Kuba-Bushong. Again, he was looking back to another ‘time,’ the indigenous versions of history he had garnered from his Kuba sources.

In *On the Trail of the Bushongo*, Torday describes the Chokwe [Badjok] and his reasons for mentioning them when he is “only concerned with the Bushongo and their kindred” (Torday 1925, 277). He writes: “I want the reader to compare this people, who have for two hundred years been in contact with civilisation, with the savage Bashilele; let him draw his own conclusions” (Torday 1925, 277). The photograph (fig. 78), and its re-modelling as an ethnographic drawing by Norman Hardy (fig. 79) reflects the view point of the Chokwe as a menacing slave and/or rubber trader. Hilton Simpson also describes this man, and the Chokwe in general, as evil (HS v.7, 58 and 61). This notion can be set in contrast with Hardy’s portrayal of a Lele man (fig. 80). This dichotomous presentation is consistent with Torday’s insistence on the authentic in people as in the objects he was collecting. He was favourably inclined toward Lele-Wongo people, who did not wear or trade in European trade cloth and who were apparently as the Kuba were centuries before (Torday 1925). The drawing of the Chokwe man is separated from the image of the Lele man as it was printed in Torday and Joyce, *Populations du Kasai et du Kwango* (1922) rather than *Les Bushongos*, where the image of the Lele man was printed (figs 79-80). Torday and Joyce separated the information and images of the two peoples despite encountering them within the same region.

Torday did not purchase many items among the Badjok [Mayila’s village] for the British Museum. He states that it was because they were “pretty well out of cash” and that the Badjok were asking high prices (Torday 1925, 275). However, the prices

asked seem to be much more affordable than among the Lele. With Mayila, too, Torday had more room to negotiate: when Torday wished to purchase a humming drum, for example, he had exchanged it for half a bottle of brandy instead of the bale of cloth or the “ten kegs of powder” initially proposed (Torday 1925, 275). Torday got the drum. He stated that he did not possess “such things” [bales of cloth and gun powder]. However, given the extreme lengths Torday went to buy items of Lele and Wongo manufacture, it seems surprising that he did not accommodate Mayila in order to encourage further purchases, especially since the nearest factory was only forty miles away from Mayila (Torday 1925, 276). Torday, had he been inclined, could have retrieved further goods from the factory in order to purchase a bigger collection. It seems there were other factors beyond cost in play that led Torday to willingly purchase Lele and Wongo artefacts in abundance, but barely anything from the Chokwe.

These factors have to do with Torday’s desire to support and illustrate his historical and anthropological theories using the collections he made. His single-minded search for reasons to connect the Lele and Wongo peoples to the Kuba and their various migrations dictated the negative perceptions he had of the Chokwe compared with his promotion of the Lele. This positive attitude towards the Lele sought to redeem the Lele from their reputation as ‘violent’ savages.

Torday was also keen to guard any information he obtained and ensure that he was the first to transmit it. But his ‘information’ was neither wholly objective in the manner of ideal ethnographic reporting nor untainted by his own increasingly engrained perspectives. His theoretical stance on Kuba-Lele history almost obliged him to downplay the Chokwe-Lele relationship in favour of a relationships of deeper significance which he wanted to assert going back to antiquity. It is noteworthy that in Torday’s publications, for example, he makes no reference to the activities within the peripheral Lele villages to the east that traded with the Chokwe and where European goods were readily available. This ‘corruption’, as he would have seen it, of true Lele culture is only observable in Hilton Simpson’s unpublished diary.

Torday preferred to concentrate on linguistic and material evidence that demonstrated the ancestral connections between the Lele and Kuba. It was more important to him to be able to associate the older form of iron currency known as “Shongo,” also the name for the Shongo currency in the form of a throwing knife found amongst the Lele, with the alternative name of the Kuba ‘Bushongo’ (Ba-, people, of the Shongo-, knife) (Torday 1925, 142). As he did with the Kuba themselves, Torday ignored the evidential signs that the Lele and Wongo peoples were in fact incorporated into broader Kasai-wide networks and from there inter-regionally and internationally.

The Kuba and the Lele/Wongo

As we have already seen, Chokwe-Lele relationships were muted, and the Chokwe were presented as menacing slave raiders. Also, Kuba-Lele affiliations were being emphasised both the Kuba-Bushong and Torday. This next section will explore in detail the way Torday (and his informants) lay emphasis on these connections through the use of material and aesthetic connections. During Torday’s time, it was an especially difficult and urgent task to determine ethnicities and social relations as Europeans were seeking to establish boundaries (Harms 1975, 75; Schildkrout and Keim 1998). Reworkings of indigenous African power structures were constantly made according to understandings of human and object agency in the ‘making of history’ and the historical circumstances outlined by ethnographers, colonialists, traders and missionaries at any given time. By the time Torday had visited the Kuba royal capital of *Nsheng* at the end of 1908, recorded their histories, and collected many of the prized artefacts for the British Museum collections, his assumption of Kuba ethnic dominance over the Lele were taking shape.

As part of this Torday tried to gain a deeper understanding of the *Nyimi*’s various roles: “[M]y long conversations with them [the councillors] made the political situation clearer to me that it had seemed at first. Its intricacy had its source in the dual position of the *Nyimi* as temporal and spiritual chief. As the Prime Minister explained to me, to such people as the Bangongo and the Bangendi, the *Nyimi* was

the King, the political chief of the country; if they rebelled theirs was a political crime. But to the Bambala, the ruling tribe, he was also the head of the clan, the spiritual chief, the living representative of the founder, and, as such, sacred" (Torday 1925, 117). Torday describes three 'independent' Bushongo nations in his work for the *New Congo Collection*, in Philadelphia (1913): "the Isambo, who revolted and made themselves independent in the seventeenth century, and the Bakongo and Bashilele, representing an earlier wave of immigration; the two latter may be considered as the primitive Bushongo" (1913, 25).

Torday subsumed multiple ethnic groups under the Kuba legal, 'sovereign' control, as well as under the ethnic label of the Kuba ruling sub-group, the Bushong, to which their overarching ruler, the *Nyimi*, belonged. Although Torday was observing that the Lele people were not under Bushong control in any real sense in the 1900s, he nonetheless affiliated the Lele to the Kuba in a distant sense, as ancestors and kinsmen. This connection, Hilton Simpson writes, had been learnt from "native sources" that Torday used in exclusive preference to any other (1911, xi). He writes: "from what the *Nyimi* told [Torday] he came to the conclusion that these people [the Lele] and their western neighbours, hitherto known to [them] as the Tukongo [i.e. the Wongo], must be really a branch of the Bushongo stock (Hilton Simpson 1911, 226) and that "it now seemed to [Torday] that in order to complete his study of the Bushongo, it was imperative that [they] should make a determined effort to get into touch with the peoples whom he believed to be their kinsmen (Hilton Simpson 1911, 226-227).

Indeed, the first purchase of items from a Wongo village, Ganji, included camwood boxes which, Hilton Simpson noted, had the same rectangular form as Kuba huts (HS v.7, 21), and Torday "noticed at once a similarity in the patterns with which these cups were ornamented and those which we had found among the Bushongo, another piece of evidence to support his theory that these two peoples are closely related" (Hilton Simpson 1911, 282). As they get further toward the Loange (on the left bank) Hilton Simpson writes that "these people [began] to strongly resemble the

BaKuba in dress and various other ways" (HS v.7, 22). What he has in mind is the prolific use of incised patterning on many items in the Lele/Wongo collection, notably the palm wine cups. These distinctive rectilinear patterns are also found on numerous artefacts from the Kasai. The Kuba embroidered raffia squares made of cut-pile and now often referred to as 'velours', or velvets, are the most familiar examples. These textiles exhibit the kinds of patternings found on Kuba housing made from large basketry mats, on cups, boxes, pipe bowls, enemas, divination objects, hats, baskets, ivories, other types of raffia textile and body decoration. Their application also to Lele- and Wongo-made cups was for Torday highly suggestive. Despite later interpretations of these patterns on carved cups as differing subtly from those found on textiles - with a more rigorous symmetrical aesthetic (Mack 2012, 9) - for Torday the presence of pattern was a readable Bushong visual language which affirmed that all these forms of patterning were intimately related (Torday 1913, 30). Figure 77, expresses this most clearly. It depicts a number of drawings by Torday of patterns along with their names. The note at the bottom of these drawings (see fig 77) demonstrates his method in extracting the names of patterns in Kuba country. Torday noted that: "these patterns have been taken independently of the cloth before or after these had been packed as a controle [*sic.*]" (BM KYS TOR M27069). Torday presumably drew or copied the patterns in order to isolate them and allow an informant to name them as individual elements in an otherwise complex arrangement of different designs across a surface (see fig. 77 and BM TY M27069).

Aside from being aesthetically appealing to Torday, his earlier linguistic research among the Kuba on pattern names and their meanings is certainly one reason he was attracted to and purchased so many patterned artefacts from the Lele and Wongo peoples. They provided undeniable 'proof' to his historical theories about the connectivity of these peoples. Through the development of a sort of evolutionary schema of artistic complexity, the Lele artefacts could be viewed, as he saw it, as 'simpler' (less elaborately patterned) versions of Bushong artistry.

However, there are so many countless examples of similarities in pattern and form across a variety of materials from the Kasai. The widespread diffusion of patterning across the equatorial belt is arguably an example not of individual acts of contact and diffusion but as something characteristic of a wide area with no single source of origin and thus not evidence of some 'pristine' original culture, as Torday presented it. The similarity of Kuba, Pende and Kongo (that is, Lower Congo in this case rather than Wongo) embroidered textile is one clear instance of this. Diffusionism is a perilous area of analysis, especially when understood to be a straightforward copying of ideas. To highlight Torday's Kuba-centric view, it is important to establish the reality of trade and exchange across a broad area. After all, their own oral histories show us the far-reaching trade networks from the sixteenth century onwards and the likelihood of pattern, belief systems, materials and knowledge being shared and transmitted and not necessarily from any single centre outwards.

Bantu Migration

The connections between African peoples that were published by Europeans, such as Torday, have their origins in encounters, and thus local oral histories. These 'origin' myths and the production of knowledge through encounter will be explored in the following section. Torday's work will be inserted for the first time into Africanist historiographical narratives (Hennige 2007; MacGaffey 2005). In an article in 1910 entitled "Bushongo Mythology", Torday outlines the basic parameters of Bushong (Bambala and Bangongo) 'origin myths' (Torday 1910a, 44) His conclusion, which relates to the methodological treatment of oral sources, is stated thus:

Mythology may contain a good deal of real information, however much clothed in fiction, for him who knows how to read between the lines; for example, the Bushongo legends have enabled me to fix the ancestral home of these peoples. In this, of course, ethnography and physical anthropology are also to be considered, and it must give pleasure to the

lovers of folklore to find that the cultural, linguistic, and physical features have all corroborated the evidence of mythology (Torday 1910a, 45).

Clearly, at this early time, Torday was using oral sources in historical reconstruction that related to the 'ancestral home' of the Kuba. The wider context of this observation concerns the origin of Bantu people and debates about Bantu expansion. Torday further explains his method of consciously piecing together 'stories': "[t]he above account, like the Bambala mythology, has, of course, not been related to me as a continuous story; both have come to me in the shape of short stories, and it has been my work to put them together" (Torday 1910a, 45). His methodology, which used materials, linguistic features, and 'mythology' (which could be broadly defined as transcribed oral narratives) in proving or disproving historical trajectories, was important in the development of Africanist historical debates.

For Torday, the ancestral home of the Kuba (and the Lele) was "lake Tchad" [Chad] (Torday 1925, 163). Torday heard from the Kuba-Bushong Kimi Kambu ("prime minister") that there was an "old language that had been forgotten" and he writes that his friend Sir Harry Johnston told him that this "old language, which the Bushongo called Lumbila, did not belong to the Bantu family, and was akin to those spoken near Lake Tchad" (Torday 1925, 163). Torday writes that with the discovery of this language, he had hit a "lucky moment" in his life (Torday 1925, 163). He continues: "[...]now an ancient language was perhaps going to reveal if I were right in my surmises or not [...] this [the ancient language] was the last link; if this, too, indicated the southern edge of the Sahara as the ancestral home of the Bushongo, as other signs did, my theory became a certitude" (Torday 1925, 162).

Wyatt MacGaffey addresses the appealing character of particular narratives for historians in his work on the historiography of Central Africa (2005). He draws a comparison between African and European use of myth as a source of historical accounting. He writes that "[a] myth's explanatory value consists in the story's reduction to a simple, orderly, commonsensical form of a situation that is not only

uncertain as to the facts but politically charged. It acquires operative value in a given context because the pattern it locates in the past is deemed to explain and legitimate the present" (MacGaffey 2005, 190). MacGaffey's argument is that a consensus is reached in inter-cultural representation when European and African myths (or narratives) intertwine in a satisfactory way. He addresses the largest 'myth' in Central African studies, that of Bantu migration, claiming that it is not a foreign imposition of representation, but a representation that has come about in part by the shaping of empirical data: "...for a while, as historians short of archival data turned to oral history, it seemed to be supported by Africans' own histories of migration and conquest. Within the Bantu-speaking area, indigenous stories of the founding of the Luba, Lunda, Kongo and other 'empires' constituted amenable objects for historians" (MacGaffey 2005, 191). Torday himself was an early agent in the presentation of such perspectives. Torday's emphasis on evidence of the cultural past anchors his work within a historiographical Africanist tradition. As such, he was contributory to the early development of the Bantu expansion debate that later scholars also developed using material and linguistic evidence to prove or disprove theories of the direction of migration. The empirical origins of Bantu expansion can be traced directly to Torday and proto-academic fieldwork. Torday's methods in the collection of oral histories and material culture also highlights the role of African oral histories within this historiographical trajectory.

MacGaffey (2005) and Henige (2007) have provided very useful outlines of this historiographical debate. Bantu civilization was accounted for by one great migration, or perhaps two, western and eastern (MacGaffey 2005). The linguistic source of the Bantu family of languages, as identified by scholars such as Johnston (1908) and developed by Guthrie (1974), was thought to be located in the region that is now Cameroon and Eastern Nigeria. Because of the supposed lack of severe divergence between the 'root language' (Bantu) and the modern languages spoken across the 'Bantu region' (that is most of central and east Africa and parts of southern Africa), it was argued until fairly recently that expansion began only 3000 years ago, with various streams of people arriving into East Africa, and other

streams going south along the African coast of Gabon, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola, or inland along the many south to north flowing rivers of the Congo River system (see Vansina 1952, 1960, 1972). Vansina has since refuted glotto-chronology and its application in the mapping of languages as evidence for a single expansion, stating that there was “no continual expansion but continual dispersals” (Vansina, 1995, 173).

Torday opened his 1921 article on “Culture and Environment: Cultural Differences Among the Various Branches of the Batetela” with this statement:

The slow and steady changes a people undergoes in the course of its cultural development are now and then interrupted and driven into new channels by a catastrophic [*sic.*] event in its history. Two occurrences are more often than not the cause of such a new course: conquest and migration. It matters little if the people concerned are the conquerors, or the conquered, if they intrude among strange tribes or are intruded upon: the association with another tribe will impress its mark upon their culture. Should migration bring them into a country of a different physical configuration, the change will be all the more rapid and fundamental. The less the difference in culture of the two tribes thus brought into contact is, the more rapidly will an amalgamation ensue. When the difference is very considerable, it often happens that such contact is disastrous to the tribe and to the individual (Torday 1921, 320).

While Torday goes on to discuss the Batetela, this statement applies to his work on other peoples of Africa, especially the Kuba. With reference to the Tetela, Torday is talking mostly about the impression of Arab-Swahili and European influences, but

he is also concerned with Tetela influence on their neighbours. Torday's notion of "slow and steady changes," interrupted by a "catastrophal [sic.] event in its history" reveals his view of history: history as an evolution of culture that could somehow be disrupted from its 'natural course' by human activity, namely "conquest and migration."

MacGaffey refutes histories compelled toward the myths of "expansion and conquest" that have been used as explanations for the closeness between the 300 languages that make up the Bantu family (MacGaffey 2005). This is not new. In Fage's edited volume on African History in 1970, Roland Oliver's paper, titled "The Problem of Bantu Expansion," notes the difficulties with early concepts used in this debate.⁹¹ But, according to MacGaffey, Oliver's argument (that expansion was facilitated through the spread of metallurgy and agricultural skills) still talks of an "unending sequence of migration, conquest and absorption" (MacGaffey 2005, 191).

Henige, too, outlines the use of archaeological evidence (where it exists) in proving linguistic connections, and thus particular historical actions: "the agency to explain the purported phenomenon seemed fortuitously at hand: iron technology, which virtually guaranteed both tactical military triumph and strategic agrarian success" (Henige 2007, 110). He argues that at first it did not seem unlikely that this expansion was through iron technology, as major sites of iron production were found in areas where the Bantu peoples were supposedly thought to have originated. As outlined by both Henige (2007) and MacGaffey (2005), it became fashionable to then suppose that the Bantu languages might well have spread by means of drift and (if necessary) infiltration: "[t]he Bantu-speakers still moved in southerly and easterly directions, but fitfully and usually as a result of exhausting resources. They were no longer conquering warriors, but largely agriculturalists seeking out new arable land as they needed it" (Henige 2007, 111).

⁹¹ As with all the papers in this volume, this was first published in *The Journal of African History*. Oliver's paper was first published in 1966.

Henige states that: “[t]he peculiar incidence of language families throughout Africa had naturally caught the attention of interested parties long before, but it was not considered a question with particularly historical causes and consequences until the 1950s” (Henige 2007, 109). One of Torday’s contemporaries, collaborators and close colleagues, Harry Johnston, in a lecture given at the Royal Anthropological Society in 1913 said that “all Bantu Africa of today except the heart of the Congo forest and the regions south of the Zambezi, must have been more or less thickly populated before the Bantu impressed with extraordinary rapidity and completeness their own type of language on the tribes they conquered” (Johnston 1913, 391-2). Henige’s chronology is accepted here: he is referencing a specific historiographical period within the mainstay of a recognised discipline of African History.⁹² However, it seems that this particular interpretation of Bantu languages, and the use of this interpretation on historical actions (“conquering”) and ethnicities (“the Bantu”; “tribes”) has its roots in proto-academic fieldwork. Yet these early roots - along with studies of Torday as an anthropologist engaged with local histories - had disappeared from the academic domain until the flourishing of African History in an academic setting from the 1950s onwards.

If my argument that Torday and his contemporaries were already putting forward notions of historical causal consequences can be upheld, it does not seem coincidental that the use of oral histories, especially in the Kuba setting, gained methodological credibility in the development of African History (see Doortmont 2011, 11) at the same time as this debate on Bantu expansion became reinvigorated within historical evidence in the 1950s. Arguably Torday’s work with oral histories (yet to be fully explored in an historical sense beyond this thesis) and his anthropological work (yet to be incorporated into the mainstay of the history of anthropology) did contribute to the origins of this Bantu debate: not only did he have his own theories about Kuba origins in the Lake Chad area but the Kuba oral

⁹² In addition, Vansina’s article, “Bantu in the Crystal Ball” neatly outlines the proto-academic developments of this debate throughout the early twentieth century (Vansina 1979).

histories he collected also contributed to issues about more local interconnections and the movement of peoples within the area of south central Congo.

Conclusion

This chapter took a look at a final encounter that was relatively muted in comparison to the reports of other encounters within the expedition's outputs. It was important to outline this process of silencing contact between certain peoples, in order to present Torday's connection between the Lele and the Kuba as largely ideological, and theoretical. In other words, it was real experience/versus ideological experience that influenced the development of knowledge production. As such, both Torday and the Kuba-Bushong's role in promoting a certain vision of the Kasai and its peoples has become clear. The final chapter will be a summary of the thesis: looking once more at the relationship between the micro and the macro in the production of historical knowledge and the history of encounter. Torday's/ethnography's role in the larger narratives of 'history writing' and 'colonialism' will be once more evaluated.

Conclusion

Torday is almost entirely ignored as a figure within the history of anthropology. His absence is most noticeable within the accounting of British anthropology in the twentieth century. Yet Hilton Simpson's remarks about Torday in his obituary reveal how important a contemporaneous figure he was:

[Torday's] works have, themselves, spoken to the scientific world. Those great volumes on "Les Bushongo" and "Peuplade de la forêt—Peuplades des Prairies" (written in collaboration with T.A. Joyce of the British Museum) and his monumental compilation "African Races," published by the Trustees of the late Herbert Spencer, are surely masterpieces of their kind, and will constitute a fitting monument to his memory [...] His work on the Council of the R.A.I (of which he was a Rivers Medallist) and at the British Museum will not readily be forgotten (Hilton Simpson 1932, 48).

T.A. Joyce's obituary makes a similar point: "[t]he results [of the fieldwork expedition], published by the Belgian Government, speak for themselves" (Joyce 1932, 48). Indeed, the assumption that his works would "speak for themselves" (i.e. without recognition of Torday himself) was perhaps correct. Before John Mack's exhibition in 1990, Torday's name was largely mentioned only in brief, often in captions of the many items he collected. His collections are so prolific and of such fine quality that they are frequently used to illustrate larger points about the art history or anthropology of Central Africa. Torday's name and the works he collected are regularly mentioned in articles in the journal *African Arts* (e.g. Rosenwald 1974;

Adams 1978, 1988; Claerhout 1976; Binkley 2010; McNaughton 1978; Macgaffey 2010; Bourgeois 1978; Picton 2010, etc). As mentioned throughout the thesis, Torday's written works have been transmitted into art-historical surveys and mined for facts about the ethnography of the people of the Kasai basin. It is revealing that it was only after the 1990 exhibition that an essay on Torday appeared in the *Dictionary of National Biography* for the first time (also by John Mack).

This thesis has looked to move beyond the use of Torday's work as a flat referencing device of timeless ethnographic information and to look further into the dynamics of its production, rooted in particular moments of social interaction. This thesis has aimed to challenge the 'pristine' ethnographic setting that was presented by Torday, and further transmitted to museums and institutions in Europe. As argued, this 'muddling' of the ethnographic reality took the form of detailing daily interactions, examining the complexities of language and translation, looking at precise locations, naming individuals and reinserting smaller scales of time into the expedition context.

In the introduction, it was stated that larger narratives such as 'colonialism' and 'history writing' could be re-examined through this case study. This conclusion will revisit a number of points arising across the chapters to summarise the value of a study of Torday's expedition within larger narratives and thereby the implications of this micro-study for macro-history. The main focus will be the relationship between trade and ethnography. This discussion will incorporate a review of the dates of formal colonial occupation versus more informal notions of occupation through a certain type of trade. As part of this, the role of Torday's work among the Lele and Wongo, who had defied all types of direct trade with Europeans before Torday's crossed their country in 1909, will be explored. The role of Torday's work in 'history writing,' his contribution to Africanist scholarship - and thus the contribution of his informants and the field work context - will conclude the chapter.

Trade, ethnography and occupation

As Vansina stated in a review of John Mack (1991), Torday and his peer Frobenius collected over 8000 artefacts between them. He asks, what was the commercial impact of such huge collecting activity? (Vansina 1991). Certainly, the description outlined in Chapters Four to Six indicates a huge surge in trading activity during the two years of the expedition. The trade in ethnographic artefacts, often in villages and 'on the hoof' whilst travelling, was complemented by that conducted from the verandas of the agents of trading enterprises. In effect, the latter context incorporated ethnographic collecting within the networks of trade and colonial ambition that had exploded in the 1900s with the rubber trade.

Torday's life trajectory - his career as a trader, scholar and ethnographer - embodies both aspects of ethnography and trading, and shows how these two processes could feed one another. The early history of the trading posts presented in Chapter Three demonstrated the larger system within which ethnography functioned. It illuminated aspects of language learning, trade and bargaining, creating and developing markets and demand (of which, of course, art objects were a part), developing relationships, labelling and representing. It illuminated the very recent development in the establishment of new trading posts and new relationships, which gradually sought to integrate the Lele into this phase of direct trading with varying degrees of success between 1900s and 1910s. Chapter Three looked at the notion of resistance, and how and why Europeans were only able to establish posts sporadically and by no means always successfully on the right bank of the Kasai River. It was noted that posts on the Loange River were only developed from 1905 onwards. Thus, what is set up is a potential challenge to the narratives of colonialism that might seek to assign specific dates to the chronology of occupation and control across the region. Furthermore, the kind of detailed ethnographic documentation with which Torday was engaged adds to understanding of the nature of this occupation and had its role in the ultimate establishment of hegemonic control. In that light, I argue, Torday's work has much more relevance in the history of colonial occupation than has been acknowledged before.

Classically, the dates assigned to colonial occupation are 1885 (the date of the Berlin Conference) and 1908 (the date of the annexation of the Congo Free State to Belgium). However, historical literature (Stengers 1985, Martin 1983, Vansina 2010 especially), has long shown these dates to be of little significance in terms of the various activities on the ground. In addition, it has been stated that the Kasai experienced the abuses of the 'colonial regime' later than other areas, especially those within the King's *régime dominale* (Hoschild 1999; Vansina 2010). While trade was certainly carried out indirectly with the Lele, European failure to establish direct trading relationships with the Lele and Wongo in the 1900s meant that the principal colonial apparatus - trading posts - had failed to establish any presence at all until 1905/6 (and even this was at Dumba on the periphery). As archival research on the Lele has shown, it is the definition of 'occupation', and perhaps even 'colonial regime', that is problematic. The establishment of a trade monopoly was a complex and patchy process, for both African and European agents. It required increasingly complex exchanges between ethnographers/traders/ administrators and their 'subjects' in a matrix of important forces looking to control the rivers, and with it the flows of materials, wealth and resources. It also required the recording, detailing and establishment of the very things that also preoccupied Torday in the narratives he collected from his favoured, elite, African informants.

Torday's ethnographic aims distinctly coincided with, indeed were developed alongside, the aims of trade. In his own career he personifies the link between these two larger processes. Although recognised in the historical literature that it was Euro-African trade that pre-dated 'actual occupation,' (Martin 1983) it has become clear that the process of trade to an extent *was* occupation. According to Vansina (2010), for the Kuba the decade of 1890-1900 saw relative prosperity and a certain amount of freedom in setting the terms of trade with Europeans. All this changed with the establishment of the Compagnie du Kasai in 1901 and their subsequent trade monopoly from 1903 until around 1910. These years saw a crisis in the succession of the Kuba *Nyimis* and a mass rebellion in and around the capital, a deterioration in relationships between the *Nyimi* and his own subjects and between

the *Nyimis* and Europeans. Once trading posts were installed in large number, the terms of trade were set in favour of European profits. If into the early 1900s, the Compagnie du Kasai was to establish a monopoly over the Kasai region (Vansina 2010), it was looking to expand its reach into areas it was yet to trade with directly. This kind of trade required more detailed knowledge about local systems of value, trade, and who or what it was that set the terms of trade. While the literature has generally attributed limited 'ethnographic' value to the work Torday carried out among the Lele (Mack 1990), a close examination of its context has illuminated another contemporaneous significance - to furnish colonial trading interests with vital information. In establishing the intense desire of the Compagnie du Kasai and the colonial state to access the south-west in the years immediately before the expedition (Chapter Three), it is evident that all information of the type favoured by ethnographers was also of importance to the establishment of direct trading relationships favouring Europeans.

The micro-history of the Lele in this period makes the point. Torday and Hilton Simpson left behind a detailed record of the encounters they had among various southern Lele villages. During the expedition, and without the direct presence of trade posts, the Lele were afforded a certain amount of agency in determining the value of both their labour and their goods in their transactions with Torday. The 'history of encounter' presented in Chapter Six evidenced the role of local people in determining the value of ethnographic objects being collected, dictating the information available for early maps, and determining the content of the first visual sources to be transmitted to Europe. The unpublished sources from the expedition have also left intriguing traces of material transactions and have evidenced the incorporation of the Lele and Wongo people into the world economy, at a date earlier than that given by Torday or the historical literature.

History writing: silencing and recording

Given the enormous amount of work that has been done on the Kuba Kingdom and their art history since Torday's time, it is easy to forget that for Torday and his peers

they too, at one time, constituted an 'unknown' entity in the scholarly works of Europe and the museum collections around the globe. Joyce writes that he and Torday "raised the funds for an expedition to a particular area which, from indications then available, appeared to be a culture-centre" (Joyce 1932, 48). The subtitle of Torday's work *On the Trail of the Bushongos* is revealing of the previously 'unknown' position of the Kuba in the 1900s: "an account of the remarkable and *hitherto unknown* African people, their origin, art, high social and political organisation and culture, derived from the author's personal experience amongst them [emphasis author's own]" (Torday 1925). We saw in Chapter One that despite some early presence of Kuba art works in Europe, such collections were little celebrated until 1910. Thus, the intensive detail and care Torday took to record various versions of oral traditions and the collecting of vast and historically symbolic items marked a watershed in the recording of Kuba history, and a remarkable contribution to those narratives outlined in the final chapter (Chapter Seven) that continue to permeate the understanding of African history. In a broader context, the role of fieldwork, which in some instance emerged before the parameters of the discipline of anthropology were set out, incorporates Torday within the history of knowledge production in Africa.

One issue that has arisen in this examination of Torday is where to place his work and his role in the history of anthropology and knowledge about Africa. This is especially difficult in Torday's case because of the loosely defined parameters of the proto-academic nature of much early anthropological fieldwork and because of Torday's two roles as, firstly, a trader and, secondly, an ethnographer-envoy of the British Museum. Yet, placing him is an important pursuit: Torday certainly played a formative part in the shaping of the discipline and his perspectives have been broadcast and reiterated in Congolese and European narratives about Kuba history and society. It is important to remember that Torday was conducting ethnographic fieldwork at a time before the full professionalisation of anthropology occurred (largely the 1930s). John Mack's (1990) monograph about Torday distinctly describes Torday as an anthropologist, despite him never having gained a professional chair at

a University, or a role as a curator in a museum. This thesis has reiterated and expanded these statements by looking in closer detail at Torday's approach throughout, with the additional advantage of new developments in the history of knowledge production about Africa in the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries that help contextualise Torday's approach beyond the traditional outlines of the "official" history of anthropology (see Harries and Maxwell's crucial volume for revisions to this subject 2012). Much like missionary ethnographers from other areas of Africa, as John Cinnamon (2006) outlines, they provided "expert knowledge...but are generally relegated to the footnotes of academic anthropology" (Cinnamon 2006, 413).

Where Torday differs somewhat from such a context is that, unlike "unfashionable missionary ethnographers" (Maxwell and Harries 2012) Torday did receive some contemporary acclaim from leading anthropologists of the day for his work, especially his later work during the expedition of 1907-1909. This makes his neglect from official histories slightly more puzzling. However, Torday did favour local perspectives over those of 'foreigners', and, while his work was systematic ethnographically in the early years, it was T.A. Joyce at the British Museum that largely drove its theoretical structure. Torday was, by and large, an empiricist. Perhaps the answer to this neglect is the same reason behind why Torday's work can be so difficult to place within any given *genre* or *Zeitgeist*: he wore many hats and played multiple roles. This means that his work at various times, even during the 1907-1909 expedition, fluctuates somewhere between professional anthropologist (as outlined by the early proponents of the discipline at least), and non-professional fieldworkers who promoted local conceptions where possible. In addition, unlike other ethnographers, the very bedrock of Torday's methods came from his role as a trader. Torday thus personifies the role of these 'non-anthropological' experiences in the formation of the discipline. Torday's work fits in some respects with the work of missionary ethnographers and colonialists and traders who claim to speak on behalf of African people; that is, exceptional characters who published prolific and detailed studies 'on behalf' of African peoples they were living among. However, Torday

was attempting to climb the professional ranks of anthropology; he did have ethnographic/professional aims while in Congo 1907-1909; but in the end he remained consistent in his view developed when he was a trader that engaging with the richness of local language and cultures was the crucial precondition in producing 'authentic' knowledge. In that way, he was an early proponent of the fieldwork tradition in British anthropology.

Many parallels can indeed be drawn between Torday and those who conducted extended fieldwork. It is revealing that both Basden, a "missionary ethnographer" who worked in Nigeria (see van den Bersselaar 2012) and Torday, produced works embraced as reference tools by local scholars, non-academics, as well as and modern-day Africanists. Looking at the broader trajectories of knowledge production generated by missionaries, van den Bersselaar writes that "we need to contextualise [the work of such scholars] not in the first place within the 'official history' of anthropology, but rather within specific emerging localised traditions of anthropological knowledge production" (2012, 137). Torday's work, like Basden's for the Igbo cultures he was studying, was deeply rooted in local (largely Kuba, elite) contexts and needs to be understood in these terms. Van den Bersselaar's assessment is entirely relevant to Torday's approach to anthropological fieldwork and puts his work in the context of those (missionaries and so on) who advocated the work that was produced by extended periods among the peoples being studied. Torday claims to value local knowledge above any other, and attempted to give his work legitimacy by emphasising his extensive, extended, periods among African peoples and stressing his involved relationships with them. This thesis has investigated these claims by using Hilton Simpson's diary for an insight into Torday's methods during the expedition. And, perhaps because these works are often deeply rooted in local knowledge production contexts, they are embraced by Igbo and Kuba scholars and non-academics respectively. These men, Basden and Torday - and others like them - in fact advocated the research they were generating in these local contexts over theoretical and academic practices developing in the metropole (van den Bersselaar 2012). The long, detailed, studies produced by both Basden and Torday are still used

as reference tools by modern-day scholars because of the richness of information they provided (van den Bersselaar 2012) and, perhaps, *because* certain 'fashionable' theories that have fallen out of favour today are somewhat absent as the guiding principles of their work. Parallels can be made with the way in which the research was carried out by these different European fieldworkers, for all their differences, because of sustained engagement with local versions of knowledge production.

Torday attempted at all times to engage with people, especially African people. He greatly admired the large and locally revered Kuba-Bushong ruling class and the individuals who shared their knowledge of the past, their Kingdom and their material culture. Torday heard Kuba-Bushong histories, about the great leader 'Shamba' who travelled across the country to various neighbouring people, bringing back innovative new materials and products such as weaving and embroidery. He learnt of the banning of a throwing knife, symbolic of bringing peace and respect in the wider region. Torday's theories on the relationship between the Kuba and their neighbours have remained pertinent in the historical and art-historical scholarship about the Kuba. The thesis explores this encounter in order to see how these relationships were presented to Today, and why. It emerged that the Kuba leadership was under threat during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, so the monarchy looked back to a time when they controlled the trade in the area, and were thus (in an ideal depiction at least) the most powerful entity in the Kasai. The *ndop* and the *shongo* knife helped to materialise these connections. The Kuba connected the Lele to themselves through origin histories, as ancient kinsmen during the first migration, thus expressing their historical connection (and former right to tributes). Torday, too, was happy to hear about a former heyday, as he was looking for connections between people that eradicated modern or colonising influences. Armed with these expectations, as he moved toward the Lele he was also looking for connections and similarities to prove his/the Kuba monarchy's theory of migration and surviving connections. He anticipated revealing what the Kuba were like before the changes of European influences, in their [Lele] 'ancestral' home; a living

'primitive' version of a now transformed 'nation' at the high point of 'civilisation' (the Kuba).

Involved in this encounter was an attempt to rectify the damning reputation of the Lele in the early colonial sources. This was done in part by attributing Lele collections and history to the "culture centre" that was the Kuba. In addition, the Lele were Torday's ideal cultural survival, they were 'pre-contact' and had not been 'tainted' by European influence, as the Kuba had. Returning to the quotation that opened this thesis, the Lele were examples of Torday's "documents" being "the living people themselves" (Torday 1925, 17). While among the Kuba Torday and the *Nyimi* looked back in time, in a sense drawing a veil over the present-day scenario, among the Lele Torday looked in the present, hoping to find a living present-day 'untainted' version of Bushong culture. Torday searched for the structures of kingship and tradition that he had found among the Kuba; those that he figured were enduring and everlasting. He failed to find a 'great chief' among the Lele and hence did not make a 'royal collection' or record any of the vital "tribal traditions" (oral traditions) that he needed to generate information (Torday 1925, 17). This encounter involved specific material transactions and observations that were guided by the oral histories of the Kuba-Bushong.

The indisputable endurance of the Kuba-Bushong narrative over all others could be seen as an inevitable outcome of their long and successful ruling dynasty, their sophisticated arts, their material wealth and their strategic position in trade, for example. However, as Vansina himself has demonstrated, civil war, economic crises and quick and rapid changes in royal succession, dominated the early decades of the twentieth century for the Bushong dynasty (Vansina 2010, 44). Despite this, their presentation by Europeans, and themselves, was one of enduring dynastic power and economic strength. These presentations in themselves arguably 'revived' the Bushong dynasty and cemented their position. It is important here not to claim that this image of the past was untrue in some way, but just simply to point out that it is a perspective, and one put forward by an elite group with a vested interest in

remaining powerful, or even restoring power. Whether he realised it or not, in recording and promoting it Torday was playing his own role in bolstering the dynasty. History-telling and history-writing also serves a political purpose.

We have seen, in Chapter Three, how the Lele people were outside the physical and ideological political space of the Congo Free State, not featuring on maps drawn up of the area until the time Torday's expedition returned. This chapter was primarily about silences in the archival material, and the results that ensue from representation of culture from a peripheral position. The main question was: what was known about the Lele and Wongo people before Torday arrived? Was their reputation for violence justifiable according to the historical records? What sort of images and ideas arise from such a position? It was essentially an examination of representation at a distance - sources that were at a great length physically and ideologically from an engagement or a dialogue with the people that lived in this part of the Kasai Basin. This led, I argue, to a sort of atypical colonial representation of the Lele and Wongo as culturally un-distinct. A positioning of the Lele and Wongo within a larger narrative of centre and periphery, controllable and uncontrollable, powerful and powerless was at play. The Lele were set in contrast to other peoples as the bearers of arrows and thereby of violence, living in an area that was hostile to Europeans. The Lele were cast to the outskirts of representation. This image was largely transformed by Torday's work on the Kuba-Bushong, which affiliated the Lele as directly related to the Kuba in history, as an integral part of Kuba-Bushong origins and etiological origins. There was only a limited advancement on the image of the Lele as 'faceless' rebels to the colonial regime.

The secondary role of the Lele in relation to the Kuba has to an extent persisted even as Lele studies have advanced. After her fieldwork in Lele country in the 1960s, Mary Douglas still wrote that "Torday's impression, that Lele are an outpost of Kuba-Bushong culture, is true" (Douglas 1963). Mary Douglas uses this assumption as a springboard in examining the relative poverty of the Lele people in comparison with the neighbouring Kuba in her article "Lele Economy Compared with the

Bushong: a Study of Economic Backwardness," for example (Douglas 1964). Here she compares the similar environments and habitats of the Kuba Bushong yet states that in the development of a complex economy, and a sophistication in the arts, the Kuba had surpassed the Lele. However, this thesis has demonstrated the relatively distinct experiences of the Kuba and the Lele during the early years of colonialism. This thesis has also looked at the relative separation of the Kuba-Bushong and the Lele in the trade networks of pre-and post-colonial Congo Free State in 1900s but noted a proclaimed *historical* connection between the Lele and the Kuba-Bushong (pre-twentieth century). Thus, Torday's assumption that Douglas took forward is based upon an assumed ongoing connectivity between the Lele and the Bushong. It is thus pertinent to examine where, how and when these connections were first made (or rather, reified). The narratives put forward by Torday has implications for later comparative social anthropologies of the region that looked for the sociological origins of social disruption, poverty, development and underdevelopment and labour and productivity.

The final chapter looked to examine what the Torday material tells us about a Chokwe presence in the area, something which was entirely at odds with the 'pre-contact' Lele people presented in the published sources. The Chokwe, of course, had been in contact with Europeans for two hundred years, and, as a result, were presented negatively in the expedition's outputs. The final part of this chapter looked to examine in detail Torday's role in the historiography of the Congo. While there was no sub-discipline of African history in Torday's time, the origins of the historical methodologies and resulting theories that came about through proto-academic fieldwork are evident in the Bantu migration myths that characterised treatments of the African past within European scholarship.

As stated in the introduction, Vansina (2007) has gone as far to say that the survival of the Kuba realm throughout the twentieth century is partly the result of the recognition of their arts. He attributes the survival of the Kuba as a viable kingdom to this and a centralised government at the time of the arrival of

colonialists. Yet in his 2010 work Vansina seems to question the strength of Kuba governance in the opening years of the twentieth century during the arrival of the colonialists (which we have shown was much later in the Kasai than in other areas). However, the examination of the Emil Torday expedition suggests that it is *the presentation* of a centralised government to outsiders such as Torday, *along with* the collection, publication and display of artefacts that were given art status, that ensured this survival. The transmission of this knowledge to Europe, co-produced in this case within a fieldwork context, fixed the colonial boundaries around a particular dynastic, historical vision. Generating - rightly or wrongly - external perceptions that the Kuba were different from other Congolese peoples in terms of the coherence of their kingdom contributed, I argue, to the survival of Kuba-Nyimiship throughout the twentieth-century and onwards to the present day.

Figures

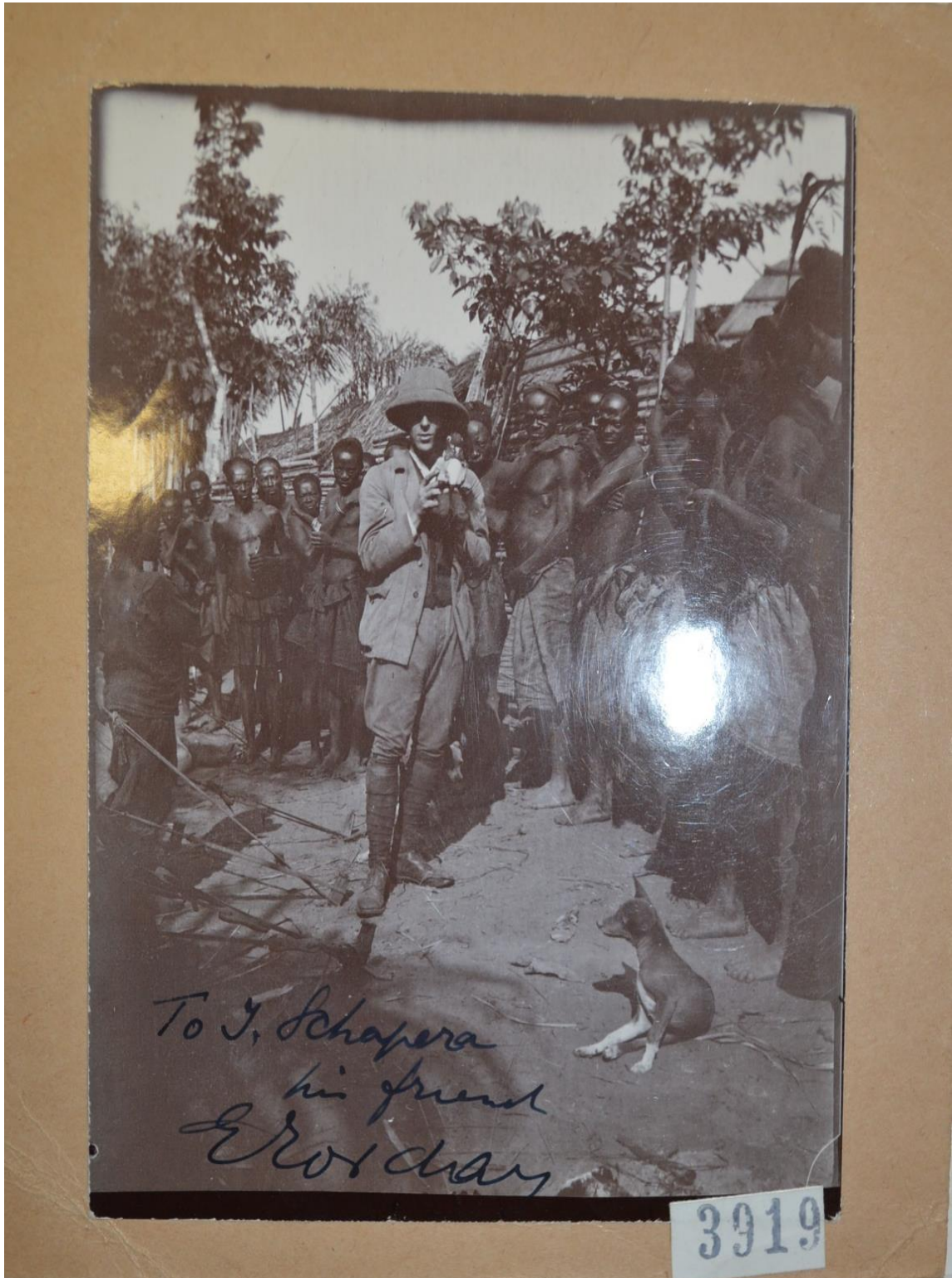


Figure 1. Photograph: Emil Torday, 1909. Taken by Melville Hilton Simpson in a Lele village, Kasai, Belgian Congo. Printed and held in the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI).

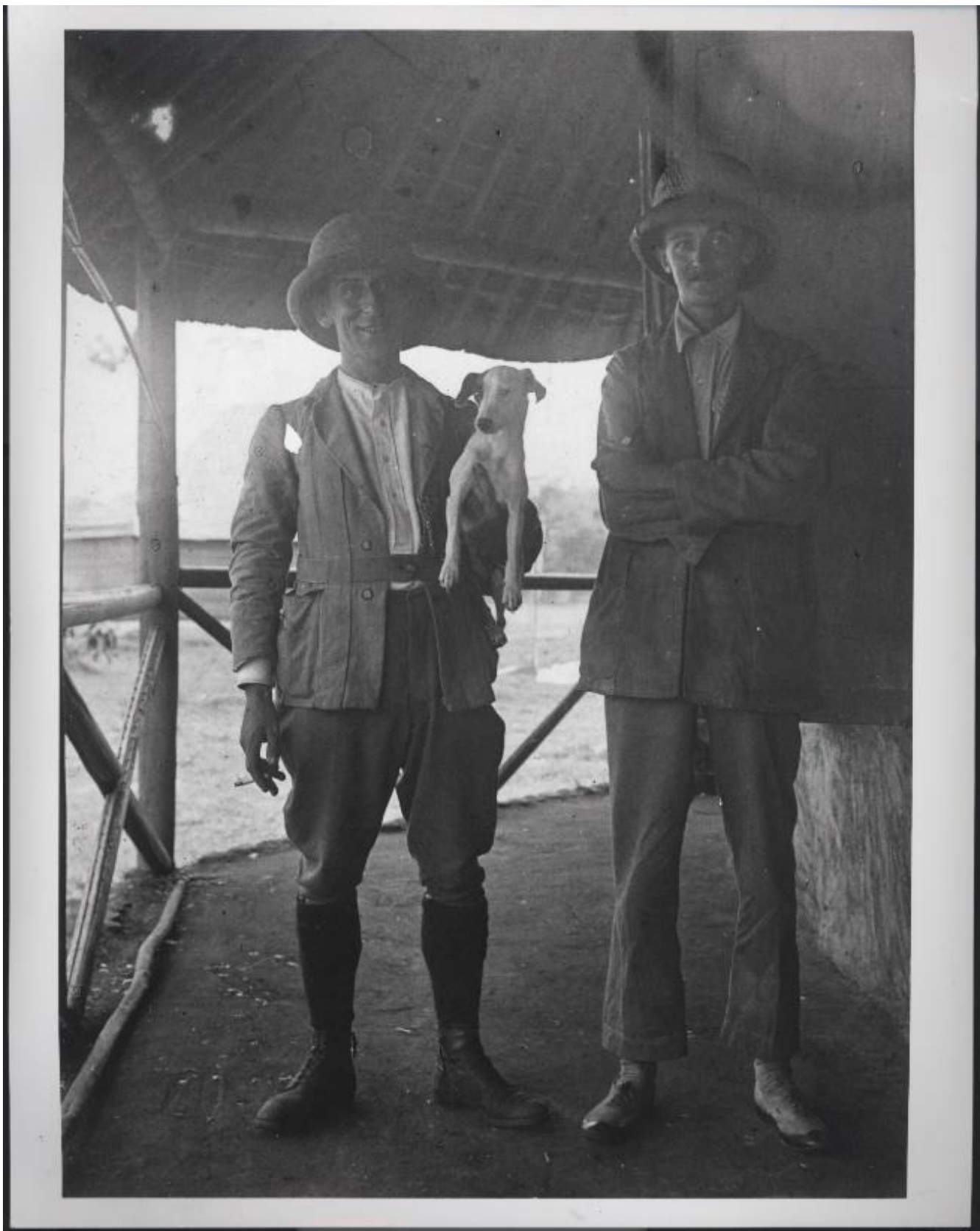
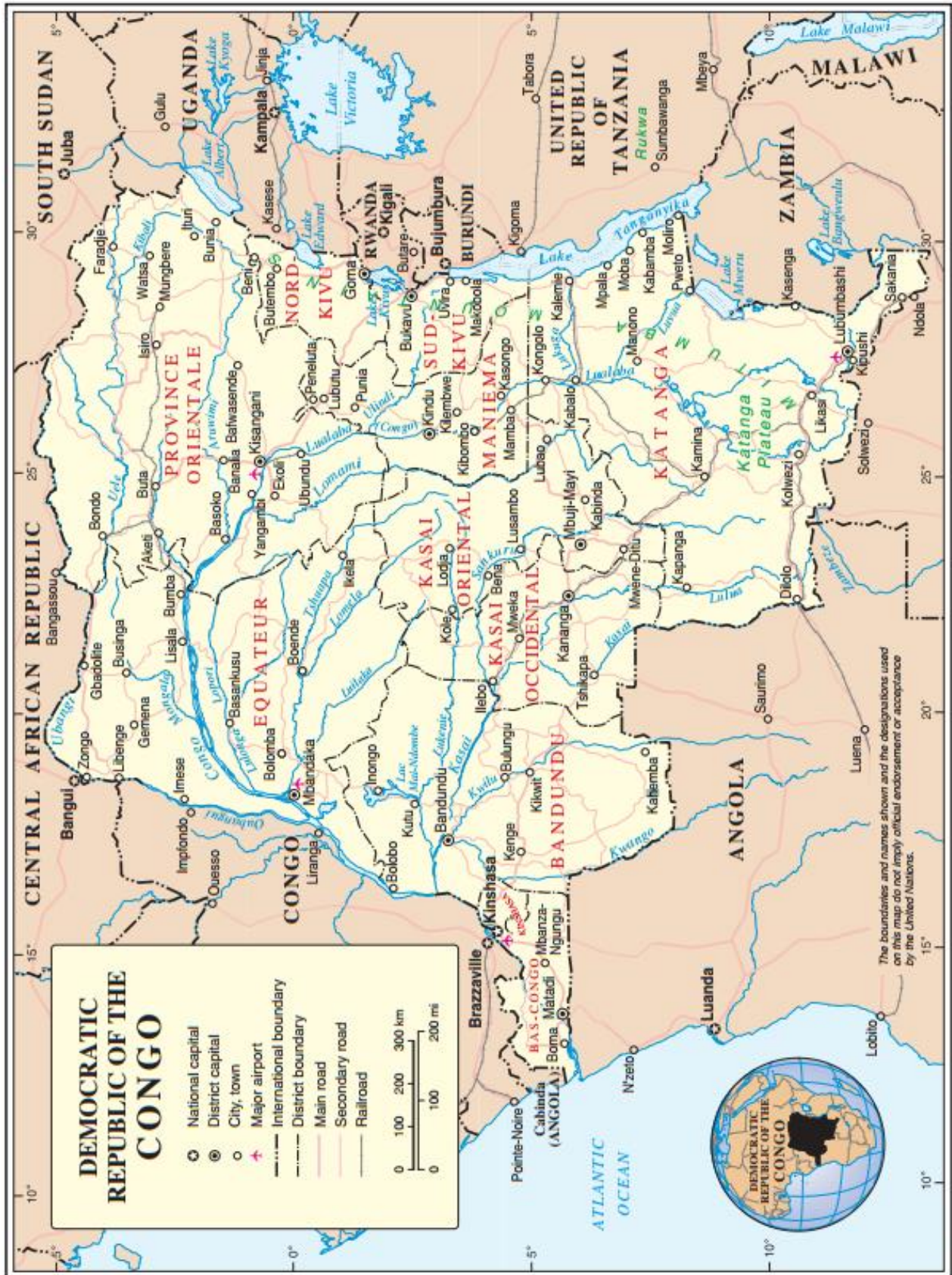


Figure 2. Photograph: Torday and Hilton Simpson. Photograph courtesy of the British Museum (BM).



Department of Field Support
Cartographic Section

Figure 3. United Nations. 2011. Map of Democratic Republic of Congo. Accessed online at: <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/drcongo.pdf>.

Lele and Wongo Collection, British Museum

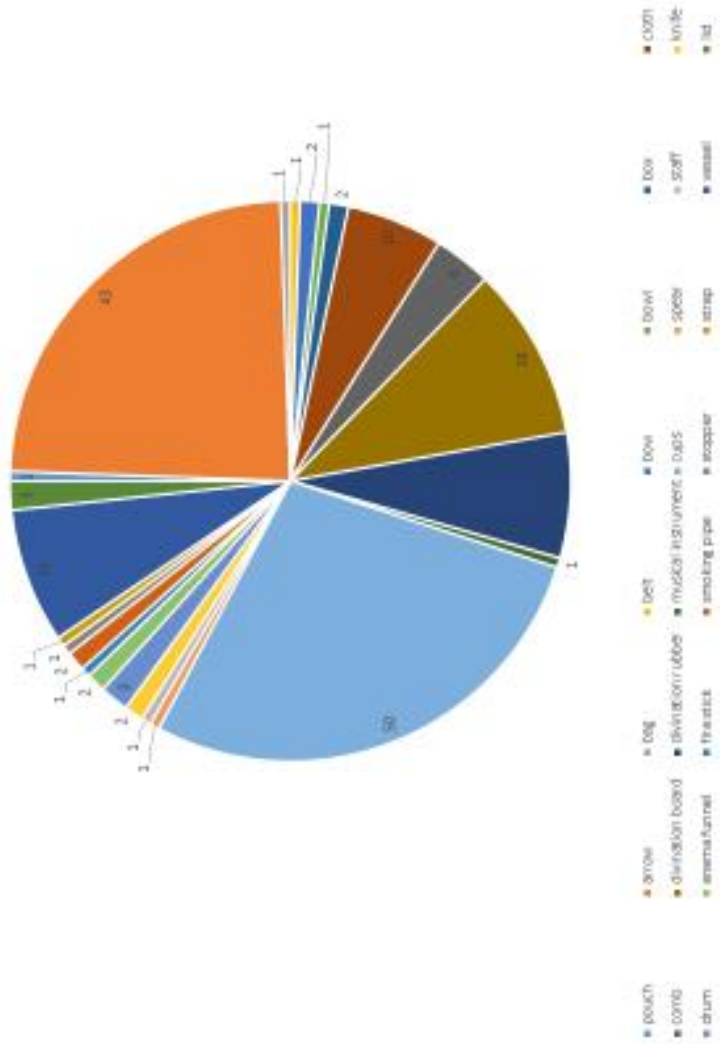


Figure 4. Pie chart of Lele items at the British Museum.



Figure 5. Photograph: Indigenous Art room, ca. 1937, HP.2002.1.18, Royal Museum of Central Africa (RMCA). Note the centrally displayed Kuba royal statue, or ndop (Van Beurden 2013, 13).



Figure 6. Hans Kauffman, illustrator (Ratzel 1898). Caption reads: "Artistic Productions of the Southern Congo People. Benalusamba cups of carved wood, Baluba do. Batetela do. Basongomino double cup. Bakuba covered basket (Berlin Museum)."



Figure 7. Michaux 1913.

Above: Photograph of three cups (Michaux 1913, 265). Caption reads “goblets in carved wood from the Kasai and Sankuru region.” Accessed online at the Ross Archive of African Images www.raai.yale.edu on 22.

Below: Photograph of 6 cups from the British Museum Collection (Torday and Joyce 1910, figure 289, 200). Caption reads: “Coupes, a, b, c, d, e, Bakongo [Wongo] and Bashilele.”



Figure 8. Emil Torday (circa 1900). Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Geography, Budapest.

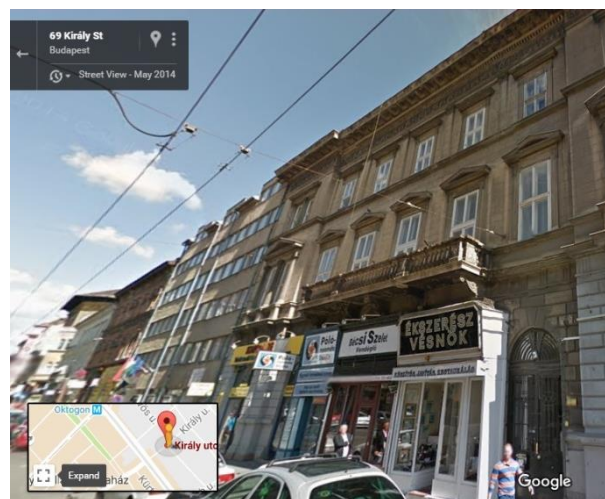


Figure 9. 2016. Google Maps. Torday's first family home, 74 Kiraly utca.



Figure 10. About to board the boat from Southampton. October 1st 1907 (HS v.1, 2). Photograph courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 11. Photograph: The Leopoldville ship being built in Kinshasa, 1907 (HS v.1, 27). This is the mouth of the Congo River. Photograph courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 12. Hilton Simpson. The Steamer from Kinshasa to Boma (HS v1, 32). Caption reads: "our steamer." Photograph courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 13. Family photographs. Top left: Caia Rose Macdonald (Torday). Top Right: Caia Rose Macdonald (Torday). Bottom left: Caia Rose Macdonald (Torday) and her mother. Bottom Right: Ursula Torday. Following pages: a family outing and various rooms in Torday's London home. Photographs courtesy of the RAI.









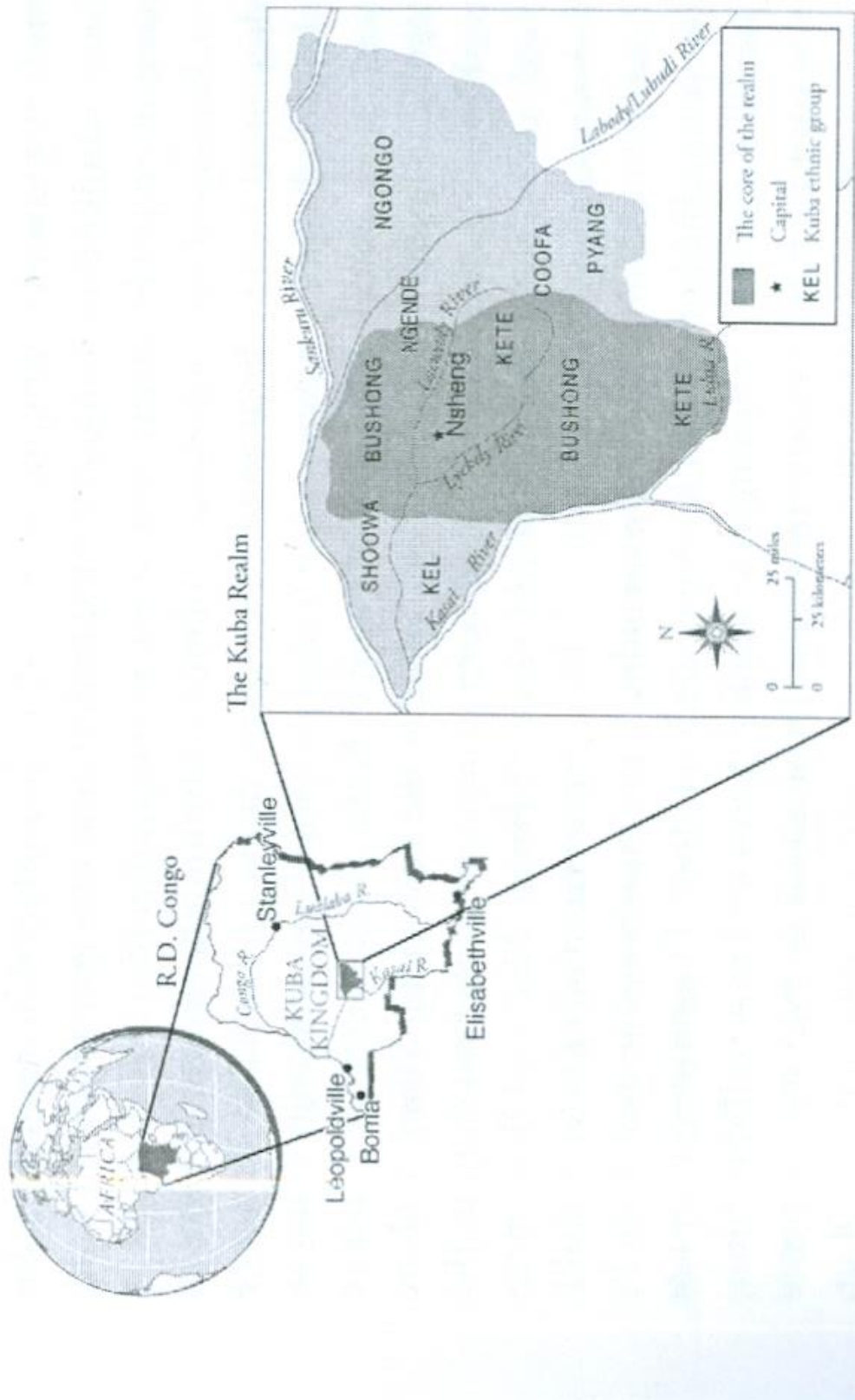


Figure 14. Map of the Kuba Realm (Vansina 2010, 7).

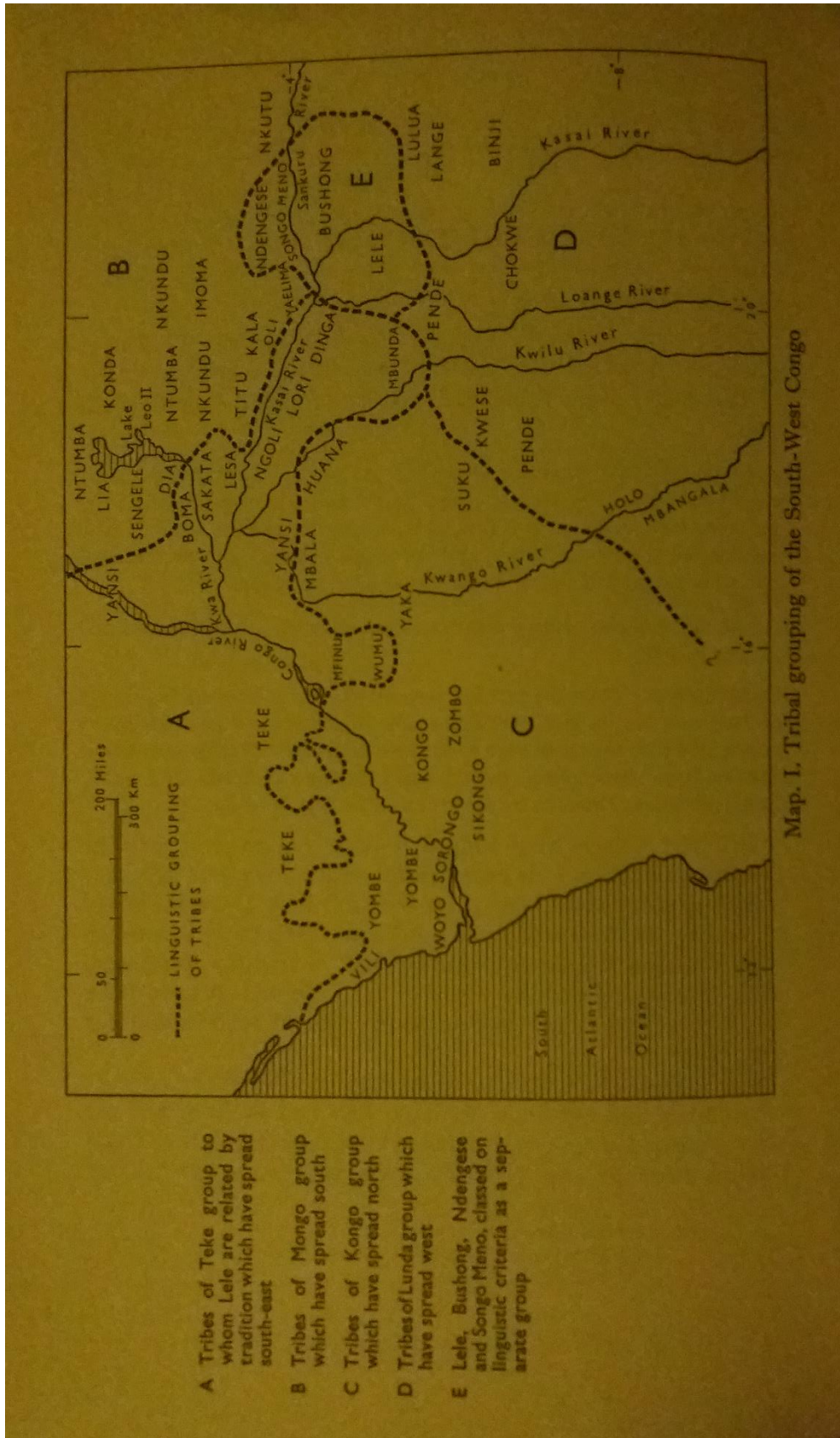


Figure 16. "Tribal Groupings of South West Kasai" (Douglas 1963, map 1).

Étapes			
après 135	de marche	beach village	Titiméle RG
4	de marche	"	RG
110	"	"	Mitongue RG
1	"	"	Kapanga RD
225	"	"	Huile RG
1	"	"	Ancien emplacement faul Benguta RD
130	"	"	village Benguta RD
515	"	"	Kassaka RG
240	"	"	Koumou Batouga RD, RG
245	"	"	Boulouga RD
2	"	1	Mabile RD
30	"	2	do RD
6	"	"	Kaghob faclou r B village RD, S
430	"	"	R Guille bouga RG
345	"	"	Kabuete RD
430	"	"	Bachi Kimpouga RG
420	"	"	Boul ancêtre faul RG
245	"	"	Bou Mechande RD
30	"	"	Bachi Momondy RD
330	"	"	Biche Bou RG, RD
530	"	"	Bou menime RD
4	"	"	Bachi Bechouga Kaken RD, arch
620	"	"	Bechouga menime RD
1	"	"	baie village (beach) /
330	"	"	Dumba anc faul RG, arch
2	"	"	village Baboude RG
5	"	"	Pienqui anc faul RG
4	"	1	Macille RD
1	"	2	" RD
1	"	"	bane de sable RD
30	"	3	Macalle RD
315	"	1	Calouga RD
115	"	2	do RD
430	"	"	Couinga RD
220	"	"	Dilembe RD
130	"	"	Macache RG
380	"	"	Sibau RD
280	"	"	Bane de sable RG, S
4	"	"	Kou boubi RD
40	"	"	Tchitimbe RD, S
10	"	"	Pili RD, S
10	"	"	Dimbouga RD
8	"	"	menime RD

Figure 17. Hohnman's 'étapes' (RMCA HA.01.066). Highlighted is Dumba. RG= Rive Gauche (left bank of the river) and RD= Rive Droite, right bank of the River. The numbers denote the length of time it takes to march from one to another. Photograph courtesy of the RMCA.

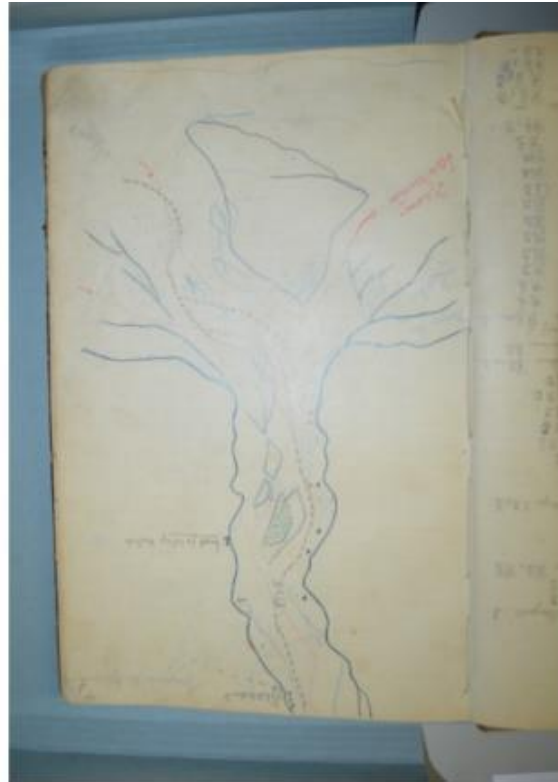


Figure 18. A sample of Hohmann's drawings of the Loange River. These two separate pages from his notebook have been stitched together in order to give a sense of the overall look of the drawings. In total there are 39 pages drawn of the map held together in a notebook. Photographs courtesy of the RMCA (HA.01.066).

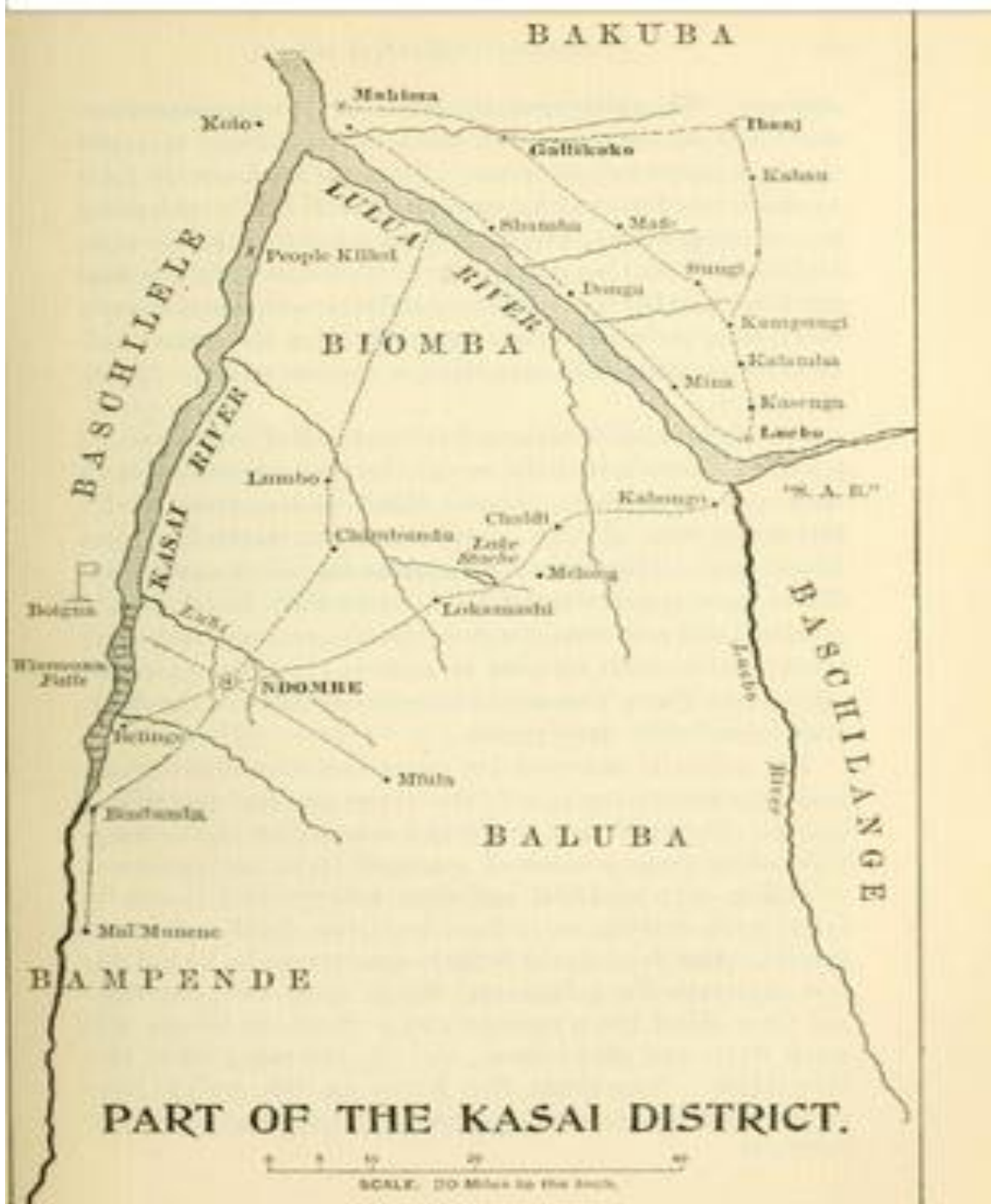


Figure 19. Map of "Part of the Kasai District" (Verner 1903, 78). Note the "Baschilele" label on the left (west) bank of the Kasai.

Af1910.0420.102
 a. Divination board
 b. Divination rubber
 Wongo and Lele
 Length: 30cm
 Height: 5.5cm



Af1910.0420.103
 a. Divination Board
 b. Divination Rubber
 Wongo and Lele
 Length: 33.5cm
 Height: 6.5cm



Figure 20. Lele and Wongo divination boards, *itombwa*. British Museum Collection. Photographs, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, courtesy of the BM.

Af1910.0420.104
 a. Divination Board
 b. Divination Rubber
 Wongo and Lele
 Length: 28.5cm
 Height: 7cm



Af1910.0420.105
 a. Divination Board
 b. Divination Rubber
 Lele and Wongo
 Length: 33.5cm
 Height: 6cm



Figure 21. Lele and Wongo divination boards, *itombwa*. British Museum Collection. Photographs, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, Courtesy of the BM.

Af1910.0420.106
 a. Divination Board
 b. Divination Rubber
 Wongo and Lele
 Length: 35
 Height: 6



Af1910.0420.107
 a. Divination Board
 b. Divination Rubber
 Wongo and Lele
 Length: 32.5cm
 Height: 7cm



Figure 22. Lele and Wongo divination boards, *itombwa*. British Museum Collection. Photographs, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, Courtesy of the BM.

Af1910.0420.109
 Divination Board
 and rubber
 Wongo and Lele
 Length 30cm
 Height: 5 cm



Af1910.0420.110
 a. Divination Board
 b. Divination rubber
 Wongo and Lele
 Length: 24.5 cm
 Height: 6.5 cm



Figure 23. Lele and Wongo divination boards, *itombwa*. British Museum Collection. Photographs, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, courtesy of the BM.

Af1910.0420.111
 a. Divination Board
 b. Divination rubber
 Wongo and Lele
 Length: 24.5cm
 Height: 6.5cm



Af1910.0420.112
 a. Divination Board
 b. Divination Rubber
 Length: 26cm
 Height: 7cm
 Wongo and Lele



Figure 24. Lele and Wongo divination boards, *itombwa*. British Museum Collection. Photographs, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, Courtesy of the BM.

Af1910.0420.113
 a. Divination figure
 b. Divination rubber
 Wongo and Lele
 Length: 27.5cm
 Height: 7.5cm



Af1910.0420.114
 Divination Board
 (no rubber)
 Wongo and Lele
 Length: 27.5 cm
 Height: 7.5cm



Figure 25. Lele and Wongo divination boards, *itombwa*. British Museum Collection. Photographs, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, Courtesy of the BM. Above: crocodile [?] Below: bush pig [?]

Af1910.0420.115
Divination Board
(no rubber)
Wongo and Lele
Length: 27.5cm
Height: 7.5cm



Figure 26. Lele and Wongo divination board, *itombwa*. British Museum Collection. Photograph, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, Courtesy of the BM.

10.70
 i) Divination Board
 ii) Divination
 Rubber
 Wongo
 Horniman collections



1910-1-163
 Divination Board
 Divination Rubber
 Pitt River's Collection
 Wongo

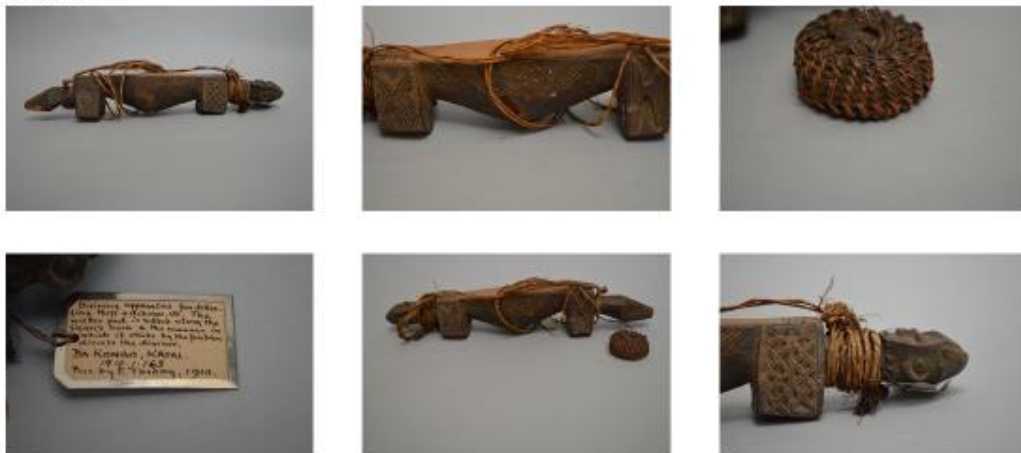


Figure 27. Wongo [“bakongo”] divination boards, *itombwa*. Above: Horniman Collection. Photograph, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, Courtesy of the Horniman Museum (HM). Below: Pitt Rivers Museum Collection. Photograph, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, Courtesy of the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM).

1908 TY 147
Divination board, *itombwa*
Kuba



1908 TY 146
Divination board, *itombwa*
Kuba-Ngendi



Figure 28. Kuba and Kuba-Ngendi divination boards. British Museum Collection. Photograph, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, courtesy of the BM.

1909 Ty 681
Divination board, *itombwa*.
Kuba-Ngende



1908 TY 145
Divination board, *itombwa*
Kuba-Ngendi



Figure 29. Kuba-Ngendi divination boards. British Museum Collection. Photograph, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, Courtesy of the BM.

1908 Ty 144
Divination Board, *itombwa*
Bakuba-Ngendi



1908 Ty 143
Divination Board, *itombwa*
Kuba-Ngongo



Figure 30. Kuba and Kuba-Ngendi divination boards. British Museum Collection. Photograph, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, Courtesy of the BM.

Af1909 5-13 316a
 Divination board, *itombwa*, made from a crocodile jaw
 Kuba-Bushong



Figure 31. Kuba-Bushong divination board made from a crocodile jaw. British Museum Collection. Photograph, Rebekah Sheppard 2013, Courtesy of the BM.

1910-1-164
 Divination Board
 Kuba-Ngendi
 Pitt Rivers Collection



Figure 32. Kuba-Ngendi divination board. Pitt Rivers Museum Collection. Photograph courtesy of the PRM.

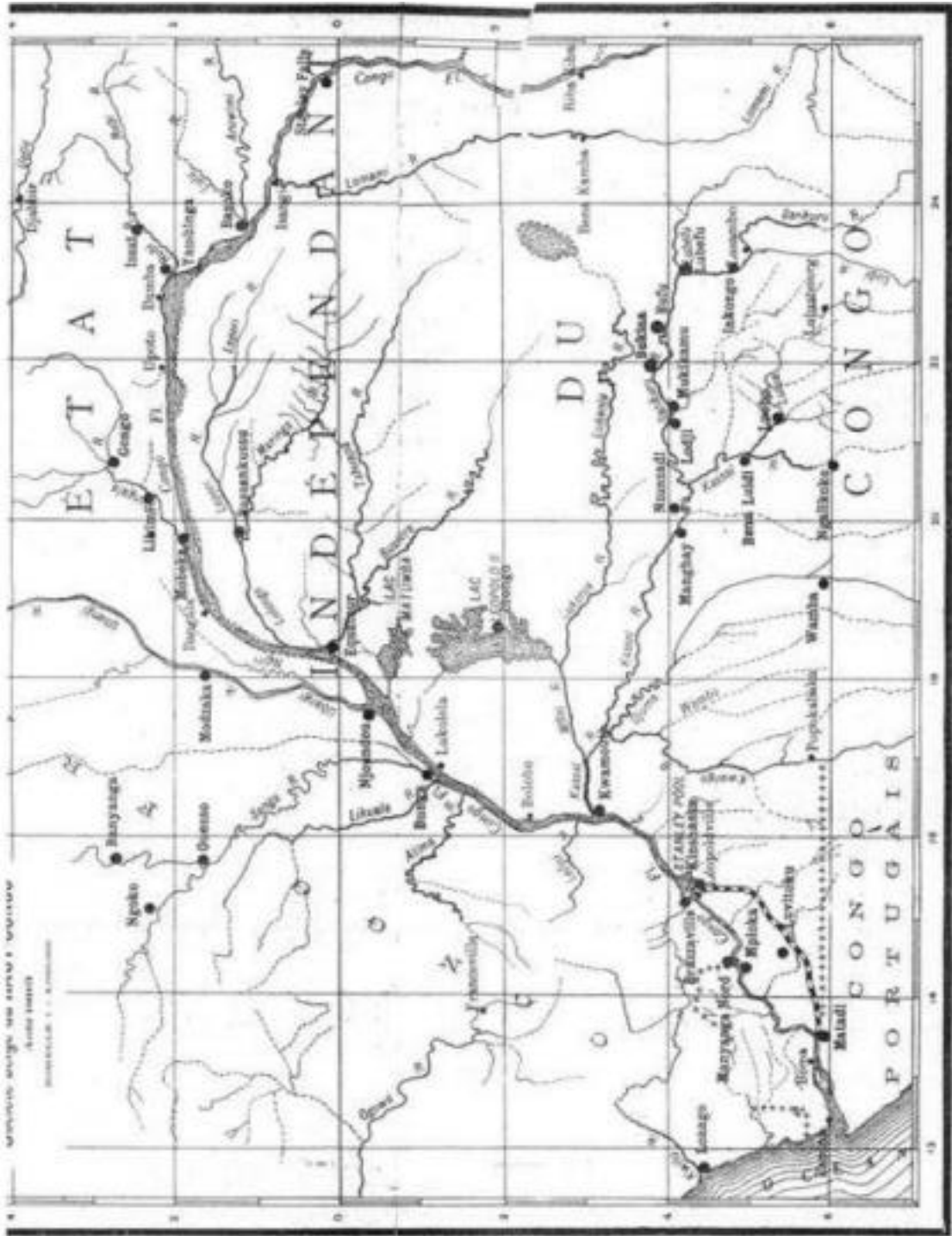


Figure 33. Map of Factories in 1893. No Dumba. Bena Luidi is still shown. Manghay (manned by Stache) is shown to north. Luebo is shown. Archives Africaines (Nkay Malu 2006).

Carte du Moyen-Kasai et de ses affluents, 1898-1901

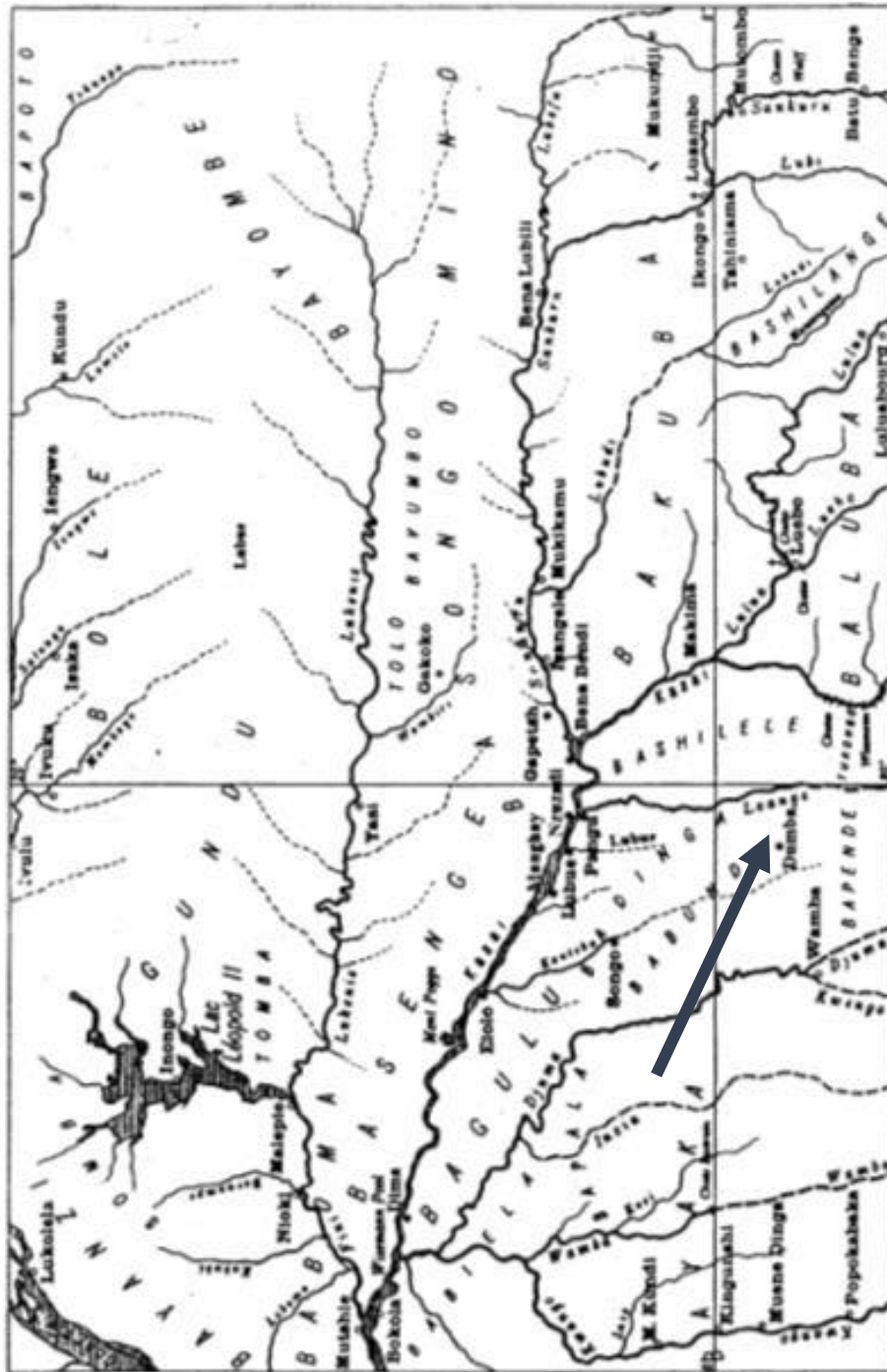


Figure 34. Map of the Middle-Kasai, 1898-1901. Arrow [mine] shows Dumba and Luebo. Pangu Mission is noted further north (Nkay Malu 2006).

Carte du moyen Kasai et de ses affluents. — Echelle 1 : 5,000,000. Le Mouvement géographique, 1898-1901



Figure 35. Photograph: the Governor's House (Boma) (HS v.1, 19). Photograph courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 36. Photograph: the Compagnie Director's house in Dima, taken Thursday November 14th 1907 (HS v.1, 42).

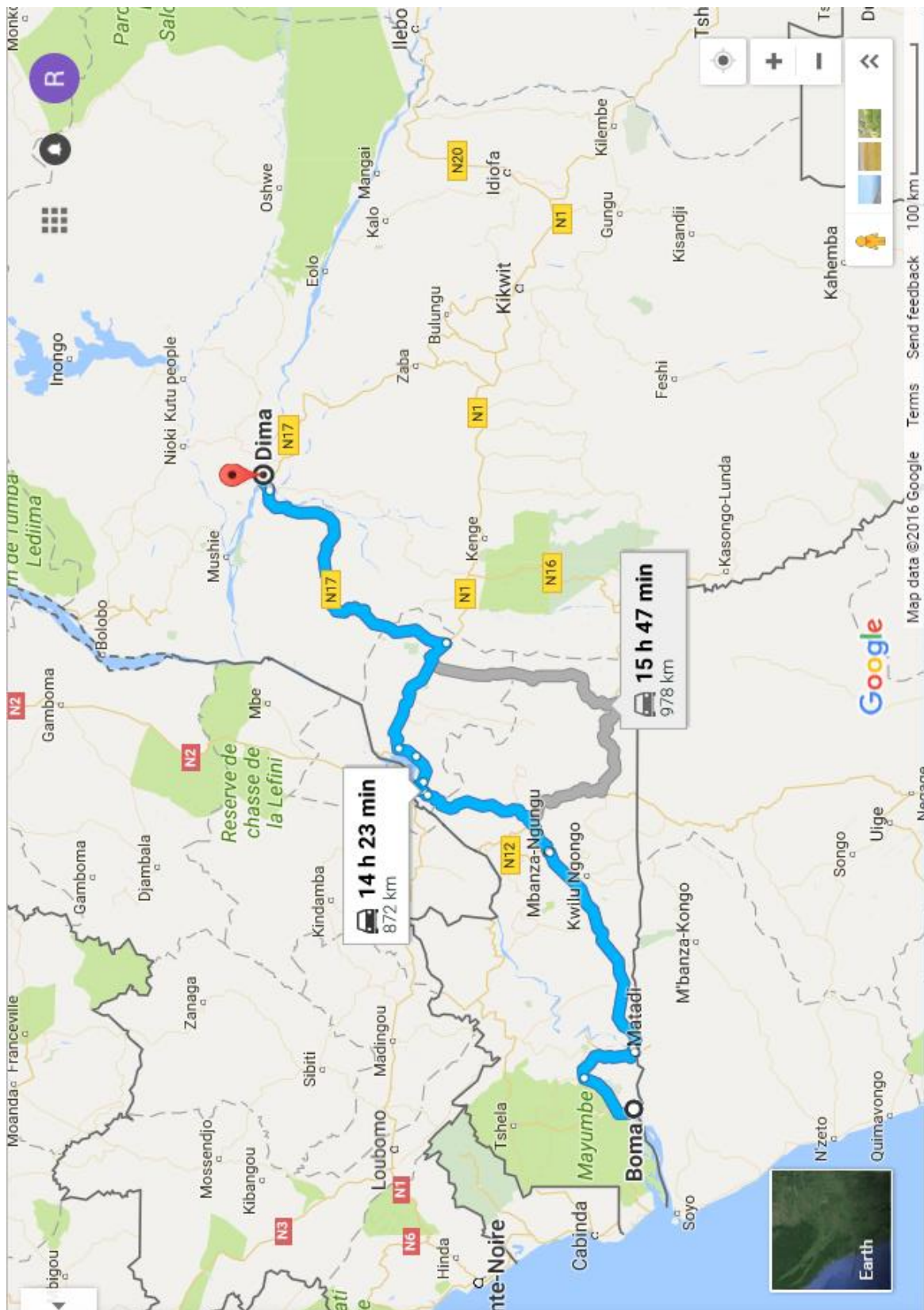


Figure 37. Map showing Boma, Matadi and Dima. Accessed online at <https://www.google.co.uk/maps/dir/Boma,+Democratic+Republic+of+the+Congo/Dima,+Democratic+Republic+of+the+Congo/@-4.6806441,13.9174423,7z/data=!4m14!4m13!1m5!1m1!1s0x1a5cec3fa147569b:0x851fdc508b0fa>



Figure 38. Photograph: "Basongo," on the Sankuru River (HS v.2, 4). Photograph Courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 40. Part of Hilton Simpson's map (see appendix 3). The Red line shows the route of the expedition. The black box shows the area into "Tetela country" (Hilton Simpson 1911).



Figure 41. Photograph: "Gongs Batetela," Osodu. Photograph by Hilton Simpson/ Emil Torday (Torday and Joyce 1922, fig. 40).

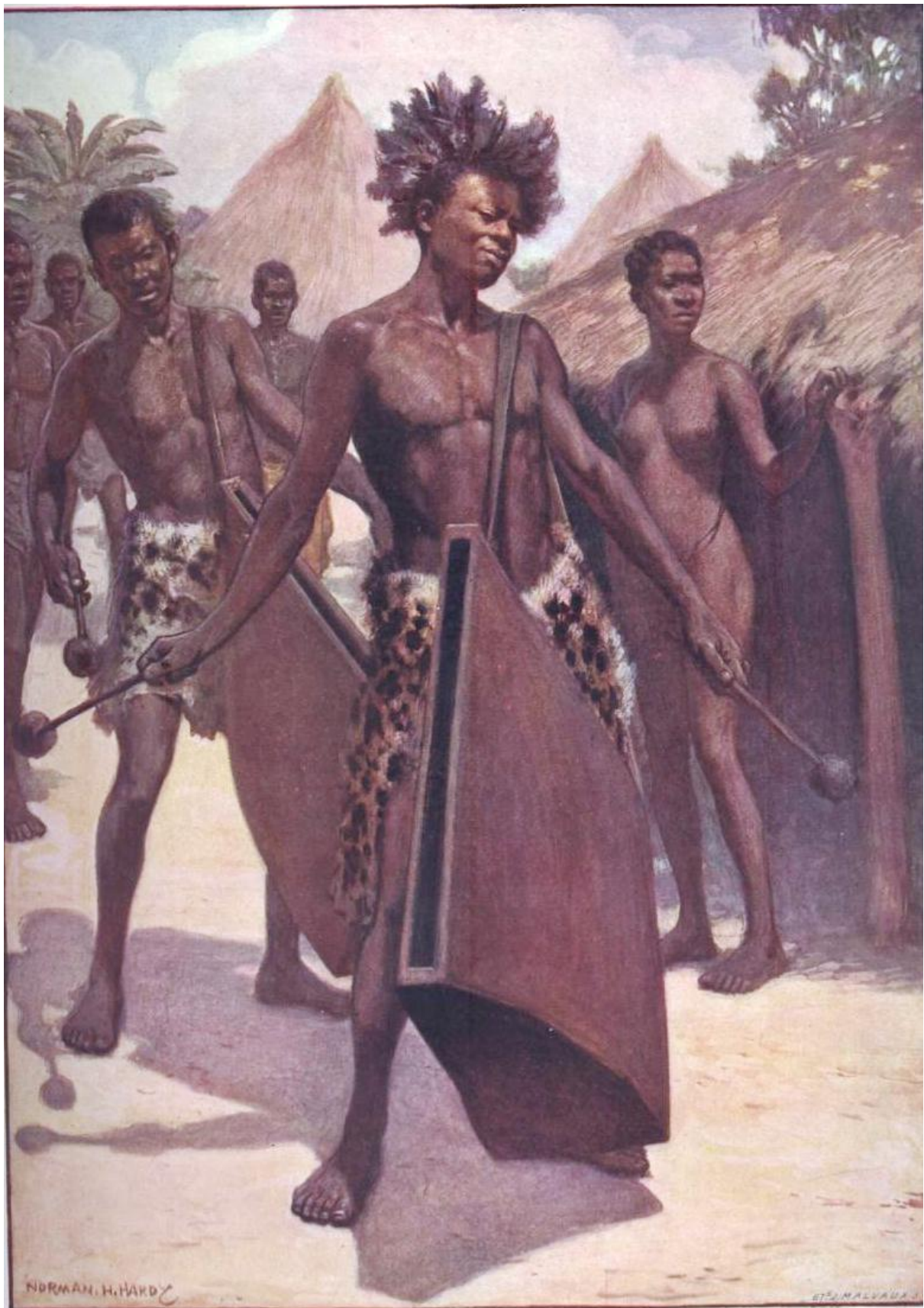


Figure 42. Norman Hardy. Illustration: "Sungu Musicians" (Tetela) (Torday and Joyce 1922, pl.8).

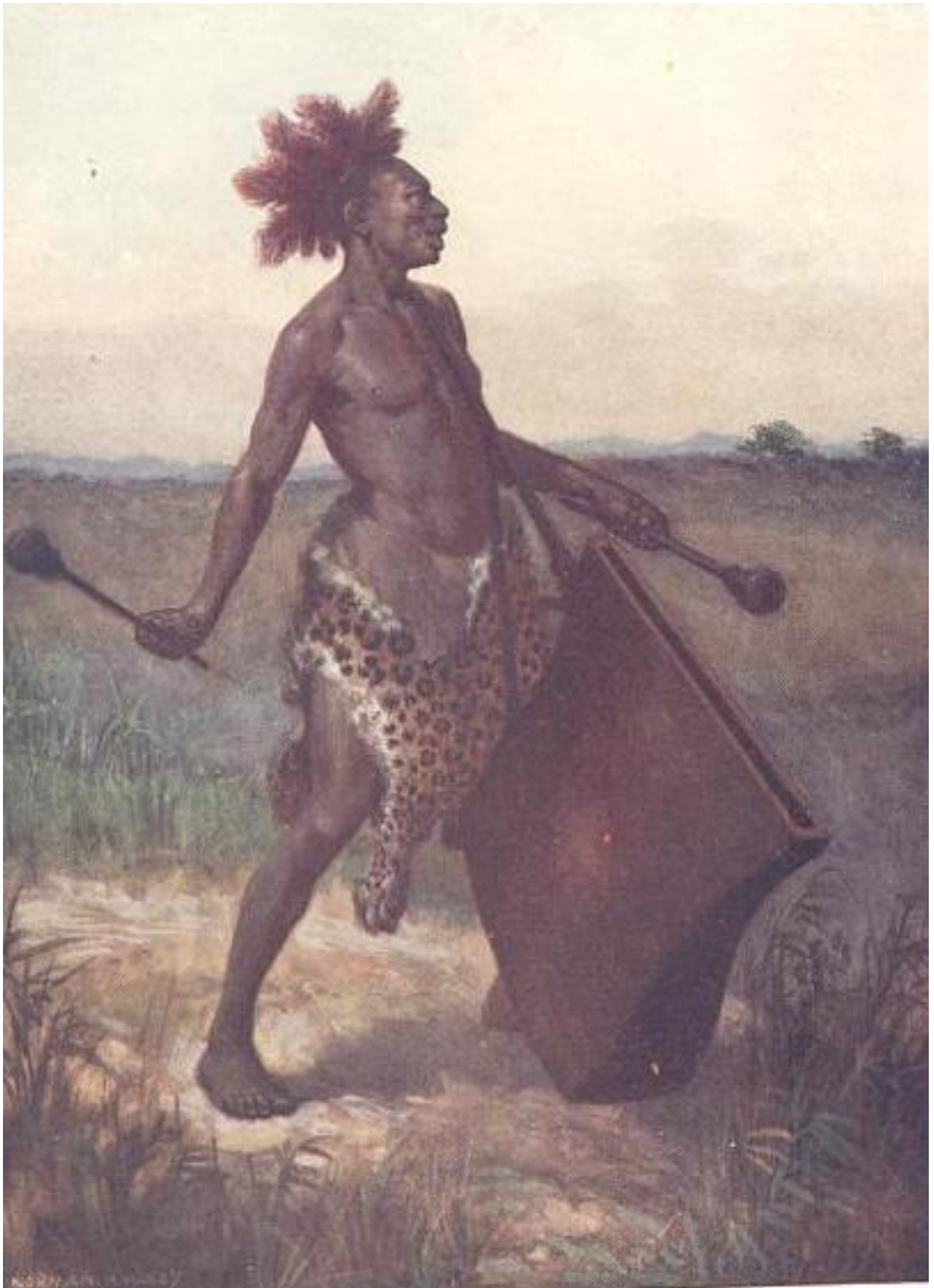


Figure 43. Norman Hardy. Illustration: "Sounding of the Signalling Gong" (Hilton Simpson 1911, 68).



Figure 44. Photograph: Mokunji (the village) (HS v.2, 41).
Photograph courtesy of the RAI.

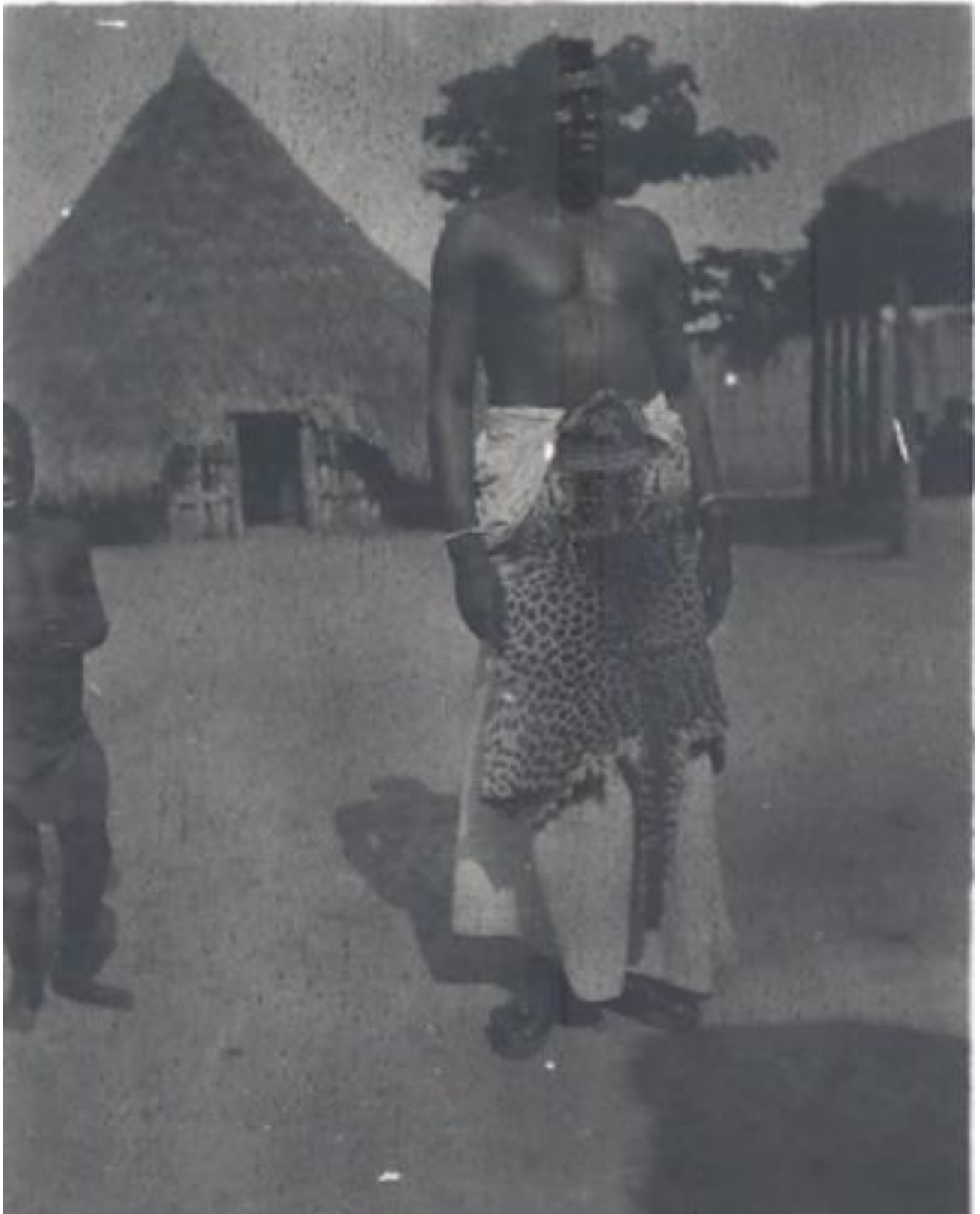


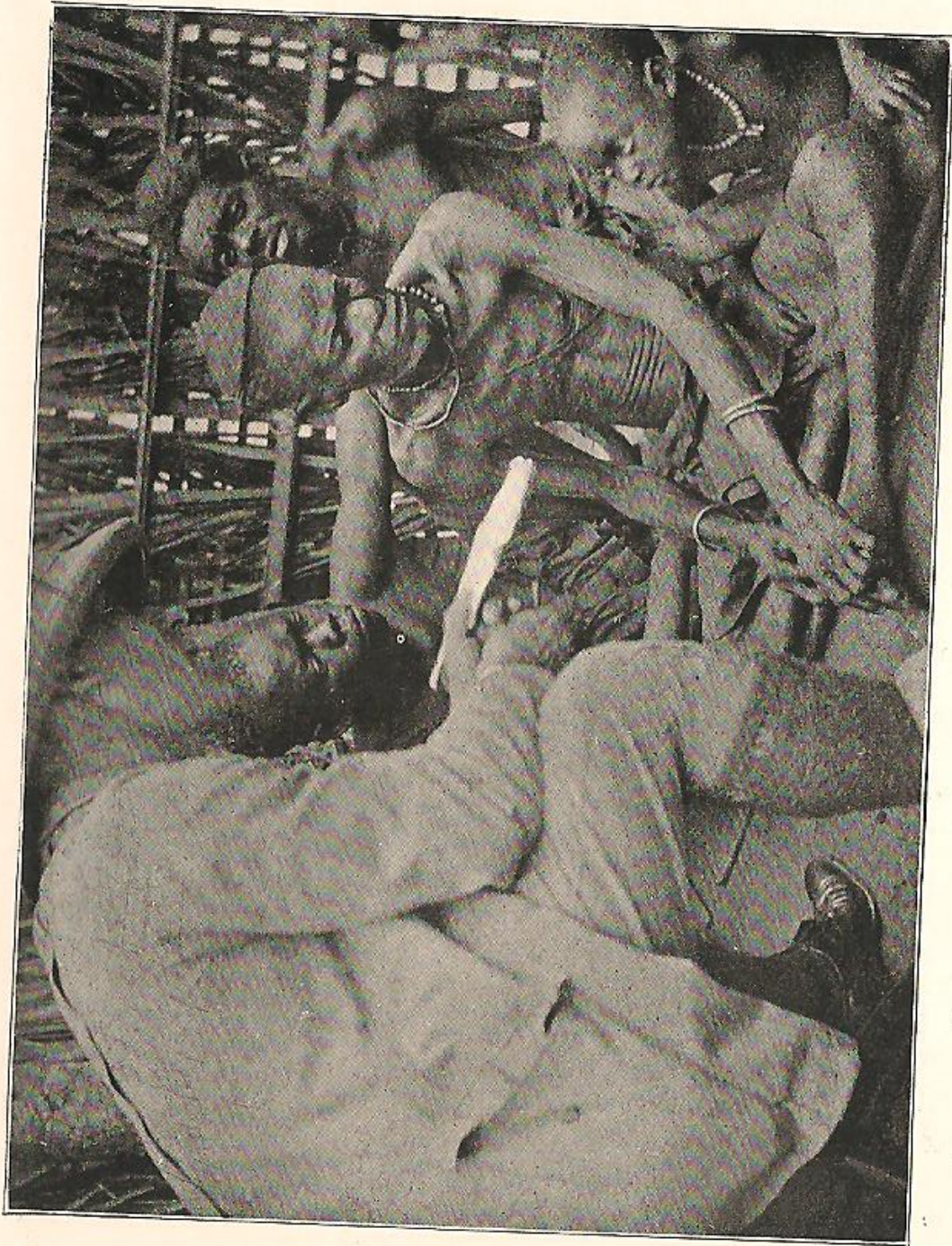
Figure 45. Photograph: Jady in Mokunji (Torday and Joyce 1922).



Figure 48. Photograph: "Sunday Market at Lusambo" (HS v.2, 73). Photograph Courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 47. Photograph: Market at Lusambo, taken Sunday 23rd February 1908 (see HS v3, 5 for description) (HS v.3, 3). Photograph Courtesy of the RAI.



THE BILUMBU DISMISSING AN INQUISITIVE CHILD.

Figure 50. Photograph: "The Bilumbu dismissing an inquisitive child" (Hilton Simpson 1911, 105).

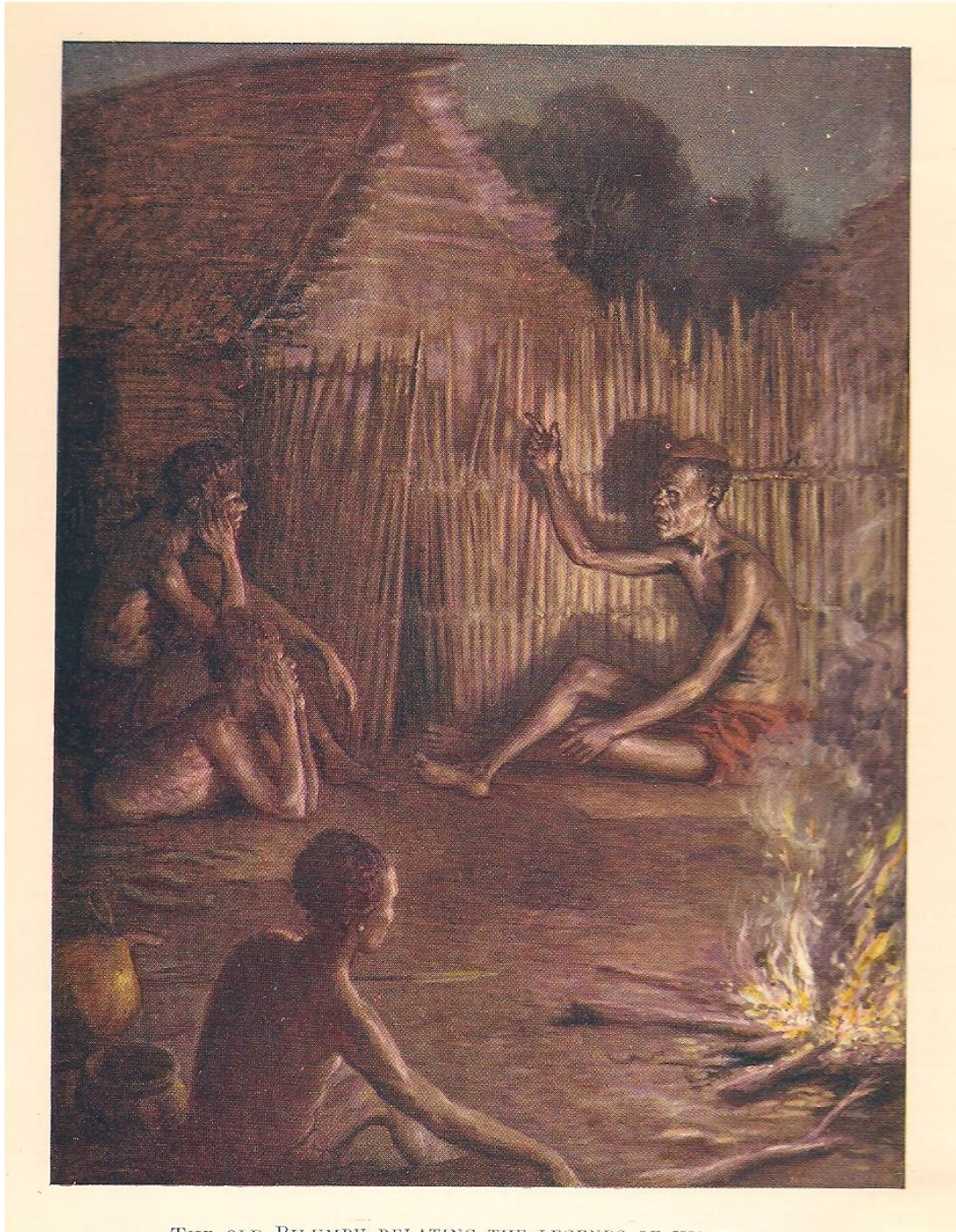


Figure 51. Norman Hardy. Illustration: "The Old Bilumbu relating the legends of his tribe" (Hilton Simpson 1911, iii).



Sam Robina Brown Onions Jones
(Ludini) (Hawamba Kasi) (Sala)

Figure 52. Photograph: Sam, Robinson, Brown, Onions and Jones (HS v.2, 20). Photograph courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 54. Photograph: Shongo Knife. Photograph Courtesy of the BM (ref: Af1909.ty152).



Figure 55. Photograph: Ndop of Nyim Shyaam aMbul a Ngoong. "Shamba". Height: 54.6cm. British Museum Collection. Photograph courtesy of the BM (ref: 1909.12-10.1).

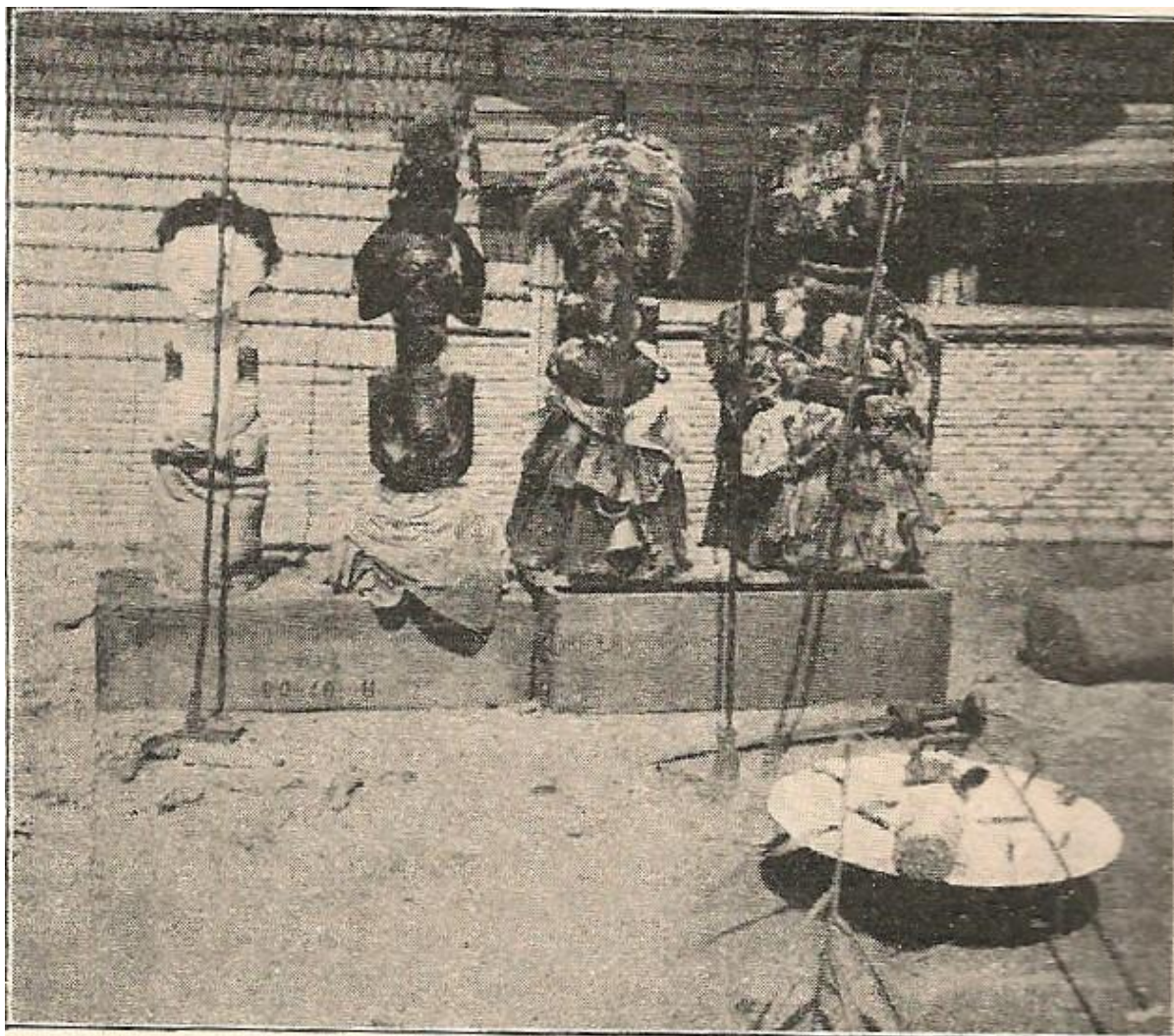


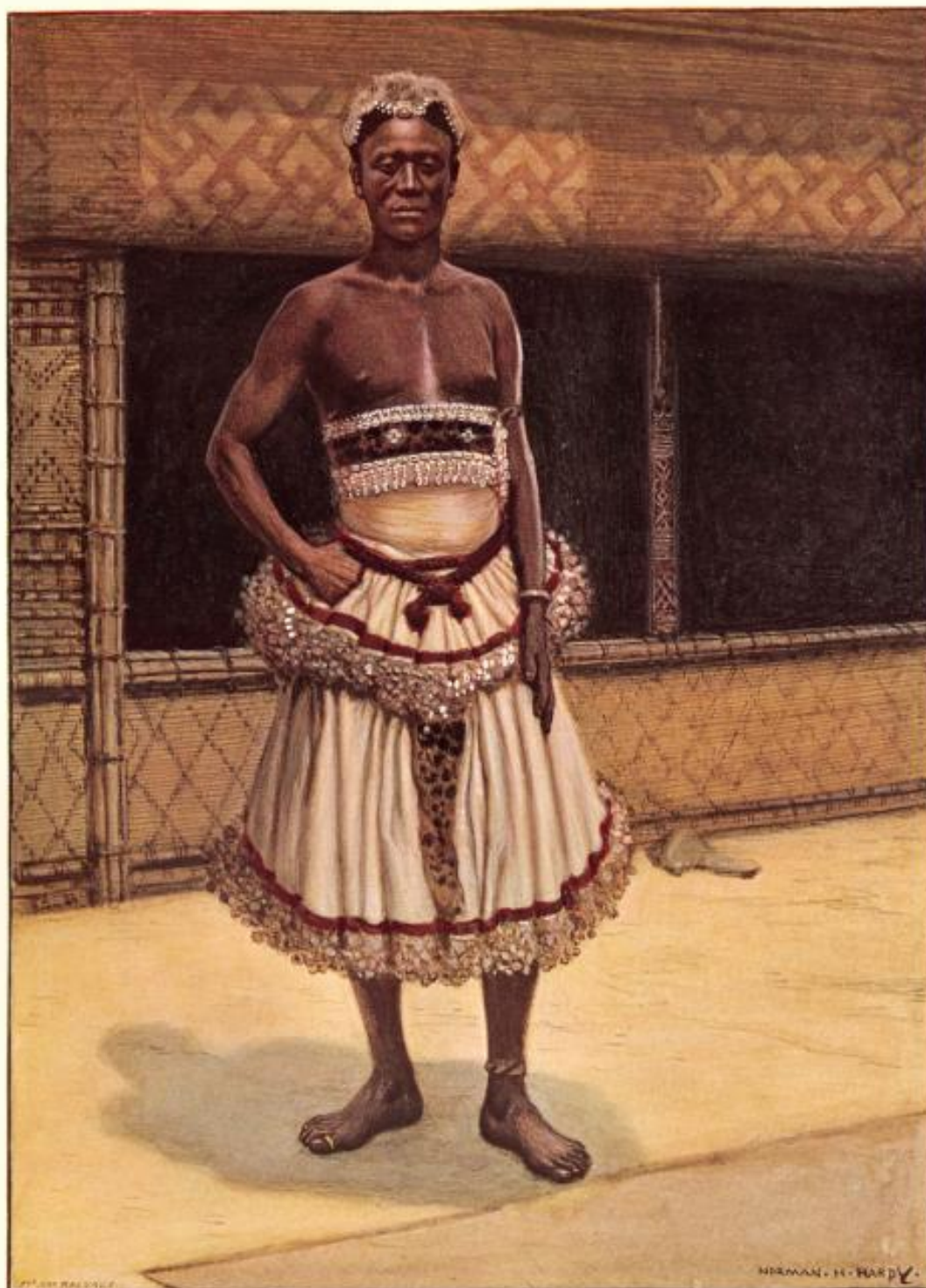
Fig. 18. — Charmes Koto Mboke du Mushenge.

Figure 56. Photograph: "Koto Mboke charms of Mushenge." Photograph by Hilton Simpson/Emil Torday (Torday and Joyce 1910, 28).



Fig. 19. — Le Nyimi et les charmes Koto Mboke.

Figure 57. Photograph: "The Nyimi and his Koto Mboke charms." Photograph by Hilton Simpson/Emil Torday (Torday and Joyce 1910, 29).



KWETE PESHANGA KENA, CHEF ACTUEL,
EN COSTUME DE CÉRÉMONIE.

Figure 59. Norman Hardy. Illustration: King Kwete Peshanga Kena (Kot aPe) "current chief in his ceremonial costume" (Torday and Joyce 1910, pl.2).

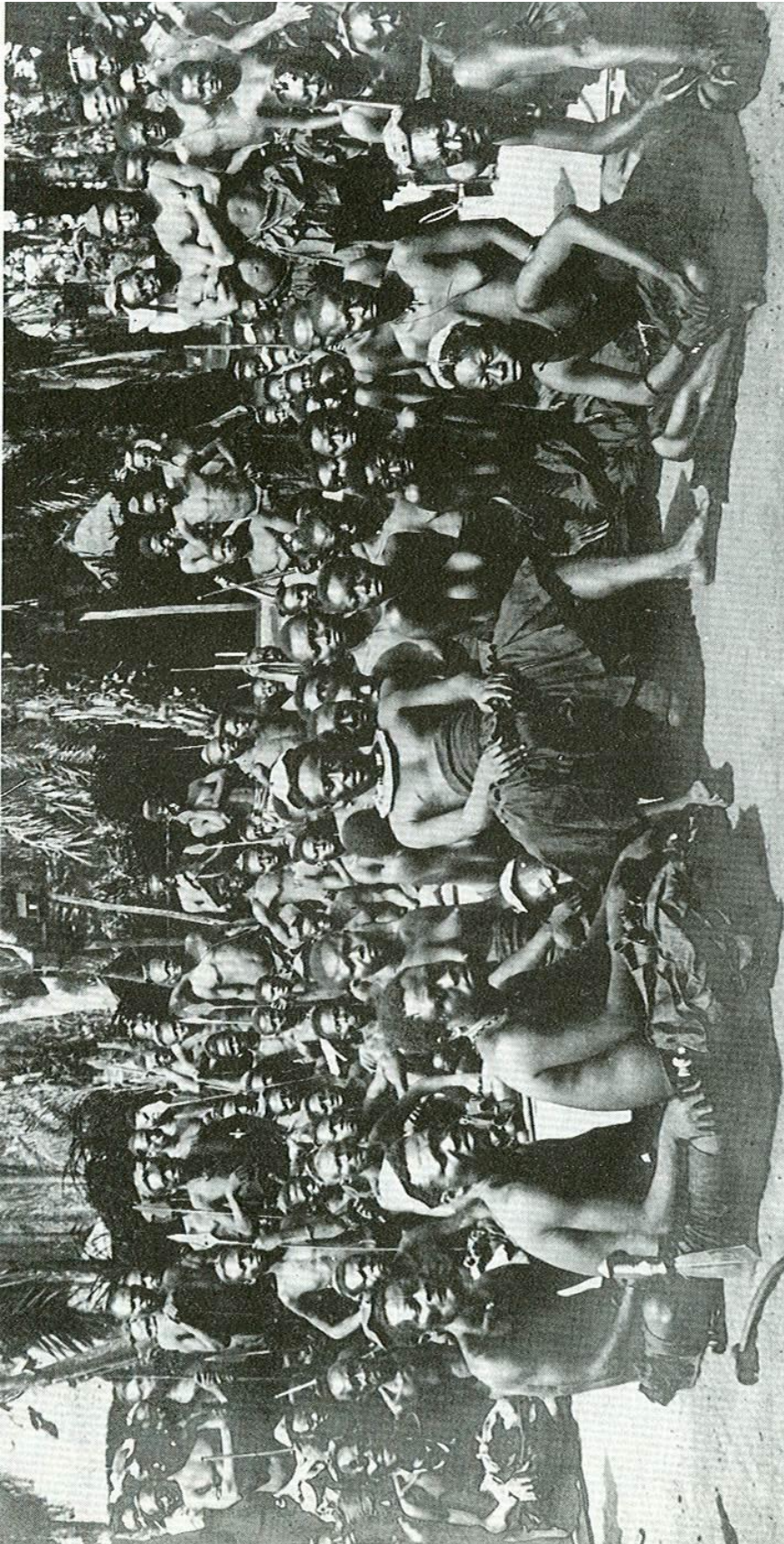


Figure 60. Photograph: "The Nyimi and his Courtiers." Photographer unknown (Torday and Joyce 1910, 59)

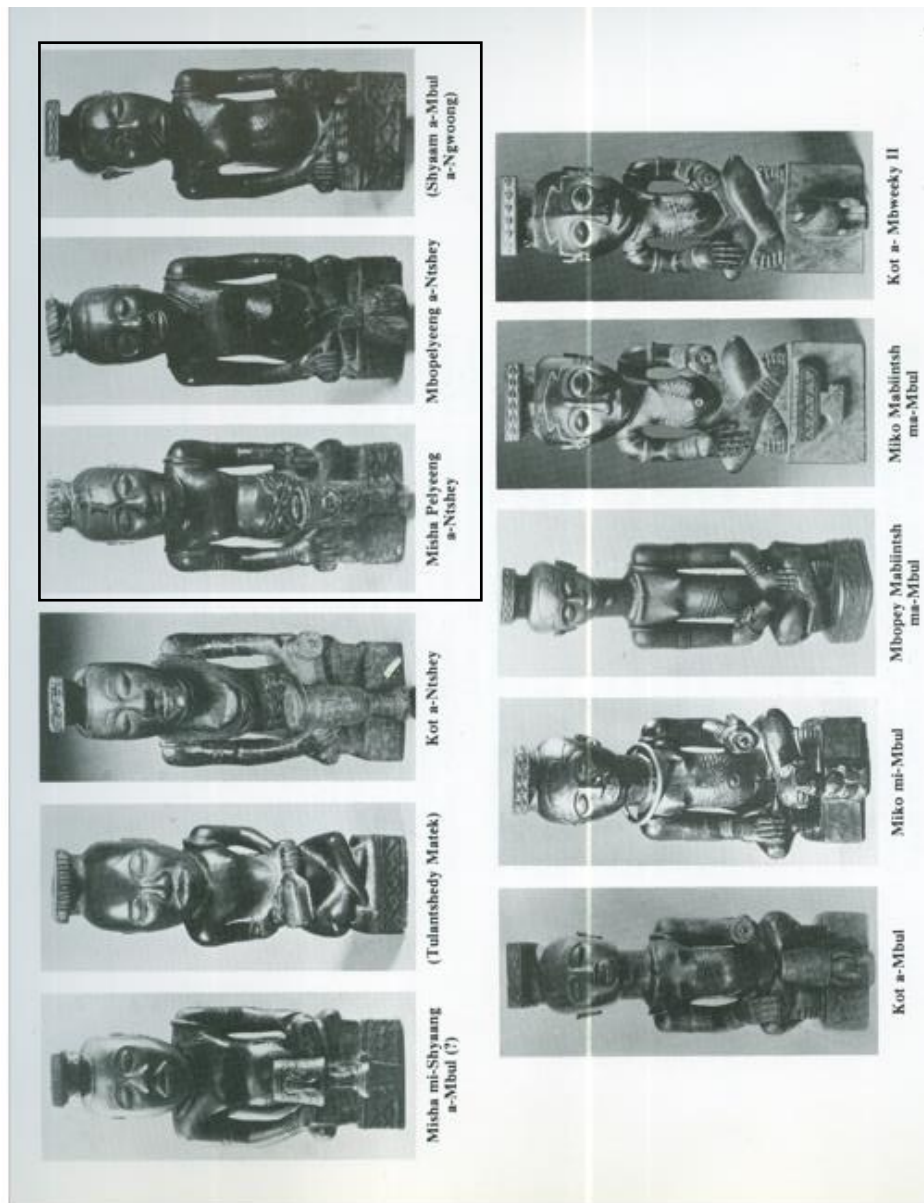
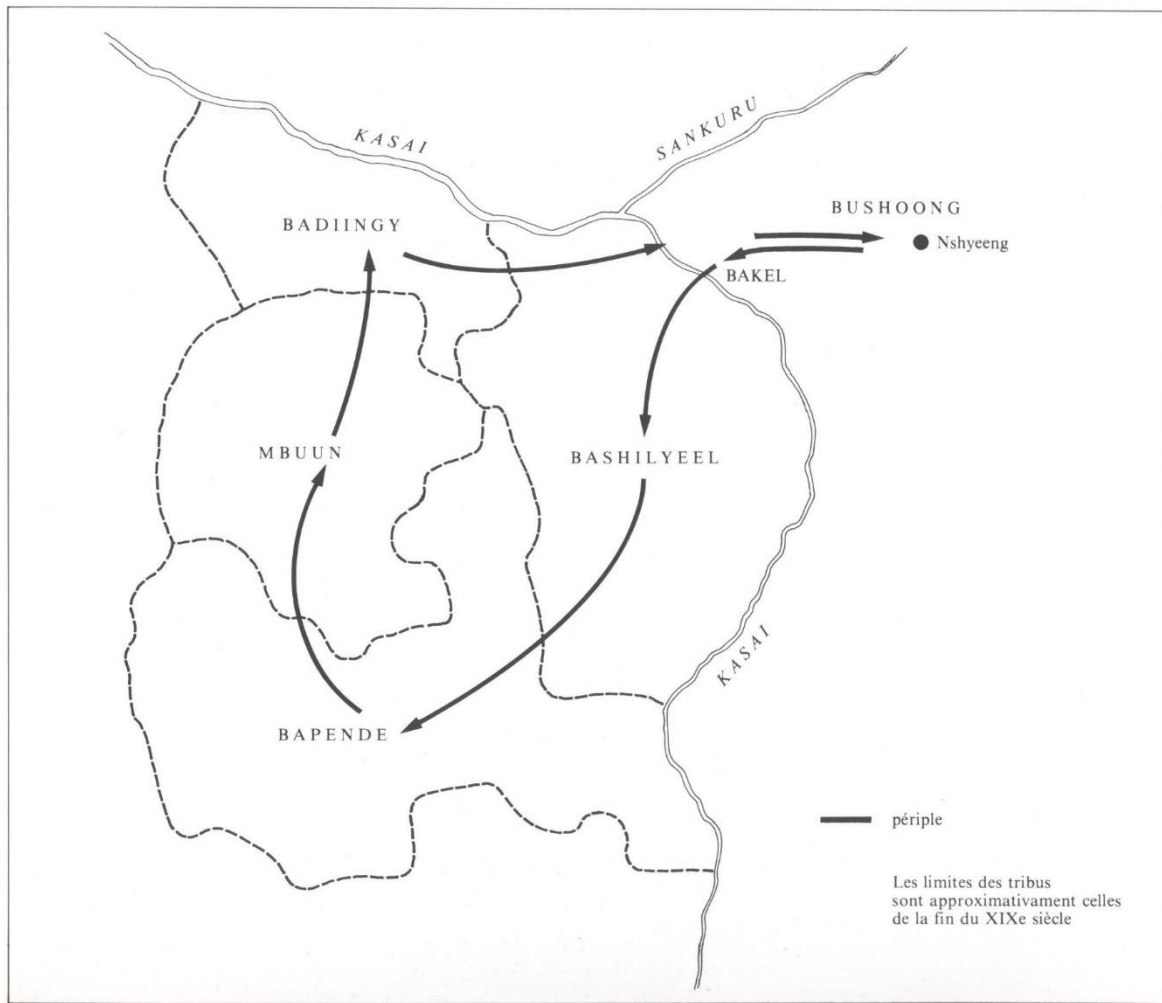


Figure 61. Photographs: *Ndop* of various *Nyimi* (Cornet 1982). Box highlights three *ndop* collected by Torday. Misha Pelyeeng a-Ntshey (Mishe Pelenge); Mbopelyeeng a-Ntshey (“Bope”); Shyaam a-Mbul a-Ngoong (“Shamba”).



Figure 62. Norman Hardy. Illustration: *Ndop* (Torday and Joyce 1910, pl.1).



43. Le périple du roi Shyaam a-Mbul a-Ngwoong.

Figure 63. Map: Direction of Shamba, Shyaam aMbul a-Ngoong's journeys into Lele/Pende/Mbuun/Dinga country (Cornet 1982, fig.43).

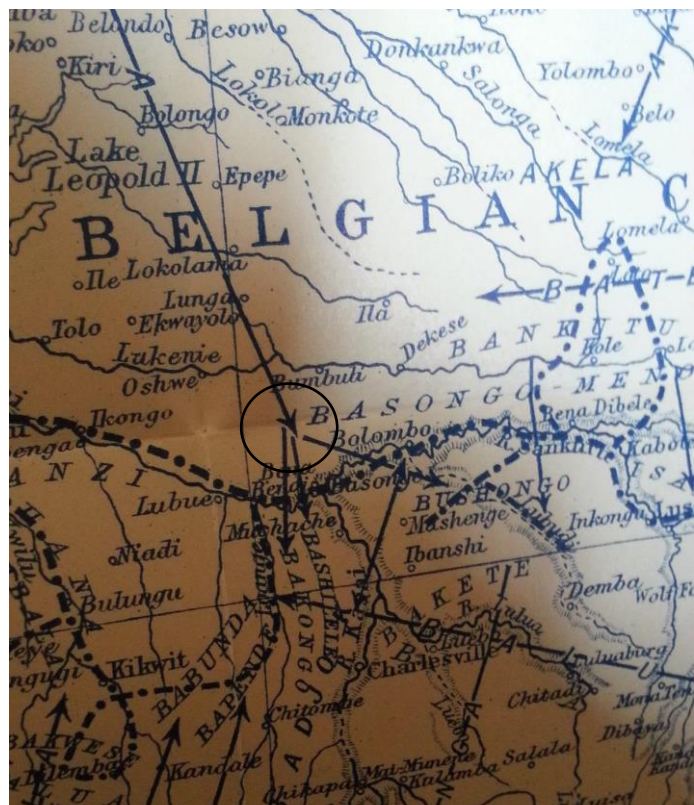
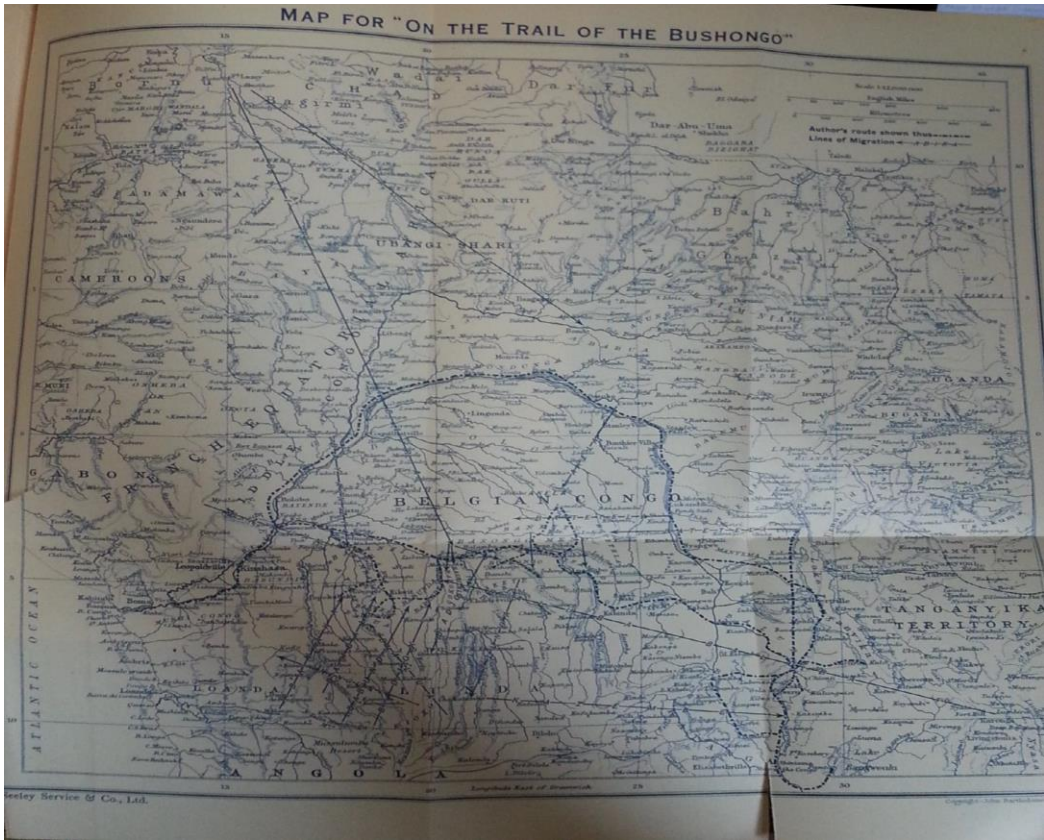


Figure 64. Map for *On the Trail of the Bushongo* (Torday 1925). Below: detail of map for *On the Trail of the Bushongo* showing the Kuba-Lele migration.

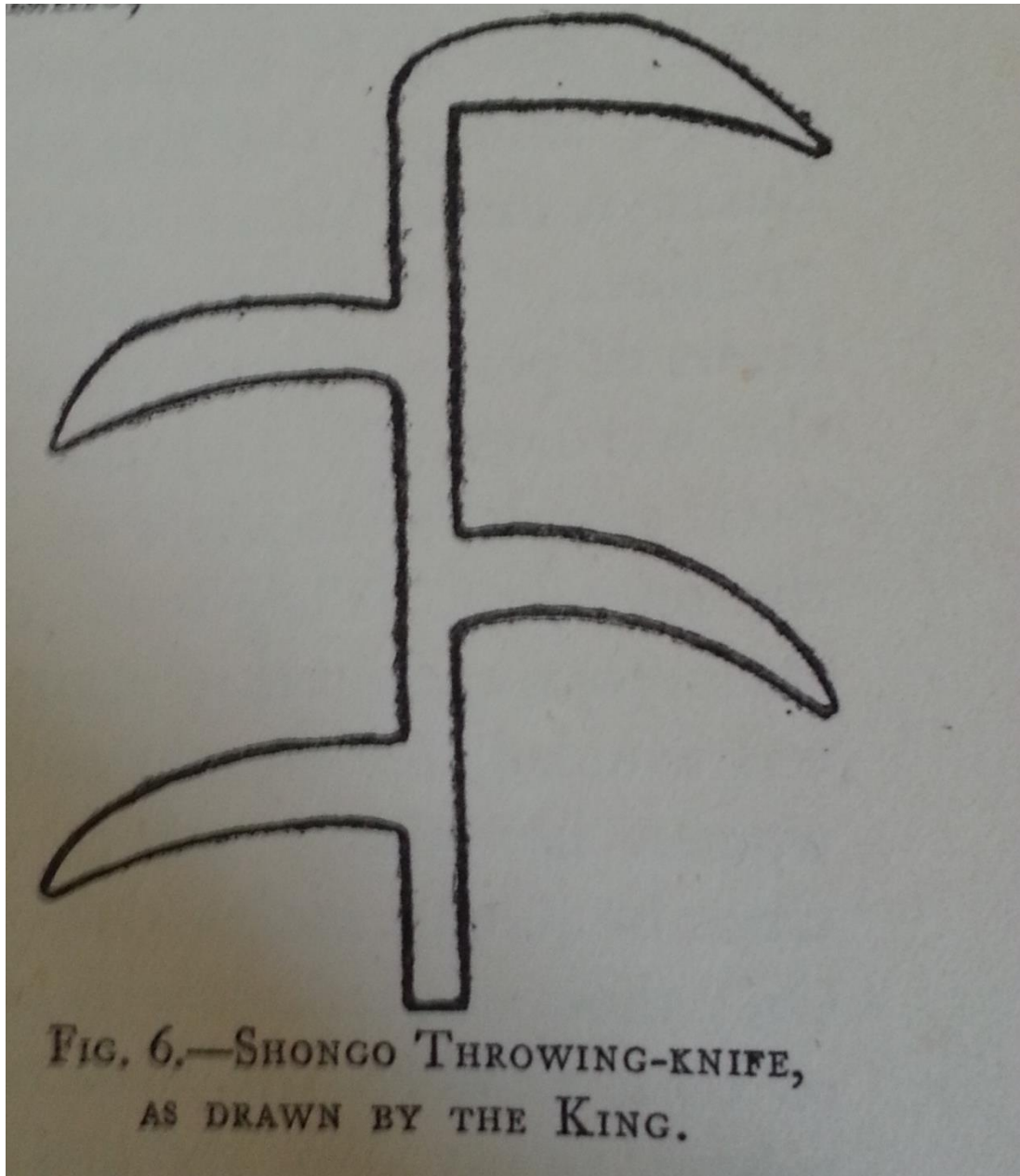


FIG. 6.—SHONGO THROWING-KNIFE,
AS DRAWN BY THE KING.

Figure 65. Drawing: "Shongo throwing knife as drawn by the King" (Torday 1925, 145).

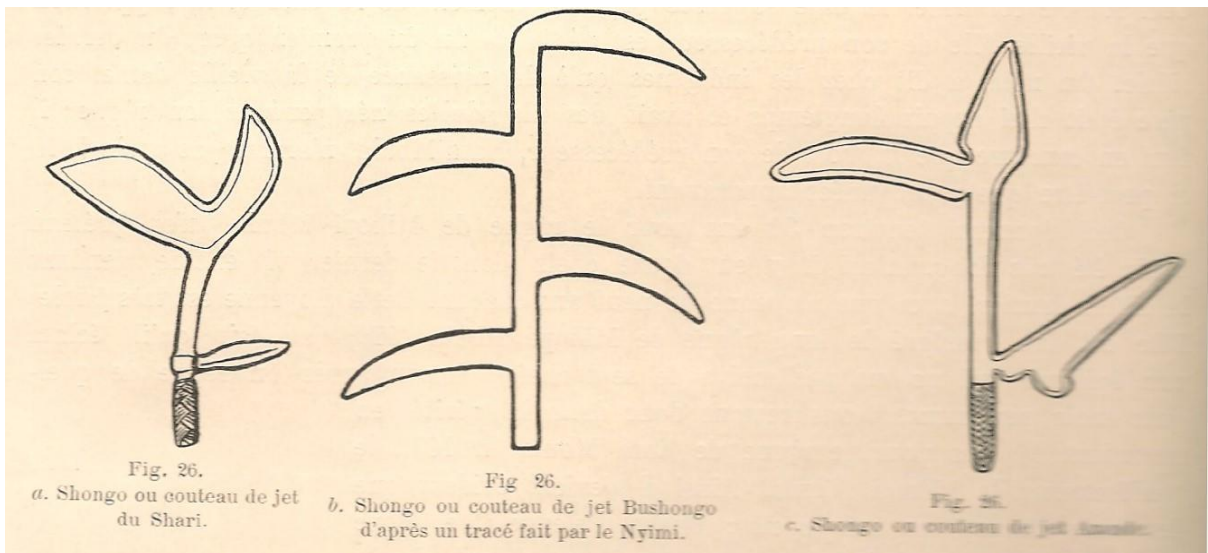


Figure 66. Drawings of types of throwing knives: "a) Shongo or throwing knife from the Shari b) Shongo or throwing knife according to a drawing by the Nyimi c) an Azande Shongo or throwing knife" (Torday and Joyce 1910, 36).



Figure 67. Photographs: Journey to Kikwit along the Kwilu River (HS v.6, 59). Photograph Courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 68. Photographs: Bambala in Kikwit (HS v.6, 63). Photographs Courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 69. Photographs: Pende dance at the factory of Dumba (HS v.6, 18).



Figure 70. Photograph from glass plate negative: Dilonda (RAI 12477). Photograph courtesy of the RAI.



BUYA'S FIRST BREECHES.

Made by himself, regardless of expense.

INCONVENIENT CURRENCY.

The only currency accepted by the Bashilele and Bakongo is iron rods, extremely unwieldy and costly to transport.

Figure 71. Photograph: "An inconvenient Currency" (Torday 1925).



Figure 72. Photograph: Torday showing his 'fetish' to Lele villager in Bishwam Bura. Photograph courtesy of the BM.



Figure 73. Photograph: Display of the Clockwork Elephant in Kenge (HS v.7, 54). Photograph Courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 74. Photograph: Torday shows his fetish to villagers in Kenge (HS v.7, 45). Photograph Courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 75. Photographs: staged in front of the same place, Kanenenke (RAI 400.06832). Photographs Courtesy of the RAI.



Figure 76. Detail from Torday's field notes. The sub-categories were added in by Joyce, and were guided by categories of contemporaneous scientific interest (KYS TOR M27069). Photograph Courtesy of the BM.

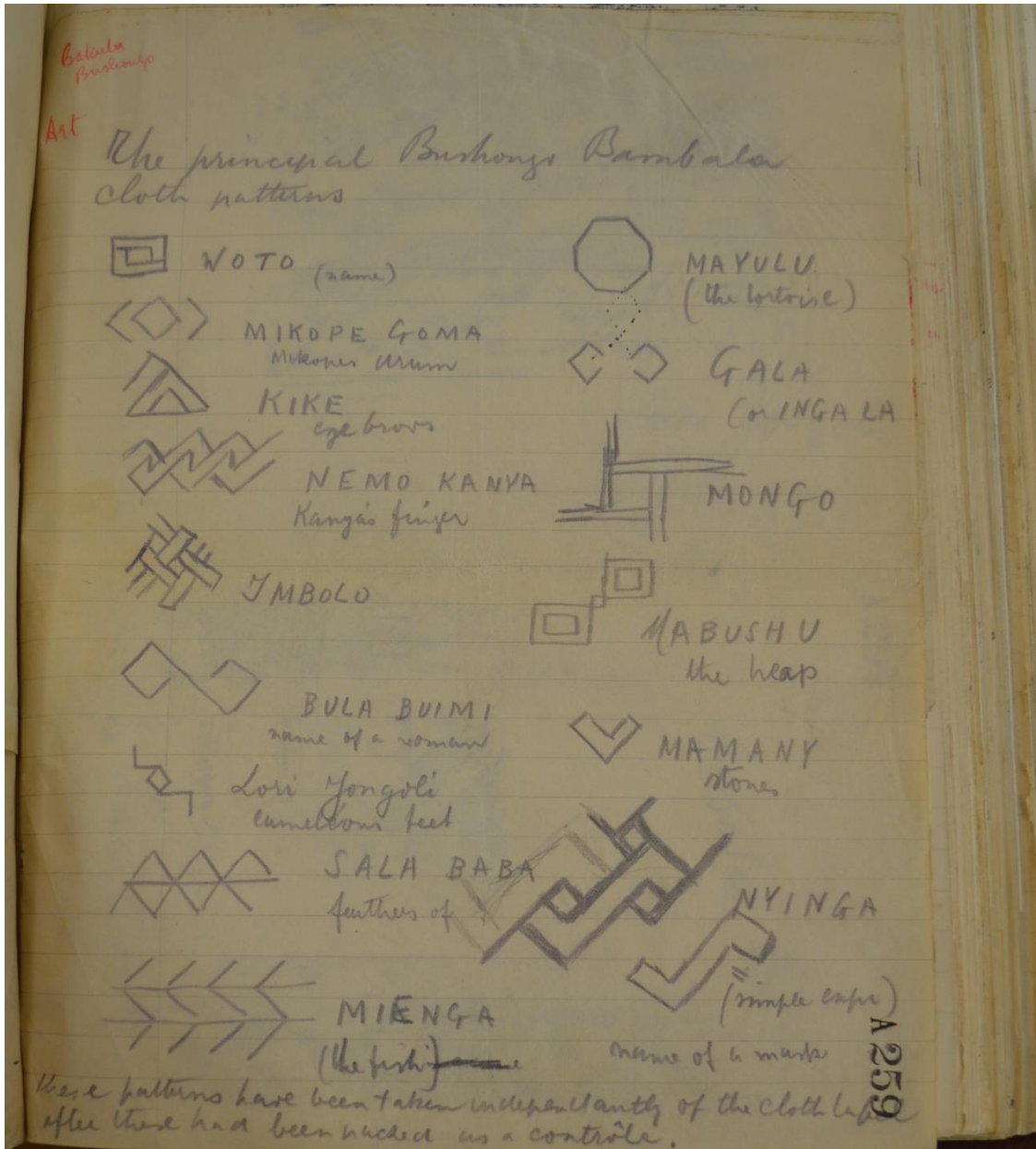


Figure 77. Drawings of patterns: "Notes and drawings from the Torday expedition" (KYS TOR M27069).
Photograph Courtesy of the BM.

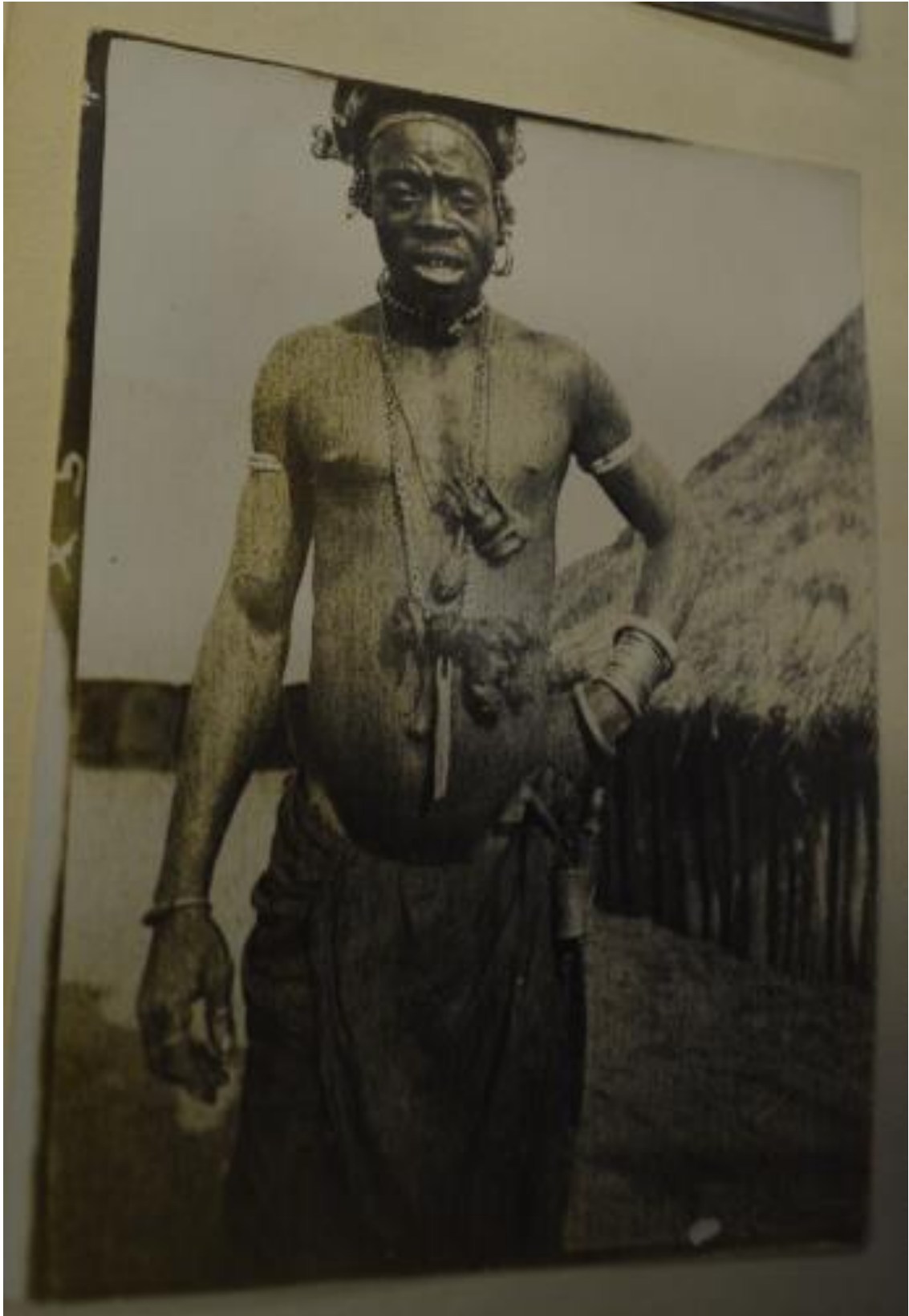


Figure 78. Photograph: a Chokwe trader, taken in Makasu two (see appendix 5.11).

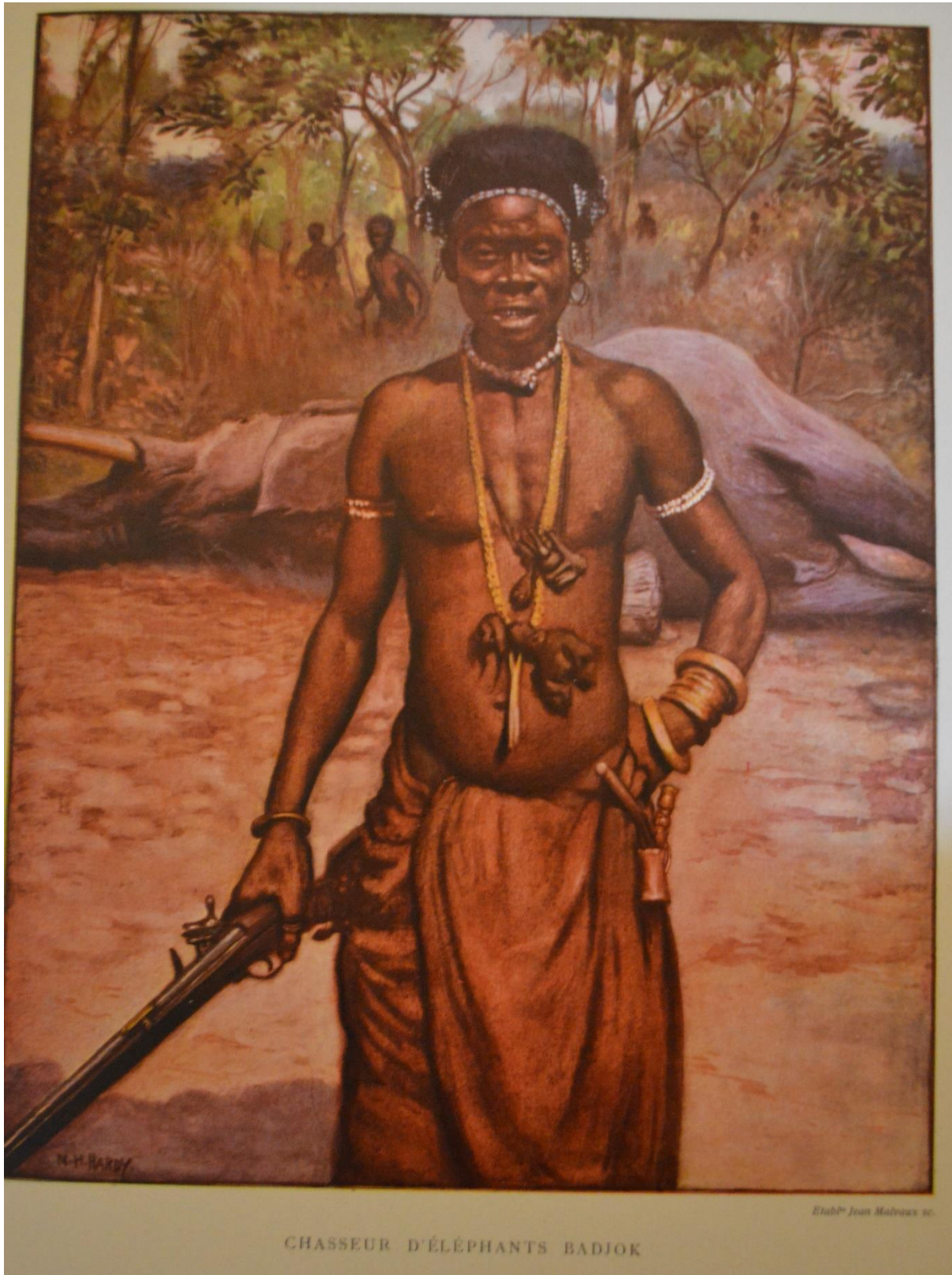


Figure 79. Norman Hardy. Illustration: "Badjok [Chokwe] hunter of Elephants" (Torday and Joyce 1922, pl.16). Figure 80. Photograph: a Chokwe trader, taken in Makasu two (see appendix 5.11).

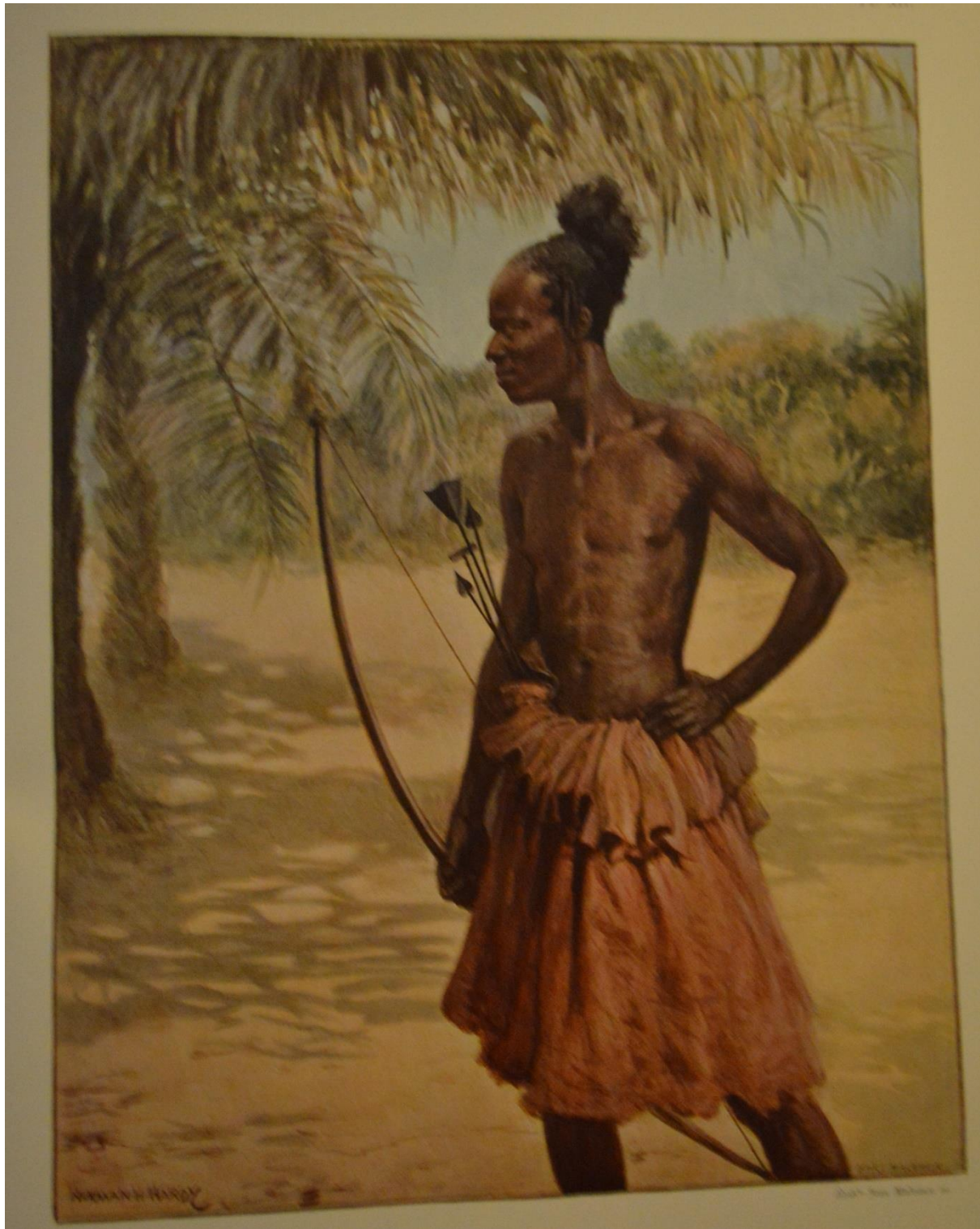


Figure 80. Norman Hardy. Illustration: a Lele man (Torday and Joyce 1910, pl. 12).

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3.2 Archival material and Collections consulted

3.21 Museum Collections

British Museum, London

- Documented for thesis: 180 Lele and Wongo artefacts and further Pende and Kuba artefacts (from the full Emil Torday (field) collection of 3000 artefacts).
- 1500 field photographs⁹³

Department of Ethnography, Budapest (*Museum of Ethnography*)

- 392 artefacts. Accession Register 1536, inv. nos. 80485-80875 (between 20-30 items attributed to Kuba or Pende (as well as Lele) people).

⁹³Several thousand photographs were taken but most were burnt during a fire caused by a German bombing 1941. Only the 1500 photographs on loan at the time survived (Kubassek 1991; Földessy 2008, 45)

- 82 photographs.

Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford

- 411 items donated by Torday between 1904 and 1911.
- Correspondence between Torday and Balfour and various papers.

Horniman Museum, London

- 41 objects sold by Torday (acc. nos: 10.151 -10.182).
- Documentation

Powell-Cotton Museum, Quex Park, Kent

Hilton-Simpson collection:

- 1 item, ('fetish animal figure') from the Kasai river, SW Congo was given to Major PC by HS in 1926. 9 items were presented to the Museum by Mrs MW Hilton-Simpson in 1938. 19 items were purchased at the Hilton-Simpson sale in June 1938.
- Extensive Chokwe collection and documentation from neighbouring Angola made by Powell Cotton and his daughters (references to Hilton-Simpson in PC's journal).
- Archive of Powell-Cotton's library and maps displays medical kits (incl. two books by HS, inscribed 'with the author's compliments'. They are *Among the Hill Folk of Algeria* (1921) and *Arab Medicine & Surgery* (1922) and six offprints of articles. There are also two books by Torday: *Causeries Congolaises* (1925) and *On the trail of the Bushongo* (1925) and 3 offprints).
- Correspondence between Powell Cotton and Hilton-Simpson 1910-1930.

Naturhistorisches Hofmuseum, Vienna

- 203 items 1910, 1 in 1911.

Former Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, Paris, the predecessor of the Musée de L'Homme (parts now housed in the Musée du Quai Branly, Paris)

- 55 items 1913.

University Museum of Philadelphia

- 3000 central African artefacts including a few pieces of Torday's private collection and the collection Leo Frobenius (explorer of the Congo, 1906 expedition).
- Correspondence between Torday and French Embassy, Washington, concerning donations (see Mack 1990 & Vidacs 1984).

Science Museum and Library /Wellcome library, Blythe House London

- 3 objects inventoried to Hilton-Simpson and Emil Torday (inv.nos. A657302 pt32/ A666085/ 1924-314).
- Various objects held in including 12 Kuba objects (e.g. inv. Nos A91941-A92756)/ 7 + 8 artefacts marked 'Bushongo' [Bushongo] (e.g. inv. Nos

A160723-Af160781 and A232041-300570) 'Bakongo' - [Wongo?] (A651681), 4 Bushongo objects (A652130, A 652139, A652289, 652404).

3.22 Archival material consulted (UK)

Archives of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

- M.W.Hilton-Simpson Journal Box (Three Volume Field Diary) [ref.MS 65]
- Papers of Emil Torday, [1908-1931], including:
 - Typescript notes for 'African races', published as Division I, no. 4 of *Descriptive sociology*, edited by H.Spencer, London, 1930, including notes on a number of African peoples [ref.MS 192].
 - Typescript notes on Loango, Angola [ref. MS 193].
 - Questionnaires, papers and letters in connection with the Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants, 1930-1931[ref. MS 194].
 - Translation of *Bacongo* [sic.] *incantations and prayers*, by J. van Wing, S.J.; translated by E. Torday. (London, 1930) and related correspondence [ref. MS 195].
 - Typescript papers and lectures, [c 1930], including lectures on Hungary to Rotarians; lecture 'On some oddities of the Congo people'; lecture on West Africa, [1931] and lecture on female initiation in Africa [ref.MS 197].
 - Typescript articles and African folk stories, annotated corrections, mostly in Hungarian [ref.MS 198].
 - *Notes ethnographiques sur les peuples communément appelés Bakuba*, by Torday and Thomas Athol Joyce, 1911 (3 Copies) [ref.MS 424].
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- 71 - Hilton-Simpson, Melville William. The wandering Arabs of the Sahara.
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- 74 - Hilton-Simpson, Melville William. Papers and notes on North Africa, 1906.
- 75 - Hilton-Simpson, Melville William. Notes on Shavia and Arabs.
- 76 - Hilton-Simpson, Melville William. Material culture of the Shawia.

Central Archives British Museum/British Museum

- Correspondence between C.H. Read and E.Torday (Dept. of Medieval and Later Antiquities).
- Collection Registers.

Archives (United Africa Company), Unilever Archives and Records, PO Box 69, Port Sunlight, Merseyside, including:

- Diaries kept by Lord Leverhulme during both of his visits to the Belgian Congo in 1912/13 and 1924/5 [ref. LBC box 1376 TT3810], and by his personal secretary TM Knox during the second visit [ref. UAC/2/34/4/1].
- Records of the Huileries du Congo Belge, a company established in 1911 to exploit palm oil plantations in the Belgian Congo, acquired by Lever in the form of a concession from the Belgian government [ref. UAC/2/36] [See also company magazine, *Progress*].
- A film of a visit made to the area by H R Greenhalgh, Vice-Chairman of Lever Bros. in 1930 [ref. LBL Acc.2010-141] and an accompanying photograph album [ref. Acc.1992-63].

3.23. Archival Material (Belgium)

- Archives of *l'Association des Intérêts Coloniaux Belges (A.I.C.B.)*
http://www.avae-vvba.be/PDF/Finoutremer_i1.pdf
- Archives of *la Société Anonyme Belge*.
- Archives Des Groupes Compagnie Du Congo Pour Le Commerce Et L'industrie Et Compagnie Du Katanga (Finoutremer)(1887-1984)
http://www.avae-vvba.be/PDF/Finoutremer_i1.pdf // Archives De La C.C.C.I. (Compagnie Du Congo Pour Le Commerce Et L'industrie) Puis Euroutremer (Compagnie Européenne Et D'outre-Mer) 1887-1981 (includes statutes/land purchase/correspondence to and from Congo by notable people and colonial officials/maps).
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3.24 Newspapers and Journals

Le Mouvement Geographique

Dundee Courier (1909)

The Cornishman (1909)

Illustrated London News

Liverpool Echo (1914)

Manchester Courier (1909)

Nottingham Evening Post (1909)

Western Times (1909)

The Whitstable Times and Tankerton Press (1914)

Yorkshire Telegraph (1914)

Appendix 1

Key People Relating to the Expedition

- 1.1 Bombeeck, H.
- 1.2 Casement, R.
- 1.3 Chaltin, Louis Napoleon
- 1.4 Frobenius, Leo
- 1.5 Gentil (Christian name unrecorded)
- 1.6 Grenfell, George
- 1.7 Hohmann, Georges
- 1.8 Lapsley, Samuel
- 1.9 Fritz, Linden
- 1.10 Morel, E.D
- 1.11 Sheppard, William
- 1.12 Thesiger, Wilfred
- 1.13 Verner, Samuel
- 1.14 Wissmann

1.1 Bombeeck, H (02/15/1876-[?])

Bombeeck (Harry Charles Joseph) was a commercial agent. He was the son of Henri Désiré and Marie-Rosalie Haecht and was born in Schaerbeek on February 15, 1876. He studied at the Jesuit college in Aalst from 1884 to 1887 and then taught school pupils in Aalst, then in 1887 he went to Namur. He attained sub-lieuteneant in 1894. He then worked in the following year as a commercial agent for Belgian Company, *Haut Congo Trade*. In 1896, he left Antwerp for Matadi (arrives June 29th) and then went to Kinshasa via the caravan route. In October, he then went to the post of Stanley Falls headed by the chief agen W. Langheld. After a brief stay in the factory of Isnagi, he is sent to Yaminga to continue the functions of Deputy M. Alziari. In June 1897, he arrived again in Insange to work for Mr Goethals, the head of the factory there. He was then posted to N'Gundji where he was successful in purchasing ivory and rubber. In February 1898, he moved to Yaminga as a quality control manager, where he increased the number of commercial transactions in this factory. In 1899, he returned to Belgium. From 1902-1904, he worked for the Congo Free State and took leadership of Matadi station and the *Crédit Commercial Congolais* (CCC). In 1904, he left again for Congo working for ABIR (Anglo Belgian Rubber Company) in the Maringa Lopori. In 1906, he was head of a factory (or sector) of Bongandanga. In November that same year, he was in the service of the Congo Free State for a period of around on year, as a senior executive officer. In 1906, he moved to the post of Lokolenge. In March 1907, he went to Coquilhaitville. Later in March 1907, he went to Boma. He resigned due to illness in April 1907. He returned to Belgium before coming back to Katanga in 1909 as director of the Intertropical Anglo-Belgian Trading Company and officer of the Bank of the Belgian Congo (until 1911). Note, this is where Hilton Simpson and Torday say he managed the post of Dumba for the *Compagnie du Kasai*. After 1929, he voluntarily worked in the publicity department for the Bulletin of Colonial Veterans, which became the Congolese Illustrated Magazine in 1947. In 1960, he was appointed vice president of the honorary committee of the Veterans of the Congo Free State and the Belgian

Congo, and in October 1960, he became a member of the executive committee of the *Revue Congolaise Illustrated*.

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Hilton Simpson's Diary (RAI MS65:1, volume 7). This is the only source that details his time in Dumba.

See Bombeeck's papers in the Royal Museum of Central Africa Archives, ref 94.17.

These papers largely concern his memories of the "Arab Wars" in the 1890s, and were compiled retrospectively for the museum's archive in 1954 upon the request of Mr Olbrechts.

Salmon, P. 1990. *The African career Bombeeck Harry, Commercial Officer (1896-1899)*.

Salmon, P. 1995. Sources: Foreign Affairs / African Affairs. Register Serial No. 6147; 346 personal record; Personal Folder 1109 (1266).

1.2 Casement, Roger David (1 September 1864 – 3 August 1916)

Casement worked in the Congo for Henry Morton Stanley and the African International Association from 1884; this association became known as a front for King Leopold II of Belgium in his takeover of the Congo Free State. In 1890 Casement met Joseph Conrad, who had come to the Congo to use a merchant ship, *Le Roi des Belges*, to recover a European from a trading post on the upper reaches of the Congo River. Both had come inspired by the idea that “European colonization would bring moral and social progress to the continent and free its inhabitants ‘from slavery, paganism and other barbarities.’ Each would soon learn the gravity of his error.” Conrad published his short novel, *Heart of Darkness*, in 1899. Casement would later take on a different kind of writing to expose the conditions he found in the Congo during his official investigation for the British government. Casement joined the Colonial Service, under the authority of the Colonial Office, first serving overseas as a clerk in British West Africa before in August 1901 transferring to the Foreign Office service as British consul in the eastern part of the French Congo. In 1903 the British government commissioned Casement, then its consul at Boma in the Congo Free State, to investigate the human rights situation in that colony of the Belgian king, Leopold II.

Casement travelled for weeks in the upper Congo Basin to interview people throughout the region, including workers, overseers, and mercenaries. He delivered a long, detailed eyewitness report to the Crown that exposed abuses: “the enslavement, mutilation, and torture of natives on the rubber plantations,” becoming known as the Casement Report of 1904.

When the report was made public, opponents of Congolese conditions formed interest groups, such as the Congo Reform Association, founded by E. D. Morel with Casement's support, and demanded action to relieve the situation of the Congolese. Other European nations followed suit, as did the United States, and the British Parliament demanded a meeting of the 14 signatory powers to review the 1885 Berlin Agreement defining interests in Africa. The Belgian Parliament, pushed by

Socialist leader Emile Vandervelde and other critics of the king's Congolese policy, forced Léopold to set up an independent commission of inquiry. In 1905, despite Léopold's efforts, it confirmed the essentials of Casement's report.

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1.3 Chaltin, Louis Napoléon (27 April 1857 – 14 March 1933)

Louis-Napoleon Chaltin (Colonel Chaltin), mentioned in Hilton Simpson's unpublished and published diary. HS and Torday met him in Africa and spoke at length to him about his military endeavours and the future of the Congo. In v.6, 74 of HS's diary, they mentioned sending Chaltin some photos of the rubber plantations in Athènes. There is a good deal of information about him in the historical literature (see below for references) because of his role in the "Arab Wars" in the Congo Free State.

Chaltin was a Belgian army officer who fought against the "Arab Wars" in the Congo Free State in the late 1800s. Chaltin was born in Brussels, Belgium. He was appointed a lieutenant in 1885 and entered the service of the Congo Free State in 1891. In 1893 he was head of the *Force Publique* station at Basoko. He left this post to ascend the Lomami River to Bena-Kamba, then striking overland to Riba Riba, near present-day Kindu. Chaltin burned down Riba Riba. When rebuilt, the town took the name of Lokandu. He then raised the siege of the Stanley Falls station, now Kisangani when it was on the point of falling to the Swahilis. He defeated the Arab-led forces on 18 May 1893. After defeating them again at Kirundu, the Arabs were expelled from the region. On 15 July 1898 the Stanley Falls district would become the Province Orientale, with Stanleyville as its headquarters. Chaltin managed to reach the Nile at Bedden in February 1897, and defeated the Mahdists there in the battle of Rejaf. This consolidated Leopold's claim to the Upper Nile, but Chaltin did not have the forces to do more.

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Ndaywel è Nziem, Isidore. 1998. *Histoire generale du Congo* (De Boeck Supérieur).
Hilton Simpson's Diary (RAI MS.65: 1).

1.4 Frobenius, Leo (1873-1938)

Leo Frobenius was born in Germany. He travelled to the Kasai district in 1904, documenting cultures, taking photographs and making collections. He met Torday in 1904 whilst Torday was at his Compagnie du Kasai post in Kikwit (see <http://www.frobenius-institut.de/en/institute/institutes-history/leo-frobenius/42-das-institut/186-forschungsreisen>).

He travelled around Romania during 1916-1917, documenting cultures, before travelling in the western and central Sudan and northern and north-eastern Africa. In 1920, he founded the *Institute for Cultural Morphology* in Munich. He taught at Frankfurt. In 1925, he gave around 4700 prehistorical African stone paintings to the University, now housed in the University's institute of ethnology, further renamed the Frobenius Institute in 1946 in his honour. In 1932 he became an honorary professor at the University of Frankfurt in 1932 and the director of the municipal ethnographic museum in 1932. Frobenius, taught by Ratzel, developed a number of important theories about diffusion and thought he had discovered an ancient white civilisation (of Atlantis) in South Africa (Miller 1999, 4).

Further References

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Vansina, J. 2010. *Being colonized: the Kuba experience in rural Congo, 1880-1960* (University of Wisconsin Press).

1.5 Gentil

Monsieur Gentil had been in the South of Kwilu country, at a post called Kandale, and had good relations with the Chokwe to the South who went across the Upper Kasai (HS v.6, 34).

Further Reference

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No further information could be retrieved.

1.5 Grenfell (1849-1906)

George Grenfell was a Baptist missionary from Cornwall, England, and explorer of the Congo. He moved to the Cameroons in 1877, before making an ascent of the Mong ma Loba mountain. In 1878, he went up the Lower Congo with Rev. T.J. Comber. He worked with Comber and established the mission stations at Musuko, Vivi, Isnagila, and Manyanga in 1881 (www.grenfellhistory.co.uk). He made his headquarters at Leopoldville and in 1884 he launched the 'Peace,' a river steamer at Stanley Pool (www.grenfellhistory.co.uk). In 1884, the 'Peace' took Grenfell and Comber along the Kwa, Kwango and Kasai rivers (www.grenfellhistory.co.uk). In 1884, he visited Tipu-Tipu at Stanley falls in 1884, followed the Mubangi for 200 miles toward what had since been named Grenfall falls (see www.grenfellhistory.co.uk, and Johnston. 1908, 116-127). His third voyage on the peace in 1885 explored the tributaries of the Congo from the east and the South (www.grenfellhistory.co.uk). His fourth journey in 1886 was with Wissman and Baron von Nimptsch, up the main stream of the Kasai, the Sankuru, the Luebo and the Lulua, with notes being made on the Kuba and Teke peoples (www.grenfellhistory.org). His fifth voyage in in 1886, passed along the Kwa and Mfini to Lake Leopold II and on the sixth voyage in December 1886 with Holman Bently, he went up the Kwango River up to the Kingunji rapids (www.grenfellhistory.org). He returned home before returning in 1891 upon a Belgian order to arrange a settlement with Portugal on the frontier of the Lunda (www.grenfellhistory.org). In 1892, Grenfell and his wife reached Mwene Putu Kasongo, the headquarters on the Kwango of the Kiamco (www.grenfellhistory.org). From 1893 to 1900, Grenfell remained at Bolobo on the Congo where a mission station was established (www.grenfellhistory.co.uk). He then explored Uganda. Grenfell died at Basoko of Blackwater fever on 1st July 1906.

Further Reference

www.Grenfellhistory.org.

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Harry Lathey Hemmens. 1927. *George Grenfell: Pioneer in Congo* (London: Student Christian Movement).

1.7 George Hohmann

Georges Hohmann was an agent of the Comagnie du Kasai at the factory of Luebo ; he later founded the factor of Ibanshi where he stayed for two years (in the region of Mushenge). He explored the Lubudi River and the area between the Lubudi River and the Sankuru and Lulua Rivers. From 1902 onwards he went on a number of exploratory missions up the Loange River, culminating in the mission of 1906-1907.

Further Reference

RMCA archives : Papiers Hohmann, G. 1897 - 1907. RG 1099. 1 folder.

1.8 Lapsley, Samuel (1866-1892)

Samuel Norvell Lapsley was a Presbyterian missionary in the Congo and was born in Alabama, United States. He became ordained in 1889 (www.dacb.org). He served in the Congo Free State from May 1890 to March 1892 (www.dacb.org). He worked with William Sheppard to found the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM). Together they explored the Kwango and Kasai river systems, selected the site of Luebo station, on the Lulua River (www.dacb.org). Lapsley began analysis and study of the Tschikete, Bushongo, and Tschiluba languages of the Kasai area of Congo (www.dacb.org). He died of Blackwater fever in Matadi (www.dacb.org).

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Scott, E.C. 1942. *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., 1861-1941*.

1.9 Linden, Fritz

Linden went on a study mission to Congo sponsored by the *Etoile Belge* and by the *Chronique*. They left Anvers in July 1908. They took the Leopoldville steamer to Lisambo, and passed Tombolo, Luluabourg, Luebo, Ibanche, Muschenge, and Bena Makima (See Linden 1910, 7).

Further Reference

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Linden, Fritz. 1910. *Le Congo: les Noirs et Nous* (Paris: Callamel).

1.10 Morel, E.D.

Morel launched the Reform Congo Campaign. At first, Morel's articles reflected the economic interests of Liverpool's merchants. However, he became deeply concerned about the damage that Britain was doing to African culture. This included information that the anthropologist, Mary Kingsley, had given him about Sierra Leone. Morel was especially worried about stories he heard about the rubber trade in the Congo. He discovered that European merchants were forcing Africans to perform unpaid labour. A series of articles entitled The Congo Scandal appeared in The Speaker journal in 1900. As his own company, Elder Dempster, was involved in this trade, Morel was forced to resign.

Morel then became a full-time journalist working for the newspaper West Africa. In 1903 he founded his own newspaper, West African Mail, and although it provided him with a vehicle to expose the bad behaviour of Europeans in Africa, it failed to make a profit. Morel also established the Congo Reform Association, an organisation that campaigned to persuade European governments to take action against those guilty of human rights abuses.

While carrying out his investigations in Africa E. D. Morel became convinced that diplomats in Britain and France were sometimes involved in immoral deals. In 1912 he published Morocco in Diplomacy, a book where he blamed the governments in Britain and France for the Moroccan crises of 1905 and 1911.

Further Reference

For a catalogue of Morel's papers see <https://archives.lse.ac.uk/TreeBrowse.aspx>.

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1.11 Sheppard, William (1865-1927)

Sheppard was born in Waynesboro, Virginia in 1865 to William Henry Sheppard Senior and Fannie Frances Sheppard. He was a free man, born a month before the end of the American Civil War. There are no records to show whether his father was born into slavery or was a freedman. William Sheppard (junior) worked as a waiter to put himself through the newly created Hampton Institute where Booker T. Washington was his teacher. He then went to a theological school in Alabama. He was ordained in 1888, and worked in Atlanta, Georgia. He was then sent on a mission to Congo with Lapsey (Lapsey died in 1891).

The Reverend Dr. William Henry Sheppard was an African-American missionary of the Presbyterian Church. He opposed cruel and exploitative treatment of peoples in the Kasai District of the Congo by the Kasai Rubber Company (Compagnie du Kasai) during the reign (1865-1909) of King Leopold II of Belgium.

Sheppard learnt a local language spoken among the Kuba (Luba?), and visited the edge of Kuba country in 1892. Kot aMwecky, the *Nyimi* at the time, declared Sheppard his deceased son, Bope Mekabe, sparing Sheppard's life, which was at risk because of hostile villagers (Kennedy 2002, 89). He began to collect artefacts while in the capital. He was granted permission for a Presbyterian mission. However, several years passed as Kot aMwecky was overthrown (Kennedy 2002, 130).

He began to work with Morrison after Lapsey's death and together they began reporting on the cruel treatment of Leopold's government and concession companies in the area (especially the Compagnie du Kasai). Along with Roger Casement, they would form the Reform Congo Association. Other missionaries, Hawkins and Vass, began to report on the activities of Zappo Zap and Sheppard counted severed hands that the 'Zappo Zaps' had cut off. In 1908, Sheppard published a report of the colonial abuses in the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) newsletter and was sued for libel against the Compagnie du Kasai. The case went to court in September 1909 and was acquitted.

The collections made by Sheppard are held at Hampton University, which has the items he collected on display at the Hampton University Museum (see Cureau 1982).

Further Reference

The Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has a collection of photographs and personal papers of William H. Sheppard (seven boxes. Ref RG 457). U.S. Department of State, File No. 792, 1906-1910, National Archives. These sources document: (a) the involvement of Sheppard and Morrison in a libel suit initiated against them by the Kasai Rubber Company; and (b) the official intervention, in their behalf, by the U.S. State Department, and the Congo Reform Association of Boston. Massachusetts (see Cureau 1982).

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Washington. Booker T. 1904. "Cruelty in the Congo Country", *Outlook* 78, 375-77.

1.12 Thesiger, Wilfred G.

Thesiger was Vice-Consul to Taranto between 1897 and 1900. He fought with the Imperial Yeomanry in the Second Boer War between 1900 and 1901, where he was mentioned in dispatches. For his services he was appointed a Companion of the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) in 1900 and promoted to the rank of Captain. He resigned his commission in October 1901,^[1] and entered the diplomatic service. He held the following offices

- 1901-1906: Vice-Consul to Belgrade
- 1905-1908: Consul to St. Petersburg
- 1908-1909: Consul to Boma, Congo
- 1909-1919: Consul-General and Minister Plenipotentiary to Addis Ababa.

Further reference

Osborne, John B. 1999. "Thesiger, Sir Edward Grey and the British Campaign to Reform the Congo, 1905-1909," *The British Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, v. 27, 59-80.

1.13 Verner, Samuel Phillips

Verner left for Africa in 1895, after the mission station at Luebo was in some crisis after Lapsley's death and Sheppard's departure for the US to recruit four other black missionaries. He was ordained at great speed because of these difficulties in personell (Crawford 1982, 45). He remained in Matadi until 1896, before going to Stanley Pool. After acquiring a working knowledge of Tchiluba, he was invited to join *Ndombe's* village, who Crawford states was a Mukuba chief (Crawford 1982, 51). It was in Ndombe he did the majority of his work. Verner is perhaps most famous for bringing to the St Louis Exhibition of 1904 several Batwa pygmies from the Kasai.

Further Reference

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John R. Crawford, "the Instructive Missionary Career of Samuel Phillips Verner."

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1.14 Wissmann (1853-1905)

Granted a leave of absence from the army, in 1880, Wissmann accompanied explorer Paul Pogge on a journey through the Congo Basin. In the eastern Congo, Pogge and Wissmann parted company. Pogge stayed to build an agricultural research station for a Congolese chief, while Wissmann trekked to the Indian Ocean via present-day Tanzania. He was awarded the 1888 Founder's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society for his explorations. Afterwards Wissmann was in the employ of King Leopold II of Belgium, who was in the process of creating his personal African empire, known as the Congo Free State.

In March 1883 Wissmann gave the name "Zappo Zap" to a Songye leader known as Nsapu who ruled over the town of Mpengie, part of the Ben'Eki kingdom in the eastern Kasai region. This was a settlement with more than a thousand people, many of them slave warriors, to the east of the Sankuru River between Kabinda and Lusambo. Zappo Zap's people became allies and auxiliaries of the Congo Free State authorities. In 1899 they were sent out by the colonial administration to collect taxes. They massacred many villagers, causing an international outcry.

In 1889, Wissmann was promoted to Captain and appointed as Reichskommissar for the German East Africa region where he was tasked with suppression of the Abushiri Revolt led by Abushiri ibn Salim al-Harhi.

Wissmann was promoted to Major in 1890 and given a hero's welcome on his return to Germany. In 1891 he was named Commissioner for the western region of German East Africa and became Governor in 1895. Ill health forced him to return to Germany in 1896 where he authored several books and lectured throughout Germany. He died in a hunting accident on 15 June 1905.

Further Reference

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"Wissmann, Hermann von" in *New International Encyclopaedia*, 1905.

Appendix 2

Timeline of the Expedition

1875 Emil Torday born.

1878 Thomas Althol Joyce born.

1881 Hilton Simpson born.

1890s Torday works at Brussels Bank.

1900 Torday works for in a colonial post in Congo.

1904-1906 Torday works as a trader for the Compagnie du Kasai in Kikwit, south central Kasai.

1907 The Expedition leaves the UK for Congo.

PHASE ONE

- **October 1907** Matadi (HS v.1).
- **October 1907- November 10th 1907** Leopoldville (HS v.1).
- **November 14th - December 2nd 1907** Dima. Interviewed Boboma/collected vocabulary. Encounter Boboma villages along the river(HS v.1, 41-52).
- **December 9th - 10th 1907** stay at Lubue. Inhabitants named Badinga. Collected Pende cups. Inhabitants on “left bank” Bashilele (HS v1, 61-HS v.2, 1-2).

December 10th 1907-February 20th 1908. Voyage up Sankuru, stay at Mokunji, and return to Lusambo (HS v2, 1- 72).

- **December 11th 1907** Basongo. Military post run by Lieutenant le Grand. “Bashilange” on left bank shot with arrows December 10th. Basongo Meno on right bank (“unfriendly”) (HS v.2, 2).
- **December 13th 1907** Ck post of Butala. Met two Kuba ‘medicine’ men. Bought iron bracelet. (HS v.2, 4).
- **December 14th 1907** Bolombo. Kuba live on left bank and Bankutu on right bank.
- **December 19th 1907** Bena Dibele, a state post (HS v.2, 10). Inhabitants Basongo Meno and Bankutu, also deported Batetela (HS v. 2 11).
- **December 20th 1907** Idanga , Ck Post. Mr Wascher was agent (HS v.2, 13).
- **December 21st 1907** Lonkala, Ck post. Mr Lefevre was agent (HS v.2, 14)

- **December 22nd 1907** Kondu, Ck post on left bank. Mr lodge was agent (HS v.2, 14).
- **December 19th -22nd 1907** Lubufu (Dec 20th Lubefu by boat and back).

PHASE TWO

- **December 28th 1907** visited by Basongo chief and orchestra (Hs v.2, 21).
- **December 29th 1907- December 31st 1907**, arrive at Kasongo Batetela (on foot). Ck post here. Trek through various villages (HS v.2, 22).
- **Jan 2nd 1908-Jan 3rd 1908** Osodui (HS v.2, 26).
- **January 3rd 1908** Mokunji (HS v.2, 29).
- **January 4th 1908** Ck post called Mokunji (a couple of hours march from 'native town' (HS v.2, 30). Spent one month here (back and forth).
- **January 7th 1908** went in hammocks to Lubufu by road. Worked with deposed chief "okitu" on history and customs of Mokunji and Batetela (HS v.2, 32).
- **Jan 12th 1908** worked with a Tetetela elder who argued with the Mokunji histories of great chief on phonograph (HS v.2, 36).
- **January 16th 1908** went to Mokunji for the day. Jady is chief (HS v.2, 42).
- **Jan 17th -Jan 23rd 1908** specimen labelling and Torday works on Tetetela vocabulary (HS v.2, 45-49).
- **February 14th 1908** passed back through Kasongo, then Batempa (seven hours march). Chef de poste was Mr de Haze (HS v.2, 67).

PHASE THREE

- **February 18th 1908** Lusambo where the Commissaire du District resided.

February 20th 1908-May 31st 1908 Lusambo, Misumba, Bena Dibebe, Kole (HS v.3, 1-78).

- Interviews Kuba kolomo (HS v.3, 2). Met Batwa people and their 'chief', Bakuba of Lusambo (HS v.3, 3).
- **February 27th 1908** got to Gandu, starting place for Misumba (HS v.3, 10).
- **March 1st 1908** set off for Misumba (HS v.3, 12). Stopped at village of Lubumba where chief told the expedition they were Basongo Meno by blood but had adopted Bakuba customs (HS v.3, 13).
- **March 2nd 1908** arrive in Misumba. Mr Croy was CK agent (HS v.3, 15).
- **March 3rd 1908** Torday interviewed Pongo Pongo (the chief recognised by the state) (HS v.3, 16).

- **March 5th 1908** went to village of Pongo Pongo (HS v.3, 18).
- **March 9th -March 11th 1908** went to village to North West (HS. v.3, 22).
- **March 19th 1908-March 24th 1908** Torday goes from Misumba to Kachaballa and on a tour of rubber producing villages. Comes back with Kuba-Ngendi purchases (HS v.3, 30- 35). Hilton Simpson stays in Misumba. March 25th made some notes on Ngendi from a man of Croy's (HS v.3, 35).
- **March 27th 1908** went to see 'instructor of the young,' the Bilumbu (HS v.3, 38). Numerous visits were made.
- **April 12th 1908** overland to Gandu to catch the boat to Bolombo (HS v.3, 49).
- **April 16th 1908** Hardy went to Dima (to go home) and Torday and Hilton Simpson waited for the boat to Dibebe (HS v.3, 53).
- **April 23rd 1908** on way to Dibebe (HS v.3, 59). April 25th 1908 arrived at Dibebe (HS v.3,60).
- **May 20th -24th 1908** travel to Lukenge, where an iron boat was taken over to the right bank to Kole. Worked with Bankutu in Kole (HS v.3, 70).

PHASE FOUR

June 1st 1908-August 15th 1908, Kole, Lodja, journey to the Akela and return, Lodja (HS v.4, 1- 65).

- **June 18th 1908** left for Lodja (HS v.4, 8). June 23rd 1908, arrived at Lodja (HS v.4, 12).
- **June 25th 1908** Batetela village Oyumba. People from Oyumba then came to Lodja in days following (HS v.4, 12).
- **July 5th 1908** set off for a "circular tour" to "Ikala" (Alkela) country (HS v.4, 19).
- **July 7th 1908** Kondolo (HS v.4, 22).
- **July 8th 1908** Ekole. Worked with Vungi people (HS v.4, 23).
- **July 9th 1908** village of Loala, the Tchika. Vungi villages (HS v.4, 26).
- **July 10th 1908** village of Mungi (HS v.4, 29).
- **July 12th 1908** Alanga (Ha v.4, 30).
- **July 14th 1908** Okala (HS v.4, 33).
- **July 15th 1908** Chadu (HS v.4, 34).
- **July 16th 1908** Saidi's village. (HS v.4, 35).
- **July 17th 1908** Lohindu Jofu (HS v.4, 36).

- **July 19th 1908** Village of Pukutuhu (HS v.4, 40).
- **July 20th 1908** Okulungu village (HS v.4, 41).
- **July 21st 1908** Lukesu village (HS v.4, 42). People are Bahamba.
- **July 22nd 1908** Various southern Akela villages: Ikuhe and Ikunu (HS v.4, 43).
- **July 24th 1908** Akela village of Luluwatu (HS v.4, 45).
- **July 25th 1908** Shinkondo village (HS v.4, 46).
- **July 26th 1908** Deko village (HS v.4, 47).
- **July 28th 1908** Village of Aleki (HS v.4, 50).
- **July 29th 1908** Back to village of Kondolo (HS v.4, 52)
- **July 31st 1908** Lodja (HS v.4, 53).

Lodja to Idanga; Bolombo to Mishenge-shooting trip West of Mushenge, stay in Mushenge (HS v.5 1-75).

- **August 21st 1908** Dibele (by boat) (HS v.5, 4).

PHASE FIVE

- **September 19th 1908** Loads went overland to Lukengu (Mushenge) while two men stopped at wood post, Lodi, one hour's march from Kuba village of Lodi (HS v.5, 16).
- **September 21st 1908** village of Buelo (HS v.5, 17).
- **September 22nd 1908** village of Muembe (HS v.5, 18).
- **September 23rd 1908** Village of Mai (HS v.5, 18).
- **September 24th 1908** arrive in Mushenge (HS v.5, 19).
- **December 21st 1908** left Mushenge (HS v.5, 18). Spent three months here. Franzman agent of factory.

PHASE SIX

- **December 22nd 1908** Nuembe (HS v.5, 18).
- **December 23rd 1908** Songanginga village (HS v.5, 19).
- **December 24th 1908** Lodi (wood post) then Bolombo until January 9th 1909 (HS v.5, 19).
- **January 9th 1909** Butala wood station (HS v.5, 29).
- **January 9th 1909** Confluence of Sankuru/Kasai, brief stop at Basongo then Pangu on the Kasai ("the Ck hospital pool") (HS v.5, 30-31).

- **January 10th 1909** Mangey (HS v.5, 32).
- **January 11th 1909** Dima (HS v.5, 33).
- **January 25th 1909** Pana mission (HS v.5, 38).
- **January 26th 1909** camped at Pana (HS v.5, 39).
- **February 4th 1909** visited a Bayanzi village near the mission and stayed at Pana until Feb 18th, hunting buffalo and bull (HS v.5, 45).
- **February 18th 1909** slept at Luano (HS v.5, 59).
- **February 19th 1909** slept at Kongo (HS v.5, 59).
- **February 20th 1909** slept at the mouth of the Kwengo [Kwango?] (HS v.5, 60).

PHASE SEVEN

- **February 21st 1909** arrive Kikwit. Agent is Mr Thiebaut. Slept in house built by Torday (HS v.5, 60).
- **February 24th 1909** went to Bambala village of Zinga (HS v.5, 62).
- **March 11th 1909** Chikwata, factory and a village (HS v.5, 67).
- **March 12th 1909** Bamba village (accessed overland) (HS v.5, 67).
- **March 13th 1909** Kimbinga village, Babunda (HS v.5, 68).
- **March 14th 1909** Babunda village of Banda (Hougart, the agent of Athenes met them and they camped here) (HS v.5, 69).
- **March 15th 1909** Athenes (HS v.5, 69).
- **March 18th 1909** visited villages south of Athenes (HS v.5, 71).

April 6th, 1909-July 24th 1909 (HS v.7)

- **April 10th 1909** went on rounds with Hougardy (south of Athenes) (HS v.7, 5).
- **April 27th 1909** slept in Pende village 6 ½ hours from Athenes (HS v.7, 15).
- **April 28th 1909** Dumba, Ck post. Agent Mr Bombeeck (HS v.7, 15).
- **May 9th 1909** Digindi village and Dibulu (HS v.7, 19).
- **May 10th 1909** Yassa Pende village (HS v.7, 20).
- **May 11th 1909** Kalumba, Pende village (HS v.7, 21).
- **May 12th 1909** Pende village of Molebo (HS v.7, 21). (Passed the Bakongo village of Ganji).
- **May 14th 1909** Kangala (HS v.7, 23). Dilonda chief.

- **May 18th 1909** Kakese (HS v.7, 25).
- **May 21st 1909** Insasi (HS v.7, 27).
- **May 22nd 1909** Boaboa (HS v.7, 29).
- **May 26th 1909** Bwao (HS v.7, 32).
- **May 27th 1909** Bompe (HS v.7, 32-33).
- **May 29th 1909** Bishwam Bura (HS v.7, 35).
- **June 1st 1909** Kanenenke (HS v.7, 36).
- **June 7th 1909** Kenge (HS v.7, 42).
- **June 14th 1909** Makusu (HS v.7, 50).
- **June 19th 1909** Makusu II (HS v.7, 53).
- **June 25th 1909** Itambi (HS v.7, 63).
- **July 1st 1909** Kabwanga (HS v.7, 67).
- **July 3rd 1909** Mayila's village (HS v.7, 69).
- **July 13th 1909** Ibangi (HS v.7, 73).
- **July 14th-25th 1909** Torday leaves Congo

1910 *Les Bushongos* published

1910 Torday marries Caia Rose Macdonald

1911 Hilton Simpson's *Land and Peoples of the Kasai* published.

Ursula Torday Born

1914 Outbreak of World War One: Torday cannot leave England; works from home on various manuscripts and translations. Abandons medical degree.

1921 Second anthropological tome, *Kwango and Kwilu*, published.

1925 *On the trail of the Bushongo* published.

1925 *Causeries Congolaises* published.

1930 *Sociology of the African Races* published.

1931 Torday died.

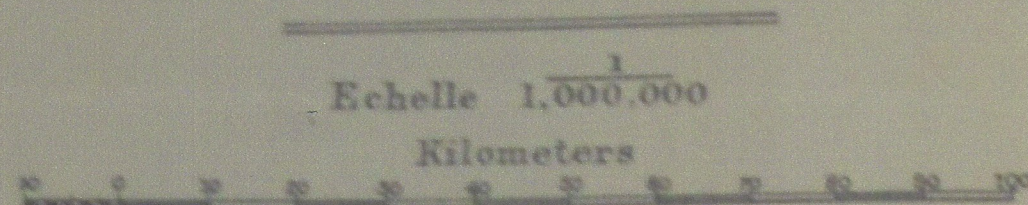
1936 Hilton Simpson died.

Appendix 3

Map of the Expedition

LE ROYAUME
DE
BUSHONGO
ET ITINERAIRE DE L'EXPEDITION

1907 - 1909.



Limite du Royaume de Bushongo
Route de l'Expédition



Appendix 4

Table of Kuba *Nyimi* and their *Ndop*

1600 Shyaam aMbul aNgoong [Shamba Bolongongo].
Kings (title Nyim [Nyimi])
1776 - 1810 Kot aMbul [Kata Mbula]
1810 - 1840 Miko miMbul [Mikope Mbula]
1840 - 1885 Mbop aMabiinc maMbul [Bope Mobinji]
1885 - 1890 Miko aMabiinc maMbul [Mikope Mobinji]
1890 - 1896 Kot aMbweeky aMileng [Koto Mboke]
1896 - 1900 Misha aPelyeeng [Mishanga Pelenge]
1900 Miko aPelyeeng [Mikope Pelenge]
1900 Mbop Pelyeeng II [Bope Pelenge]
1900 [Mingashanga Bake]
1900 Kot aKyeen [Kwete Kena]
1900 - 1901 Mbop aKyeen [Bope Kena]
1901 - 1902 Miko miKyeen [Mikope Kena]
1902 - 1916 Kot aPe [Kwete Peshanga Kena]
1916 - 1919 Mbop aMabiinc maMbweeky [Bope Mobinji Boke]
1919 - 1939 Kot aMabiinc maKyeen [Kwete Mobinji Kena]
1939 - Sep 1969 Mbop aMabiinc maKyeen [Bope Mobinji Kena]
Sep 1969 - Kot aMbweeky aShyaang [Kwete Mboke]

See Table (below) for corresponding *ndop*

Table: adapted from Vansina 1972, 54. Colours correspond to various *Nyimi* listed above in the Kuba King list (http://www.Africafederation.net/Kasai_History.htm).

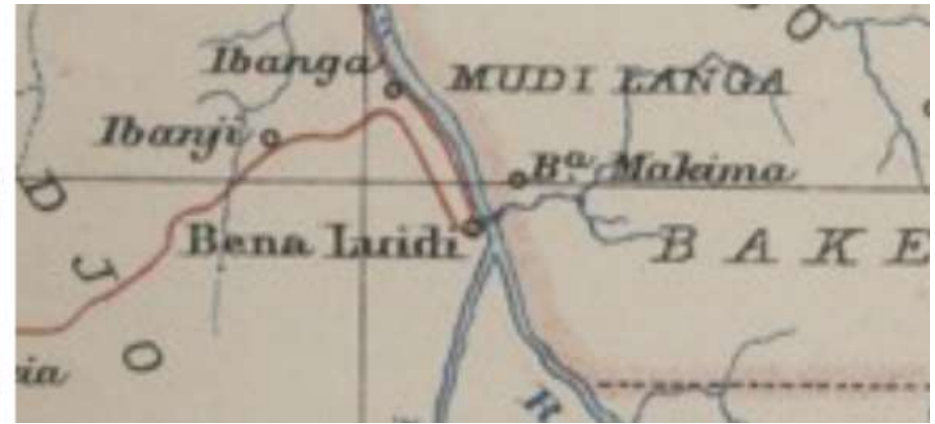
Date of reign	Name of king	Number of <i>ndop</i>	Olbrechts illustration number	<i>Ibol</i> (emblem)
c. 1650	Shyaam aMbul aNgoong	1 ^a	51	<i>mankala</i> or <i>lela</i> game
17th century	Mboong aLeeng	1	—	unknown
	Mbomboosh	1	50	drum type II ^b
	Mbakam	—	—	—
18th century	Kot aMbweky I	—	—	—
	Mishe mi Shaang II	—	—	—
	Kot aNce	—	—	—
	Mishaa Pelyeeng aNce	1	52	drum type I
	Mbo Pelyeeng aNce	1	53	anvil
	Kot aMbul	1	1	drum type I
c. 1800–c. 1835	Miko miMbul	1	56 ^c	woman ^d
c. 1835–c. 1885	Mbop Mabiine MaMbul	?? ^e	—	parrot
	Miko Mabiine	—	—	—
ruled in 1892	Kot aMbweky II	— ^f	—	—
died 1900/1901	Mishaape II	—	—	—
	Mbop Kyeen	1	54	drum type II
	Miko miKyeen	—	—	—
1904–1916	Kot aPe	1	60–62	none, but basket and hammer ^g
1916–1919	Kot aMbweky III	—	—	—
1919–1940	Kot aMabiine	2 ^h	63	parrot
1940–1969	Mbop aMabiine uncertain	? 7 ⁱ	— 57, 59, 63	—

Appendix 5

Lele village photographs

- 5.1. Kangale
- 5.2. Kakese
- 5.3. Insasi/Inshasi
- 5.4. Boaboa/Bwabwa
- 5.5. Bomnpe
- 5.6. Bishwam Bura
- 5.7. Kanenenke [i]
- 5.8. Kanenenke [ii]
- 5.9. .Kenge
- 5.01. Kenge
- 5.11. Makusu
- 5.12. Itambi [i]
- 5.13. Itambi [ii]

Appendix 5.1



Kangale, left bank of Loange River May 14th 1909- 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7, pp. 23-42.



Loom. Kangale, HS v.7, 23



Drum. Kangale, HS v.7, 24



HS v.5, 25



Loom. Kangale, HS v.7, 23

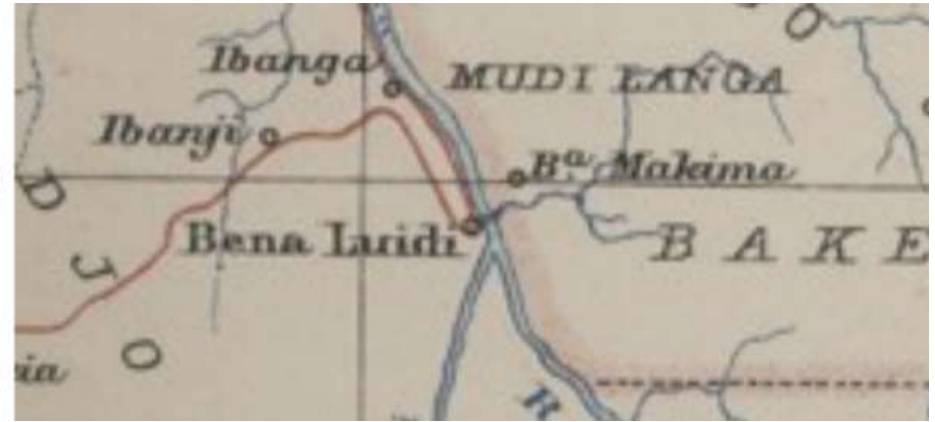
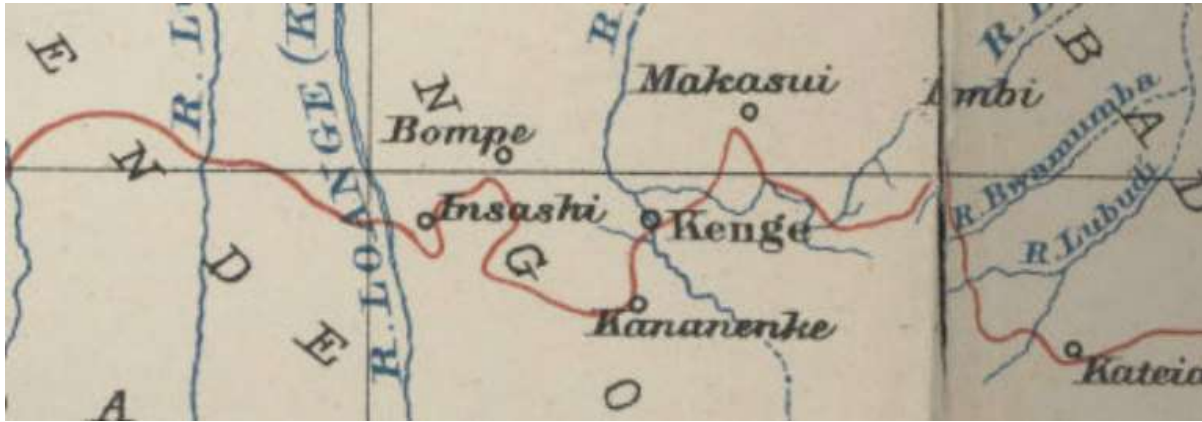


Granary hut. HS v.7, 25



Dilonda, chief of Kangale, HS v.7, 23

Appendix 5.2



Kakese, left bank of Loange River May 18th – May 21st 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7, pp. 25-27.



HS v.7, 27.



HS v.7, 26. "I took a panorama from the top of the palisade"

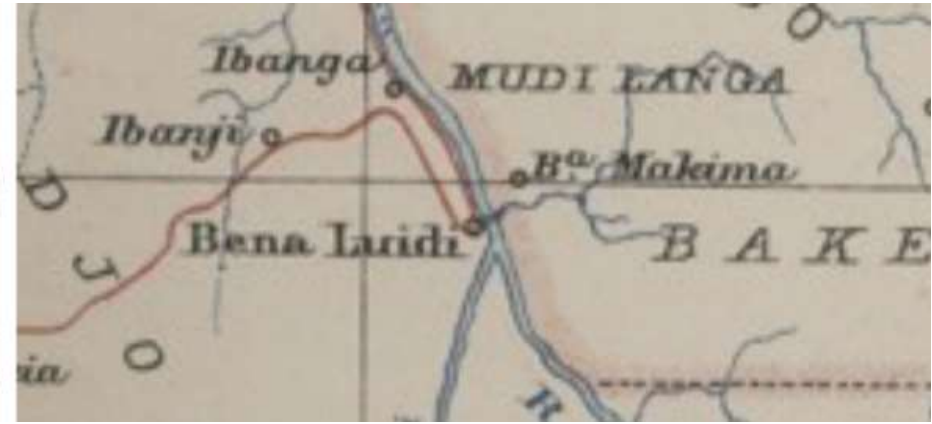


HS v.7, 26.



HS v.7, 26.

Appendix 5.3



Insasi/Insashi, right bank of Loange River May 21st – May 22nd 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7, pp. 27-29.



HS v.7, 29



HS v.7, 29

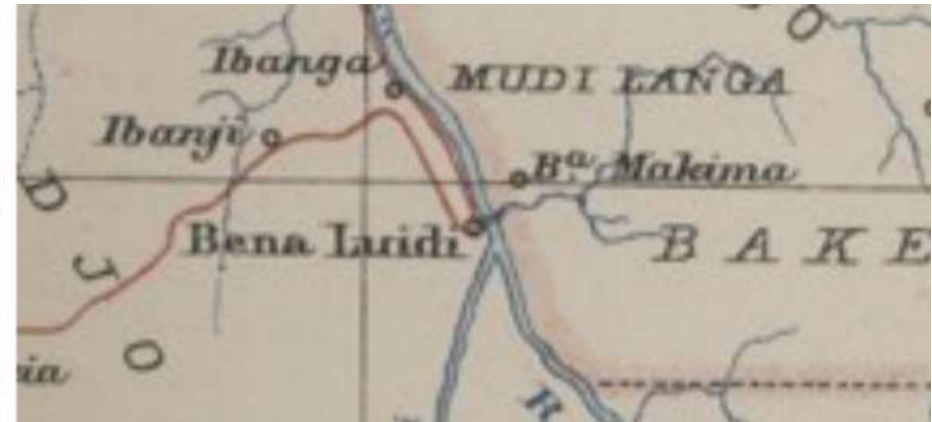


HS v.7, 29



HS v.7, 29

Appendix 5.4



Boaboa/Bwabwa, May 22nd – May 26th 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7, pp.29-32.



HS v.7, 30



HS v.7, 30



HS v.7, 31



HS v.7, 32



HS v.7, 32



HS v.7, 31

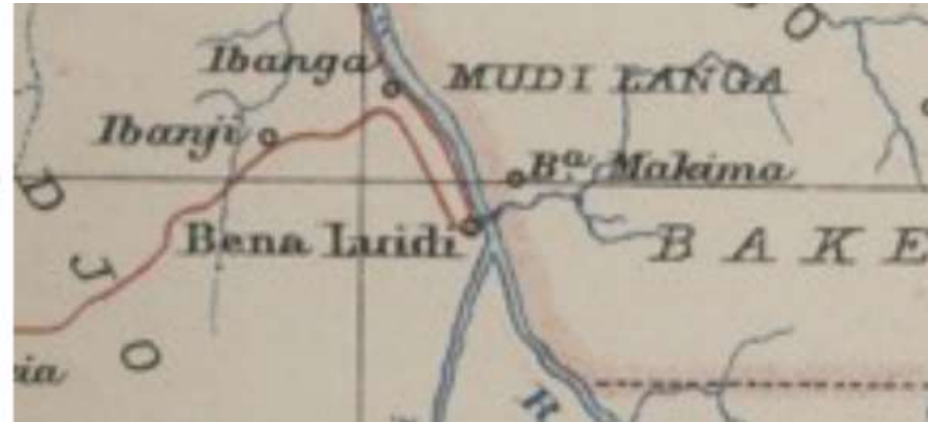
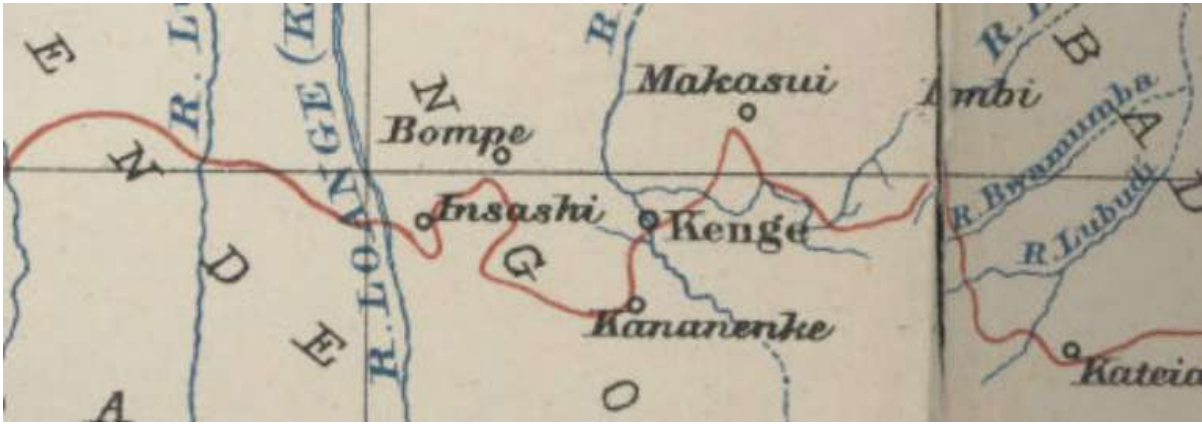


HS v.7, 32



HS v.7, 32

Appendix 5.5



Bompe, May 27th– May 29th 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7, pp.32-35.



HS v.7, 33



HS v.7, 33



HS v.7, 35



HS v.7, 33



HS v.7, 35

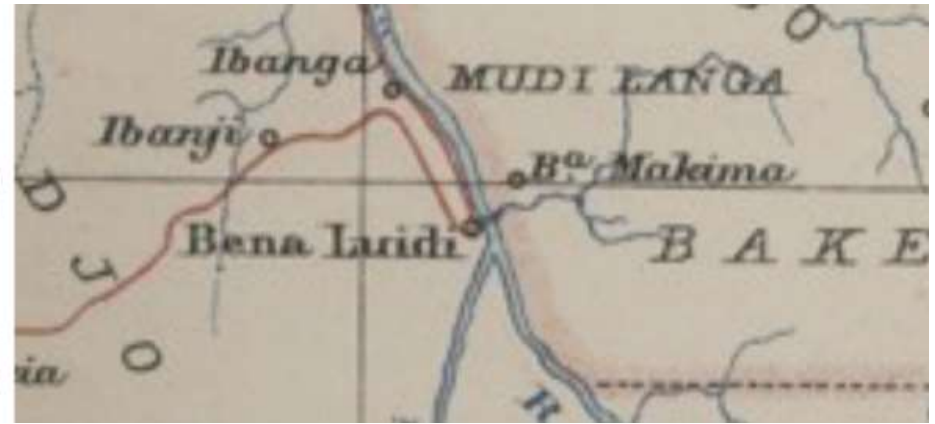


HS v.7, 35



HS v.7, 35

Appendix 5.6



Bishwam Bura, May 29th– June 1st 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7, pp.35-37.



HS v.7, 36



HS v.7, 36



HS v.7, 36



HS v.7, 36

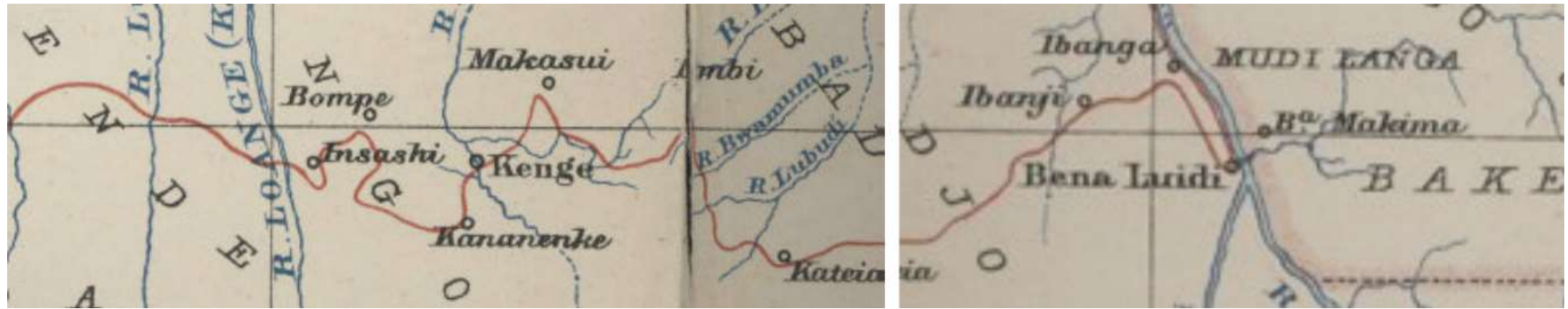


HS v.7, 37



HS v.7, 37

Appendix 5.7



Kanenenke [i] June 1st 1909- June 8th 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7 pp. 37-42



HS v.7, 38



HS v.7, 38



HS v.7, 38



HS v.7, 41



HS v.7, 41



HS v.7, 38



HS v.7, 39



HS v.7, 40



HS v.7, 40

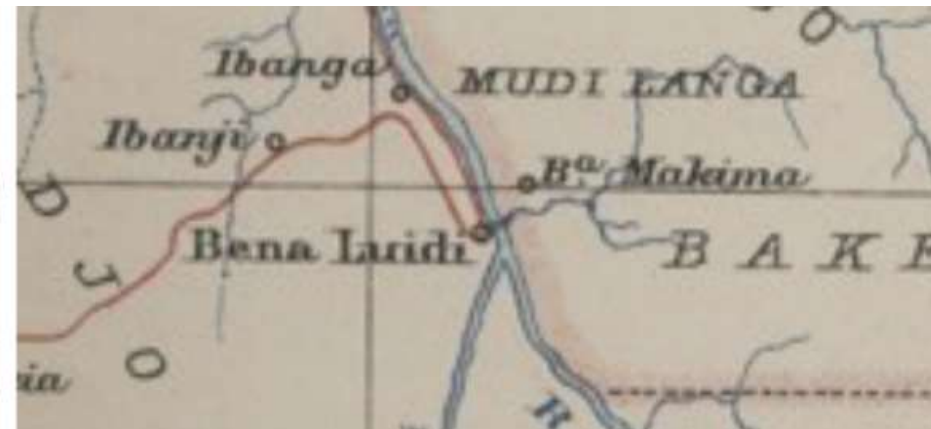


HS v.7, 40



HS v.7, 41

Appendix 5.8



Kanenenke [ii] June 1st 1909- June 8th 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7 pp. 37-42



RAI 400.06854. Woman plucking another woman's eyebrows. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute.



BM R4b47. Cropped and zoomed in same boy (RAI 400. 06832) weaving.



Ref BM R4806. Man carving what appears to be a wooden cup with one foot.



RAI 400.06832. Boy splitting raffia fibres ready to be woven. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute.



RAI 400.06850. Woman making a basket. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute.



Man in Kanenenke from HS v.7, 37

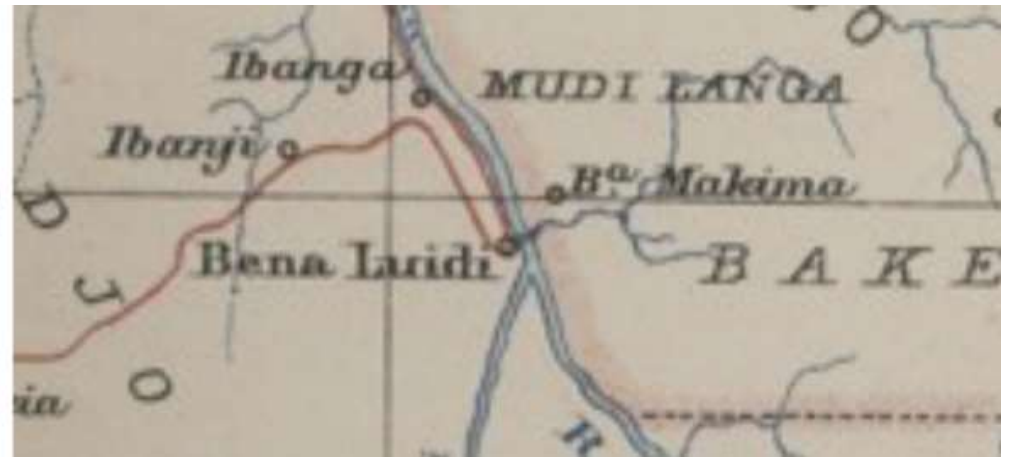


RAI 400.35038. Hilton-Simpson, pipe in mouth, holding arm of young boy who is holding glass (from which he's just drunk Epsom salts). Caption reads: "civilization has some disadvantages. Epsom salt is one of them" H 66909 CA-316-2. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute.



A European machete.

Appendix 5.9



Kenge, June 8th – June 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7 pp. 42-50



HS v.7, 43



HS v.7, 44



HS v.7, 44



HS v.7, 44



HS v.7, 45



HS v.7, 45



HS v.7, 45



HS v.7, 43



HS v.7, 43

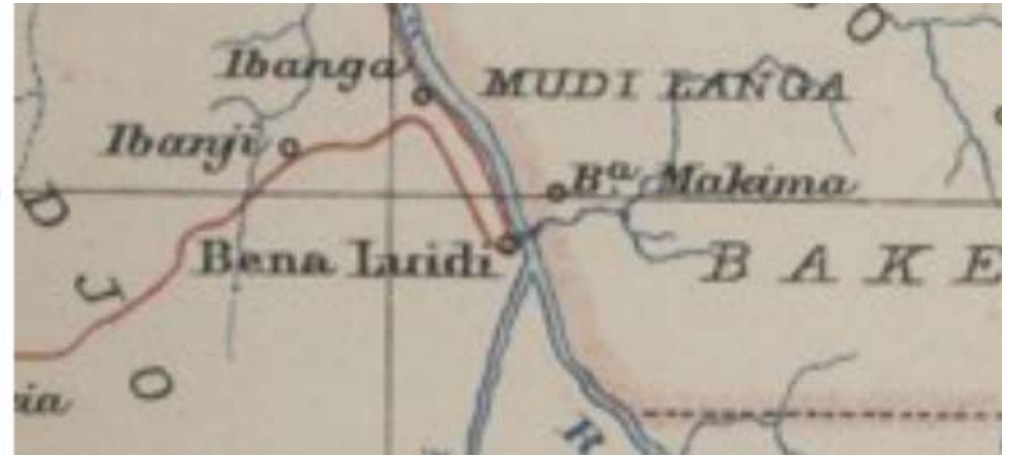


HS v.7, 44



HS v.7, 45

Appendix 5.01



Kenge, June 8th – June 14th 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7 pp. 42-50



HS v.7, 46



HS v.7, 46



HS v.7, 47



HS v.7, 46

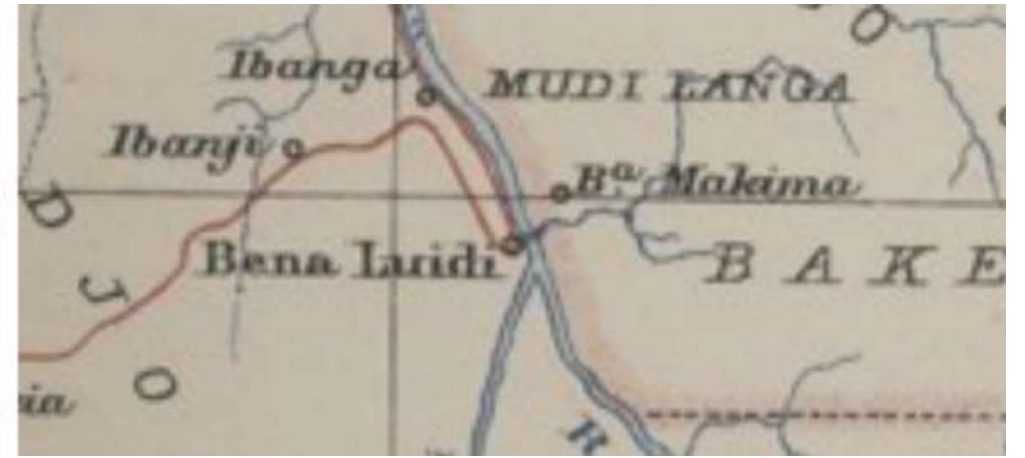
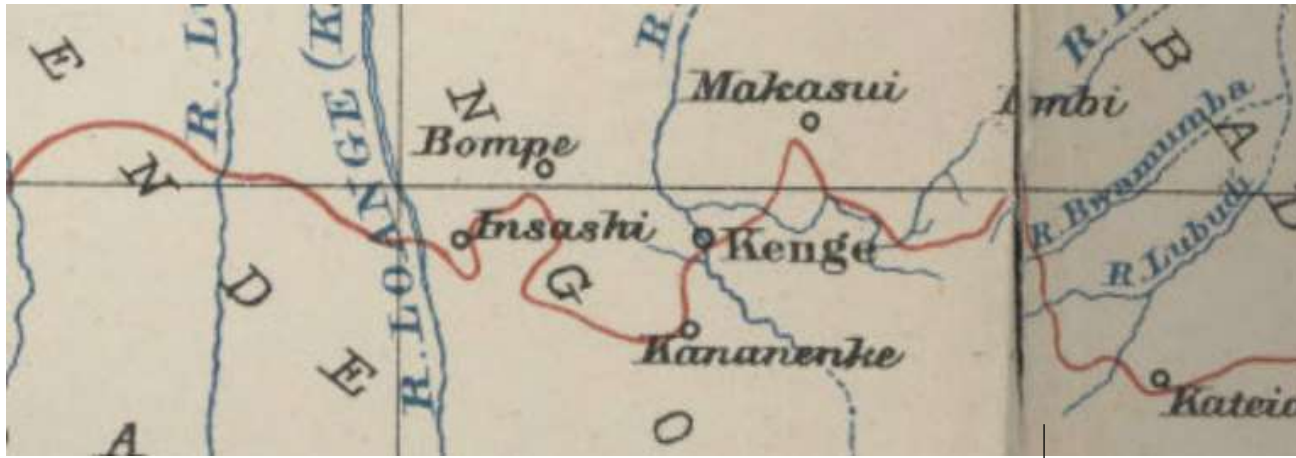


HS v.7, 47



HS v.7, 47

Appendix 5.11



Makusu, June 14th – June 19th 1909. HS v.7, pp. 50-53



HS v.7, 51



HS v.7, 52

Makusu II, June 19th –1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7 pp. 56-62



HS v.7, 57



Badjok trader. HS v.7,57



HS v.7,60

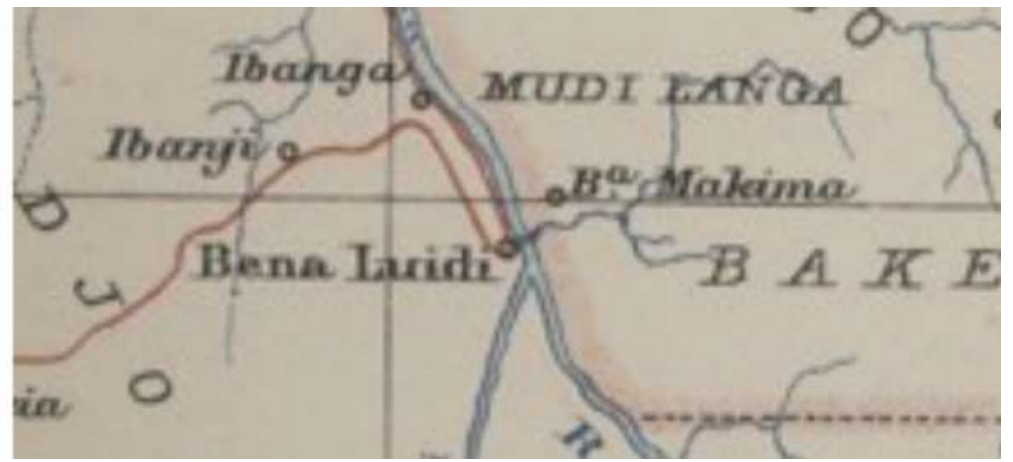


HS v.7,60



HS v.7, 54

Appendix 5.12



Itambi [i] June 25th 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7 pp. 62-67



HS v.7, 63



HS v.7, 64



HS v.7, 64



HS v.7, 67



HS v.7, 67



HS v.7, 67



HS v.7, 63

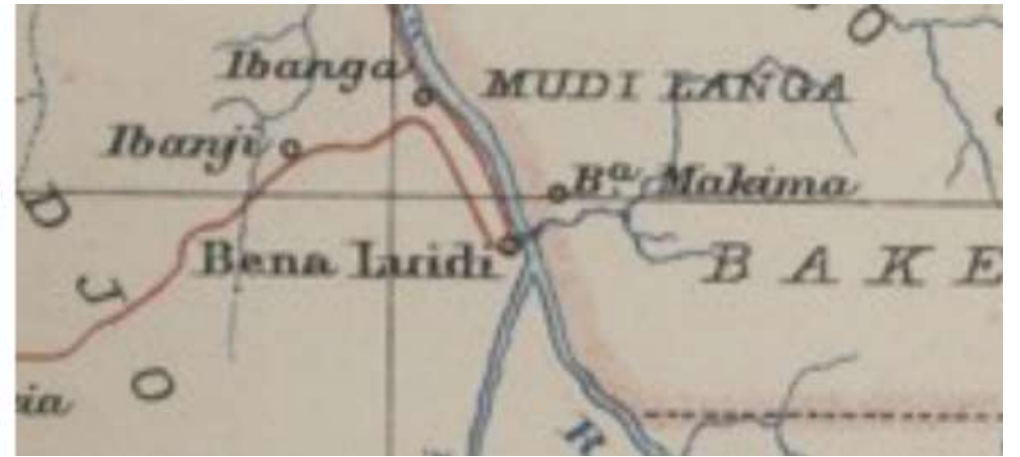


HS v.7, 65



HS v.7, 65

Appendix 5.13



Itambi, June 25th – July 13th 1909. See Hilton Simpson volume 7 pp. 69-73



HS v.7, 69



HS v.7, 70



HS v.7, 72



HS v.7, 69



HS v.7, 69



HS v.7, 70



HS v.7, 70



HS v.7, 70



HS v.7, 72