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TORDAY, Emil (+ Harry JOHNSTON, Dr. HADDON, Henry BALFOUR, E. TORDAY)

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LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE KASAI BASIN* + DISCUSSION

TORDAY, Emil

(+ JOHNSTON, Harry – Dr. HADDON – BALFOUR, Henry – TORDAY, Emil)

It would be an impossible task to give an account of two years' labour in the short time at my disposal; all that I can do is to give a brief summary of the expedition undertaken by Mr. M. W. Hilton Simpson, Mr. Norman H. Hardy, and myself in the two years from October, 1907, to September, 1909.

The purpose of the expedition was to investigate the native tribes in the Kasai basin, in the central part of the Belgian Congo. We furthermore intended to explore the land lying between the Loange and Kasai rivers, and thus fill up one of the few blank spaces still to be found on the map of the Congo. The first part of our plan was, of course, only carried out imperfectly; the immensity of territory and the variety of tribes required time and means more extensive than those at our disposal. During the whole of our stay we made it a point of importance to travel unattended by an armed escort, the first duty of the investigator of native customs being to show peaceful intentions. It serves better to be regarded by the aborigines as at his mercy than to give him the idea that he is at the mercy of the explorer.

A few words must be said about the exploration of the Kasai. Here, as every where in Africa, Englishmen have had the lion's share.

The Kasai river is the most important left-hand affluent of the Congo. Its upper course, discovered by Portuguese at the close of the eighteenth century, was really revealed to geographical science by Livingstone as early as 1859. The name of the river was given to him as Kasabi, and he furnished an account of some of its most important tributaries, such as the Lubilash (Sankuru), the Lulua, and the Kwango. Pogge and Wissmann crossed its middle course in 1881; the point of confluence with the Congo was found in 1877 by Stanley, who thought it was the Kwango, being deceived by the apparent insignificance of its breadth at this place; this, however, is largely compensated by great depth and a violent current. In 1884 Stanley made a short journey up the river to the mouth of the Mfini (Lukenye). A few months later Grenfell ascended it up to the Kwango. The further exploration of the Kasai basin was carried out 1884–85 by Wissmann and his companions, and in 1886 Grenfell and Wissmann made the first attempt to ascend the Sankuru, a river subsequently fully explored by Wolf.

Although I shall use the names of rivers which have been adopted on the existing maps, I think it is worth mentioning that the middle Kasai is called Jari Bumpuru by the Bashilele; this name means "black river." The lower Sankuru is called Chale by the Bushongo. The northern part of the Loange is called Katembo

* Royal Geographical Society, March 7., 1910. Map, p. 128.

by the Bakongo; the southern portion, Djari Babara, or Red river, a name fully justified by the colour of its water. I shall not give a description of the water-courses; this has already been done by Stanley, Wissmann, Grenfell, and Johnston; but the country inland has not yet met with so much attention, and shall therefore be the principal subject of my paper.

We left England on October 1, 1907, and arrived in Matadi on the 27th of the same month. Thence we proceeded by rail to Leopoldville, where we spent about twenty days taking anthropological measurements. We then proceeded to Dima, an important European settlement on the Kasai, a few miles above the mouth of the Kwango. This station lies in the forest belt of the Kasai, the natives belonging to the tribe of the Baboma. The Baboma in earlier times formed two kingdoms, one in the north, extending from Lake Leopold II. to the Kasai, the other in the south, reaching from the Kasai to about 3° 20' S. The former is governed by a female chief, the latter by a male ruler named Yampepe.

At the present time European clothes, or at any rate dress made from European materials, is practically universal among the Baboma, but originally they were clad in bark cloth. The red pigment prepared from camwood is applied as an ornament, but cicatrization is not found. The Baboma women, especially those of higher rank, wear enormous neck-rings of brass, which frequently exceed 30 lbs. in weight. As craftsmen the Baboma are inferior to many African peoples; they do not weave, their pottery is purchased from the Basongo Meno, and Bakonde, and the art of metallurgy, though practised in former times, is now practically extinct owing to the importation of trade goods. A peculiarity in their social organization is seen in the fact that a man's property is inherited by his wife if he has no brothers (who are the normal heirs). To this there is an exception in the case of the chieftainship, which, if the deceased chief has left no brother, descends to his son, or, failing a son, to his daughter. This people practise the blood-revenge in cases of homicide, but this crime, and indeed all offences, admit of monetary compensation. The Baboma state that they are the aborigines of the country which they now inhabit, and that they have never practised cannibalism; they further maintain that the poison ordeal was never current among them, but this seems a matter for reasonable doubt.

After a short stay we proceeded by steamer up the Kasai, entered the Sankuru, and on the twenty-first day reached Batempa. Here we landed and began to collect carriers for our journey inland. This was not quite easy; fortunately a caravan had arrived at Lusambo from the Lubefu, our next destination, and the District Commissioner kindly advised the people to take our loads on the return journey, thus permitting them to earn double wages; this proposal was readily accepted.

The aborigines of Batempa are a sub-tribe of the Basonge, who belong, both culturally and linguistically, to the great Baluba family; their position at the present time is between the Sankuru and Lualaba rivers, roughly from 5° S. to 6° 30' S. On the north they are in contact with the southern Batetela, to whom they lost part of their territory in the first half of the nineteenth century. The eastern tribes of Basonge were not visited, and a few details given below must be regarded as applying only to the western tribes. From the accounts of other

travellers, it appears that the eastern tribes differs lightly in culture from those in the west.

One of the most characteristic ornaments of this people is, or rather was, a wooden rod worn through the nasal septum; but it is now practically obsolete, and it is only in the cases of old people that pierced septa are observed. Clothing is made of palm-cloth, the men wearing a double apron, the women a skirt; but European cloth is becoming common. Whereas most of the other tribes visited drink palm-wine, the national beverage of the Basonge is a kind of beer made from manioc and maize. Cannibalism is now virtually extinct, but it was formerly practised by men; the women were carefully excluded from all participation in the proceedings, and were not even allowed to see the pots in which the flesh was cooked. The Basonge are good craftsmen, and manufacture excellent baskets and palm-cloth; the latter is often dyed black with swamp mud, or yellow by means of a vegetable dye. Beside the ordinary system of numeration, the numerals from 1 to 10 can also be expressed by certain gestures with the hands; but the system observed in the west appears to differ from that current in the east, to judge from the accounts of other travellers in the latter region. The nation is ruled by independent great chiefs, each having power over a number of villages which are administered by sub-chiefs. The power is inherited in the male line, but the actual successor is chosen by the senior elder after consultation with another or with the others. One of the chief characteristics of this people is their musical talent; they possess a large variety of instruments, and every chief maintains an orchestra; most interesting are the flute-orchestras, in which each member plays a flute with a single note, and the success of the performance depends on each performer sounding his instrument at exactly the right moment. Choral singing in harmony is also found. The Basonge believe in an all-powerful creator who taught them most of the useful arts, and to whom the souls of the dead go. This deity is called Efile Mokulu, the name, with slight difference in pronunciation, applied by all Baluba people to the supreme divinity. There are a number of professional magicians, whose duties consist in manufacturing personal fetishes, and preparing charms for the benefit of individuals who believe that they are the victims of sorcery. Another function of the magician is to catch wandering souls which bring misfortune on the living, but this task, though of the highest importance, lies only within the scope of the most eminent practitioners of the magic art. The poison ordeal is administered to persons suspected of having caused the death of some one else by means of sorcery.

We left Batempa on December 27. First we marched through the forest belt that borders the Sankuru, traversing several steep ascents. We soon reached open undulating grassland, not unlike the Downs, in the hollow of which were belts of trees, indicating brooks and rivulets. After the first stage the country became hilly, with frequent patches of forest. The Batetela who inhabit the country have the habit of establishing hamlets (*shamba*) (not unlike the *tanya* of my native country, Hungary), surrounded by immense plantations of millet. We appeared to be travelling mostly through cultivated territory. For these plantations, ground is cleared yearly; in fact, it is not improbable that many centuries ago the whole

country was forest, and its present more open condition is due to the unceasing progress of the cultivators. Although some alarmist reports reached us about the state of the country, we found it extremely peaceful, and we were received with great friendliness by the natives. Orchestras of native musicians met us at some distance from the entrance of every village, and food was provided for our carriers at a very moderate price. We had now reached the "State" road, which is as a rule about 5 to 10 yards broad. The duty devolves upon each village, in lieu of taxes, to keep that portion of the road in its immediate neighbourhood clear of vegetation. Continuing over undulating grassland, interrupted by small woods, we reached Mokunji on the fifth day, the town of the chief of the Sungu sub-tribe of the Batetela.

The tribes who must be included under the general name of Batetela extend over a very large region; from a number of sub-tribes who inhabit both banks of the Lubefu adjoining the Basonge, to others living to the north of the Lukenye and adjoining the Akela. The former appear to have moved to their present home from the north, the latter from the south-east; consequently the centre of dispersal may be imagined to be somewhere on the Lomami between these two points of latitude, where the Bakusu, akin to this people, are found. Considerable variety of culture exists among the various tribes; those in the south have adopted a culture suited to the plains, while those in the north exhibit to the full all the characteristics of a forest people. In the south the native culture has been greatly modified by intercourse first of all with the Arabs, and later with the Europeans. In fact, the territory of the southern tribes was the main arena of the fight between the Congo State and the Arabs, which ended in the destruction of the power founded by the latter in Central Africa. The information collected by the expedition is much more precise as far as these southern tribes are concerned, since it was found impossible to remain among the northern tribes for the same length of time, and since the latter were not inclined, to be communicative; but as far as the outward and visible signs of culture are concerned, the conditions prevailing among the Batetela people as a whole afford a fine illustration of a gradual transition from the culture of the plains to that of the forest from the south northwards.

The chief tribe studied in the south was the Sungu; other investigations were carried on among the Olemba on the south bank of the Lukenye, and others again among a number of tribes to the north of that river, to whom allusion will be made under the term Northern Batetela.

Cicatrization is a marked feature of the Batetela as a whole, and the women especially are noticeable from the elaboration of the patterns which they bear on their bodies; among the Sungu the men are not ornamented in this fashion. In the south all clothing is manufactured from European cloth, but this rarely is seen among the Northern Batetela, the men of whom wear palm-cloth and the women a fringed girdle. In the south the native form of hut is circular, but this type is disappearing in favour of a rectangular pattern copied from the houses of Europeans; those of the Olemba are also circular, but further north the rectangular type of the forest is found. Until comparatively recent times all Batetela were cannibals, and the practice appears to have been regarded as so natural that no

secrecy and no superstitious practices were observed in connection with it. A form of enumeration expressed by gesture is current in the south, though the gestures differ from those in use among the Basonge. An interesting feature of Batetela psychology lies in the fact that suicide appears not to be uncommon, and is regarded as an act of courage. Descent is reckoned in the male line, and children are considered as more closely akin to the father's family; in this respect the Batetela differ from many of their neighbours.

It is worthy of note that among the Olemba the various villages are exogamous. As regards music the Batetela compare very unfavourably with the Basonge, from whom the southern tribes are said to have learnt the use of musical instruments, but they possess a form of drum which appears to be unique in Africa; the essential feature of this is a calabash inserted in the side of the instrument, containing a thin membranous diaphragm, which produces a humming sound when the drum is beaten. Batetela are, however, celebrated for their proficiency in transmitting elaborate messages by means of wooden gongs, an art which they have cultivated to a remarkable extent. Another characteristic of the Batetela is their warlike nature, owing to which they were much employed as troops by the Arabs, and in consequence of which their revolt against the State proved a very serious matter. No anthropomorphic fetishes are found among the Batetela, and all so-called fetishes seen in museums are merely fancy carvings; true fetishes are procured from the official magicians, and the owners cannot be induced to part with them at any price. In the south the name given to the supreme being is Winya, and the same name is applied to the sun, though the two are supposed to be distinct. Among the Olemba and further north, this being is termed Matotela, "He who lougheth not," and it seems probable that the name of the people was taken from this word.

In Mokunji European influence is immediately apparent. A rectangular building suggestive of a summer-house is provided for European travellers. The village is composed of rectangular mud houses surrounded by verandahs, arranged to form three straight streets 20 yards wide. These houses are built after the European pattern. The main street ends at the chief's palace, a huge building with several rooms.

The country is simply infested with leopards, and as many as five people have been killed by these beasts in one day. We succeeded in bagging one just after it had killed a woman; it weighed 144 lbs., and measured 8 feet 9 inches from nose to tip of tail.

At three hours' distance from Mokunji is the Lubefu river, an affluent of the Sankuru. Its course is very tortuous, and the current is exceptionally rapid. Nevertheless, when the river is at its height, a small steamer ascends it; when a spot is reached where the current is exceptionally strong, the boat is made fast to a tree, a weight is hung on the safety valve until a dangerous pressure is obtained, and by this means only is it possible to make headway against the stream. We stayed about six weeks in Mokunji; and then returned by the same route to Batempa, and thence descended the Sankuru to Lusambo, the capital of the district.

Lusambo is one of the great towns of the Kasai districts; the population cannot be much less than 40,000. Here all tribes meet, and the Sunday market is one of the most picturesque sights that can be imagined. Bakuba, Batetela, Basonge, Babinji, Bakwamputu, Bakwam-Kosh, and many other tribes are represented. Lusambo shares with Luebo and Luluabourg the distinction of being the rendezvous of all the undesirables in the district; any man or woman who has made him or herself a nuisance in the village and has been driven thence by the chief; thieves, blackguards, loose women, quarrelsome people, will choose one of these three places as his residence. I say this without wishing to disparage the real native population of these places. As a matter of fact, there is only one "town" which has kept the undesirables more or less at a distance – this town is Inkongu, where the Westcotts, English missionaries, make laudable efforts to gather only respectable people round their station. This is not an easy thing, as the natives of good character prefer to stay in their own villages, and it is mostly the undesirables who leave their homes for the towns.

Where so many tribes meet, it is not possible to study the ethnography of the people; a mixture of habits and customs is evolved which is very misleading. Our artist, Mr. Hardy, of course would have liked to stay for ever there, as nowhere could he find such abundant material for his work. We had to disregard his desires, and proceeded by steamer to a small wood post, Gandu, lower down the Sankuru, and thence overland to Misumba, the capital of the Bangongo province of the Bushongo kingdom. The way from Gandu to Misumba lay for some little distance parallel with the river, and we only left the forest belt when we reached the village called Lubumba. The inhabitants of this are Basongo Meno, who quite recently crossed the Sankuru and established themselves on the left bank. Although recent arrivals, they have adopted Bakuba dress and type of house, but they still speak their own language. This village has a flourishing pottery industry.

The next day we marched for the first 10 or 12 miles over slightly undulating grassland; no deep ravines were encountered. Here we saw for the first time one of those crevices of volcanic origin which are so frequent in this country. From a distance the earth appeared to have been artificially cut out with a giant shovel; the crevice, about 500 yards long, may have been 150 to 200 feet deep. At the bottom is a small pond which gives rise to a brook. The following legend accounts for the origin of this ravine. It is probable that the story is true, since the events related occurred not more than sixty or seventy years ago.

A chief, named Ganga, of a village called Bangala (now a part of Misumba), went one day to Zappo Lubumba to take part in some ceremony. On the way he met two very small men, who, instead of saluting him with the respect due to a chief, passed insolently by. Ganga stopped and said, "Do not pretend that you have not seen me; where are you going?" They replied, "Need we account to you for our movements? Tell us first whither *you* go." The followers of the chief, in anger at this rude reply, fell upon the two strangers and slew them. Now, these two little men were wizards, and as soon as they were killed the chief dropped down dead. His men were filled with consternation. "Why has our chief died?" they said. "It was we who killed the wizards; why does the punishment fall upon him?"

Let us take revenge on the people of Zappo Lubumba, whence the wizards came; they must have sent them to destroy our chief." So they went immediately and seized a goat from the village of Zappo Lubumba. When they returned with their booty, the body of the chief had disappeared, and on the spot where they had left the corpse they found a huge mountain. They fled home and told the people of Bangala, who all trooped out to see the marvel. Not long afterwards another chief of Bangala, named Samba Loamba, was travelling by the same road. On arriving at the top of the mountain, he stamped on the ground and cried, "Be accursed, O mountain, who devoured a chief!" Immediately a burst of unnatural laughter was heard, and the mountain disappeared, swallowing up the chief, and leaving in its place the large crevasse which may still be seen. This crevasse is called Miamba Mikumu Bangala (the globe of the chiefs of Bangala).

We arrived in Misumba the same day. Although I have had a good number of years' previous travel in the Congo, I have never met with any village that showed the negro to such advantage as Misumba. Here are several streets, as straight as an arrow, about 30 yards broad, formed by charming well-kept huts, with walls beautifully ornamented with enwoven patterns in black. The streets are absolutely clean, and contain many sheds under which people were weaving, forging, or carving. Everybody was busy; we saw not a single idle person in the village, except some very old men, who looked at the younger people working whilst they smoked their pipes. Misumba has about two thousand inhabitants, and a factory of the Kasai Company is established near it.

Here we were exceedingly successful in our work. I was fortunate enough to cure the old Bilumbu "instructor of youth and chief magician" of a bad attack of fever, and he showed his gratitude by giving me his full confidence and initiating me in many secrets of the people. In addition, we made great friends with two youths belonging to the Babende secret society, and obtained much valuable information from them. Although the main work was done in Misumba, we made excursions into the surrounding country, especially Mr. Hilton Simpson in his hunting expeditions. In our strolls we came across a village the inhabitants of which show the astounding influence exercised by environment on man.

Each chief in this country has a small group of pygmies under his suzerainty; these people hunt for him, and he provides them with vegetable food in exchange for their game. Now, one group, abandoning the nomadic life, has established itself in the small village mentioned above and has taken to agriculture. Only two generations have passed since they left the forest, and they have already lost their pygmy appearance. Though not as big as the Bushongo, they have attained a stature far superior to that of the average pygmy. As intermarriage between Bushongo and these "half ghosts" (which they are considered to be) is out of question, it must be admitted that sunshine, air, and regular life have been the main factors in this change. The Bushongo, who believe that pygmies are semi-ghosts born from crevices of old trees, told us that these Batwa, since the time they adopted the normal life of human creatures, even reproduce like ordinary men, and showed us, as a great curiosity, some normally born young babies.

I cannot even make an attempt to give a description of the art of this people; those who take interest in it will find in the British Museum many hundreds of objects collected by me, and will be obliged to admit that a really pure African art has been evolved by them, an art which must be ranked high even when judged by the standard of civilized peoples.

During our stay at Misumba, on April 1, we felt a shock of earth-quake at about 8 o'clock; as the same shock was felt in Lomela at about seven, the wave seemed to have moved north to south. We stayed in Misumba till April 12. We found that it was impossible to obtain carriers to return to the river, so I approached the chief of the Secret Society, who promised me his help, and next morning over 200 men turned up though we had asked only for 100. When we reached Gandu, we had to wait more than a week for a steamer, being unable to obtain dug-outs from the natives. Here we separated; Mr. Hardy called by other duties, returned to Europe; and Mr. Hilton Simpson and I proceeded to Bena Dibebe, whence we intended to visit the region on the right bank of the Sankuru, which formed then the "Domain privé" of King Leopold. Before our visit this country had only been visited by officials of the State, and we were anxious to compare the forest Batetela with those of the plains around Mokonji.

Bena Dibebe is a State post in the Basongo Meno country. Basongo Meno is the name given to a collection of tribes, not altogether homogeneous, inhabiting the north banks of the Sankuru and Kasai from the mouth of the Lubefu to about the region of the Swinburne rapids. From certain indications it would seem that many of these tribes have moved down from a more northerly situation; some of them have at different times crossed the Sankuru and become incorporated in the great Bushongo empire immediately to the south. Owing to the lack of homogeneity prevailing among the Basongo Meno, it is difficult to give a general sketch of their manners and customs; for this it would be necessary to carry on independent investigations among the different tribes: most of the details given below were collected among the tribe called Bohindu. Cicatrization is practised, and the tribal mark consists in a series of concentric circles on each temple; the incisor teeth are all filed to a point, and from this circumstance the Basongo Meno have received the tribal name which they now bear, meaning "People with filed teeth." Clothing consists of palm-fibre skirts similar to, though less elaborate than, those of the Bushongo. The administration of a Bohindu village is in the hands of five hereditary officials, who bear titles similar to high officials among Bushongo; none of these, however, enter into direct relations with the Congo State officials, but all business is transacted through a sixth officer, who is a man of no standing in the village. The laws of inheritance among the Basongo Meno are rather unusual, in so far as the property of a man is inherited by his children in order of age and irrespective of sex. An interesting form of musical instrument is found among this people, consisting of a spherical whistle made of clay or from a seed-capsule; this is furnished with a large hole over which the player blows, and four finger-holes by means of which different notes are obtained. The religious beliefs of the Basongo Meno appear to be very vague, and the people seem ready to accept those of other tribes with whom they come in contact, notably the

Bushongo. They seem to believe in a shadowy supreme being, but no actual worship is paid him; more important, as having greater effect on the life of the natives, is the belief that an individual may become possessed by some evil influence which causes the deaths of others. People suspected of possession are subjected to a poison ordeal. Belief in transmigration is also found.

Contrary to the reports usually current of the Basongo Meno, no evidence exists on the strength of which cannibalism can be said ever to have existed among them, and they themselves deny the charge. As regards agriculture, they seem more provident than the majority of their neighbours; not only do they cultivate their various food-plants, but also quantities of a certain plant from the ashes of which they make salt; and, in addition, the raphia palm, from which they obtain the material for weaving and tinder used with firesticks (for producing fire by friction). Their weapons are principally bows and arrows, as far as the younger men are concerned; the older men usually carry spears; shields are now obsolete.

On May 20 we descended the Sunkuru in a dug-out, and reached a Basongo Meno village, Pakoba, in about three hours. Next day we proceeded overland, the way lying almost entirely through forest. The country so near the main river impresses one as hilly, owing to the many river-valleys which must be crossed. On the way we saw a rubber-maker's camp, disused. The huts were of leaves and contained beds; in fact, except for the fact that they would not last as long as ordinary village houses, the huts were just as good as those seen in the villages. There was a scaffold from which a sentry could observe the approaching hostile natives. Here this is necessary, for the spot is near the Bankutu country, and those people are very dangerous head-hunting cannibals. The next village we reached, Twipolo, was inhabited by these Bankutu.

The Bankutu inhabit a large district on both banks of the Lukenye river, extending from about long. 22° 30' to long. 23° E. In the east their boundary slopes away north-east and south-east from the river banks. Their neighbours are, on the east the northern Batetela, on the west the Basongo Meno, and on the north the Akela. They are an immigrant tribe from the north, having moved down under pressure exercised by the Akela. Their tribal cicatrization resembles that of the last-mentioned people, but they differ from them in the fact that they remove the upper incisors. Their dress consists of a pleated skirt which does not quite meet on the right thigh; but the women in the south wear a hide girdle with a deep fringe of palm fibre string. Among this tribe the slaves are compelled to wear a special dress, which is, in fact, the ordinary costume of the Akela, to which tribe most of them belong. The Bankutu are great cannibals as far as the male members of the tribe are concerned, and the victims are always slaves; in fact, all slaves are ultimately eaten, since it is believed that if a slave were buried, his ghost would kill his master.

Their chief weapon is the bow, and poison is used on the arrows; shields are now obsolete. Property descends in the male line, but there are indications that at one time relationship was considered stronger on the female side. One of the most interesting points among this tribe is their use of a conventional throwing-knife as currency; the Basongo Meno also use this form of currency, obtaining it from the

Bankutu, who are the manufacturers. The Bankutu are almost the only tribe of this region who have been successful up to the present in resisting the advance of the white man; this fact is due to their skill in forest warfare. Their religious beliefs are very primitive, and include a belief in transmigration; in places the idea of a supreme being has been borrowed from the Batetela.

It is difficult to give a description of Bankutu warfare without falling into the style of the literature which so successfully educates future Bill Sykes's. It will suffice to say that the way leading to their village is defended by poisoned spikes hidden by leaves; that they use bows and arrows set like traps in the form of primitive spring guns, and are quite ready, if a white man is expected, to bait such traps with a live baby, being sure that the European will be unable to resist the temptation to pick up an apparently abandoned child. The poison they use is absolutely deadly. We were most inhospitably received by them, but no violence was attempted towards us, although we had no escort. When we reached Kole we were criticized for crossing such a country without an armed force. Our reason for taking this risk was that, had we had troops with us, we should have never seen the natives at all, and most likely should have been ambushed.

We were now in the most southern part of the great equatorial forest, and during our stay in the Domain never left it. The climate is most unhealthy, hot, and damp, and we experienced a feeling of great oppression, as if for lack of air. We both suffered by it, and I nearly lost my brave companion, Mr. Hilton Simpson, from fever. It is possible to give an idea of the dampness of the atmosphere by observing that a gun gets red with rust in twenty-four hours!

We reached the Lukenye on May 25. The Lukenye is a typical forest river; near Kole there is a very remarkable whirlpool, which is so strong that it will take a big boat from one bank to the other. One evening a duck I shot fell into it, and we thought it was lost, but we found it next morning still turning round and round. The Lukenye is here not more than about 80 yards broad; the current is extremely strong, and very sharp bends, rocks, and fallen trees make navigation exceedingly dangerous. During our stay there we learnt that a state steamer had sunk in the rapids of Bolingo. This of course did not prevent us from starting up-river on June 17 on a small tug, with the intention of proceeding to Lodja. In the early morning the stout little craft started. She went up at a great pace (with the "returning" stream of the whirlpool). Suddenly she absolutely stopped, and swerved over to the Kole shore like a shying horse; it looked as if she must run on the rocks. However, though she got to within 3 feet of them, she bravely fought her way through the rapids.

The Lukenye above Kole is extremely tortuous; the bends often considerably exceed a right angle, and the river is only about 70 yards broad. The scenery is very fine indeed, the forest trees rising abruptly from the water's edge are of considerable height, and often great masses of creepers form a solid wall on the river-side. There are numerous aquatic palms. The banks are low and are submerged, forming swamps in the rainy season. Such undulations in the ground as were noticeable seemed practically confined to the left bank. I do not dare to hint what a treasure-mine the Lukenye would prove for a skilled naturalist. No

work whatever has been done yet, and everything is new. Although we could not go in for collecting, we were lucky enough to bring back skin and skull of a new antelope, which Mr. Oldfield Thomas named after Mr. Hilton Simpson.

On the third day of our journey we were glad to reach Batetela country again; it meant friendly people and food in abundance. On the ninth day we reached Lodja; here the river is scarcely over 30 yards broad. We stayed here a few days, and started on July 6 for a circular tour to the north, which lasted until August 1, when we came back to this place. During this time we were continually on the march, leaving the beaten track and visiting a great number of villages. In this country, before the white man's rule was established, a number of adventurers had founded chieftainships, and increased these by continual warfare. Some time ago the State had reinstated the rightful chiefs, and had informed the natives that all who had been carried into slavery by these usurpers could return to their ancient rulers. This gave great satisfaction; the negro, as a rule, has a very great attachment to his chief and his home, and I think it was in consequence of these measures that we found the country in such a satisfactory state, peace and security reigning everywhere. The endless plantations, the clean villages, well-kept houses, made an impression of general prosperity. Of course, equal credit for this must be given to the character of the population; the Batetela is an excellent agriculturist and stock-breeder, and very industrious. He is the least conservative of all negroes I know, any innovation will tempt him. Rice, Madagascar potatoes, and fruit-trees imported by the white man are found in every village. We were received in all of these with the greatest hospitality, and in one village the chief presented us with five hundred huge rations for our fifty carriers.

The people are scantily clothed, but this is, of course, of great advantage in their hunting expeditions. The havoc of sleeping sickness is greatly limited by the native custom of isolating cases of this disease in the forest. Several of the villages are assuming the proportions of towns; the old native pattern of hut is discarded, and plaster thatched houses, laid out in neat and regular streets, have taken their place. The neatness and cleanliness of these villages are most remarkable.

The forest roads, where traversed by Europeans, are excellent, but the native tracks are most trying. The bridges are good as a rule. There is practically no dry season here owing to the proximity of the Equator. There is a large amount of game in the forest, but it is nearly impossible to get at it; several species of antelope, different kinds of felidae, the small forest buffalo, and pigs abound. Elephants must be very numerous; they come right into the village plantations by night and make great havoc. A collector of birds, monkeys, small mammals, and, above all, insects, would do exceedingly well.

The people furthest north we visited were the Akela. They are comparatively recent arrivals in the district, having left their original home north of the Congo upon the first appearance of white men on that river. In occupying the district which they now hold they dispossessed the Bahamba and Bankutu, whom they drove south. They constitute a fine example of a forest people, being tall and well proportioned. Like most of the surrounding peoples, they ornament the body with scars, and they further extract the incisors and canine teeth in both jaws at the age

of puberty. Their costume is very simple, and consists of a strip of palm-cloth ornamented with enwoven diaper patterns in black. Cannibalism is said never to have existed among them. Like the Batetela, they have a system of signalling by means of wooden gongs; but the instrument is of a different type, being cylindrical in shape, and consisting simply of a hollow tree-trunk. Their weapons consist of bows and arrows and spears, the latter, in most cases, being simply shafts of wood sharpened at the end; a man armed with a spear usually carries a shield with parallel sides and rounded ends cut from solid wood. Over the graves of the dead small mortuary huts are erected, each with a small verandah where some of the property of the deceased is placed, and where offerings are made. Very little could be ascertained concerning their religion, which appears to be some form of ancestor-worship.

The people of the country visited during this part of the journey are tall and thin, and would seem to belie the opinion formed above that forest people are small in size. I only attribute degeneration in stature to lack of air and light, and it must be pointed out that all these people practise agriculture to a great extent and clear new ground every year for their plantations; thus they always live in the huge clearings resulting from the agricultural operations of many generations, and they have abundance of air and light. These large clearings are not found among the Bankutu, whose villages are narrow and bordered on both sides by the forest; hence they exhibit all the characteristics of degeneration. We stayed about four months in the *Domain privé*; returning by another road to Idanga on the Sankuru, and then proceeded downstream to Bolombo.

From Bolombo we informed the paramount chief of the Bushongo of our arrival, and asked him to send us carriers. These men, led by elders, arrived in a few days, and we started off in a south-south-easterly direction. The second day of our journey we had a severe hailstorm, the stones being about the size of hazelnuts. This seems to be quite a frequent occurrence in this part of the world. The country we crossed consisted of undulating plains interrupted by the forest belts of the rivers, these undulations sometimes being high enough to be called hills. As we were accompanied by the king's councillor, we were received everywhere with friendliness, and in a few days reached the capital, or Mushenge. We were welcomed with great kindness by the chief, to whom we explained the objects of our visit. During our sojourn there, he gave us all the information in his power with regard to the manners and customs of his subjects. He showed himself to be a most intelligent native gentleman, and eager to adopt new ideas for the benefit and progress of his people. We camped within fifty yards of his own house, and after the first few days we saw him a great number of hours out of every twenty-four, and were able to be present at many court functions, trials, and settlements of disputes among the people. The king's palace consists of a labyrinth of courtyards and outhouses, the entrances of which are guarded by slaves. The king himself could not always enlighten us upon some of the manners and customs of his people, and when he was unable to furnish us with the information we required, he would send out into the country for any one who could do so. In this way we

obtained a great deal of extremely valuable information, which we afterwards verified by examining independent witnesses.

During our stay at the Mushenge the children of the paramount chief and their companions were continually with us. We joined in their games, one of which consisted in playing at "court." Each child would assume the *rôle* of a particular dignitary, and the mimicking of various court ceremonies provided us with many useful hints on which to base subsequent inquiries. On one occasion, when I was suffering from a wound in the leg, I was "buried" by the little imps with full ceremonial.

The last Bakuba rising took place in 1904, and its consequences were still in evidence. The people had lost the greater part of their poultry whilst hiding in the forest, thus we experienced the greatest difficulty in obtaining sufficient food. While I continued my work in the village, Mr. Hilton-Simpson was obliged to go out for big game with which to replenish our larder, and although he was successful, the distance he had to traverse was so great that we did not feel the benefit of his expedition. After a time we completely broke down through lack of food, but fortunately only when we had succeeded in obtaining valuable information amongst the Bushongo.

While we were at Mushenge a scare was started that the king intended to massacre all the white men in his country, but from our position there we were able to give information to the authorities, who treated this scare with the contempt it deserved. It had been circulated with a view to bring the king into disfavour with the Government by persons who had taken a dislike to him. In reality, however, the white man has no greater friend among the negroes than Kwete, the king of the Bushongo. It is here we obtained the best results of our researches, and our hearty thanks are due to the king for his great help.

The Bushongo inhabit a large extent of territory south of the Sankuru river, and between the Kasai and upper Sankuru. They are the most interesting ethnographically of all the tribes visited, and a closer study was made of them than of the rest. The eastern tribes of the nation were first visited during our stay in Misumba, and later a considerable time was spent in the centre of the empire in the west. Unusual facilities for collecting information were here afforded, principally owing to the great intelligence of the paramount chief, who fully understood the objects of the expedition when they had been explained to him, and whose co-operation proved as invaluable as it was sincere. The Bushongo have hitherto been mentioned by various explorers under the name of Bakuba, but this title is not employed by the people themselves; it is a Baluba word, and appears to mean "People of the lightning," and as such may be recognized as a paraphrase of the word Bushongo, which means "People of the throwing-knife," a weapon which was unknown to the Baluba until they came in contact with the Bushongo, and must have struck them as being in effect similar to the lightning-stroke.

The Bushongo proper, consisting of a small group of the western tribes, as opposed to certain Basongo Meno and Baluba tribes who have been incorporated into the Bushongo nation, and have more or less completely adopted Bushongo

culture, are remarkable for the manner in which they have preserved their tribal history, including a list of 121 paramount chiefs. According to this history, corroborated by many cultural details, they are immigrants from the north, probably from the Shari basin. Their emigration took place under the fourth of their recorded rulers, and their empire reached its height under the ninety-third king, named Shamba, who is regarded as the great culture-hero of the tribe. This empire was ruled by means of a highly developed hierarchy of officials, more elaborate than has been recorded of any other African people, which was in full activity at the time of the first advent of the white man, though it is now showing signs of decay. Next to the possession of a history and an organized system of government, this people is distinguished by a remarkable artistic sense which finds expression in the proficiency with which they pursue certain crafts, notably embroidery and woodcarving. This proficiency has been noted by other travellers, but the specimens procured by the expedition surpass anything which has yet been obtained from savage Africa. In particular four portrait-statues of early chiefs, one dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century (see *Man*, 1910, 1) may be mentioned.

Cicatrization as a general rule is only practised by women among the Bushongo proper, with the exception of the tribal mark occurring on the temples. It is noticeable that the eastern Bushongo employ that of the Basongo Meno, in this respect, as in other cultured points, bearing witness to their origin. Clothing consists in a palm-leaf skirt arranged in graceful pleats. Inheritance of chiefly rank is in the female line, and, according to the native tradition, the 121 chiefs recorded constitute one unbroken dynasty. But the most interesting point of the social organization is the existence of a decayed form of totemism, which up to the present generation exhibited the essential features of that institution. Initiation ceremonies for boys of a rather elaborate nature were practised up to the middle of the last century, and were made to perform the functions of a census of the immature and adult individuals of the tribe. Among the eastern tribes the place of this initiation was taken by a secret society, initiation into which is accompanied by ceremonies evidently adapted from the initiation prevalent in the west. Cannibalism is not practised, and seems never to have existed among this people, but the poison ordeal, applied in cases of suspected sorcery, is found. The original weapon was the throwing-knife, but this was abolished by the ninety-third ruler, and though specimens existed within the memory of the present generation, none appear to have survived up to the present day. The same ruler also abolished the use of bows and arrows in war, leaving his soldiers armed solely with the sword-knife; but the former were subsequently reintroduced, and are found in use at the present time. Huts are everywhere rectangular in form, and those of one of the eastern tribes, the Bangongo, are distinguished by patterns enwoven, in the walls. Religious beliefs include an elaborate cosmogony, and a creator-god, who was also the founder of the line of paramount chiefs, and who is stated to have been white in colour. No worship is paid him. Various recognized practitioners of magic, each with a particular sphere of action, are found, and belief in transmigration occurs among the western and one of the eastern tribes (the

Isambo). It is worthy of notice that, though the Bushongo pay no actual worship to any super-natural being, they possess a traditional moral code, which, judged even by modern standards, is extremely high, and which was taught to all boys during their initiation. In conclusion, it may be mentioned that a conservative estimate would refer the commencement of Bushongo history to the middle of the fifth century A.D., and the migration to the first half of the sixth.

When we left the Bushongo we were both very reduced in health, so we decided to take a holiday. The choice of the country was left to me, and so it could not fall on any other than the river of rivers, the gem of the Congo, the Kwilu. I had once spent two very happy years in this country, and as I knew everybody and was extremely popular with the natives, it meant – at least, for me – going home. We went down the Kasai to the mouth of the Kwango, and thence to the Kwilu. Where these two streams meet, one can see distinctly the line between the two waters – the yellow, muddy Kwango on the west side as compared with the clear waters of the Kwilu on the east.

The Kwilu maintains an average breadth of fully 400 to 500 yards and the lower portion runs through grassy plains. But these soon give way to a fringe of forest along the banks, frequent gaps in which reveal the true nature of the country-grass land. We passed the mouth of the Inzia, or Met na nzai, as the natives call it, about 150 yards wide. Just below this the left bank rises to about 10 feet, but otherwise the country is flat. Thus during our stay in Pana, our hunting expeditions brought us near the banks of the Inzia, and the whole way between the rivers, about 12 miles, was absolutely flat.

Our first intention had been to visit the village called Mei, but we did not do so, continuing our journey to Pana, where there is a Ferme Chapelle of the Jesuit mission. We stayed there three weeks and enjoyed most excellent sport. We discovered a new buffalo, which Mr. Lydekker, who has described it, named after my companion – *Bos caffer simpsoni*. We cannot sufficiently praise the courage of the Bayansi children, who frequently were our companions when hunting. They remained absolutely cool in presence of charging buffaloes.

From Pana we ascended to Kikwit, the country inhabited by the Southern Bambala. The river seems to continue the same breadth, the banks are very densely forested, but the fringe is narrow. The whole country, as I know by my previous journey, is flat; from Luano one can go either to the Kasai or the Inzia without a single noteworthy ascent. This part of the Kwilu swarms with elephants. Above Congo there are no more islands, and the river-bed becomes rocky. We reached Kitwit February 21, and I was really glad to be again amongst the Southern Bambalu. When these people, who are great friends of mine, heard that I was about to start on a dangerous journey, the whole country-side decided to accompany me; village after village flocked in, declaring that they would give me their protection. This offer grew to such proportions that we were obliged to escape secretly, otherwise we should have had followers numbering many hundreds. We took only twenty Northern Bambala and four Southern Bambala with us. These people during the whole journey were models of what the followers of the white man should be. They were friendly to the natives, and

extremely honest, and it is difficult to express the appreciation we feel for these excellent servants. It may, however, be sufficient to say that during the many months we travelled with them, not only had we never cause for complaint, but never in a single case were the natives dissatisfied with their treatment. It was with great regret that we left the Bambala country.

For fuller details concerning the Bambala than space permits to give here, reference may be made to vols. 36 and 37 of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, and to *Man*, 1907, 52. The Bambala fall into two distinct groups, north and south. The latter, who appear to be the parent stem, occupy the district between the Kwilu and Kwengo south of the mouth of the latter; the former are found on both banks of the Kwilu to the north of the southern branch. Both branches are well formed, with slender physique and small musculature; in fact, they present rather an effeminate appearance, though in this case appearances are deceptive, since they are strong and courageous. The chief difference between the two is that the northern branch are almost as much addicted to cannibalism as any people in Africa, while among the southerners this practice is not found at all. It seems certain that northerners have adopted the custom from the Bayanzi, with whom they are in close contact. In the north, cicatrization is found among the men only; in the south this form of ornament is rare, and is confined to the female sex. In the latter region the habit of painting the body red is carried to excess. Bambala houses have the door at a considerable distance from the ground, and two steps, composed of logs supported on forked sticks, give access to it. The villages are ruled by independent petty chiefs. In the north the office devolves upon the richest individual, but in the south it is inherited in the female line. The most interesting feature of their social organization is the existence of a peculiar hereditary caste known as Muri, the members of which wear a peculiar iron bracelet as a distinguishing mark. They are universally respected, but appear to hold no actual power, though they possess certain privileges in connection with the distribution of game after hunting. In the north they may not eat human flesh; in the south, of course, this prohibition is unnecessary.

Other tribes in this region are the Bayanzi, Bahuana, Bayaka, and Bakwese, but the expedition did not come in contact with them during this journey. A number of notes concerning them may be found in the volumes of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, to which reference has been made above.

When we crossed the Kwilu in continuance of our journey, we reached a branch of one of the most important African tribes, the Babunda.

The Babunda inhabit a stretch of country south of the Kasai, between the Kwilu and the Lubue. Other Babunda are found in Angola. According to the native account, the former have moved into their present position from the upper waters of the Kwilu, coming first as traders. In physique they are tall and large-boned, though their legs are somewhat short for symmetry; they are very friendly, but also very shy, and it is difficult to obtain any information from them concerning their customs and beliefs. Babunda is the name given to them by the surrounding tribes; they call themselves Ambunu (sing. Mombunu).

Cicatrization is found among the women only, and the patterns usually consist of some form of lozenge diaper, similar to the embroidered designs found upon their cloth. Elaborate forms of hairdressing are often seen, and the length to which the hair grows is often surprising. Dress consists of palm-cloth, the men wearing a double apron, the women a skirt, the latter being ornamented with enwoven diaper patterns and furnished with a border embroidered in black, quite different in style from the embroidery of the Bushongo. The huts resemble those of the Bambala in the fact that the doorway is situated about 4 feet from the ground and reached by a low platform, but differ from the latter in that the roof is formed into a graceful gable above the opening. Cannibalism is absolutely unknown to the Babunda on the Alela, to whom these notes mainly refer, but among those of Dumba, on the Lubue, the practice is occasionally found, though it is on the decline.

They are good woodcarvers, and make small cups covered with delicate lozenge patterns, similar to those found on their cloth. In-heritance runs in the female line, and as far as could be observed, exogamy, with respect to the village, appears to be the rule. It is interesting that a form of taboo exists, known by the same name as among the Bushongo and Bakongo, but with this important difference, that people who refrain from eating the same plant or animal may intermarry. It seems certain that the practice has been adopted from the Bakongo, with whom they are in contact. A vague supreme being is recognized, but no worship is paid him; personal charms are found, consisting of small anthropomorphic images; these, however, have no power until they have been smeared with some magical composition obtained from the recognized magician. Belief in possession by a malignant influence is found, and persons suspected of this are subjected to a poison ordeal. They are a warlike people, and the chief weapon is the bow, though iron swords of a peculiar pattern are also found.

Bound for the south-east, we proceeded to Alela (called Athens on the map), in the heart of the Babunda country. The land was undulating, the valleys of the rivers being sometimes 300 or 500 feet deep. The beauty of the landscape can be best judged by the appended illustration.

I am sorry to say that we were not successful amongst the Babunda; wherever we arrived the natives were keen to carry or to sell rubber, but when they found out that we were not traders, they were greatly disappointed, and did not care for our presence. They candidly told us that a white man who did not want to do business with them "was not their friend."

From Alela we made an excursion to the south to visit the Bapende people, who call themselves Bapindji here; thus we came to the upper course of the Kwilu as far south as Bondo, where the river forms some beautiful falls, which we photographed. This part of the country is very densely populated, and extremely wealthy; the natives carry on a very extensive trade in goats, fowls, and manioc, which they export to the barren south in exchange for rubber, which they sell to the white man. The rubber is here obtained from the roots of the *Landolphia thollonii*. I think that this plant could be cultivated with great profit in those British colonies which lie in the tropical zone and have sandy plains, otherwise quite

unproductive, which is just the soil they want. Trial plantations have been made by the Kasai Company, and have been successful.

On returning to Alela we proceeded to Dumba, also called Molasa. The country we traversed was composed of high plateaus, and we crossed the Lubue by some beautiful falls which are here. Molasa is the most easterly factory of the Kasai Company before reaching the Kasai, and the influence of the white man extends only to the left bank of the Loange. After this there is a blank spot on the map which we decided to fill. The inhabitants round Molasa (Dumba) are Bapende.

Under this name of Bapende two tribes may be included having a common origin, but now differing in psychology, etc., to a less extent in customs. These are the Bapindji on the banks of the Kwengo and Kwilu, and the Bapende on the Loange. Both originally formed one people on the upper Kwango, but were driven thence by a band of roving marauders under the leadership of the Balunda chief, Kinguri. A section, destined to become the Bapindji, went in the direction of the upper Kwilu and settled there; the rest took a more easterly route and settled on the upper Loange, buying land from the Bakongo. Here they were attacked by the Badjok, and driven further north down the river. Continually harassed as they have been by foreign tribes, they have become a timid and unwarlike people, devoting themselves to agriculture, which they practise with much diligence. The Bapindji, on the other hand, are a fighting tribe, and regard manual labour as beneath the dignity of a man; the culture of this section has, moreover, been considerably influenced by the Southern Bambala. Clothing is composed of palm-cloth, and cicatrization, nowhere very extensive, is as a general rule confined to women. The Bapende are cannibals and also those of the Bapindji who are settled on the Kwengo; the practice is found only sporadically among the Bapindji of the Kwilu. Nearly all Bapende men wear round the neck a miniature mask, usually of ivory; these masks, often seen in museums, are personal charms to preserve the wearer from sickness, and are purchased from the local magician; they are not found among the Bapindji. The latter make pile cloth as well as ordinary palm-cloth similar to that of the Bambala; the palm-cloth of the Bapende is very coarse, and no pile cloth is found.

The Bapindji are good hunters, but the Bapende are bad trackers, and are not sufficiently plucky to attack large game except by means of automatic traps. Initiation for boys is practised, and the boys under-going the process are secluded in the bush and wear certain masks of wood and dresses of palm-cloth. As among the neighbouring tribes, property descends in the female line, and the poison ordeal is found. Not much could be learnt concerning their ideas on supernatural matters, beyond the fact that they believe in a vague supreme being, to whose agency they attribute everything for which no obvious explanation offers itself. To this being the Bapende give the name Maweze, but the Bapindji employ the term Kalunga, which they have borrowed from the Badjok.

We started on May 9 from Molasa. The altitude of the factory which lies near the river is 2140 feet, and on reaching the crest of the valley we found the altitude to be 3000 feet. From here we proceeded to the village called Digundi. The

plateau is very like an orchard, with high though not coarse grass studded with small trees. On the next day we travelled to the east, and in three and a half hours arrived at our destination.

We crossed the Luende river, which has a tortuous course from south and north, and we found the altitude of the bank to be about 2190 feet, and across the crest of the valley 3080 feet. Near the valley of the Luende there is said to be a lake of some importance, but the mist prevented us from seeing it. On the second day after leaving this place we crossed the Luana, and on the third day reached Kangala, the furthest east of European influence, where we stayed for several days.

The Bapende chief of this village had promised to put us into communication with a Bakongo chief, one of his friends, and we asked him to do so. This was not settled without difficulty and several wise men had to be called in to sell us their advice. At last they decided that we could proceed to Insashi, which is on the bank of the Loange, and after that Dilonda, the Bapende chief, was to go to the chief of the people on the opposite bank as a friend and so obtain passage for us. This programme was duly carried out; the chief, accompanied by Dilonda, crossed the river and returned in the evening to say that the people on the other side would receive us and would send canoes to fetch us on the morrow. All the canoes are kept on the east bank, so that the traveller cannot cross the river without the consent of the people on the other side, but must go to the river's edge and shout for some one to fetch him. The people on the east side had at first raised many objections to our coming; they said that we had three hundred men with us, and that such an expedition must have bellicose intentions. When the Bapende chief explained to them that we were peaceful and only had twenty-four unarmed men with us, they consented to allow us to enter their country. The canoes came for us the next morning, but on seeing our luggage, which was considerable, they took fright and returned to the further side. The chief of Insashi had to spend two hours shouting across the river asking them to return, which they did at last. I crossed first with some of the baggage, and arriving on the other bank, met there some ladies who had come down to fetch water. I persuaded them without difficulty to carry my loads to the village, so that when Mr. Hilton-Simpson, who formed the rearguard, arrived, he found that everything had already been removed there. The baggage was brought over in native canoes, which are propelled by poles like punts.

The Loange is here about 700 yards wide and very shallow, except for the main stream in the middle which runs in a very narrow channel. The current is most violent. Years ago attempts were made to ascend the river in a small steamer, but they failed; the valley of the Loange is so much higher than that of the Kasai, of which it is a tributary, that the small craft was thrust back and nearly wrecked. To ascend the river a large powerful steamer would be necessary, and such a craft would not find depth enough for navigation.

Our caravan was composed of our twenty-four men, and our baggage consisted of over two hundred loads. This could not be avoided, the currency of the country being iron bars weighing 2 lbs. each, valued in English money at

exactly seven pence. I had to carry one hundred pounds' worth thus, and, furthermore, matchets and salt. As I could not load my men with more than 50 lbs., I had to rely on a native supply of two hundred carriers renewed from village to village. This was a great strain on our purse, and at one time nearly led to disaster.

Before crossing the Loange river we got information to the effect that there was a paramount chief reigning over the country between the Loange and the Kasai, who had never seen a white man and did not want to see one. Now, the most important information we obtained in the Bushongo country was at the court of their king, so we decided we would see the king of this country too, and thus we began a wild-goose chase in search of him which lasted for nearly two months. Although we failed to find him, it gave us an opportunity to visit a country unknown to geographical science and to study a people who had never before been in contact with white men. I have no doubt that if we had possessed sufficient means we should have eventually succeeded in finding the great chief, but I cannot say how we could have managed this. We should then have been obliged to use many more carriers, whom we could not have obtained in the villages, which are relatively small; had we been able to enter the country with a great number of people of our own, we should have only increased difficulties, as the natives would have eyed a big caravan with suspicion.

The Bakongo and Bashihela tribes occupy the district west and south of the Kasai, between that river and the Loange, the Bakongo occupying the more westerly position. In the north the Bakongo extend across the Loange to the Luana, and in former times occupied all the territory between the Loange and Lubue, but sold the southern portion to the Bapende. These Bakongo have persistently resisted all attempts at penetration on the part of Europeans, and their country has never before been crossed by white men. Both tribes are exceedingly reticent, and it was found impossible to obtain any information from them as to their past history or present institutions. Considerable light, however, is shed on the former by the traditions collected among the Bushongo, and from these, supported by other evidence too complicated to be detailed here, it may be regarded as practically certain that these tribes represent the first waves of primitive Bushongo immigration into the Kasai basin. They have kept themselves quite independent of the Bushongo empire, with the exception of the most easterly Bashihela villages; and even over the latter Bushongo control appears to be little more than nominal. Dress and cicatrization resembles that of the Bushongo, but their villages exhibit the peculiarity of being fortified by strong palisades. The villages are practically independent, and very little intercommunication takes place between them. Both tribes are accomplished woodcarvers, and many of their designs are similar to those of the Bushongo; the practice of embroidering palm-cloth, which the Bushongo say they learnt from the Bapende, is not found among them.

They do not use the throwing-knife, but the name of that weapon, *shongo*, is preserved in the word which they apply to the iron bars which form the chief currency among them. Of their social organization little could be learnt owing to

their shyness, but indications were noted which seem to suggest that a form of totemism, similar to that observed among the Bushongo, exists among them also. As regards religion information is also lacking for the same reason, but a form of divination similar to that of the Bushongo was observed.

Before we had visited this country between the Loange and the Kasai, it was generally believed to be covered with dense forest and inhabited by ferocious cannibal tribes. As a matter of fact, it can only be described as a huge, undulating grass land with a continuous slope from west to east up to about 20 miles from the Kasai. Here a range of hills runs south to north parallel to the river. Where this range rises are the sources of the Lumbunji, a little further south than 6° S. according to the Badjok. The Lumbunji being an affluent of the Kasai, the watershed between the Loange and this river is only a few miles from the latter river; this is, of course, explained by the eastward slope.

As for the resources of this country, it must be observed that the *Landolphia thollonii* is absent; in the forest belt rubber vines (*Clytandra arnoldiana* and *Landolphia ovariensis*) abound. Near, the Loange elephants and buffaloes are found in great quantities, decreasing in the proximity of the Kasai. The natives, who are not cannibals, desire neither the presence of the European nor that of negroes of alien tribes. Intercourse between villages is rare, every community being self-supporting. In the farthest north the country is covered with dense forest. The Bakongo were quite friendly in the first villages, but in Bishwam Bura they were by no means so glad to see us. Though they were not directly hostile, they declined to assist us, and tried to intimidate us by ostentatiously putting new feathers on their arrows, and making new bow-strings, etc.

During our stay there we considered it wise never to leave our camp, as we could not be sure that an attack might not be attempted. After about three days, however, the people became friendly, and consented to carry our loads to the village called Kanenenke. As these people had not been informed of our arrival, I advanced, heading our caravan, into the village. I caused some consternation, and one man asked me if I were a ghost, an accusation which I emphatically denied. The people then requested me to go away, and I consented to do this on condition that they would allow me to wait for the arrival of the caravan. The delay was granted, and I used it to make myself most agreeable, so that when Mr. Hilton-Simpson came we had made friends and were allowed to stay. We spent four pleasant days there, obtaining some information and photographs.

This experience of our sudden arrival induced me to send in future my most reliable Bambala, named Mayuyu, in advance to announce to the people our arrival on their domains. The next village visited was Kenge. We were well received by the chief, and camped about fifty yards from the stockade of the village. But as soon as the people heard that our stock of iron was nearly finished they began to show hostility, becoming every day more and more aggressive. The chief brought about the climax by ostentatiously stealing our chickens, and this was, of course, a declaration of war. We were not in an easy situation, for though we could have held our own in the event of a breach of the peace, we should have had to fight our way back to civilization.

At length a less important chief gave me the means of an escape from the difficulties. After the theft of the chickens he came to me, and explained that he had no bad intentions himself, but that the great chief had decided to kill us. I replied that if he wanted war he could have it, and I would slay all his people with my elephant. Of course, the man expressed some doubts as to the existence of an elephant. Fortunately, among the many objects which we carried about with us was a clockwork elephant, which was capable of waving its trunk and humming and walking along. Relying on the imagination of the negro, I proposed to show him my elephant. Mr. Hilton-Simpson accordingly took him before my tent, which I entered. I wound up the elephant, and made it walk on some boxes, and then the tent door was thrown open; our friend, seeing the uncanny beast, wanted to run away. Mr. Hilton-Simpson insisted that he should have another look; but this was too much for the chief, for shouting, "I am going to fetch those chickens which have been stolen," he ran back into the village, and in a few minutes our property was restored to us. I followed up my victory by proposing to fight everybody and everything with my elephant, and threatened to set fire to the rivers. To illustrate our powers we burnt some whisky, and this quite convinced the natives that the white men were able to destroy anything. They were naturally very keen to get rid of the magician, so the next day they volunteered to carry our loads to another village called Makusu.

This was a Bashilele village, and from thence we had no more difficulties with the natives. The people here possessed a very bad reputation, but we found them to be among the most friendly tribes that we encountered during our journeys. The only difficulty we had was to leave their villages, for they always entreated us to stay if only "A few more days." I cannot characterize these lovable people better than to describe how we left the village of Kitambi. We had passed several days there, and had received nothing but kindness from every-body. One evening, when talking to the chief, who was surrounded by his court of men and women, I announced that we should like to continue our journey, and asked the chief for carriers. He said that he would give us anything we wanted if we would stay for a few more days. At that time I had been suffering from two months of toothache, and Mr. Hilton-Simpson had had one of his fingers broken, so we were rather in a hurry to get to some civilized place and possibly to a medical man. I told the chief that it was many years since I had left my country, and that I had left my wife and a little child behind. I also said that since then my child had grown to be a big girl, and that I, her father, longed to see her. Before the chief could reply, one of the women standing near by stepped out of the ranks and said, "Of course you cannot stay any longer, you must go back to your child. If the men will not carry your loads all we women will do so, that you may see your wife and child as soon as possible." *And they did so.* I felt very ashamed for having deceived these good women, but was truly glad to have got a stage nearer a doctor.

The next village but one was inhabited by Badjok, and called Mayila, after the chief. This chief had come up from Angola to collect rubber and shoot elephants. Rubber and ivory he then sells to the Kasai Company; as soon as he has earned some money he returns to Portuguese territory, where natives can obtain liquor,

and will spend his fortune in drink. Mayila is an old man, and has travelled extensively.

A few words must be said on this remarkable tribe which we met during the expedition, though their territory was not actually crossed by us. These are the Badjok, a name more usually, though in my opinion less correctly, written Kioko, or Chiboque. A short sketch of the history of this people has been given in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 37, p. 151. All I need say here is that they have been continually advancing northward in pursuit of trade, and their caravans are now to be found throughout the southern portion of the Congo State and Portuguese West Africa.

Physically they are not prepossessing to look at. They are small, dark, and ugly, but it is their psychology which is interesting. They are gifted with the most commercial minds in Africa; in pursuit of trade their energy is inexhaustible as their courage is unparalleled. In the Bashilele country we saw a few boys, the forerunners of a larger caravan, in the midst of a hostile crowd of Bashilele threatening them with instant death, display the utmost self-possession and sangfroid. It is true that had they been killed, the village would ultimately have been wiped out, but the villagers did not know this, nor could the few Badjok have counted on this fact to defend them. This coolness and determination, as a matter of fact, serves them well, since it impresses the people among whom they travel as something altogether uncanny. They are great travellers, and we met some quite young men who could give a route from the Katanga right across Africa to Loanda, detailing the rivers which must be crossed, the villages which must be passed, and even the personal characteristics of the chiefs ruling over the latter. Two years' experience in the Katanga enabled me to realize that at least half of the route which they detailed was correct in every detail. They are all armed with guns, Portuguese flint-locks, and hunt elephants with considerable success; their costume consists of European cloth, and the women wear a covering for the breasts. Tatu proper is found, though it is not common, the pigment used being charcoal; cicatrization is practised by the women. The whole of their intellectual life seems centred in the acquisition of property. If a present is given to a small child, it is immediately set upon by its larger companions; they have no manners, and their villages are never quiet. A peculiarity of their marriage system is the looseness of the tie; a woman, when she ceases to bear children, goes back to her parents' village, taking with her children. Owing to this fact, the number of slave-wives is great, since the husband knows that these will not desert him. Children by a slave-woman are freeborn. Belief in a supreme deity is found, but no worship is paid him, and charms for various purposes are obtained from the official magician. The poison ordeal is applied to those suspected of having caused the death of a man by sorcery.

The Badjok are well disposed towards the white man. They are small and ill-conditioned looking, and although friendly, they have extremely bad manners as compared with the stately Bashilele. They are a great people, and have altered the map of Central Africa as effectually as Napoleon altered that of Europe, and possess the finest fighting qualities.

When we had reached the Kasai we proceeded homewards. The results of the expedition may be summed up as follows: *Geography*, exploration of the country between the Loange and Kasai; *Zoology*, discovery of a new species of buffalo, a duiker, an elephant-shrew, a monkey, a mole, and possibly a hyrax.

As for the main object, ethnography, a thorough study of the Batetela and Bushongo people has been made. It has been proved that as far back as the sixteenth century a very high civilization existed in Central Africa, when, under the great king Shamba Bolongongo, the Bushongo people were at the zenith of their power. United among themselves, respected by their neighbours, they were governed by a wise king, controlled by a sort of parliament, composed of the representatives of the provinces, the arts, and trades; a parliament in which the chief magistrates, the chief military and civil officers, women, and even the slave class, were represented. Their art had attained to a level never suspected in Africa outside the boundaries of Egypt. Their moral code was ideal.

And this brings us to the great problem of the Negro. How is it that a people, capable of evolving, without any foreign influence, such a high culture, when it has attained this height not only ceases to progress, but degenerates? The European civilization that is now introduced into Africa is obviously only a makeshift. The African, if he wants to take his place side by side with other races, must work out his higher culture for himself. Is he able to do so? Is it not our duty to give him aid to enable him to get past the point where his own natural propensities seem to impose a check and even induce retrogression?

To discover how this can be done should be the main aim of anthro-pologists. Only by investigating his past and studying his present condition shall we be able to map out his future with any prospect of success. In bringing these remarks to a close, I must express my indebtedness to the Belgian Government for the facilities which they placed at my disposal; to the administration and all officials of the Kasai Company, who did all they could to further the ends of the expedition, and without the aid of whom our results would have been far less than they are at present; to the Trustees of the British Museum, who were good enough to apply to the State for certain facilities for the expedition. Of individuals, as royalty takes precedence, I must first mention the supreme chief of the Bushongo, who fully understood the object of the expedition, and was indefatigable in securing specimens and in furnishing us with information. To my companion, Mr. Hilton-Simpson, I owe a deep debt of gratitude for his assistance, which was simply invaluable; but even more than that, for the stimulating effect of his never-failing good humour and optimism even under the most trying circumstances. I feel that whatever success the expedition has obtained is due in very great part to his co-operation. Nor must I forget Mr. Norman Hardy, who for six months accompanied us in the capacity of artist, a few of whose pictures you shall see to-night.

DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT (*before the paper*): Mr. Torday, who has kindly consented to lecture to us to-night, is a Hungarian by birth. He has made several interesting travels into the interior of Africa, and has written accounts of them in various journals. His first expedition to the upper Congo and to Lake Bangweolo was undertaken some ten years ago. His next expedition, in 1904–1906, was in the Lake Kwelo region; and the expedition which he is going to describe to-night, that of 1907–1909, deals with the Central Congo region. As you will see from what he tells us to-night, he is most keenly interested in the natives of the country through which he passes – an interest which I am quite sure we shall be prepared to share with him.

The PRESIDENT (*after the paper*): The journey we have heard described is especially remarkable in two respects. In the first place, it illustrates the wonders that can be done by trusting the natives of Central Africa; how it allows the traveller to go in safety in places where an armed party could not go unmolested. No doubt such trust as this has often led travellers in to trouble; but those who, like Mr. Torday, have gone un armed, and have taught the natives to trust them, are certainly the travellers who have done most good to Africa. This journey also illustrates the fact that those who want to study anthropological questions in any part of the world should set out in the spirit of being prepared to like the people they travel amongst. It was evidently Mr. Torday's affection for the people he met that opened their hearts and enabled him to learn so much of their customs, which would have remained a closed book to the unsympathetic white man. No doubt, in discussing here all these questions with regard to native races, we are adopting a very wide view of the meaning of the word "geography," but in this I think we are right. Mr. Torday has avoided certain burning topics with regard to this region, and I trust those who follow in this discussion will also keep clear of these bitter political controversies.

Sir HARRY JOHNSTON: My enjoyment of this paper, which I think is remarkable even in the annals of the Royal Geographical Society, has been great, but in being invited to discuss it I feel some embarrassment. Its scope is so wide, and the subjects which it deals with are in some cases so abstruse, that I wish Mr. Torday's listeners had been allowed an interval of time in which to prepare in writing their questions and remarks. So far as I am personally concerned with the researches of this expedition, I should like to say that Mr. Torday for some years past has gone to much trouble in helping me towards the compilation of a 'Comparative Grammar of the Bantu Languages,' and has in the course of his numerous journeys about the Congo basin revealed exceedingly interesting forms of speech, Bantu and non-Bantu. It is true that some of the last named were first discovered by George Grenfell, W. H. Stapleton, and William Forfeitt, all of them members of the Baptist Mission. They were also dealt with by F. Thonner, an Austrian traveller ('*Dans la Grande Forêt Equatoriale*', Brussels, 1899), but Mr. Torday's vocabularies have filled up some of the gaps and answered some of the riddles. It is clear, from the work of himself and his predecessors, that the heart of

the Congo basin has only been recently "Bantuized." This language research is one of the few means we have of trying to put together the past history of negro Africa: a vast deal of insight into racial affinities and migrations is locked up in the comparative study of languages. There is one word alone which Mr. Torday has cited, which] would carry us far in sketching the history of the migrations and culture of Congolese tribes, and that is the root *shongo*, *shonga*, connected with the Babushongo (Bakuba) peoples he describes. It (*shongo*) is used to indicate a spear-head of iron, or some other preparation of iron, which often becomes equivalent to cash in the Congo basin. I have reason to think that this root – like the "ancient" Bushongo language – can be traced back to the Shari basin. So far as my own researches go, and judging from the facts as yet made known, I am inclined increasingly to hold the belief that the "Neolithic" civilization of Negro Africa – namely, any culture which is above the rudest Palaeolithic art – is relatively recent. I know this thesis is hotly disputed, but I always recur to it after renewed studies of the negro. It seems to me as though the negro had dwelt for ages in a state of primitive culture, not superior, but very similar, to that of the black Australoids. Somewhere between three thousand and two thousand years ago he had a great waking up, due to invasions from the Libyan and Egyptian north, mainly through the Nile valley. This seems to have been about the period in which the people who originated the remarkable family of Bantu languages sallied out from their homes between the Shari, the Nile, and the upper Congo, and invaded almost the entire southern third of Africa. With them came most domestic animals and the use of metals. There seems to have been no dealing with metals until Negroid and Bantu invaders of savage, forested Africa brought this knowledge with them. By Negroid I mean such peoples as the Tibbu, Kanuri, Fula, Mandingo, Songhai, and Hausa peoples; and the ancestors of the Bantu; types produced by the partial mingling of the Mediterranean Caucasian and the northern negroes. I join with Mr. Torday in his expression of pleasure that we have with us to-night one of the two daughters of Livingstone, who, amongst other mighty achievements, revealed the sources of the Kasai and of its leading tributaries-rivers which Mr. Torday has shown us to-night.

Dr. HADDON: It affords me great pleasure before this large audience to testify my admiration of the admirable work Mr. Torday has done in ethnology in the Kasai basin. He has visited the Congo region for many years, and for some years past we have published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* a series of papers by him and Mr. Joyce of very considerable value. But important as these are, it is quite evident that the results of his last expedition will surpass them all. Ethnologists must always take into consideration the earlier as well as the later migrations of people, and Africa has been the scene of very remarkable movements of people. Of the various movements of which Mr. Torday has told us, the most remarkable is that of the Bushongo, who apparently travelled from the Shari basin into the Southern Congo region. One would very much like to know how it was that this movement took place, and whether there had been a communication between north and south in yet earlier times. I believe Mr. Torday was informed that the founder of the royal dynasty was white. That is very

significant, because these people of whom he has had so little time to tell us, but of whom he could tell us so much more, are, as he says, the most civilized people of Central Africa. Those who have seen the wonderful specimens collected by him in the British Museum will be astonished at the art displayed by these people. Mr. Torday also spoke of the remarkable moral code of this people. It would be interesting to know whether the germ of this higher culture came from the north. It is, to my mind, very suggestive that the most civilized, cultured, and artistic people in Central Africa should themselves own that hundreds of years ago there was a white ancestor some-where behind them. But, on the other hand, one must remember that it can only have been an impulse; the white blood must have long ago disappeared, and Mr. Torday is quite correct in saying that they are true negroes. There is one other point of surprising interest, and that is the statement he made about the pigmy people, who, when they came out of the forests into the air and sunshine, ate better food, and lived under better conditions, grew up into taller people. He assures us there has been no mixture with their tall neighbours. He also pointed out that, as a rule, the forest people are somewhat short in stature, but those who live in the open cultivated clearings in the forest increase in stature--that seems to be a parallel phenomenon to the pigmy. The whole problem of the effect of environment on man has never yet been thoroughly studied, and it is one to which travellers should pay more attention in the future. I hope this really startling statement of Mr. Torday's will incite others to investigate to what extent environment affects people and how rapidly. I should like once more to say with what pleasure I have listened to the account of Mr. Torday, and of the great value of the researches he has made upon the natives.

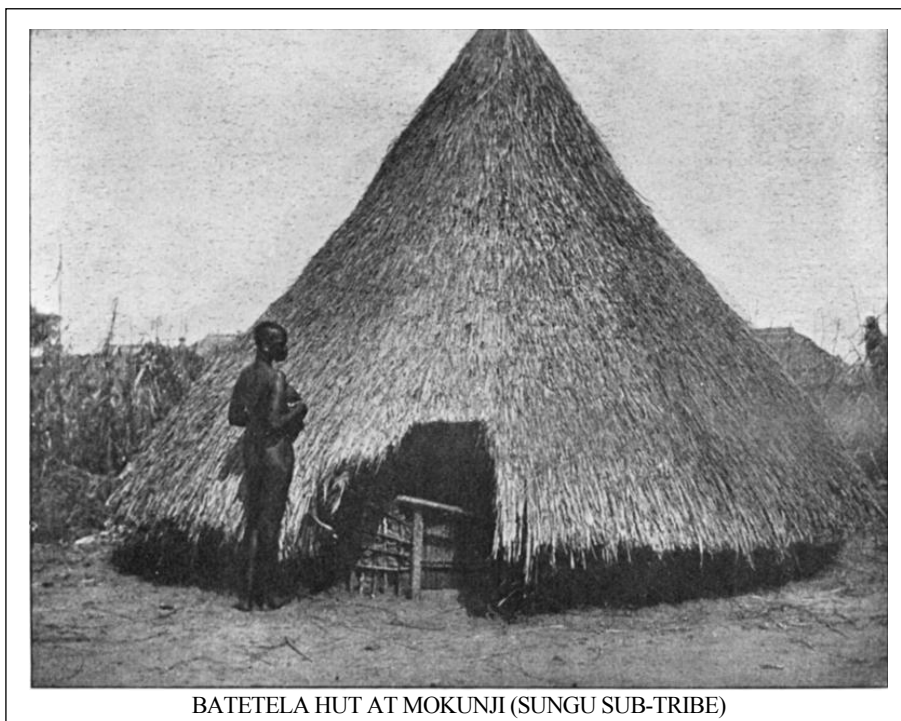
Mr. HENRY BALFOUR: I very gladly associate myself with the previous speakers in sounding a note of admiration for the results of Mr. Torday's extremely interesting expedition. Geographically, he has entered fresh country, and although he has not been able to describe it in detail, he has actually opened up a new district to us. Zoologically, a number of new species have been added to the fauna of Africa. But more especially ethnologically has the work of this expedition been successful, and I have no hesitation in saying that the ethnological work of Mr. Torday and his colleagues is really remarkable. They have opened up a new chapter in the history of native culture in Africa, and have opened our eyes more especially to the artistic capabilities of the native African in certain regions. It seems that it will no longer be necessary for us invariably to estimate the aesthetic qualities of native art in terms of native environment, but we shall be able, in the light of many of the specimens which Mr. Torday has brought home, to estimate their values aesthetically in terms of the ordinary civilized standards. The art is so remarkable that it does really strike one as something quite new. We were prepared for it to a certain extent, because there have been a few specimens coming in some-times. But when seen in bulk, I think that any one who visits Mr. Torday's collection in the British Museum will feel immensely struck by the extraordinary artistic feeling which the natives of that region have developed. The patterns are intricate and wonderfully executed; the technique is almost perfect and could hardly be bettered under the highest civilization. The results are almost,

if not quite, as striking as those which were revealed to us in the famous punitive expedition to Benin, when practically a new form of art was revealed to the world in the famous bronze castings of that region. The wood-carving and textile industries of the Kasai are, I think, quite as remarkable as are the bronze castings of Benin, which show evident signs of European contact and influence. In the case of the patterns and descriptive designs in general of the Kasai region, I do not know that it is so easy to trace European influence as might appear at first sight. It seems to me that those designs have been evolved in the country itself and in a native environment pure and simple. Where this artistic quality may have originated is more than I can venture to say. It seems probable (and we may gather that from Mr. Torday) that it originated mainly in the north, but I cannot but believe that the great development of art amongst this people must have taken place under different conditions to these which obtain at the present day, conditions under which the power was in the hands of comparatively few great chiefs, implying that organization was on a big scale, and enabled organized work to be produced. The same to a certain extent was no doubt the case in the 'so-called period of the Monomotapas in the south-eastern part of Africa, and I think we may very often explain exceptional development of local culture by the fact that the power has at some time been in the hands of big chiefs, who were able to organize their people on a more or less thorough and wide-reaching basis, and it is possible that in this way we may account for some of the extraordinary developments which have been manifested in certain parts of Africa, and we need not look necessarily to the influence of white people in order to account for such manifestations of progress. I think that Mr. Torday's expedition was in many senses an ideal one. He was happy in the choice of his companions. Mr. Hilton Simpson has brought home zoological results which are extremely valuable, and assisted his leader in every possible way; Mr. Hardy's work as an artist is well known, and his drawings have been made with the utmost care and minuteness, and will form a permanent record of some of the arts and customs of the people after these have died out. They are bound to die out. Even Mr. Torday admits having urged that we ought to do what we can to raise the African native from his present condition. Speaking as an ethnologist myself I would say, do not let us tamper with the native until we have studied him thoroughly. Of course, Mr. Torday has shown us how to study him, and I agree with him heartily, but I do not sympathize with spoiling good ethnological material until it has been utilized, and if I thought that I should be in order, I would wish publicly to move a vote of thanks to those tribes in the Kasai district who have hitherto successfully resisted the encroachments of the White man, and who have so far evaded the devastating influence of civilization; and, *per contra*, I would wish to move a vote of censure on those, such as the Batetela, who have been discovered to be the "least conservative" of native races. In conclusion, I wish to thank Mr. Torday for the extremely valuable results which he has brought to light in his very remarkable expedition, largely into a new country and among tribes hitherto practically unknown.

The PRESIDENT: I will bring this discussion to a close by thanking in your name, as I am certain I may, Mr. Torday most heartily for his interesting lecture. He has been thanked by several experts, and it is the thanks of such experts as those who have spoken which are really worth having. All we can do is to thoroughly associate ourselves with these expressions of commendation on the results of his work.

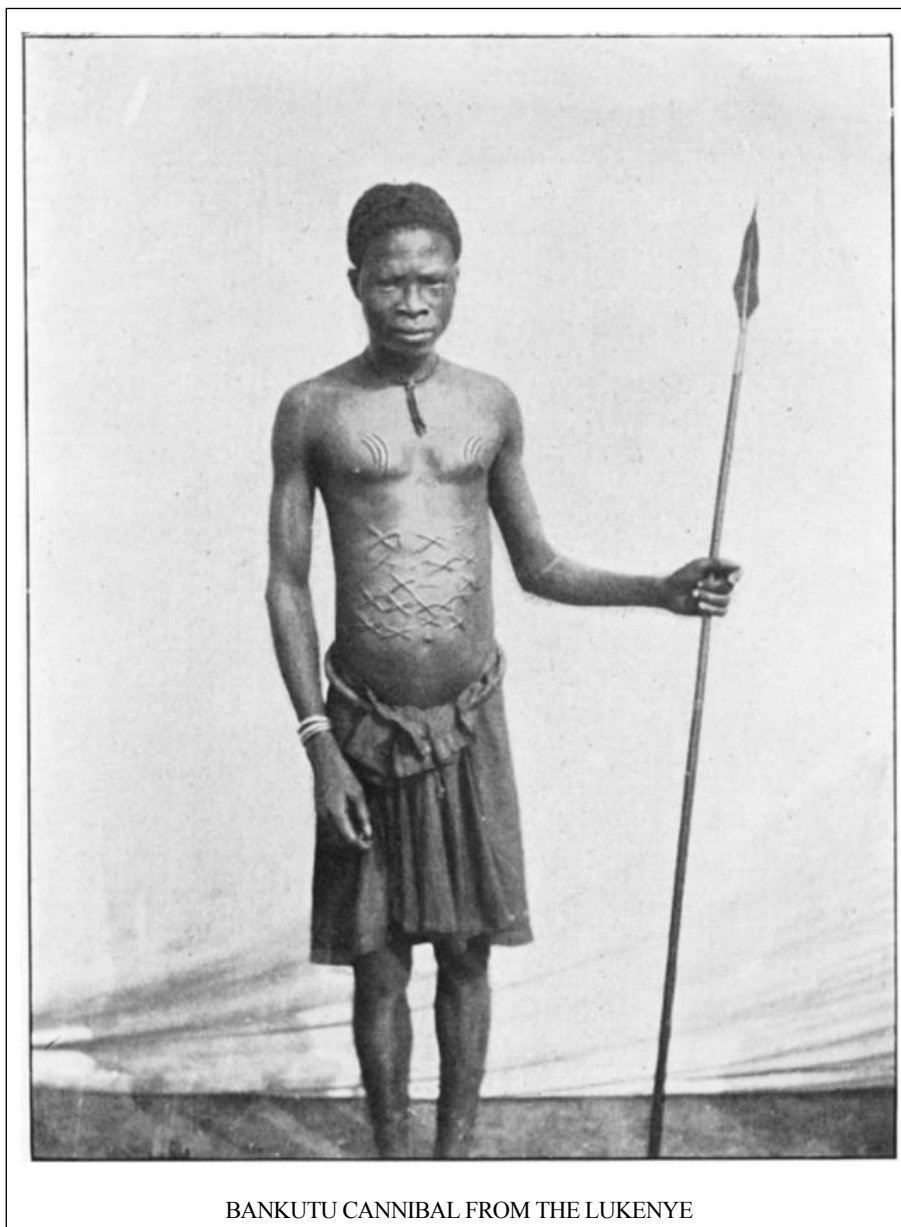
Mr. TORDAY: I think I can give Dr. Haddon a satisfactory explanation of the reasons which have caused so important a tribal movement as the emigration of the Bushongo nation. That family scandal, incest, caused the chief, Woto, to leave the country with a number of followers cannot be doubted, as the same story of incest, although in very different shapes, is found amongst several sub-tribes. The emigration of the main part of the people must be attributed to famine, for it is recorded in the legends that when they left the country, Woto's wife, Ipopa, "made medicine" that caused the crops to rot and the poultry to die. The native account states that the nation went to search for Woto, but this probably is an idealization of the real motive. I do not think that the other remarks require any reply. The only thing I have to do is to thank Sir Harry Johnston, Dr. Haddon, and Mr. Balfour for their most interesting and obliging remarks.

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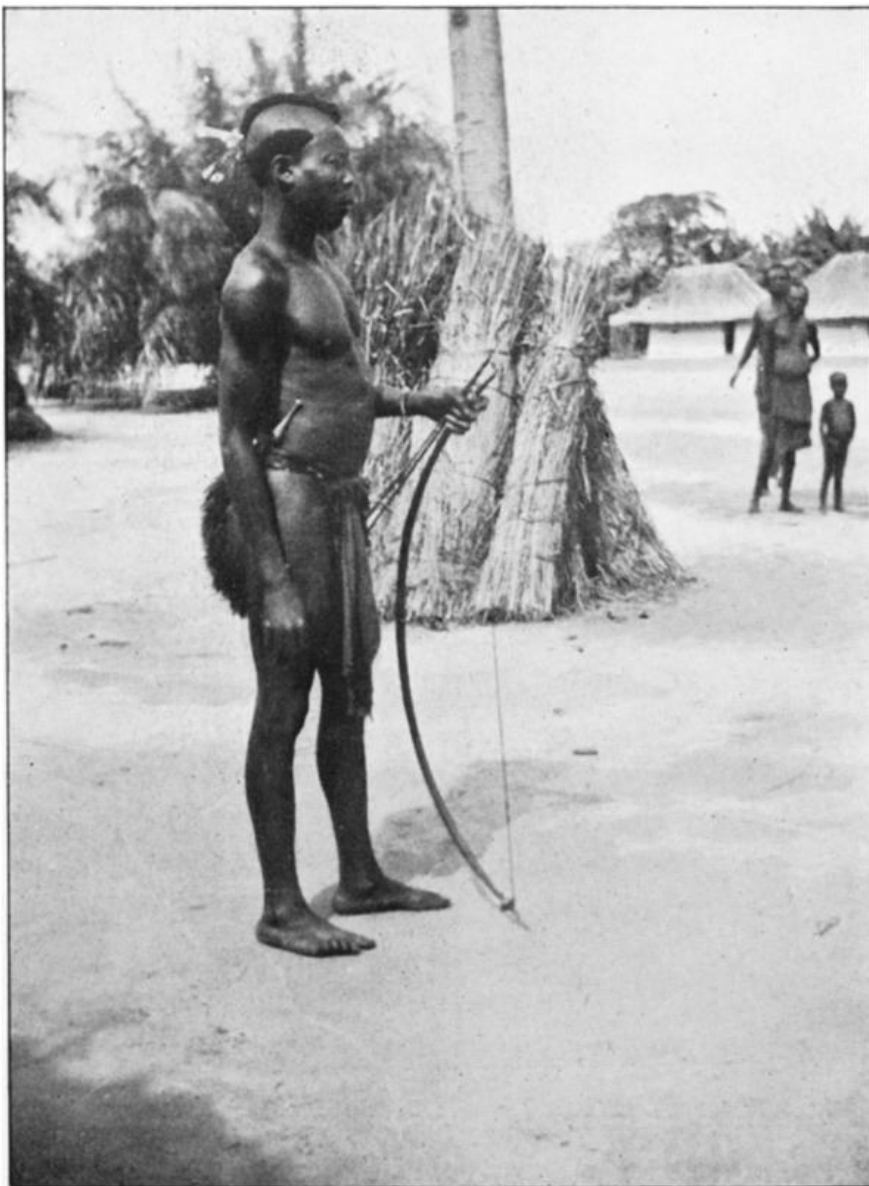




BATETELA (SUNGU) DRUMMER SENDING A MESSAGE



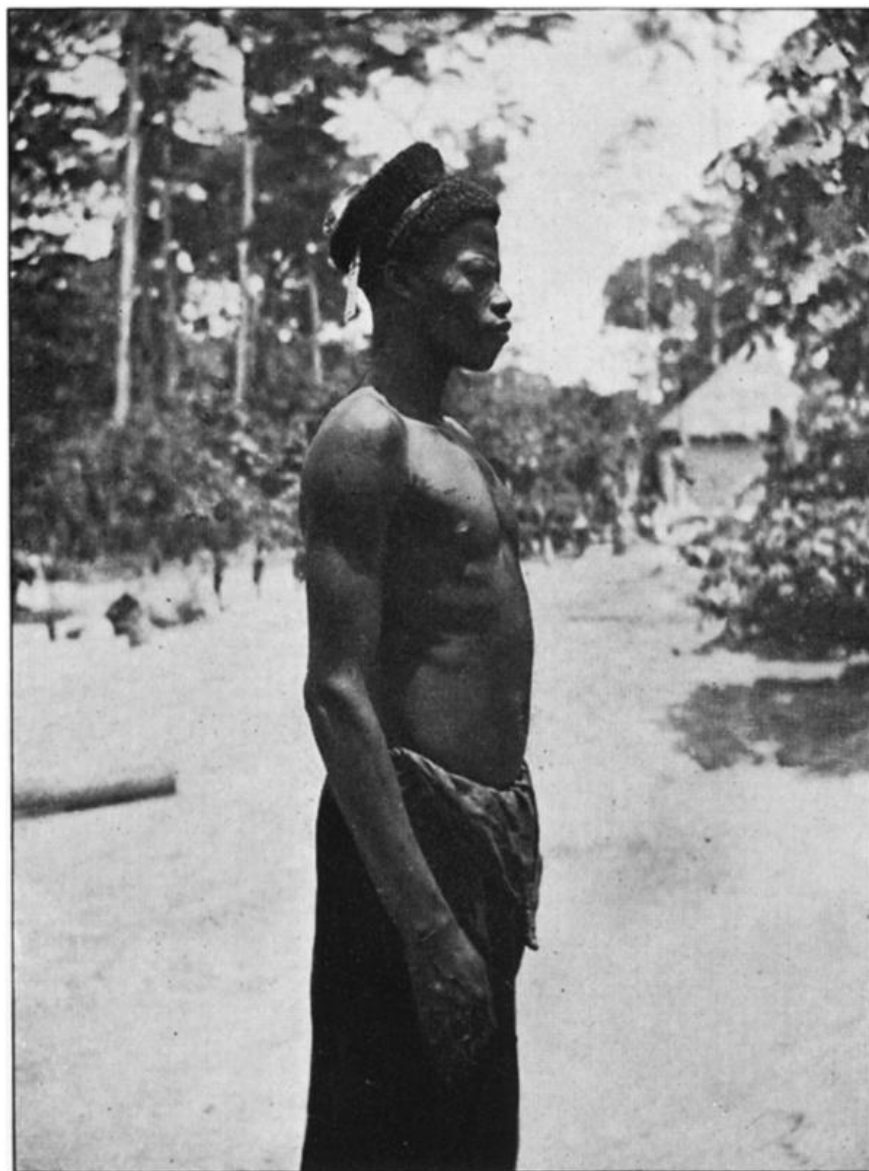
BANKUTU CANNIBAL FROM THE LUKENYE



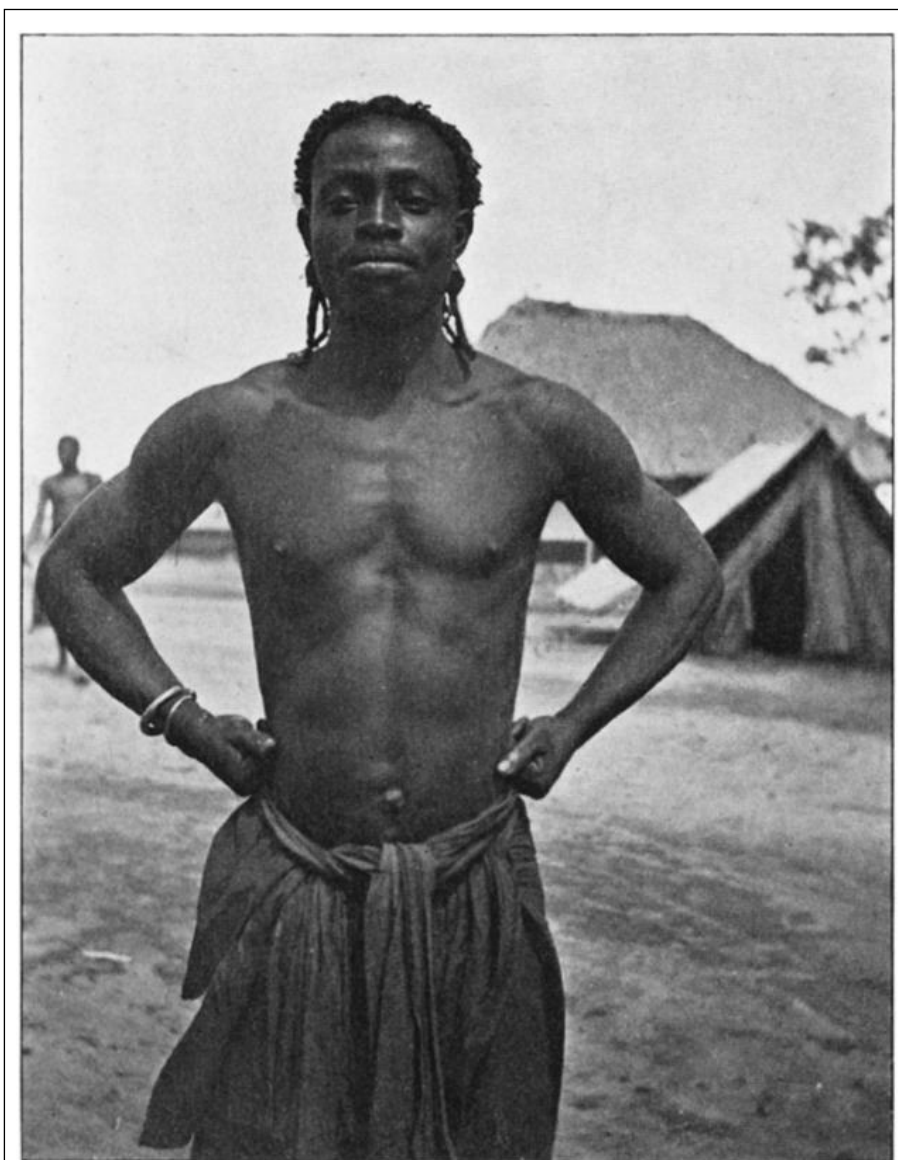
NORTHERN BATETELA (ALANGA SUB-TRIBE) FROM ASOMENO



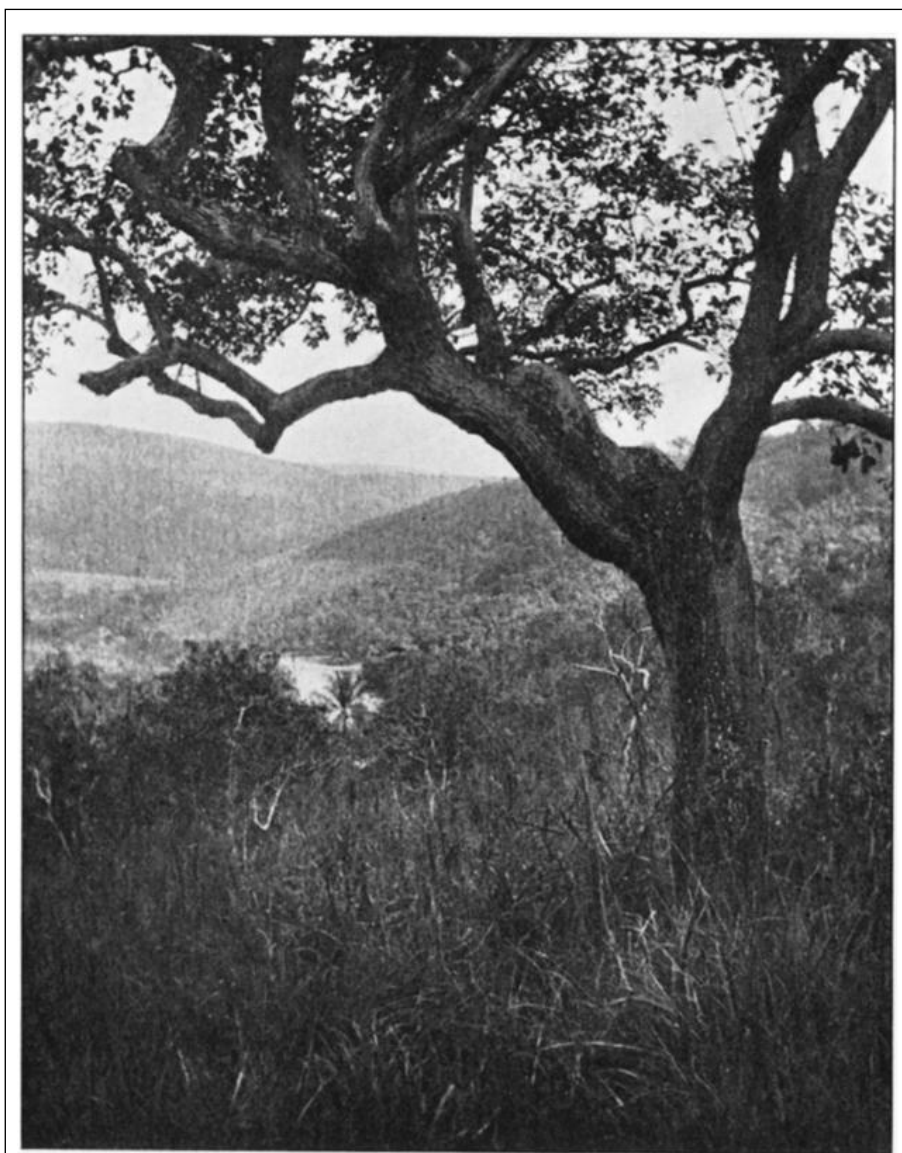
ARELA FROM THE DOMBEMOILA RIVER



NORTHERN BAMBALA (KWILU RIVER)



VORENYE, A SOUTHERN BAMBALA (KWILU), A MEMBER OF THE EXPEDITION



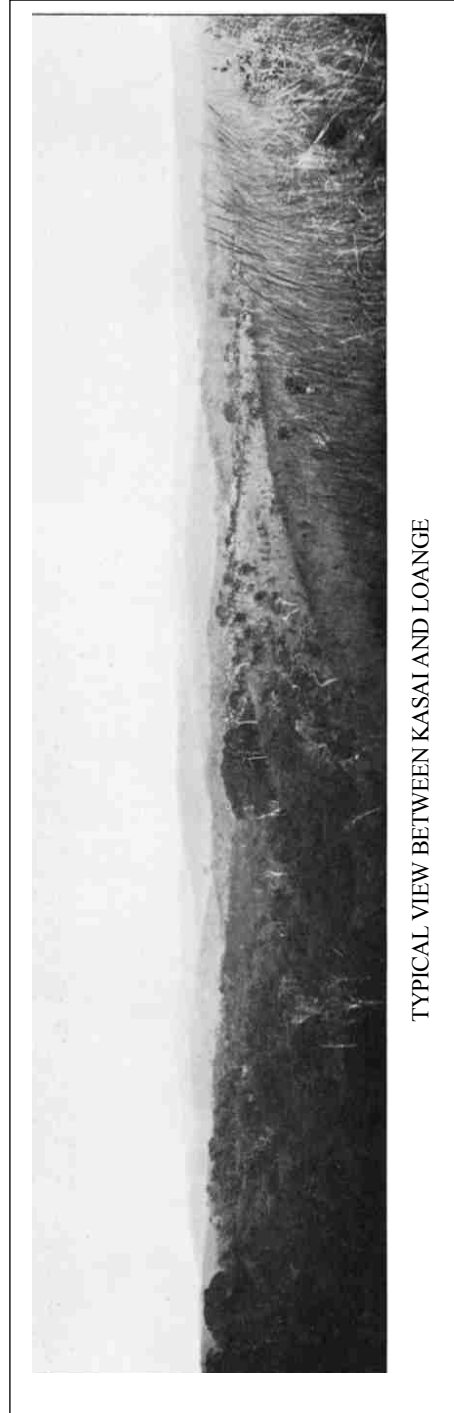
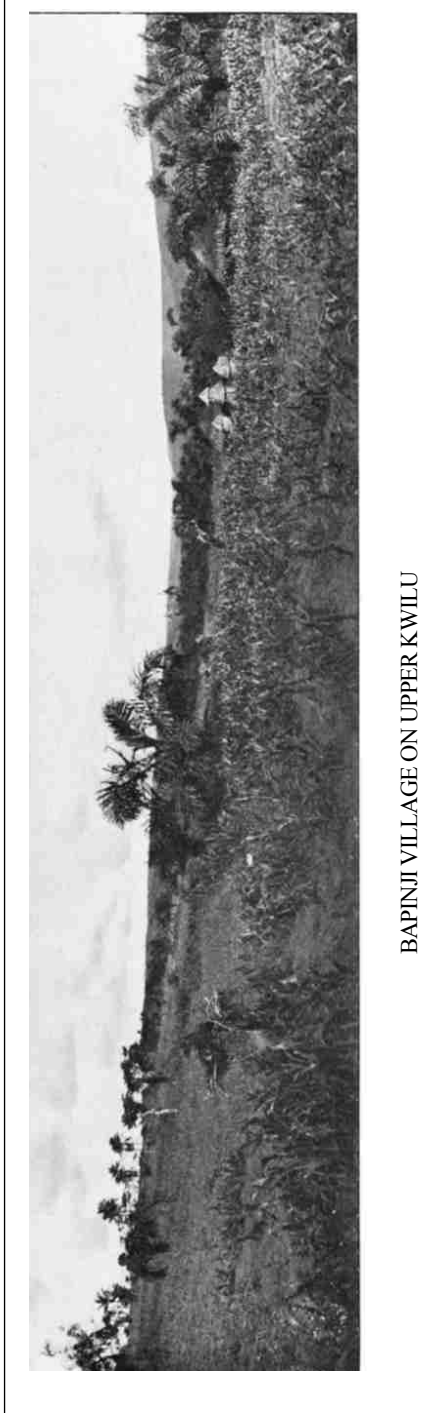
THE UPPER KWILU VALLEY



THE FALLS OF THE KWILU NEAR BONDO



COUNTRY BETWEEN THE KWILU AND KAUCHA RIVERS





THE GRANARIES SURROUNDING BAKONGO VILLAGE
(BETWEEN LOANGE AND KASAI)



GANDU, A BAKONGO MAN (BETWEEN LOANGE AND KASAI)

