The power of doubt : essays in honor of David Henige.

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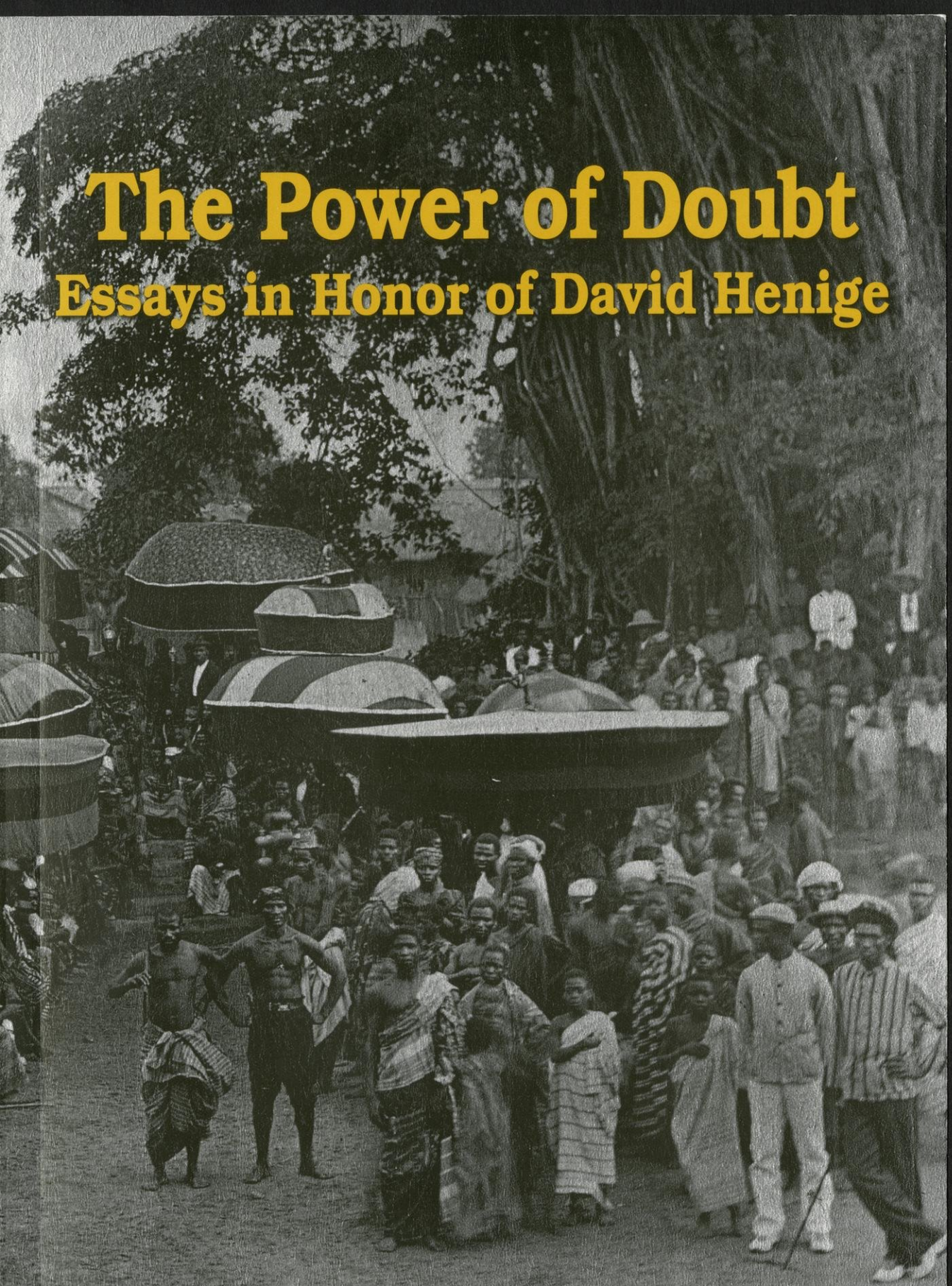

Edited by Paul S. Landau

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Essays in Honor of David Henige

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"How Do You Know?": An Introduction to David Henige

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In this brief introduction, I am not going to attempt to do justice to David Henige's scholarly life. Not to his entire oeuvre, not to his extensive editorial work, nor even to his immense contributions to the field of indexing written Africanist knowledge over the years. I will scarcely touch on his tremendous contribution as the person responsible for securing and cataloguing all the Africanist literature and primary sources at Memorial Library at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. In all of this and more, Henige has helped give shape to what several generations of historians think about Africa's past. Below, in what follows, I write only about one small dimension of David Henige's contribution: the manifest disposition in his scholarly work. In my view, and at the risk of oversimplification, this may be summed up as a question: "How do you know?"

One can observe some responses to the question after 1974 in the journal Henige edited and called *History in Africa*. This volume is made up of chapters by previous contributors to that forum. Here too several writers evaluate the connection between interpretation and evidence. What conclusions may be drawn from written explorers' accounts (in Angola and from East-Central Africa)? From oral traditions (Kongolese and Turkana (Jie), Tanzania)? From court cases (Ghana), or photography (Ghana and Cameroon), or ethnography (not just African), or missionaries' notes and letters (Madagascar)? Many of us treat source material directly, and emphasize how evidence may serve other muses besides Clio, as Henige repeatedly argued. All of us now seem interested in the recovery of ordinary (or "subaltern") African experiences from existing or newly mined accounts. These two competing concerns define this book.

The open-endedness of the formulation, *The Power of Doubt,* is deliberate, and has always been central to David Henige's notion of practicing history. One does not know where one is going to end up, if one is really honest in doing research. Not long ago most Africanist

historians used not to suppose that their primary concern lay in turning out a product. They were instead desirous to uncover and demonstrate hypotheses about the past, with evidence from the past, when and where this was possible. The separation of expert knowledge and *ecrits* of quality from popular accounts of the past is central to the progressivism of academic pioneers such as Henige; the massification of half-knowledge in popular culture (anywhere: here or in Africa) was to be denied history's status.[1] It is possible to get the past right.

Henige had a precocious interest in oral traditions, thinking about them critically, how to operate in their ambit, and soon he came to work at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, the emergent language-tuned fieldwork-oriented center for historians of Africa. From his desk in Memorial Library he swept his searchlight across the profession. Early on, he turned his critical eye toward geneaologies in oral traditions collected by Westerners in Africa, the very metier of his senior colleague, the Belgian-born historian of Africa, Jan Vansina. Recognizing Vansina's work *De la Tradition Orale* (1961) as important, he did not shy from critiquing it, seeing, for instance, elements of its interpretive apparatus as unduly "optimistic." He insisted on something scholars should by now all recognize, that history is not sealed and preserved in oral traditions like in a package: an assumption popular, Henige noted acidly, in part because it is so "congenial" to fieldwork.[2]

Nonetheless Vansina recognized a kindred spirit in Henige. Himself uninterested in orthodoxies, Vansina was already moving toward his own re-evaluations of *De la Tradition Orale* (as well as of his *Kingdoms of the Savannah*), in part de-emphasizing the focus on defensible chains of transmission, and he produced *Oral Tradition as History,* a substantial revision, in 1985. Vansina's and Henige's subsequent interaction and *de facto* collaboration in Wisconsin pedagogy helped produce the body of "good practice" knowledge that passed to us in the Wisconsin African History program in the 1980s. The lessening of our expectation of historicity in oral transmissions meant, above all, that we needed to know as much as possible about the internal dynamics of the societies that perpetuated and reproduced oral traditions we collected or studied. Up till the moment they are written down, oral "texts" were not the same as written texts.

The pursuit of these and other debates recurred in pioneering Africanist histories, colloquia, and lecturers' teaching points. For instance, in his book, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition,* Henige, as is well known, demonstrated how the reckoning of "average regnal lengths" from oral traditions (in order to establish real dates) is not credible. Averaging regnal lengths to arrive at dates for oral traditions in the past was certainly "congenial," as it allowed firm dates to mark "oral history" accounts of the past and so to produce narratives. But it could not reliably be done, and dates would soon be wrong by escalating percentages. Furthermore it is often not possible to know how many generations had been forgotten or even added, nor how long each reign had lasted, nor whether everyone recognized a "reign" at a given time. It was best to drop the idea of counting kings, we Wisconsin students learned, as that kind of dating must no longer be considered historical.[3]

What one could or could not claim as historical: this was his arena. One must evaluate the credibility of evidence. The case that "[there exists] *X*," for instance, is badly weakened (Henige repeatedly points out in his work) if previously the state or another hegemonic power had a discerned reason to claim *X*, whether or not *X*. Now it has not escaped notice that oral tradition, taken as that which is rehearsed and declaimed in public (or semi-public) by persons known for their expertise, must *ipso facto* be desired by some configuration of power touching it. According to the ordinary rules of evidence then it is precisely what oral tradition holds to be so that must be subject to doubt; or at the very least, *X* being said hardly shows that *X* was. If the historian had means to check, well and good, but sometimes this was not possible.

Henige offered no specific methodology proper to historians to reverse the effects of doubt. Indeed, care, cross-checking, doubting and looking for alternative explanations, seeking out additional evidence, these techniques are only varieties of analytical thought which you or I are freely capable of engaging in at any time. Thus, Henige has operated as a conscience for the profession at times. He deploys careful, hypothetical thinking and open displays of evidence, examining misprisions with interest and dry mirth. Even his handbook on how to "do" oral tradition is a distillation of common sense logical reasoning.

The journal *History in Africa* under Henige's editorship (ably assisted for many years by Jeffrey Kaufmann) became an arena for clear, evidentiary argument, openly presented; and so, of course, it was a success. *History in Africa* not only featured reviews and evaluations of source material for Africanists, but hosted scholarly debates at uncensored length—some, such as Edwin Wilmsen's meticulous rejoinder to Richard Lee, reaching a hundred pages.[4] Henige only wished there had been more controversy. He recently left his editorship after over thirty years continuous work, and his parting editorial thanked his contributors and readers, and lauded its output over the decades, but expressed regret that provocative points of view were not more frequently aired in the journal's pages. He had envisioned "numerous and contentious conversations about evidence and interpretation that would in sum advance our knowledge—or if necessary our ignorance . . ."

Advance our ignorance? In this Henige emphasized what his readers already enjoyed about him. *History in Africa* (as a discipline as well as a journal) was a place for debates, which are necessary and healthy, but the ideal outcome of any historical research was not necessarily a new narrative or explanation of events. A viable outcome might be "our ignorance." Henige understood that historical hypotheses might break down into three categories: "*X* transpired"; "*X* did not transpire"; and "We do not know if *X* transpired." All three have to be countenanced as useful in verifying (or not) a representation. In short, "not knowing" can be a product of a rigorous analysis of "how" we can know. The research will still have been worth doing if *not being able to know* is responsibly confirmed.

The critical apparatus required for this job is what he later depicted as "systematic" skepticism. Again, in my view, "systematic" here means "thinking for an extra while about

verification." This creative thinking was on display in his first publications, which exhibited "energetic and thorough" (i.e. "systematic") attempts to think about the solidity of assertions about the past. All right, the early Henige would say, let us take a look at this or that "problem": for example, that of a particular Akan stool (Abrem) in its putative existence in the past, for which Henige scoured the available evidence searching for mention of this stool (and therefore for a whole political history), thinking perhaps it was a recent creation. In the event he found evidence of the stool in early dynasties, although with connections displeasing to its partisans. This kind of conclusion typified Henige's modality. History is not a neat story that satisfies one set of expectations perfectly, it is about what is real, and what is real is imperfect.

Henige wrote further about Ghana and Africa, but would return many times to the subject of historical memory in more far-flung venues. Thus one finds in several of his books a world of material from all subfields of history. Beginning with *The Chronology of Oral Tradition,* one finds not only Wolof and Imbangala examples, but also Polynesian, ancient Sumerian, and Kashmiri examples, too. As in Vansina's book on oral tradition, the effect is often dazzling. We learn, for instance, about the medieval Irish *derbfhine* system of political organization and inheritance, for two pages of *Chronology.* The *derbfhine* system, it turns out, demonstrates the positive virtues of situationally *forgetting* one's ancestors, not remembering them, throwing kinglists out the door.[5] Indeed there are reasons in many places in the world that people misremember or forget.

Thirty-three years later, in an article about the veracity of places as they are located in traditions, Henige investigated scholarly reconstructions on the whereabouts of Yamatai, a place which features in Japanese oral tradition as a fabled capital. Again there were reasons to forget as well as to remember. Henige hypothesizes that the "Japanese authorities have a vested interest in locating Yamatai at a point as close as possible to the locus of the inchoate Japanese state of Yamato, as recorded in later traditional histories, rather than in areas that are closer to China but [and/or] more distant from the traditional Japanese heartland."[6] Thereby the traditional identification of Yamatai—not a small matter in Japanese historiography—is thrown into doubt.

Henige knew that something similar goes on in many archaeologists' attempts to use oral traditions to understand what their digs are unable to tell them alone. Not only in Japan, not only in Ghana, but in many venues, archaeologists have braided together genealogical oral traditions with their stratiographic analyses, producing what they then reread as a story confirming the solidity of both.

The pressures to attribute, assert, and produce, have deformed source criticism for canonical, written texts, as well as for oral traditions. By no means did Henige ignore written texts. Henige wrote a monograph about Christopher Columbus to coincide with the 500th anniversary of 1492, and in an extended bout of detective work, he casts doubt on the mutual independence of Las Casas' and Christopher Columbus' brother's canonical accounts of

the first voyage to America; as for making sense of Columbus's "numbers," discovering why they were apparently so wrong, he simply concludes that no number-crunching algorithm will tell us.[7]

There is in Henige's writing an anti-authoritarian streak. (Why couldn't those Columbian scholars have found these suspicious concordances years ago?) But it is more than just a discursive distrust of received wisdom. Henige understands something of the human condition. There are many times in life to remember, and many reasons to tell others, but there are silences, too, as other critics of oral tradition's use have stressed.[8] Now, both noise and silence as part of larger interactions tell us about people's circumstances when composing their words, either aloud or on paper. Some critics deviated from Henige's focus and pointed out how oral traditions display the mentality of people, the hidden oppositions in their schemes of thought, the logical models they follow, their deepest understanding of who they are (as, herein, Mirzeler). These interpretations are of great interest, too, and Henige of course never deprecated them. He only maintained that they may be treated alongside, or after, the value of any account's historicity is grasped.

Every year, in between writing four or five articles in respected journals, when he was not finishing a book, Henige also wrote about a dozen scholarly reviews. Perhaps I am underestimating, as in a typical year (1993) Henige published a book about the University of Wisconsin's total Africanist holdings, six scholarly articles, and fourteen book reviews in a variety of journals. His many reviews of reference volumes and bibliographies were crucial and remain so in the midst of the deluge of exchanged information today. His reviews of works of history most of all might be understood as an indicator of how "How do you know?" was usually applied. If Henige was a critic, these reviews are central to his profile.

It might perhaps surprise to learn that he rather liked Stephen Greenblatt's work, Greenblatt being the main strategist behind the English Department's turf war with the history profession. Henige recognized Greenblatt's innovative dash and expressed interest in the enterprise, but only wished Greenblatt were more catholic in his taste for evidence: more like an historian, in other words. Similarly Henige liked Martin Bernal's verve in *Black Athena,* too, partly (I think) because of the determination and moxie behind Bernal's application of his own kind of "systematic doubt" to the edifice of post-war Classical Studies, with corrosive effect. Perhaps even more compelling, Bernal had consented to debate his critics and to meet their objections to his use of evidence, in print.

In the same vein, Henige seeks out and readily locates egregious misuses of evidence among his peers. Some of what Henige has found must be acknowledged as intellectual hucksterism. As a reviewer David Henige ranged daringly into foreign territory, well outside Africa, daring to apply the best Africanist practices to weak social science. The demography of American Indians became a focus for Henige several times in his career. The numbers found in the work of his demographically-inclined Americanist colleagues that offered freshly enlarged preColumbian population estimates, were (he shows) guesses or made up.[9]

The whole demographic edifice was rotten, and the claims of historians to have proved (or "shown") a scenario of dense conurbations throughout pre-Columbian North America, were thrown into doubt.

Some of his targets have been easier, but all the more deserving for it. Sticking for a moment to genealogies and oral traditions: No, the Delaware Indians did not use glyphs on wood to record their trip over the Bering Straits made during the last ice-age. No, thousand-year Oceanic genealogies are not "surprisingly" accurate. No, Canadian sagas cannot possibly record actual, individual people's experiences that transpired five thousand years ago. No, Kebbi (N. Nigeria) kinglists, scores of generations long, probably do not record the names of Assyrian and Babylonian kings because they really were common ancestors. Or at least, there is no good evidence of such; it may still (as one interlocutor was pleased to elicit from Henige) be "possible."[10] The sentimental legislators in Canada embody the same kind of received-wisdom thinking when they rendered judgement on the admission of "First People's" lore for establishing land claims. Any methodological investigation of indigenes' oral traditions was ruled out of order.

Landing in an Americanist regional journal with big, "Wide West"-style cream-colored pages filled with folk Appalachian coverage, Henige tells them, "An enormous amount of human tragedy has sprung—and continues to spring—from doubtful beliefs in the biological nature of ethnic identity." The immediate occasion was an "investigation" of a particular, "white" Appalachian "ethnicity," producing the sort of book sometimes found for sale in regional airports, but which had yet sold over ten thousand copies. Working from family oral traditions the author argued that "the Merungians," with their kinky hair and darkish complexions, were not simply descended in part from African Americans, but instead from a long-forgotten group of Portuguese or Moorish mountain settlers. After Henige's hilarious roasting of the argument, a childhood friend of the Merungian author with some postgraduate training wrote in to accuse Henige of being a "structuralist" [*sic*].

He is not. Is he a Rankean then? No. "Ranke's notorious past 'as it was' was no more than the past he regarded as important," Henige warns.[11] Deciding *what* to learn about, *what* to position in one's narrative, is just as important as verification. Henige would not, however, agree with Hayden White, when White says that history is a rhetorical strategy to represent according to an order of tropes that we already know, an order we have learned from literature. According to White, in the end, we make sense of fictive and factual events in the same way: we emplot them satisfyingly. For Henige, in contrast, history is "a series of accepted judgements based on carefully considered probabilities." These "judgements" about the past are a serious matter, and historical work should be done "as though one's most energetic critics (after ourselves) are watching from the wings."[12] History was not only about, but was *at least* about, establishing what happened in a given place and time.—If not, what is a work's claim? That it is artfully done? A good story?

Henige identifies himself as a *pyrrhonist*, uncapitalized. The pyrrhonist is a chronic doubter. He or she can hardly say categorically that he has found what actually happened, but hesitates to say "there is no possibility of recovering what actually happened," either. Both are categorical statements, and are therefore suspect. Certainty is unwarranted, as history is an "elusive quarry." Thus with oral tradition one must (nearly) "abandon all hope" for clarity and take solace only that in adopting such a skeptical perspective the historian is acknowledging the truth, "recognizing that much of the past will remain dark to us." Theory, if by that is meant the adoption of a special posture or technique—Henige was in fact especially critical of Structuralism—hardly changes this.[13] Ultimately, ". . . apart from the binding force of sources, the historian knows no authority."[14]

The force of the sources is *binding*. Or rather, in the immediate afterthought: "Yet this binding is more in the nature of a tethering."[15] There is after all a bit of rope there. The historian has room to stand up and decide *what* to say, or whether there is anything new to say. For written history cannot be valued by whether a work is eloquent, or has moved students to new research. "Failure to advance knowledge" is all right too, and is often wrongly blamed on a lack of "talent and nerve rather than of evidence."[16] A dead end has to be respected. We must esteem a conclusion that says, "I cannot know the answer, even after looking through entire archives [etc. etc.]." It is a service to the discipline to clear away the trash and deadwood of mistaken certitude so others can build later on solid ground. This is his own metaphor, used severally. It implies a kind of long-term plan, not a short-term optimism, that historians establish beachheads for future citadels.

Henige was often on the lookout for the "It's impossible to *dis*prove" form of argumentation. ("It's impossible to disprove we're not descended from rogue Europeans" is not evidence for such descent.) Long interested in written evidence as used by historians, as I have noted, Henige eventually came round to considering the Bible. What *really* was the evidence for the existence or location of "Early Israel" and "Judah" in the Old Testament? Not much, as he then pointed out in print. If it is so that Jesus's journey directly suggests the fulfillment of prophecy and a recapitulation of the life of Joshua, then the status of that part of the narrative of Jesus's life as actual history is thrown into question. It must not be clutched more tightly (by *historians*) on the grounds that prophecy has been confirmed. The Bible was a set of translations made in circumstances of great tension and pressure, doubled and trebled upon themselves, transparently answering this or that (later-evolving) constituency's demands, fervently held to be true by partisans (believers). It was uncorroborated by archaeology, especially before the first millennium BCE, unless a special, different technique was mandated for interpreting near eastern ruins. In Biblical Studies one historian disagreed with Henige in print, and argued that faith was just as important as systematic doubt in using scripture as a historical source. The alternative was "too costly."[17] Thank you, David Henige.

Henige also wrote about the problem of "feedback," the influence (or contamination) of oral traditions by written material. This is common and has to be reckoned with,

but as a concern, it may easily be caricatured. Cannot the interviewed subject possess books or manuscripts and live in connection with the modern world, and submit as "history" whatever he or she feels is authentic?[18] He or she might base some of his knowledge on the Bible, for instance. But if so, it would be wise to have read the Bible when listening to him. Henige recommended the following in his guide, *Oral Historiography* (1983) for what to do if your informant suddenly pulls out a physical book ("*Here* is the information we rely on for understanding our past"). Immediately, one must ". . . be willing to welcome the chance to probe the historical consciousness of the informant and the ways in which [that consciousness]" has been informed.[19] Written material was part of the overall equation in the research situation. Never did Henige make the mistake of talking about tribally authentic, versus inauthentic (in other words, colonially influenced, literate) behavior. He only tried to distinguish history from fiction.

Finally, however, in the "shootout between elegance and evidence," evidence must win.[20] Mere plausibility is badly vulnerable to the prejudices of the writer: there is nothing more capacious than the realm of the plausible. Historians must embrace and esteem the-failure-to-discover-certainty, just as highly as the assertion of relative certainty.

Henige as a Voice Speaking in My Own Scholarship

The current writer can most productively represent Henige's dispositional legacy by reflecting briefly on his own research. In looking at chiefly genealogies from the southern African highveld, particularly of rural Setswana-speaking people in it, I could not help but note several contradictions. I had not yet decided to apply any "systematic" doubt—doubt of all adduced facts, doubt as to all layers in which knowledge was adduced—but I took as a clue that people's accounts were not purely historical because, amid a great deal of consistency, some chiefs appeared in different positions in different genealogies. More, some chiefs who were named and positioned in written records from the nineteenth century did not appear in oral tradition's genealogies as recollected rulers. Then, in my own field research in the Tswapong Hills in eastern Botswana, in an area bordering Kalanga-speakers and Zimbabwe, I found that old men contested one anothers' renditions of past chiefs' birth orders, depending on their own position in the hierarchy of village notables. Some of them recollected grandfathers and great uncles as brothers, while some others denied there was a brotherhood at all, and confided that the fraternal linkage was invented in hindsight to accommodate a transformation of the ruling alliance on the ground. This kind of situation is mirrored by several discussed by Henige in his books on oral tradition, as I knew.

Thus I came to doubt the geneaologies in just the way Henige, I now am freshly reminded, suggested they be doubted. My basic doubt was whether there was enough information available to me (from all my various interviews with patriarchs) to construct a single, true, *ur*-genealogy. That doubt then became a hypothesis. A perfect and full kinglist, if I had

it, would reflect no real present or past configuration of power, and so would not conform to the way ordinary people "preserved" their history. It could not be, and could not have been, and I was not so interested in what could not be. To be interested in what *was* meant figuring out why one name was privileged above another, and what alternative histories lay half-obscured beneath concensus versions.

Furthermore, quite apart from (for instance) whether Sacopie, Thibele (cf. *Tebele*, whence Matabele), or an 18th century Junior-Tebele ("Tebeyane") court gave issue to Tau, the putative Barolong consolidator and king,[21] there was another problem with the genealogies. Were the recollected ancestors in the reigning chiefdoms, as they were variously recorded, actually all (past) chiefs? How could one be sure? Why could not some or indeed many of them—and I swiftly came to see that I could not answer this—have been village headmen only, or even household patriarchs, retrospectively elevated to power by their descendants? Something like this doubt is given voice in recent research by others into South Africa's past. In *Five Hundred Years Rediscovered: Southern African Precedents and Prospects*, a conference proceedings published in 2007, "Fokeng" (or Bafokeng) is acknowledged to have been perhaps digested at one point by another larger polity that since disappeared, hundreds of years ago.[22] Left unanswered is why we must believe Fokeng was an actual polity at all, or if its patriarchs ruled more than a village or household for part or most of "its" history. Given the fact that erstwhile insignificant village leaders demonstrably *became* powerful chiefs in the early nineteenth century, and sought to erase their predecessors' memory on the land (as Eldredge, herein, reminds us with regard to the Zulu); given that ancestors were all supposed to be, and to have been, powerful, we might feel an extra reason to doubt the antique greatness of Fokeng. And here one might say the same for Bakaa, Bakwena, Batlhaping, Ba-harutse, or even Barolong, in the modern sense of these groupings.[23] No doubt *some* "Ba-*Xs*" were great, but most likely not those useful for propping up later, ongoing claims to power. Here the argument intersects with the Nietzschean critique of the ideological utility of "genealogies" more generally. As Foucault put it, "History is for cutting."[24]

Isaac Schapera collected family genealogies from households in the 1930s and 1940s in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, asking primary-school age students to solicit "ditso" or histories of offspring and generations (from *go tswa*, to come from or -of). The children's source would be their parents or other household elders; Schapera paid a shilling per (one- or two-page) essay. The *ditso* clearly indicate that obscure ancestors might *become* recollected later on as chiefs, because there were *later state-builders* among their offspring. The result was that their ancestors, in turn, resembled other "chiefs" of the past. The inexorable conclusion is that if new genealogies are ever elevated with ambitious chiefs, and they appear to have been, then at least their past middle-range of named kings would not necessarily refer to reigning chiefs at all.

The image of continuous tribes existing throughout long eons of history was already scarcely convincing to thoughtful Africanist historians; it was apparent that regnant houses'

genealogies could not be taken as patrilineal lists of rulers of steady polities. I hasten to add a further point first made by the other side of the Venn diagram of oral tradition studies: the very concept *of a list* (either of ancestors or of tribes) is most often an alien one to the nonliterate practitioner, a "totality in simultaneity" immediately beheld in a new way.[25] In the manner of the *derbfhine* recollections in Hibernia, there were reasons to forget as well as remember. Highveld people intermittently experienced a fortuitous path of succession; if they, judging from other places and times, subsequently regularized them in the telling, one should not be surprised.

And so, with my kinglists, several questions which had pressed at the margin of my thinking came rushing forward. The "full" chiefly lineages for ruling houses I take as lists of names of direct antecedents in power, purportedly going back to early days on the highveld. Working with the most certain names specific to the Bahurutshe-Bakwena (ba-ga-Kgabo etc.), used only as an example, one finds Masilo, Malope, Mohurutshe, then [Mo]Kwena, names of affiliation and legend; then Kgabo, Masilo II (a.k.a. Mosito), Mochudi (a.k.a. Mokotedi), and Legoyane, an ongoing negotiation supervised by gerontocratic authority, with one expects some actual biological ancestral chiefs, and then Motswaosele, Legwale, and Motswaosele II, recalled chiefs of some degree, and then Sechele, who ruled a large state from ca. 1830 to 1892, north the Molopo River.

By logic only gestured to here, I relinquished the idea of an actual, first Mokwena ("Crocodile Person"), with relief. Kwena (Crocodile) is an ancient and huge totemic affiliation intersecting with some chiefly houses on the highveld, in several divisions. There was at one point a bypassed "super-Kwena" senior house collateral to that of even the first Mokwena, for instance! Similarly, I demoted the historicity of Mohurutshe as an ethnofoundational historical character, and (in other genealogies) also Motlhaping, Mokgatla, Mofokeng, and Morolong. That is, I demur from treating them as single originators of power or stature or place, founder-chiefs in the past with regard to Bahurutshe, Bathlaping, Bakgatla, Bafokeng, Barolong, Bakwena, etc. Or rather: there is no solid evidence for our locating these names as such; they are *just as plausibly* personifications of past political conditions and affiliations, or even comparatively recently (aurally) elevated household-heads. In fact, I now saw that *whether or not* the names were historical founder-chiefs, they *were* comprehensible personifications of recurring and important forces in living experience, as that is how they served historical consciousness. Armed with Henige's pyrhonnist doubt, I returned to Hayden White's insight: the way people organize facts into sense is indeed the same way they do so with fictions.

While it is not impossible that genealogies adumbrated historical chiefdoms of varying duration, then, the earliest (first) period names held a different status than later ones. The earliest names were scarcely relevant in negotiating relationships between men, and they left no wards (neighborhoods) of descendents on the ground. The "people of Chief *X*" indexes not a static body of people, but the dynamic reintegration of households in the midst of a

history we can never fathom in its entirety. The shifting brushwork on the palimpsest of oral tradition revised claims in households and villages, and therefore, sometimes, in chiefships. By doubting source material, I was forced to look at my evidence more closely, and more creatively.

The Chapters Ahead

In their contributions honoring David Henige, our authors have similarly focused on the question, "how do we know?" as a necessary and in fact compelling part of their work. And they have come up with different kinds of answers, complementary ones, sometimes contestatory ones.

Beatrix Heintze interrogates the knowledge of west-central African European "explorers," on the grounds that much of what they learned, and most of the interaction they had with Africans, came from or through their guides and interpreters. These were "Luso-Africans" and for a time so-called *amabaquistas*, daring, savvy travelers, traders, and journey-contractors. Heintze locates several of these people by name, including Germano de Jose Maria, pictured in her chapter. What Heintze accomplishes with her careful evaluation of evidence is really no less than a seismic change in perspective, a rack-focus to a new level of integration with Angola's history. Ultimately, the move is away from the gaze of the explorers—already self-deceiving, and as Johannes Fabian has argued,[26] bleary and addled—and toward an overview of a much older and larger Portuguese-African trading praxis with its own logic and coherence, engaged and rerouted by adventurous Europeans with capital and firearms.

Richard Reid, in his chapter, holds that historians must revisit explorers' accounts of east Africa, and look at them anew, for they have more to tell us. For Reid they tell us that a military revolution unfolded in east Africa in the late nineteenth century. Fittingly for a volume conceived in Henige's name, Reid and Heintz may be seen, in part, as disagreeing. Reid argues against the deprecation of written sources implicit in arguments made by Heintze and many other scholars, and suggests that the mere readiness of these Europeans to see innovations and intensifications in warfare should not disqualify their observations.[27] Shifts in warfare certainly had to do with the flood of firearms and increasing internal slave-trading; for Reid, however, there was an indigenous revolution in warfare in east Africa in the 1890s, one we will miss if we read Europeans' accounts only as masked narratives of the European self.

With the professionalization of observation, what then is the status of the informant vis- a-vis the researcher? Usually, as Mamadou Diawara shows, the informant has been "the hunted" instead of "the hunter." Reversing this conception is yet no solution, because of course the indigenous person does not know his own history by virtue of his birth. Instead Diawara considers the subject of "native" anthropologists researching their own people or

related people in order to challenge an analytical space, a recognized terrain: the distance from the vernacular demanded by academic scholarship.[28] Real differences between migrants and settlers, between city-dwellers and village-dwellers, between those with cellular phones and not, all destabilize the notion of "distance" so necessary for the Western scholar's estimation of his own value. Distance is replaced by many facets of contemplation, a proliferation of "gazes."

Next, Pier Larson researches the history of literacy in early to mid-nineteenth century Protestant Malagasy missions, part of his work on the dissemination and reconfiguration of "letters" in the Indian Ocean. For Larson, literacy discloses and literacy conceals in equal measure; in the making of Malagasy Christian texts, it was not always apparent who is writing up whom. Larson paints a picture of an interactive process (involving both students and slaves), distinguishing several directions of translation and dissemination. Only on close inspection of unpublished letters and reports does the centrality of Malagasy translators and writers emerge from the apparent story of pioneer missionary-linguists. But we can learn about this, in Madagascar as in the west, because the written word, even more than oral tradition, escapes its initial intended deployment.

David Henige's journal *History in Africa* pioneered not only the interrogation of oral and written source material, but also visual images. Scholarship in this area has in recent decades gleaned much from Art History and linguistics, so that fewer and fewer historians are satisfied with the provision of pictures as unanalyzed illustrations. Here, Paul Jenkins carefully examines photographs of chiefs from Ghana and Cameroon from the Basel Mission archive in Switzerland. Paying sensitive attention to the situation of the taking of the pictures, Jenkins argues for discerning a genre of portraiture, one featuring the level gaze of the subject aimed at the camera; he finds the genre unexpectedly abundant in contrast to missionaries' pictures of India's princes and indeed of other African leaders. This moves him to rethink the relationship between "traditional" northern Ghanaian chiefs and Christians, as much closer than it is usually conceived.

Kwabena Akurang-Parry assays the evidential record for understanding the apprenticeship system put in place in Ghana after the abolition of slavery there. Drawing on his understanding of oral and written accounts, Akurang-Parry argues that the designation of host-families for former slaves and pawns was for some time a haphazard and abuse-prone system. This is surely the case, as he demonstrates; yet in reading the official record for several "Amba"s (the name by which a great many female "apprentices" were designated), Akurang-Parry also finds evidence of stubborn individual agency exercised even within the most constrained circumstances: apprentices' literate protestations to British authorities; occasional extensions of the notion of "family" to apprentice-master households; and flight and escape. The positions from which subjected people act are deeply embedded in their own history.

Blending wide exposure to oral traditions as literature with his Africanist knowledge, Mustafa Mirzeler adopts a different approach to recorded "history." He gleans the meaning

of Jie oral traditions as they were intended to be experienced: as references to past, fixed truths in poetic form, engaging with current circumstances or differences in or between communities. Historicity as a concern is conceded implicitly. Drawing usefully on several influential treatments of oral tradition as "story," Mirzeler instead argues that Jie traditions iterated sharing and interdependence as moral features of social life (within given socialities of different scale); Jie placed ancestral quarrels and atonements centrally in the public domain, creating a channel for their memory, without worrying about chains of transmission or reading the import of each story according to hypothesized past frameworks.

The last two chapters round out the theme of interrogating the historicity of oral traditions. John Thornton reconsiders the problem of the traditions of the Kingdom of Kongo: they differ greatly from the written record. His conclusion is that they do not indicate the historically unified kingdom, but refer no further back than to the mid-nineteenth century and a decentralized congeries of clans (*kanda*). The misleading impressions gleaned in the twentieth century derive from a complex and overlapping set of written and oral interactions he traces here. In spite of this radical doubt, however, Thornton cannot avoid speculating that perhaps kernals of truth survive within the tradition nonetheless, simply because what they refer to was so well known. Thus the prominence of Beatriz Kimpa Vita's mother *may* indicate her continued promulgation of the St. Antony movement after Beatriz's death.

Elizabeth Eldredge's chapter reconstructs the probable mortality figures from the Zulu expansion in southeast Africa, the motor of the "Mfecane." In this effort she rereads and juxtaposes two sets of written-down oral traditions and verbal reminiscences, one by A.T. Bryant, a heavily redacted synthesis of massive detail in the tribal-group framework proper to the nineteenth-century, and the other by James Stuart, which resides in a multi-volume, bilingual set, assembled from Stuart's archive by Colin Webb and John Wright. Drawing also on many other neglected pieces of evidence, Eldredge shows that oral accounts can in fact be used themselves to interrogate accepted conclusions. Here, the power of doubt dissolves the oft-cited figures of a million or more casualties of Shaka Zulu's *impi*s and suggests a far more modest body-count, if nonetheless still a brutal one.

Following the chapters is a full bibliography of published sources for the chapters and finally a complete list of David Henige's publications.

Notes

1. To which it seems there is now renewed agreement: see Henige's review of Luise White, Stephan F. Meischer, and David William Cohen, eds., *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2001) in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 33, 4 (2003): 577–85. But this is to get ahead of our discussion.
2. See for instance Henige, "The Misuse of Tradition," review of Dioulde Laya, ed., *La tradition orale: problématique et méthodologie des sources de l'histoire Africaine* (Niamey: Centre régional de documentation pour la tradition orale, 1972), in *Journal of African History* 15, 2 (1974): 153–54; and David Henige, "Oral Tradition as a Means of Reconstructing the Past," in John Edward Philips, ed., *Writing African History* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 171.

3. Hence for instance I did not compute dates from lists of reigns in my first book.
4. Edwin Wilmsen's explication of his position and evidence against Richard Lee is in "Further Lessons in Kalahari Ethnography and History," *History in Africa*, 30 (2003), 327–420.
5. *The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 36–37, and e.g., n71; cf. James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale, 2009), for a similar situation.
6. Henige, " 'This is the place': putting the past on the map," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 32 (2007): 237–53. E.g., the first capital of Koguryo, now in China.
7. I.e. Henige, *In Search of Columbus: The Sources for the First Voyage* (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1991), 138.
8. David William Cohen, *The Combing of History* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994).
9. David Henige, *Numbers from Nowhere: The American Indian Contact Population Debate* (Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma, 1998), contra, e.g., works such as David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: the Conquest of the New World* (Oxford, OUP, 1993).
10. Review of Dierk Lange, *Ancient Kingdoms of West Africa: Africa-Centred and Canaanite-Israelite Perspectives* (Dettelbach: J. H. Röll, 2004), *Paideuma*, 53 (2007): 284–88.
11. Henige, "African history and the rules of evidence: Is declaring victory enough?" in Bogumil Jewsiewicki and Colin Newbury, eds., *African Historiographies: What History of Which Africa?* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1986); 98; 97 following quote.
12. *Oral Historiography*, 129.
13. D. W. Cohen seemed to Henige to go much too far in viewing history itself and not just accounts of it as something constructed entirely in the present (in *Womunafu's Bunafu: A Study of Authority in a Nineteenth-Century African Community* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1977), and Cohen, *Combing*), hence (e.g.) Henige, "Omphaloskepsis and the Infantilizing of History," review of Cohen, *Combing*, in *Journal of African History*, 36, 2 (1995): 311–18; for one reaction, see Carolyn Hamilton, "'Living by Fluidity': Oral Histories, Material Custodies and the Politics of Archiving," in Carolyn Hamilton *et al.*, eds., *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002): 211–12.
14. Henige, *Oral Historiography,* 101–2.
15. Ibid.
16. Henige, "Deciduous, perennial, or evergreen: the choices in the debate over 'early Israel'," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament,* 27 (2003): 391.
17. Ian Provan, "Pyrron, Pyrrhus and the Possibility of the Past: A Response to David Henige," *Journal of the Study of the Old Testament,* 27, 4 (2003), 413.
18. E.g. see Tamar Giles Vernick on "doli," an indigenous category comparable but not equivalent to "history," in *Cutting the Vines of the Past: Environmental Histories of the Central African Rain Forest* (Charlottesville, VA, Univ. of Virginia Press, 2002); and "First-Time," in Richard Price, *First-time: the Historical Vision of an African American People* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2002), and "ditso," below in this introduction. It should not however be overlooked that an early and crucial argument for Cohen, e.g., "The Undefining of Oral Tradition," *Ethnohistory,* 36, 1 (Winter 1989), 12 (especially for Busoga), is that historical knowledge circulated and changed through all sorts of social interdependencies and processes, and not (only) through elites' chains of transmission. As Reid (and Cohen: "Undefining," 15) points out, East Africa was remade in the nineteenth century such that "new syntheses" of the past emerged (Ibid.). Thus to the question, "*are* there rules of transmission?" surely the answer must be, "sometimes, in some places."
19. Henige, *Oral Historiography,* 57.
20. Henige, *Historical Evidence and Argument* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 2005), quotes: 123, 172, and 119 respectively.
21. See my *Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400 to 1948* (CUP 2010), 68–69, chapter 2.
22. *Five Hundred Years Rediscovered: Southern African Precedents and Prospects* (group authorship: from a conference, "500 Years Rediscovered"), including Natalie Swanepoel, A.B. Esterhuysen,

Philip Bonner, M.H. Schoeman, J.B. Wright, Tim Maggs, Peter Delius and others (Johannesburg: Univ. of Witwatersrand Press, 2008).

23. *Five Hundred Years* ultimately goes back to the search for "Fokeng" origins and ancient trajectories, as if such a grouping necessarily existed.

24. Michel Foucault, "Nietszche, Genealogy, History," in Donald Boucard, ed., *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1977), 154, cited in David Nirenberg, "Was There Race Before Modernity? The Example of 'Jewish' Blood in Late Medieval Spain," in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 238.

25. Quote: Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1980), 35; see also Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge: CUP, 1977) and *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986); cf. in contrast the energetic Wisconsinite attack on "oral man" in Leroy Vail and Landeg White, *Power and the Praise Poem: Southern African Voices in History* (Charlotte: Univ. of Virginia Press, 1991), Introduction.

26. Johannes Fabian, *Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa* (Berkeley: University of California, 2000).

27. Because Europeans were so inclined to note militarism and armed force, he seems to suggest, their preconception of Africa as an essentially violent and lawless place did not entirely cancel the value of their capacious observations.

28. Similarly see my critique of "distance" as a producer of "authenticity" in the realm of the visual, in Landau, "An Amazing Distance," Introduction, in Paul S. Landau and Deborah Kaspin, eds., *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press), 2002.

Hidden Transfers: Luso-Africans as European Explorers' Experts in Nineteenth-Century West-Central Africa[1]

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I

News about David Henige's book *The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera?*[2] and about the launch of his journal *History in Africa: A Journal of Method* in 1974 spread quickly, and both became seminal to my own work. Finally, here was a forum for methodological issues. As I was trained in source criticism relating to ancient and more recent European history, I had always felt that too little attention was usually paid to these issues in anthropological and historical works about the non-European world. Soon I became a contributor to *History in Africa* myself, and was able to bring up some topics that were subsequently picked up by David Henige, who further elaborated them in his masterful way. I also felt appreciated in a very special manner by his review of one of my books in his journal.

I was therefore quite happy about David's participation in the symposium on *Sources for Sub-Saharan Africa Before 1900: Use and Abuse*, which I had the pleasure to organize together with Adam Jones in 1986 in Bad Homburg.[3] Just as everyone had expected and hoped, the first sentence of Henige's paper on principles spiritedly pointed to a basic issue behind the topic of our own conference: "While Africanist historians of recent vintage have not entirely ignored written sources in their anxiety to legitimize the 'new' genre of oral historiography, there is no denying that they have not generally devoted to such materials the same zeal, imagination, and sense of purpose that have characterized their work with oral

sources."[4] In particular thanks to *History in Africa*, this situation has changed quite a bit since then; however, due recognition has only sporadically been given to critical editions and source criticism, as to other methodological problems related to the sources we use.[5] If the journal can indeed be continued in accordance with David Henige's vision, this would be a promising sign.

II

The accounts by nineteenth-century European explorers of their travels in central Africa are today considered valuable primary sources that offer the first reports ever on the interior and its inhabitants. In that context, the central role played by human mediators of anthropological and historical knowledge is frequently overlooked. More than mere interpreters, they were trans-cultural "translators," a fact that usually went unnoticed by the Europeans who were overwhelmed by the strenuous daily routine of traveling.[6]

While intermediaries served all explorers in west-central Africa, they were particularly important to German travelers whose expeditions of "discovery" to Angola were hampered by the language problem from the very beginning: the European *lingua franca* in that region was Portuguese, which only very few of them had learned back home. Hermenegildo Capello and Roberto Ivens, for example, upon meeting Alexander von Mechow, sneered at his rudimentary Portuguese.[7] Otto Schütt only began to understand some Portuguese after spending two weeks in Malanje;[8] similarly Max Buchner began to learn the language after embarking on his journey, when he was taught Portuguese by his cook.[9] The Luso-Africans living in the remote hinterland of Luanda, on the other hand, hired by explorers as interpreters, were as a rule widely traveled and had considerable African expertise and experience.

These Amabaquistas, as they were called, acted as "masters of ceremonies"; they advised their employers, who were in no way familiar with local conditions, in matters of protocol and gift-giving; it was they who conducted negotiations and who recommended appropriate courses of action according to their assessment of given situations. The ethnographic accounts of the German explorers owe much to them, as Max Buchner stresses:

> And these wretched Ambakisten [*sic*] . . . play a decisive role with regard to the successes of the travelers in Africa, which in Europe establish the latter's fame. Whenever one found good ones, everything went well, but whenever one found bad ones, things took a different course. . . . And at the same time, part of the information contained in the literature about Africa, which in a scholarly manner delights the readers, comes from these Ambakisten. Almost all the names of tribes and regions, rivers, chieftains, and customs that grace our Africa books about Portugal's huge sphere of influence, have been handed down in Ambakist language to the travelers who wrote these books.[10]

During their journeys, travelers had very close contact with these interpreters and other experts they had hired, and it is likely that they would sit down with them for a chat in

the evenings: all information they gathered entered their notebooks via this filter. While as a rule the interpreters were not members of the societies on which they reported, they often held quite concrete opinions about them. Apart from the ethnographic and historical narratives given by these confidants themselves, they incorporated their own views and definitions of the "naked savages" and the customs that they were helping to document. On top of this, because they absorbed Europeans' conceptions and judgments about these "savages," their "translations" were rife with those biases as well. Explorers' conversations with chiefs and kings—which usually had to be conducted indirectly via two intermediaries, the interpreter and the official spokesperson of the respective high-ranking African—offered further opportunities for such "translations." Few explorers took the trouble systematically to check the information they received. It would thus be naíve to think that interpreters' views have not left their mark on the accounts, narratives, and "translations" that were subsequently published by Europeans.

Without a doubt, some informants even deliberately misled inexperienced Europeans, or exaggerated, or arrogated authority and importance they did not possess. Almost all Africans were suspicious of the true intentions of the German explorers, and geographical research was a particularly sensitive issue.[11] Max Bucher was aware of the problem, but was never patient enough to resolve it:

> About half of this information is based on mere inquiries that I made with the help of my interpreter, and thus not definitely reliable because first, the two of us were hardly able to communicate; second, he, too, never completely understood the languages of the natives; third, he often chose to lie to me, and did so with the consent of the natives; and fourth, even more often the natives themselves did not know anything.[12]

Thanks to their accounts, adventurous Europeans were celebrated, if sometimes only posthumously, in their home countries, as pioneers and "discoverers" of the African interior. Their descriptions of the African peoples, languages, and life ways, their records of historical traditions, and their maps of the regions through which they had traveled opened up a new world to the readers back home, and provide an invaluable fund of sources for west-central Africa. It is frequently overlooked, however, that interpreters often accompanied several expeditions, with the result that their reportage informed more than one of them, rendering them "silent informants."[13] Most of the explorers' original diaries were destroyed following the publication of their books, many of their letters got lost, and their accounts were infrequently published, and so they have mostly evaded intertextual comparisons.[14] And popular premises and expectations for expeditions to the "dark continent" in nineteenth-century Europe, along with other influences, led writers to retouch their supposedly authentic travel impressions after their return.[15] Many were eager to present the European readers with an image of Africa as "primordial," "virgin," and affected as little as possible by European influences. Yet in fact the ethnographic reports that have come down to us have their origins in

diverse narrative threads. They must therefore be reexamined in light of information, however imperfect, about our "ethnographers'" and "historians'" most important companions. There is always the question (with seldom a complete answer) as to how, for whom, and in what regard, a source before us is "authentic."

III

Luso-Africans—that is, members of a mixed Portuguese and African culture—were the most outstanding interpreters and versatile experts in these research expeditions. They usually traced their descent to a male ancestor of European, generally Portuguese, origin. This ancestor, however, would sometimes have lived generations prior to the nineteenth century. Such ancestors included chiefly conquistadors, Portuguese who held government or administrative positions, common soldiers, merchants, traders, or *degredados* (convicts banished to Angola).[16] The majority of these Luso-Africans were born within the Portuguese sphere of dominion on Angolan soil (the so-called *filhos da terra*), but some of them were of completely different origin.[17]

For a long time, they were defined as mulattoes by their European contemporaries, who despised and ridiculed them because of the syncretistic elements of their culture. This applied primarily to those Luso-Africans who were not living in the urban environment of Luanda but far away in the interior. Such deprecatory judgments were particularly common in the nineteenth century. The German explorer Herman Soyaux, for instance, said,

> I have always found the mulattoes to be a daunting breed of the human race, and after my first encounters with them I gave them a wide berth. These half-breeds, who refer to themselves as '*branco*' [white] in spite of their yellowish-brown complexion, have as a rule only inherited bad character traits from their parents of different colors: perfidiousness, deceitfulness, crafty wickedness, insincerity, cowardice. At the same time, they have a cheeky, impudent nature. The mulatto hates his mother for being black, and his father for having taken a black woman for his wife.[18]

The term "mestizo" has therefore been preferred in more recent times. Still, like "mulatto," "mestizo" also emphasizes biological mixing, not the historical processes that produced Luso-Africans in Angola.[19] "Creole" is an alternative. The designation has been propagated through works of literature (by Pepetela, Agualusa, and others[20]), and by scholarly projects, usually devised on the other side of the ocean, which focus on the entire Atlantic region, south-to-south relations, and on the African diaspora. As a result "Creole" has gained prominence as has "Creolization" in reference to the processes of Creoles' appropriations.[21]

While such a convenient, comprehensive term covering all the diverse groups found at the coasts is useful for large-scale, comparative research, "Creole"'s application in Angola is fraught with problems. Because it has a long, multifaceted history in diverse parts of the

world, both as a noun and an adjective, even when it is redefined for a given situation, it remains charged with misleading connotations gleaned from its other uses.[22] In the Angolan context, it suggests commonalities in terms of topics, space, and time that do not exist. Traditionally, the term refers to a specific, stable mixture of languages that has become a language in its own right. These are found all over the world, and incorporate as their bases Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, Dutch, and even Chinese. If these criteria are applied, however, it cannot be said that a Creole language has developed in Angola (even though this has been repeatedly stated without being substantiated by sources or comprehensive linguistic evidence).[23]

While the cultural interpretation of "Creole" prevails in the Atlantic context, in post-colonial Angola the term was (and is?) charged with racist meaning, being a political "fighting word" used in a deprecatory manner.[24] In addition, and in contrast to "Pidginization," "Creolization" is supposed to involve a process of ethnicization, and so it tempts scholars to recognize some new, shared, and authentic identity, even where one does not exist. In fact the word never became an ethnonym in Angola.[25] Finally, the label "Creolization" in my view marks Angolan Africans as passive recipients, contrary to the intentions of the scholars who use this term. Anyway, in the future it is to be hoped that there will only be "Angolans."

Any historian who wishes to analyze processes of the past has no choice but to name mixed and intermediary people even if there is no suitable self-designation. In my own writings that deal with the hinterland, and above all with the region east of the Kwango River deep in the interior of the continent, I have therefore chosen to abide by the term "Luso-Africans," which preserves much more of the temporary, processual character of cultural appropriation, productive of a "transitional stage" and not a fixed, ethnic identity.[26] Thus I follow Joseph Miller, who favors "Luso-Africans" and points to its "emphasis on the essential African character of the group in political, economic, and structural terms, with a specifically Lusophone veneer that distinguishes it from similar African groups who also adopted aspects of European culture."[27]

A number of new studies on the Luso-Africans have been published. Most notable are those resulting from research projects conducted over the course of several years.[28] The intensive use of the archives on the other side of the Atlantic, in particular in Brazil, has greatly enhanced our knowledge and has brought into focus new aspects of the common history shared between these regions and Angola. At the same time however one finds a justifiable emphasis on the distinctiveness of Angolan culture as compared to other "Creole" cultures.[29] In this process of appropriation, Brazil played a particularly important role, inasmuch as the "European culture" brought from there to Angola had already undergone transformations on the other side of the Atlantic.[30] Yet while elements of European cultures were appropriated in Angola, these were strongly remodelled over a long period by local Angolan cultures, and there were considerable variation within Angola. Luso-Africans in Luanda differed from those living in the hinterland of Luanda, yet also from those of Benguela, and even more

from Luso-Africans living farther into the interior. It was the latter who became known by the term "Amabaquistas" in the nineteenth century.[31] These Amabaquistas accompanied explorers as interpreters and travel experts. The following paragraphs offer some glimpses of their lives and accomplishments.

IV

A new Luso-African elite emerged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the hinterland of Luanda, under Portuguese influence and within the context of the all-dominating Atlantic slave trade. The accumulation of wealth led to an increase in individualism and an atomization of society, which as a result became more and more independent of the structures of the chiefdoms.[32] The new elite was very heterogenous; it defied any clear definition and was subject to constant change. Basically composed of black Africans, the majority of whom were former slaves, and people of mixed descent, it also included some whites. Their native language was usually Kimbundu,[33] but they took pride in speaking Portuguese as well, and many of them could read and write. They were all baptized, and saw themselves as staunch Christians. As outward symbols of their high status, they wore shoes and European clothing. They enjoyed some privileges, such as exemption from service as porters.

In the first half of the nineteenth century they were found in small settlements scattered all over the coastal hinterland, where they lived in the chiefdoms and market villages. There was a particular concentration of them in the fertile, and thus densely populated, Ambaka district; the most important hub for the slave caravans, Lukamba, was located there, for which the inhabitants of the district had to provide foodstuffs. The Luso-Africans who lived or were stationed there exerted great influence on the "traditional" African societies both in economic and political terms. They frequently acted as secretaries, interpreters, and advisers of chiefs, and usually also married into the chiefs' families. Many Luso-Africans were specialized craftsmen, such as tailors, shoemakers, and carpenters. Many filled the unpaid leadership positions in the colonial auxiliary troops. Moreover, from among their ranks came most of the commanders of the *presidios* (such as Ambaka)—forts that were also sometimes administrative centers for districts.[34] *Presidios* provided these Luso-Africans with an effective means of exploiting the African population of whom they were in charge, for example by extorting tribute or by drafting porters and soldiers.[35]

With the steady eastward expansion of the trade networks, these Luso-Africans increasingly engaged in long-distance trade with remote regions, and eventually developed the specific identity of "Amabaquista." The term persisted for much of the nineteenth century while losing its original geographical meaning (relating to Ambaka). It had chiefly cultural and social connotations, and it was applied to others, rather than being used as a self-designation.[36] As early as in the mid-eighteenth century, before these people were called

Amabaquistas, they advanced to the capital (Mussumba; *musumb*: fortified camp) of the mighty Lunda ruler *mwant yav* in central Africa.[37] As they invested their profits mainly in the purchase of women and children, they had a steadily growing entourage of relatives and dependents, who in turn helped them to stabilize their social and economic position and to expand their entrepreneurial activities. Like other Luso-Africans, they were "upward"-oriented, that is, they identified with the Portuguese and saw themselves as Portuguese and as "whites." In the south, they were called *pombeiros.*

Eventually the Amabaquistas acquired a special reputation for being cunning, enterprising traders ever ready to venture further into the African interior. This did not relate to skin color, but rather to specific cultural traits interpreted as being Portuguese. Only very few of them had a light complexion. One of them once characterized himself as follows: "Eu sou preto mas com o coração de branco" ("I am a black man with a white heart").[38] This classification was perpetuated by those Africans who still lived in the traditional manner, firmly integrated in lineage systems, and the Amabaquistas embraced European value judgments in order to stand out against the "non-civilized" Africans, treating them as "savages."[39] Still the Portuguese and other racist Europeans, in an intensifying climate of economic competition, held them in contempt.[40]

Little by little, the term "Ambaquista" lost its geographic connotations and was used to refer to cultural traits and no longer applied to any definite section of the population. We thus need to stress again that the Amabaquistas were no ethnic group, and were extremely heterogenous and variable in social and cultural terms.[41] Those who succeeded in climbing the social ladder and acquired standing through wealth, office, or titles—for example, as "clerk of the court" or lieutenant—were no longer called Amabaquistas.[42]

It was usually the Luso-African Amabaquistas or *pombeiros* who first tested a new route before their Portuguese employers, or the European explorers, followed these routes and "officially" established them. Yet these people did not confine their endeavors in the interior to trading trips with brief or longer temporary sojourns at their stops or destinations. Many of them took residence in the inner African chiefdoms for years or decades, and not only provided their African host communities with European goods, crops, and domesticated animals, but also acquainted them with aspects of their own material culture, their craft and language skills, and their ideological views.[43] For that reason, whites who wanted to visit and use the inner part of the continent for purposes of trade or research came to regard them as the experts *par excellence* on the regions east of the Kwango River. As it was possible to converse in Portuguese with the most gifted and experienced men amongst them, they were the interpreters of choice.[44] (All Amabaquistas whose services were officially engaged were men.) In addition, they also acted as luggage managers, list keepers, cashiers, and negotiators.[45] In some cases, they knew the routes, the customs, and the currencies valid at the time; they knew which European goods were desired and which were spurned; and they were familiar with appropriate manners and etiquette, so important in interactions with resident rulers. All

these skills were decisive for the success of an endeavor. It thus comes as no surprise that the European explorers of the nineteenth century were eager to employ the most experienced Amabaquistas as their interpreters and guides.

One of these Ambaquista experts known to us by name, indispensable for explorers journeying in central Africa, is introduced below.

V

The name Germano de José Maria suggests a traveler who had already accompanied German research expeditions to the African interior. A native of Mozambique, Germano was the slave and servant of a Portuguese marine officer before he was given his freedom in Lisbon. He then went to Angola and integrated himself into the Luso-African traders' life. In Luanda he encountered Joaquim Rodrigues Graça, who became famous for his expedition to the *mwant yav*, the king of the Lunda, in 1846–1848.[46] Germano probably guided a caravan from Malanje to Quimbundo in 1863.[47] On behalf of Portuguese trading companies he spent four years in the territory of the Songo and three years in Cassange, the important Luso-African market center in the vicinity of the Mbangala royal court.[48] After that, he accompanied the German big-game hunter and explorer Paul Pogge as an interpreter to Mussumba, the Lunda capital on the Kalanyi River, in 1875–6.

Besides speaking Portuguese, Germano spoke several African languages, including Kisongo and Kimbangala, and he could read and write.[49] Germano was described as "a negro who only accepts employment on condition that he is treated as one of their kind by the whites."[50] Pogge characterized him as "highly civilized as compared to his compatriots," yet too weak to assert himself against the porters, who according to Pogge had "absolutely no respect for him."[51] Most of the information found its way into Pogge's notebook, pertaining to history, ethnography, and geography, was filtered by Germano's translations and by the knowledge and views he had acquired over the years.

After having returned to Malanje, Germano joined the German explorers Otto H. Schütt and Paul Gierow as an interpreter on their expedition to the Bena Mai living at the upper Luachimo River (1878–89). At that time he was living southeast of Malanje where he had "a mud hut with a garden, some sugar cane and a number of pineapple plants."[52] There is evidence that it was generally difficult for people to get along with Schütt, and Germano fell out with him at the start, when he arrived at the camp two days later than had been agreed upon, thus "proving" "that despite his polite manners he had just the same mindset as any other porter, and that he immediately took unfair advantage of any kindness shown to him."[53] Although they learned to get along with another in the course of the journey, Schütt

never gained complete confidence in Germano, and thought him too self-serving in their negotiations pertaining to the expedition.

Like the white expedition leaders, Germano traveled on a riding bull, which signaled his high status.[54] This status was begrudged him by some African chiefs: at one time the caravan passed through the village of the Kilwata—the younger "brother" of the powerful

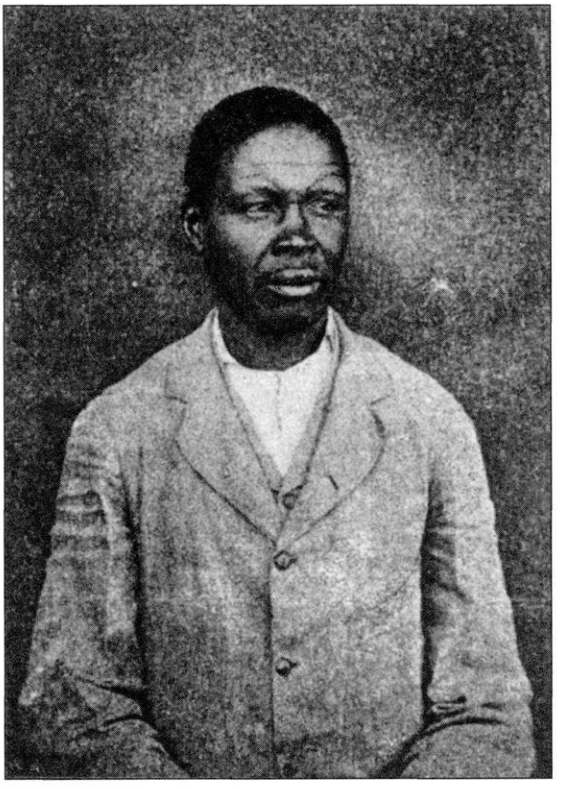

Figure 1.1. Germano de José Maria. First appears in Hermann von Wissmann, *Unter deutscher Flagge quer durch Afrika von West nach Ost* (Berlin: Walther and Apolant, 1889), 12, in which book no photographer is referenced; it may well have been taken by Franz Müller or his brother Hans Müller, photographers on the second expedition, subsequently recounted in Wissman, *Meine zweite Durchquerung Aequatorial-Afrikas vom Kongo zum Zambesi während der Jahre 1886 und 1887* (Neue Ausgabe, Berlin: Globus, n.d. 1907).

ruler, the Mai Munene—at the Luachimo River, searching for suitable camping ground. The villagers, who thought that the travelers just wanted to pass by instead of sojourning for a while (which might have turned out lucrative for the villagers), pulled Germano from his mount and mistreated him, commenting that a "negro" was not entitled to ride.[55]

Max Buchner would have liked to hire Germano for his Lunda expedition (1879–80), but Germano had just returned from the interior, and did not want to embark on another arduous and long journey right away again.[56] Paul Pogge and Hermann von Wissmann in contrast succeeded in bringing Germano over to their research expedition to Lubuku at the Lulua River (1881–84). Again a riding bull was purchased specifically for Germano. The caravan left Malanje on June 1, 1881, and first followed the route to Quimbundo. From there it moved on in a northern direction along the Chikapa River, through Chokwe territory, and

past the trade center of the Lunda chief Kaúngula at the Lovua River. On 2 October, the expedition arrived at the Kasai River.[57]

Commenting on Germano in the condescending manner typical for his time, Wissmann characterized him as "always willing to be of service and quite courageous in spite of being a negro, but unfortunately not too reliable."[58] Pogge wrote, "I have some misgivings about him, because I know from experience that he is a notorious *fazenda* [textiles or generally, merchandise] thief; yet he is still one the most intelligent interpreters of the colony, and as we already had several 'encounters' [with] each other, we will hopefully get along better this time."[59] Later he remarked more favorably on Germano, because the latter had stayed at the Lulua River when the two Germans went on to Nyangwe; from there, Wissmann continued his journey to the east coast accompanied by only a handful men, while Pogge stayed behind. When Pogge returned to the Lulua half a year later, in July 1882, he was "pleasantly surprised," as Germano had cultivated rice (for the first time),[60] and

> the station had benefited very much from Germano's work during my absence. A roomy house was waiting for me, solidly built on a large, well kept rectangular square. In addition, there were nice, well-weeded paths, banana groves, herds of goats, etc. In a word: I was welcomed by a friendly, cosy home, and I definitely enjoyed setting foot in a comfortable and clean little house once again after a long time.[61]

Pogge then sent Germano back to Malanje to get fresh supplies and to learn whether a new research expedition was on its way from Germany to relieve him. The journey took longer than planned. Only after a year did Germano return to the Lulua, bringing with him new porters for Pogge, as well as some additional porters and some petty traders who had joined him on their own account. Amongst other things, he brought "2 young cows and a magnificent ox, and in addition 16 ordinary oxen,"[62] as well as fabrics, machetes, and gunpowder. Because Germano had not found any news from Germany in Malanje, Pogge decided to return home. With Germano by his side he arrived in Malanje in February 1884.[63]

When Hermann von Wissmann embarked on his second journey to the Kasai in July 1884 on behalf of the Belgian king, along with six more Germans and a large caravan, he was once again joined by Germano.[64] From the Kasai he went on to the Lulua, where he arrived in November. In mid-March of the following year one of the German participants in the expedition, Curt von François, undertook an extended trip, accompanied by Germano as his interpreter.[65]

At the Lulua River, Wissmann established the station of Luluaburg, whence he set out for his journey downstream in May 1885, traveling all the way to Léopoldville (Kinshasa).[66] Before his departure from Luluaburg, Wissmann sent Germano to Malanje to get fresh supplies of goods. Yet when Wissmann returned to the Lulua in April 1886 for new projects, Germano had yet to return from Malanje: on his way there he had lost a third of his caravan—thirty men—due to smallpox. After his arrival back in Malanje Germano had difficul-

ties recruiting porters for the return journey, because everyone was afraid of the epidemic raging at the Lulua.[67] While on his way, Germano met two members of the large expedition led by the Portuguese explorer Henrique Dias de Carvalho, which at that time was still in the Lunda region. They later told Dias de Carvalho that Germano had been accompanied by two hundred porters, 160 head of cattle, and two horses. They also reported that he had chosen a new, more northerly route in order to find out whether the rubber growing in that region promised future profit.[68] Germano also brought turkeys and house cats to the Lulua, where Wissmann wanted to introduce them.[69]

It seems that Germano again did not accompany Wissmann to the east coast, but stayed in Luluaburg or with chief Mukenge, as he had already done in Pogge's time. In mid–1888 the American missionary Summers expected him to return to Katala (Malanje district), but he had not yet shown up. This caused some problems for Germano's porters who were waiting for him there without sufficient provisions.[70] Gemano probably settled down permanently in Luluaburg or its vicinity, because Leo Frobenius met him living there still in December, 1905.[71]

The scant information provided on this "Ambaquista" in the sources reveals little about Germano de José Maria's personality. Interpreters, porters, and servants were expected to function according to European standards. Only rarely were they perceived as individuals so important for the journeys that their contribution was recorded, except for a few pointed aperçus, incidents, or thefts and desertions; much less was their performance explicitly appreciated. Yet Germano's known journeys, some of which he undertook on his own responsibility, and his establishment of Pogge's station at the Lulua, give us an idea of his extraordinary accomplishments. With the exception of scientific explorations, he was second to none of his famous European employers in organizing and realizing large-scale caravan journeys.

There is only one explicit reference regarding Germano's function as an informant. Curt von François related that his history of the Mbangala was "by no means based on reports by Portuguese settlers or on official information about the battles fought by the Portuguese," but was "taken from general oral traditions" communicated to him by Germano and by the interpreter Cunha (who was married to an Mbangala woman). Even more, however, he drew upon the accounts by Otto Schütt, "whose interpreter during his travels in the land of the Bangala was the same Germano who was in my service as well."[72] Schütt himself however had it that his information on the history of the Mbangala derived "from the porters as well as from the negroes who were visiting in our camp" in the Mbangala territory.[73]

A comparison of the two versions, François's and Schütt's, complemented by Wissmann's brief account,[74] reveals that they are closely, but not completely, in accord with each other. None of the writers appear to have been familiar with Antonio Rodrigues Neves' version published in 1854. The largest part of the history of the Mbangala, which is interspersed with vivid stereotypical elements, very likely originated in the vicinity of the Feira

(market center) de Cassange, where Germano had lived for two years. It was also there, in the Ambaquista environment, that the idea emerged at some point in the first half of the nineteenth century that the founder king of the Mbangala, Kinguri kia Mbangala, had come to the Baixa de Cassange three hundred years before. To my knowledge, this topos in fact goes back no earlier than Neves in the middle of the century; it is subsequently found in the writings of Schütt, François, and Wissmann.[75] Information on the Lunda loosely associated with this foundation story suggests the existence of yet another line of tradition, which becomes evident from the insider knowledge underlying the list of kings provided by Schütt, such as the remarks—which unlike Pogge's are probably correct—by Schütt and François concerning the manner of burial of the Lunda kings.

Even though the German explorers whom Germano accompanied did not usually disclose their sources, we must assume that much—and possibly even essential elements—of the information they obtained about the geographical, historical, and ethnographical conditions in the interior of the country was either owed to his agency or provided by him: information, judgements, and experiences he had acquired over the course of many years, which he now passed on in a version he himself had fashioned.

VI

Other Luso-African interpreters and informants besides Germano are mentioned in the written records. These included members of the chiefly elites, such as Augusto Jayme, who was the brother of chief Ambango of Malanje and accompanied Carvalho's Lunda expedition, and Antonio, the brother of chief Angonga. They all could read and write Portuguese, were baptized, and had adopted other traits of European culture. Antonio had traveled with Schütt and later, acting as the guide of the contingent of porters provided by Angonga to Carvalho, enjoyed the latter's trust.[76] Above all, however, the famous Ambaquista family Bezerra deserves mention in this context.[77] Two men, Joannes Bezerra Correia Pinto, called Caxavala (Kashavala), and Antonio Bezerra, who affixed "de Lisboa" (from Lisbon) to his name to allude to a Portuguese ancestor, played important roles as guides and interpreters for German and Portuguese endeavors.

Caxavala, prior to guiding the German explorers Otto Schütt and Paul Gierow to the Luachimo River in 1878–79, had already accompanied various trade caravans, and he was the first Luso-African trader to come to the Lulua River. In 1881–82 he served Pogge and Wissmann as an interpreter during their expedition to the Lulua, and then rejoined them in the continuation of their journey to Nyangwe at the Lualaba River. From there, Caxavala returned to the Lulua with Pogge, and he also accompanied the latter in 1884 on his return journey to Malanje. Moreover he had repeatedly traveled with Germano for prolonged periods. In 1884–85 he went to the Lulua with Wissmann once again, traveled from there to

the Kuba and Northern Kete with Ludwig Wolf, and subsequently accompanied Wissmann to the vicinity of the Lomami River.

Caxavala had an extraordinary gift for languages, and seems to have been very open-minded about historical, ethnographical, and geographical topics. He thus provided Schütt with, for instance, "some very interesting information about the Caxilanga of Muquengue and the most recent institutions of the latter in his country."[78] Even Pogge, who rarely uttered a word of praise in regard to Africans, stated:

> Wissmann and I were—and as is generally known, I still am—in the fortunate position to travel with a reliable and intelligent interpreter, the Ambakist *Johannes Bizerra Correia Pinto*, who is called *Kaschawalla* [Caxavala] by the natives. Of all the negroes I have come to know, he is the only one upon whom I would confer the title of a ***homem honrado*** [gentleman]. Thanks to the reports he provides, I am quite well informed about the local ethnohistorical conditions.[79]

Wissmann, too, admitted to the fact that Caxavala's role during these journeys went far beyond that of interpreter.

> My black interpreter Kaschawalla, whose memory and language skills are extraordinary, serves me very well in my dealings with the natives. He is one of the most educated Ambakisten [Amabaquistas] from Angola, speaks Portuguese fluently, and has previously accompanied Pogge and Wißmann all the way to Njangwe. Because he had already spent two years in Lubuku prior to that time, he is very familiar with the conditions among the Baluba, and can provide excellent, very detailed information.[80]

Antonio Bezerra was an experienced traveler as well, having journeyed especially on behalf of Portuguese merchants or their commercial settlements. Amongst other things, he had accompanied the Bié caravan of the famous Portuguese merchant Antonio Ferreira da Silva Porto during part of its journey until it reached the ivory market of Kabaw, which was very important at that time, in the region inhabited by the Kete.[81] He became well known as the first interpreter of Henrique Dias de Carvalho's great Lunda expedition in 1884–88. Because Bezerra knew the regions east of the Kwango River like hardly anyone else, he could supply Carvalho with valuable information about the travel route, the respective inhabitants, as well as the latter's history, trade relations, and customs. There is however no explicit evidence for this in the accounts Carvalho gave of his journeys. Of all explorers, Carvalho, wherever he happened to be, liked to take the initiative himself; he would join conversations and engage in a direct exchange of ideas with others in order to gather and record information about the country and its people.

Yet the importance of Luso-Africans to the explorers was not limited to their capacity as expert travel companions. Some of them who had settled down in the interior of the country achieved a special prominence in the explorers' research.[82] Such describes particu-

larly to two other members of the Bezerra family, Lourenço Bezerra and his cousin Manuel Correia da Rocha. For years, they ran a colony of settlers in the vicinity of the various Lunda residences. Paul Pogge, Max Buchner, and Henrique Dias de Carvalho, all profited in succession from their knowledge and practical advice.

Lourenço Bezerra—known as Lufuma—had been traveling in the Lunda region since the 1840s, trading on behalf of a Portuguese company. In 1850, he accepted the invitation of the then ruling Lunda king to come to his court. After the king died, Lourenço embarked on further journeys and eventually settled down at the court of the new *mwant yav*, whom he befriended. Subsequently he was joined by other Amabaquistas, and he consolidated his monopoly of the trade between Angola and Lunda. He introduced numerous new crops, including tobacco and rice, and committed himself to the education of the children in his colony and the youth at court. When the king was murdered (in 1873 or 1874) and succeeded by King Mbumb a Kat (1874–83), called Shanama, the heyday of the colony came to an end. The new *mwant yav* was not well-disposed towards Lourenço, and ordered the relocation of the colony. Lourenço felt so distrusted that eventually he put his cousin in charge of the colony and returned to Malanje.[83]

The first German who met Lourenço Bezerra at the Kalanyi River was Paul Pogge, and Lourenço often visited him during Pogge's stay in Mussumba from December 1875 till April 1876. On the occasion of these visits, Pogge always "asked for as much information as possible on the customs and traditions of the people and the geography of the country."[84] He owed his information on Lunda history, and indeed almost everything he learned about the Lunda, to Lourenço. Exceptionally, Pogge states this in explicit terms: "The history of these two kingdoms [that is, Lunda and Lunda Kazembe] is borrowed from the narratives of old man Deserra [Bezerra] in Mussumba, who claimed that the late Muata Jamwo, with whom he had been on friendly terms, had loved to seize every opportunity to tell him about the origins of his kingdom."[85] The subsequent chapters on the "Kingdom and Court of the Muata Jamwo" derive from data obtained by Pogge from Bezerra and from other informants, and constitute an indispensable source. Still, Pogge and his informants, who were probably debarred by the *mwant yav* from conducting on-site inquiries of their own, missed the fact that it was not the bodies of the Lunda kings that were buried in wooden urns in the burial ground "Enzai" at the Kalanyi River,[86] but only the nails, teeth, and hair of those *mwant yav* who had died at home. Their bodies (with the exception of the corpse of the dynasty's founder, Kibinda Ilunga), were committed to the Kalanyi River.[87] Otto Schütt and Paul Gierow met Lourenço Bezerra and Caxavala in Quimbundo, and also obtained information on the history and political conditions of the country from them. Thus these two Luso-Africans may well have also been the sources on the Lunda used in the account later written by Schütt.[88]

Max Buchner no longer saw Lourenço Bezerra when he was staying at the Lunda court for several months in 1880, it seems, as Bezerra felt no longer safe from the ruling king.[89] Yet Buchner repeatedly had contact with Manuel Correia da Rocha, Bezerra's successor as the head of the colony. Even though Buchner profited from Rocha's knowledge,[90] he mentions neither him nor any other settler living there, either in his various accounts on Mussumba, or in his article about the Amabaquistas. Henrique Dias de Carvalho was very different in that respect. When he spent several months at the Kalanyi River in 1887, and Rocha became an important informant on the Lunda, Carvalho cited him frequently.[91] The main source for Carvalho in the colony was however Arsenio, Manuel Correia da Rocha's son in law, who "spoke and wrote Portuguese much better than any of my interpreters; a man who made himself indispensable to me, very useful even during my explorations in the entire territory of the Mussumbas, giving interpretation of various dialects, handling incidents owed to custom, in short: much information and useful elucidation with regard to all the research I have presented."[92]

VII

In west-central Africa, Luso-Africans were of crucial importance as guides, advisors, mediators, interpreters, and frequently as informants for the nineteenth-century European explorers. While this is documented by many references, the evidence is usually only of an indirect or general nature.

While many sources inform us in detail about the important role played by Luso-Africans as traders, and as cultural mediators in general, in nineteenth-century west-central Africa, we learn almost nothing precise about the content of the respective translations and narratives provided to their European employers. Only exceptionally do we learn, and absent their own words, which topics they did comment on. The original diaries perhaps including the information provided by them have usually been lost. White explorers' field notes on history and ethnography also underwent changes as they were adapted for publication, catering to the taste of a specific readership back home. Their books were subject to "filtering" in terms of language and style, within the strict literary and scholarly conventions of their time. They thus became further (de)formed. Even in those cases where publications—for example, those of Pogge and Schütt—are passed off as "original diaries," we must not let ourselves be deceived, because these works, too, have invariably undergone editing, often even by people other than their authors. Generalizing and abstract ethnographical accounts increasingly won recognition towards the end of the nineteenth century.[93] They were based on the assumption that there existed an almost unchangeable, timeless, and "traditional" culture, which is described in the "ethnographic present." In these accounts, individuals are reduced to types, to bearers of roles and statuses within the "tribe," the basic entity and the

acting subject. Tangible reality is transformed into abstract norms. Changes resulting from European influences were abstracted from the lived, individual realities on the ground.

We are thus almost always dealing with the results of the "filters" of the Luso-Africans, whose contributions were incorporated into the accounts available to us today, but which can no longer be identified as such. The same may be said for the many local African informants, but our knowledge of explorers' travel routes and clues about the people with whom they talked, permit us at least roughly to identify data they provided. Even though we can establish very little tangible evidence of the hidden transfers of intelligence by the Luso-Africans, we still need to be aware of them. Europeans' accounts of the ethnographical and historical conditions in the inner parts of the continent in the nineteenth century derived from their engagements with such indispensible men, whose roles were eclipsed in the accounts they helped to create. The great value of these accounts too easily seduces us into leaving their authenticity and genesis unquestioned, and overestimating their status as first-hand, primary sources.

Notes

1. I wish to express thanks to Richard Kuba for his comments and suggestions. This contribution was rendered into English from the original German by Sabine Lang, and further edited for grammar and usage by Paul Landau. In the English translations of all Portuguese or German cited material, the original orthography of proper and geographical names, as well as for ethnic groups, has been retained.
2. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).
3. The papers presented at the symposium were published the following year, together with a resolution passed by the participants, which called for the advancement of critical editions. See Beatrix Heintze and Adam Jones (eds.), *European Sources for Sub-Saharan Africa before 1900: Use and Abuse* (*Paideuma* 33), Stuttgart: Steiner, 1987.
4. David Henige, "The Race is Not Always to the Swift: Thoughts on the Use of Written Sources for the Study of Early African History," in Heintze and Jones (eds.), 53.
5. Many of these problems were also addressed in Heintze and Jones, eds., and subsequently in Adam Jones, *Zur Quellenproblematik der Geschichte Westafrikas 1450–1900*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990, Studien zur Kulturkunde 99. As an homage to *History in Africa*'s style as David Henige edited it, I confine my section headings to Roman numerals in this chapter.
6. Beatrix Heintze, "Feldforschungstreß im 19. Jahrhundert: Die deutsche Loango-Expedition 1873–1876," in Sylvia M. Schomburg-Scherff and Beatrix Heintze (eds.), *Die offenen Grenzen der Ethnologie. Schlaglichter auf ein sich wandelndes Fach,* Frankfurt a. M.: Lembeck, 2000, 39–51; for more general information about the experts and other companions of these travelers, see Roy C. Bridges, "Nineteenth Century East African Travel Records, with an Appendix on 'Armchair Geographers' and Cartography," in Heintze and Jones (eds.), *European Sources*, 191–92 (see also the references cited in that contribution); Allan G. B. Fisher and Humphrey Fisher, "Nachtigal's Companions," in Heintze and Jones (eds.), *European Sources*, 230–62; Beatrix Heintze, *Pioneiros Africanos: Caravanas de carregadores na África Centro-Ocidental (entre 1850 e 1890),* translated by Marina Santos, Lisbon: Caminho; Luanda: Nzila, 2004. The great importance of the African "intermediaries" as translators and cultural brokers in colonial times is stressed by Benjamin N. Lawrance, Emily Lynn Osborn, and Richard L. Roberts (eds.), *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa,* Madison: Madison University Press, 2006, Introduction.

7. Hermenegildo Capello and Roberto Ivens, *De Benguella ás terras de Iácca,* Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1881, 2 vols., here: II, 218–19.
8. Otto H. Schütt, *Reisen im südwestlichen Becken des Congo.* Nach den Tagebüchern und Aufzeichnungen des Reisenden. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Paul Lindenberg, Berlin: Reimer, 1881, 16.
9. Max Buchner in Beatrix Heintze (ed.), *Max Buchners Reise nach Zentralafrika 1878–1882. Briefe, Berichte, Studien*, Köln: Köppe, 1999, Afrika-Archiv 2, 180–81.
10. Buchner in Heintze (ed.), *Max Buchners Reise*, 389.
11. See Beatrix Heintze, *Deutsche Forschungsreisende in Angola. Ethnographische Aneignungen zwischen Sklavenhandel, Kolonialismus und Wissenschaft*, Frankfurt a. M.: Lembeck, 2007 (e-book), Einführung; Portuguese edition: *Exploradores alemães em Angola (1611–1954): Apropriações etnográficas entre comércio de escravos, colonialismo e ciência*, online manuscript, 2010: www.frobenius-institut.de/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=183.
12. Buchner in Heintze (ed.), *Max Buchners Reise*, 450.
13. A term used by Lawrance, Osborn and Roberts (*Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks*, p. 4) to refer to the African colonial employees.
14. An exception in other respects was Otto H. Schütt. On the basis of comparisons with information given by his travel companion Paul Gierow, Schütt was accused of having made false statements with regard to his travel route (see Heintze, *Deutsche Forschungsreisende*, 344–45; *Exploradores alemães*, 357–58).
15. See, for example, Bridges, "East African Travel Records;" and Jan Vansina, "The Ethnographic Account as a Genre in Central Africa," in Heintze and Jones (eds.), *European Sources*, 433–44; Heintze, *Deutsche Forschungsreisende*, Einführung; *Exploradores alemães*, Introdução.
16. See Jill R. Dias, "Estereótipos e realidades sociais: Quem eram os 'Ambaquistas'?," in *Construindo o Passado Angolano: As Fontes e a sua Interpretação (Actas do II Seminário Internacional sobre a História de Angola)* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000), 597–623; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic Slaving: Trade, Warfare and Territorial Control in Angola, 1650–1800," Ph.D. Dissertation, History, University of California, Los Angeles, 2003, 161–71.
17. On the Amabaquista see, for example, Buchner in Heintze (ed.), *Max Buchners Reise*, 386–87.
18. Herman Soyaux, *Aus West-Afrika. 1873–1876. Erlebnisse und Beobachtungen,* Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1879, 2 Theile in einem Band, II, 347.
19. Use of these two terms in Angola may have become more differentiated in recent times. Accordingly a "mulatto" was understood as a "mestizo of the first generation" (one black and one white parent), but so-called only if their physical appearance suggested this; while "mestizos" in general were usually defined as being the children of other mestizos, or of the latter with either black or white people (Maria da Conceição Neto, e-mails to the author, February 13, 2002, and Dec. 28, 2010).
20. See also Stephan Henighan, "The Quest for Angolanidade", *The Times Literary Supplement* 23, September 2005, http://www.stephenhenighan.com/QuestAngol.htm (accessed December 9, 2009).
21. See, for example, Roquinaldo Ferreira, Transforming Atlantic Slaving; "Africanidade, crioulidade e o Atlântico: Trocas Culturais em Angola (séculos XVII, XVIII e XIX)," paper presented at the *III Encontro Internacional de História de Angola. Para a Elaboração da História Geral de Angola: das Sociedades Antigas à Época Contemporânea,* Luanda, September 25–28, 2007; Mariana Candido, Enslaving Frontiers: Slavery, Trade and Identity in Benguela, 1780–1850, Ph.D. Dissertation York University, Toronto, 2006; "Género, raça e mobilidade social: as donas em Benguela, 1750–1850," paper presented at the *III Encontro Internacional de História de Angola. Para a Elaboração da História Geral de Angola: das Sociedades Antigas à Época Contemporânea,* Luanda, September 25–28, 2007; Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585–1660*, Cambridge *et al.*: Cambridge University Press, 2007; Malyn Newitt, "Angola in Historical Context," in Patrick Chabal and Nuno Vidal (eds.), *Angola. The Weight of History*, London: Hurst & Company, 2007, 19–92; Jacopo Corrado, *The Creole Elite and the Rise of Angolan Protonationalism 1870–1920*, Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2008;

on other regions of Africa, see: George Brooks, *Euroafricans in Western Africa; Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, Athens: Ohio University Press, and Oxford: James Curry, 2003; Philip Havik, *Silences and Soundbytes: the Gendered Dynamics of Trade and Brokerage in the pre-colonial Guinea Bissau Region*, Münster: Lit, 2004; Philip J. Havik and Malyn Newitt (eds.), *Creole Societies in the Portuguese Colonial Empire*, Bristol: Seagull/Faoileán, 2007, Lusophone Studies 6. On some more basic issues, see Jacqueline Knörr, "Postkoloniale Kreolität versus koloniale Kreolisierung," *Paideuma* 55, 2009, 93–115.

22. For concise summaries of these terms see, for, example, "Creole," in http://www.encylopedia.com/doc/1G2-3045300483.html (accessed December 9, 2009); "Creoles and Creolization," http://www.encylopedia/com/doc/IG-3401801088.html (accessed December 8, 2009); and Wikipedia. See also K. David Jackson in his review of Havik and Newitt (eds.), *Creole Societies*, in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 45, 1 (2008), 202–5, here 203.

23. John M. Lipski, "Portuguese language in Angola: luso-creoles' missing link?," paper presented at annual meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP), San Diego, August 9, 1995, www.personal.psu.edu/jml34/angola.pdf (accessed December 12, 2009), 8, cf. also 12, 26, 33. Nevertheless, Lipski concludes that there is sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that two Afro-Portuguese varieties of Portuguese emerged in Angola, "the original Kikongo-influenced dialect of the former Portuguese Congo, and the contemporary KiMbundu based speech of the *musseques* [of Luanda]", and that each was perhaps more than just a "stable pidgin" (*ibid.*, 16, 33, 35). With regard to the *hinterland* of Angola, see Beatrix Heintze, "A lusofonia no interior da África Central na era pré-colonial. Um contributo para a sua história e compreensão na actualidade," *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos* 6/7, July 2004/June 2005 (published in 2006), 179–207, here: pp. 191–93.

24. See Edmundo da Rocha versus Fernando Correia: "Crioulidade em Angola: realidade e mitos," *Semanário Angolanese* 2 (84), September 30–October 6, 2004; Patrick Chabal, "E Pluribus Unum: Transitions in Angola," in Chabal and Vidal (eds.): *Angola*, 1–18, here: 4–6.

25. Knörr, "Postkoloniale Kreolität," 110. Gerhard Seibert emphatically argues against the notion that a Creole culture exists in Angola; see Seibert, "Creolization and Creole Communities in the Portuguese Atlantic: São Tomé, Cape Verde and the Rivers of Guinea in Comparison," paper presented at the conference, "Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Pre-Colonial 'Guinea of Cape Verde'," Birmingham, 2009.

26. The compound term "Afro-Portuguese" is also supportable, depending on how one emphasizes each word, especially for the urban centers of Angola; for other regions, "Eurafricans" may be appropriate. See, for example, Newitt, "Angola in Historical Context"; and Brooks, *Euroafricans*. However, referring to the Amabaquista and other people in the interior who were historically "mixed" in terms of culture as Luso-Africans while calling those living at the coasts Creoles, Atlantic Creoles, Creole elite, or urban Creoles in a cross-temporal perspective, is to split up an historically united phenomenon.

27. Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730–1830* (London: James Currey, 1988), 246n2. "Luso-African" in short here means Africans with Portuguese influence, not a cultural duality (Maria da Conceição Neto, e-mail to the author, Dec. 28, 2010). Jill Dias, who first alluded to an "elite crioulo" defined in very broad terms, later avoided using that term. See Dias, "Uma questão de identidade, 61 note 1; compare with Jill R. Dias, "Mudanças nos padrões de poder no 'hinterland' de Luanda: O impacto da colonização sobre os Mbundu (c. 1845–1920)," *Penélope* 14, 1994, 43–91 (the Portuguese version of her English article published in *Paideuma*, 1986); "Angola," in Valentim Alexandre and Jill Dias (eds.), *O Império Africano 1825–1890*, Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1998, 319–556, and "Estereótipos." With regard to the Casamance, see Peter Mark, "The Evolution of 'Portuguese' Identity: Luso-Africans on the Upper Guinea Coast from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 40 (2), 1999, 173–91.

28. See Miller, *Way of Death*, chap. 8; Fernando Augusto Albuquerque Mourão, "A Evolução de Luanda: Aspectos Sociodemográficos em Relação à Independência do Brasil e ao Fim do Tráfico," in Selma Pantoja and José Flávio Sombra Saraiva (eds.), *Angola e Brasil nas Rotas do Atlântico Sul*, Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1998, 195–224; Ana Paula Tavares and Catarina Madeira Santos, "Fontes escritas africanas para a história de Angola," *Fontes & Estudos. Revista do Arquivo Histórico Nacional* 4–5, 1998/1999, 87–133; "Uma leitura africana das estratégias políticas e

jurídicas. Textos dos e para os dembos, Angola c. 1869–1920," in Maria Emília Madeira Santos (ed.), *A África e a Instalação do Sistema Colonial (c. 1885–c. 1930), III Reunião Internacional de História de África – Actas,* Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2000, 243–60; (eds.), *Africae Monumenta – A Apropriação da Escrita pelos Africanos. Arquivo Caculo Cacahenda,* Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2002; Ferreira, Transforming Atlantic Slaving; "Africanidade, crioulidade e o Atlântico;" Candido, Enslaving Frontiers; "Creolization;" "Género, raça e mobilidade social;" Corrado, *The Creole Elite.* See also Jan Vansina, "Portuguese vs Kimbundu: Language Use in the Colony of Angola (1575–c.1845)," *Bulletin des Séances de l'Académie royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer* 47 (3), 2001, 267–81; Heintze, *Afrikanische Pioniere* and *Pioneiros Africanos*; "A lusofonia;" "Between Two Worlds: the Bezerras, a Luso-African Family in Nineteenth-Century Western Central Africa," in Philip J. Havik and Malyn Newitt (eds.), *Creole Societies,* 127–53. Works with a broader or different geographical focus include Brooks, *Euroafricans*; Havik, *Silences and Soundbytes;* Havik and Newitt (eds.), *Creole Societies;* Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans.*

29. Ferreira, "Africanidade, crioulidade e o Atlântico."

30. On this topic, see also Selma Pantoja, "Três leituras e duas cidades: Luanda e Rio de Janeiro nos Setecentos," in Pantoja and Saraiva (eds.), *Angola e Brasil,* 99–126; "Lógica dos poderes locais e redes transoceânicas: o Senado da Câmara de Luanda no século XVIII," paper presented at the *III Encontro Internacional de História de Angola. Para a Elaboração da História Geral de Angola: das Sociedades Antigas à ÉpocaContemporânea,* Luanda, September 25–28, 2007; Elizabeth Ceita Vera Cruz, "Assimilados e Crioulos: mestres e aprendizes, ou como o passado se presentifica," paper presented at the *III Encontro Internacional de História de Angola. Para a Elaboração da História Geral de Angola: das Sociedades Antigas à ÉpocaContemporânea,* Luanda,September 25–28, 2007.

31. Jill Dias has dedicated a seminal article to them (Dias, "Uma questão de identidade").

32. See Jan Vansina, "Ambaca Society and the Slave Trade c. 1760–1845," *Journal of African History* 46 (1), 2005, 1–27.

33. See Vansina, "Portuguese vs Kimbundu."

34. Phyllis M. Martin, *Historical Dictionary of Angola,* Metuchen, N.J. and London: Scarecrow Press 1980, 77.

35. See Ferreira, Transforming Atlantic Slaving, 161–71, Vansina, "Ambaca Society," 1–2, 8 and *passim* on the manner in which the slave trade caused changes in Ambaka society, and left its stamp on the latter.

36. See Dias, "Uma questão de identidade." Buchner (in Heintze, ed., *Max Buchners Reise,* 386–87) supposes "that the term 'Ambaquistas' . . . [derived from] the fact that Ambaka for a long time was Angola's border zone, where the Portuguese negroes assembled their trading expeditions before venturing into the interior. In later times, since 1857, Malange—which is located further to the east—became such a point of departure." In addition, he stresses that they were "of most diverse origin, coming from all parts of the larger vicinity [of Ambaka] and even from the east coast, whence they came as soldiers on Portuguese battleships" (*ibid.* p. 386).

37. Document no. 301 of the António Álvares da Cunha corpus of documents in the archive of the University of Coimbra. This document was probably written during his term of office, which lasted from 1754 to 1758. Cited in Jan Vansina, "Du nouveau sur la conquête lunda au Kwango," *Congo Afrique* 341, 2000, 56–58.

38. Written in 1887 by the porter Xavier Domingos Paschoal in a letter to Carvalho (Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho, *Descripção da Viagem á Mussumba do Muatiânvua,* Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1890–1894, 4 Vols., Vol. 4, 723).

39. With regard to the Ambaquistas, see Miller, *Way of Death,* chap. 8; Dias, "Angola," 363–64; "Changing Patterns of Power in the Luanda Hinterland: The Impact of Trade and Colonisation on the Mbundu ca. 1845–1920," *Paideuma* 32, 285–318, here: 291–95, 298, 303; and in particular "Estereótipos;"; Heintze, *Afrikanische Pioniere* and *Pioneiros Africanos,* chap. I.3 and III.1; Buchner in Heintze (ed.), *Max Buchners Reise*; Heintze, "A lusofonia;" Heintze, "Between Two Worlds;" Heintze, "Luso-afrikanische Dolmetscher und kulturelle Vermittler in Angola im 19. Jahrhundert," pp. 187–205 in Mark Häberlein and Alexander Keese (eds.), *Sprachgrenzen,*

Sprachkontakte und kulturelle Vermittler: Kommunikation zwischen Europäern und Außereuropäern (16.–20. Jahrhundert) (Beiträge zur europäischen Überseegeschichte 97) (Stuttgart: Steiner 2010).

40. See Dias, "Estereótipos," 612, 618–21; Heintze, *Pioneiros Africanos,* 219, 232–34, 244–45, 257–58.
41. Dias "Estereótipos," 605.
42. Buchner in Heintze (ed.), *Max Buchners Reise*, 391.
43. See Heintze, *Pioneiros Africanos*, chap. III.1; "Between Two Worlds"; for a more general discussion, see Beatrix Heintze, "Long-distance Caravans and Communication beyond the Kwango (c. 1850–1890)," in Beatrix Heintze and Achim von Oppen (eds.), *Angola on the Move. Transport Routes, Communication, and History*, Frankfurt a. M.: Lembeck, 2008 (also available as e-book), 144–62.
44. See Heintze, "A lusofonia."
45. Buchner in Heintze (ed.), *Max Buchners Reise*, 181.
46. Schütt, *Reisen im südwestlichen Becken des Congo*, 120. See Joaquim Rodrigues Graça, "Descripção da viagem feita de Loanda com destino ás cabeceiras do rio Sena, ou aonde for mais conveniente pelo interior do continente, de que as tribus são senhores, principiada em 24 de Abril de 1843," *Annaes do Conselho Ultramarino, Parte não official* I, 1855, 101–14, 117–29, 133–46.
47. Paul Gierow, "Die Schütt'sche Expedition. Bericht des Mitgliedes der Expedition, Herrn Paul Gierow," *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* III, 1881–1883, 96–135, here: 108.
48. Paul Pogge, *Im Reiche des Muata-Jamvo*, Berlin: Reimer, 1880, 57–58.
49. Pogge, *Im Reiche des Muata-Jamvo*, 58. For example, on his return trip from Malanje to the Lulua River Germano wrote a letter to Pogge, announcing his arrival (Paul Pogge, "Mittheilungen aus Dr. Paul Pogge's Tagebüchern, bearbeitet von Dr. A. von Danckelman," *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* IV, 1883–1885, 228–64, here: 231).
50. Otto H. Schütt, "Bericht über die Reise von Malange zum Luba-Häuptling Mai, und zurück, Juli 1878 bis Mai 1879," *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft* I, 1878–1879, 173–207, here: 174.
51. On these biographical comments and characterizations, see Pogge, *Im Reiche des Muata-Jamvo*, 57–58, 75; Schütt, *Reisen im südwestlichen Becken des Congo,* 120; Hermann von Wissmann, *Unter deutscher Flagge quer durch Afrika von West nach Ost* (Berlin: Walther und Apolant, 1889); *Nach der siebenten Auflage des großen Werkes vom Verfasser selbst bearbeitete kleinere Ausgabe* (Berlin: Walther & Apolants Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1892), 10.
52. Gierow, "Die Schütt'sche Expedition," 97.
53. Schütt, *Reisen im südwestlichen Becken des Congo,* 44–5.
54. Buchner stresses the fact that these Angolan mounts were bulls in spite of being called boi cavallo (horse ox). Max Buchner, "Reitochsen in Südwest-Afrika," *Gartenlaube*, 1885, 432–34.
55. Gierow, "Die Schütt'sche Expedition," 121.
56. Buchner in Heintze (ed.), *Max Buchners Reise*, 93, 181.
57. See Wissmann, *Unter deutscher Flagge,* 10–11; "Von San Paulo de Loanda nach Zanzibar," *Mitteilungen der Kais. Königl. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 26, 1883, 97–105; "Bericht von Lieutenant Wissmann," *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* IV, 1883–1885, 37–56.
58. Wissmann, *Unter deutscher Flagge,* 10.
59. Paul Pogge, "Brief von Dr. Pogge" [Malanje, May 31, 1881], *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* III, 1881–1883, 79–80, here: 80.
60. Paul Pogge, "Bericht über die Station Mukenge bis October 1883," *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* IV, 1883–1885, 179–205, here: 193 (Pogge had brought along rice and sesame from Nyangwe); Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho, *O Lubuco. Algumas observações sobre o livro do Sr. Latrobe Bateman intitulado The First Ascent of the Kasai,* Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1889, 31; *Descripção da Viagem*, II, 851 note.

61. Paul Pogge, "Bericht über die Reise von Mukenge nach Nyangwe und zurück; und über die Begründung der Station in Mukenge" [Mukenge, September 20 and 27, 1882], *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* IV, 1883–1885, 56–74, here: 68.

62. "Mittheilungen aus Dr. Paul Pogge's Tagebüchern," 231. As bulls were used as mounts in Angola, and as the cattle brought to the Lulua by Germano were doubtlessly intended for breeding, we may assume that we are dealing with bulls in this case as well.

63. Pogge, "Bericht über die Reise," 72–73; "Bericht über die Station," 179; "Rückreise von Mukenge bis Malange (Nov. 1883–Febr. 1884)," *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* IV, 1883–1885, 205–6, here: 205; "Mittheilungen aus Dr. Paul Pogge's Tagebüchern," 230–32; Carvalho, *O Lubuco,* 33; *Descripção da Viagem*, II, 851.

64. Hermann von Wissmann, Ludwig Wolf, Curt von François and Hans Müller, *Im Innern Afrikas. Die Erforschung des Kassai während der Jahre 1883, 1884 und 1885*, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus ^{2}1891 (^{1}1888), 20.

65. Curt von François, "Über seine Reisen im südlichen Kongobecken," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 13, 1886, 151–63, here: 157.

66. Wissmann *et al., Im Innern Afrikas, passim.*

67. Hermann von Wissmann, *Meine zweite Durchquerung Aequatorial-Afrikas vom Kongo zum Zambesi während der Jahre 1886 und 1887*, Neue Ausgabe, Berlin: Globus s.d. (1907), 90, 96, 138; "Über seine letzte Reise in Centralafrika (5. November 1887)," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 14, 1887, 398–408, here: 402–3.

68. See map in Carvalho, *Descripção da Viagem*, II, opposite p. 274; and Carvalho, *Descripção da Viagem*, III, 830.

69. Wissmann, *Meine zweite Durchquerung,* 140; on Germano's return journey, see *ibid.,* 139–40; see also "Über seine letzte Reise," 403.

70. Letter of Summers to Marcus Zagury from Catala, June 29, 1888, in Carvalho, *Descripção da Viagem*, IV, 667.

71. Leo Frobenius, *Im Schatten des Kongostaates. Bericht über den Verlauf der ersten Reisen der D.I.A.F.E. von 1904–1906, über deren Forschungen und Beobachtungen auf geographischem und kolonialwirtschaftlichem Gebiet,* Berlin: Georg Reimer 1907, 377. On Germano, see also the more comprehensive biography in Heintze, *Pioneiros Africanos,* chap. II.2.

72. Curt von François, "Geschichtliches über die Bangala, Lunda und Kioko," *Globus* 53, 1888, 273–76 here: 273.

73. Schütt, *Reisen im südwestlichen Becken des Congo,* 79.

74. Wissmann *et al.,Im Innern Afrikas,* 101, 108. Wissmann, François, and Germano were all participants in the same expedition; prior to that time, Wissmann had already traveled with Pogge.

75. Antonio Rodrigues Neves, *Memoria da expedição a Cassange commandada pelo major graduado Francisco de Salles Ferreira em 1850*, Lisbon: Imprensa Silviana, 1854, 106 note 2 (the remark there refers to the year of 1850); François, "Geschichtliches über die Bangala," 273; Schütt, "Bericht über die Reise von Malange," 175, 182; *Reisen im südwestlichen Becken des Congo,* 60, compare also 128; "Im Reich der Bangala," *Das Ausland* 54, 1881, 381–84, here: 381; Wissmann *et al., Im Innern Afrikas,* 101; c.f. Ladislaus Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1857* (Pest and Leipzig: Lauffer & Stolp, 1859), 266.

76. Carvalho, *Descripção da Viagem, passim.* On Antonio as Schütt's travel companion, see in particular *ibid.*, II, 584; III, 22.

77. See Heintze, "Between Two Worlds."

78. Schütt, *Reisen im südwestlichen Becken des Congo,* 145.

79. Pogge, "Bericht über die Station," 202.

80. Wissmann *et al., Im Innern Afrikas,* 205–6.

81. Carvalho, *Descripção da Viagem,* I, 488; II, 734; III, 34–37, 193. For further details about Antonio Bezerra, see Heintze, "Between Two Worlds," 140–43.

82. One of these was Domingos João Francisco da Silva, who was staying with the Chokwe chief Quipoco on the left bank of the Chiumbe River, where Carvalho met him. See Heintze, *Afrikanische Pioniere* and *Pioneiros Africanos*, chap. II.5.

83. On Lourenço Bezerra, see Heintze, "Between Two Worlds," 131–38.

84. Pogge, *Im Reiche des Muata-Jamvo,* 136–37. See also Wissmann *et al.*, *Im Innern Afrikas* , 23; Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho, *A Lunda ou os Estados do Muatiânvua, dominios da soberania de Portugal*, Lisbon: Adolpho, Modesto & Ca., 1890, 24.

85. Pogge, *Im Reiche des Muata-Jamvo,* 224. Pogge had misheard Bezerra's name, and thus consistently misspelled it. The information he refers to is extraordinarily comprehensive, and was not exclusively derived from Bezerra's narratives. Pogge published that information in the appendix of his book on pp. 224–46. See also Wissmann *et al.*, *Im Innern Afrikas*, 23: "[...] old man Biserra came, too, a negro to whom Pogge owes many notes on history."

86. Pogge, *Im Reiche des Muata-Jamvo,* 228–29, 234.

87. Carvalho was apparently the first explorer who succeeded in visiting this burial ground (*anzai*) and interviewing its guardian in 1887. See Carvalho, *Descripção da Viagem,* IV, 249, 277–81; *Ethnographia e História Tradicional dos Povos da Lunda*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1890, 231, 351–54. However, it is remarkable that Schütt and François, both of whom had never been to the Lunda capital, documented this manner of burying the Lunda kings. Antonio Bezerra, on the other hand, told Carvalho that their bodies were committed to the Quitu River (see *Descripção da Viagem,* IV, 277).

88. See Gierow ("Die Schütt'sche Expedition," 113) who, together with Schütt, spent 18 days in Quimbundo in November: "Two negro gentlemen staying in Kimbundu—the Bezerra brothers, who took pride in their white descent even though it has left no traces in their outward appearance—provided us with information about the conditions prevailing in the country and about its histories." See also Schütt, *Reisen im südwestlichen Becken des Congo*, 134.

89. Bezerra purportedly left his colony hurriedly shortly after Pogge's departure (Carvalho, *Descripção da Viagem,* IV, 231). However, as he did not put Rocha in complete charge of the colony until 1882 (*ibid.*, Carvalho, II, 229; IV, 838), he apparently returned briefly at that time.

90. See Carvalho, *Descripção da Viagem*, IV, 219–21. According to this source, Pogge had extensive conversations with Rocha as well and got all kinds of information, yet he, too, makes no mention of this.

91. See, for example, *Descripção da Viagem,* IV, 206–9, 218–19, 224–25, 248; p. 224: "[...] my conversation with Rocha, which continued during the night, touched on many topics including the interim Muatiânvua, and I wrote down some information that was reliable, as I found out over time."

92. Carvalho, *Descripção da Viagem,* IV, 207.

93. On the subject of ethnographic monographies, see Bridges, "Nineteenth Century East African Travel Records," and Vansina, "The Ethnographic Account."

Violence and Its Sources: European Witnesses to the Military Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Africa

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Introduction: The War of Stanley's Canoe and Other Stories

In April 1875, the explorer and journalist Henry Morton Stanley went on a military campaign with the Ganda. His account of the experience, in the first volume of the remarkable *Through the Dark Continent*,[1] was one of the centrepieces of his grand narrative. In summary, it described *Kabaka* [King] Mutesa, then apparently at the peak of his powers, commanding a vast army—the amassed forces of the kingdom of Buganda in conjunction with its allies and tributaries—at or near the site of present-day Jinja by the source of the Nile. From there, the army waged a campaign, lasting some six weeks by Stanley's account, against the island of Buvuma, whose inhabitants were accused of having raided Buganda's shoreline and seizing a number of captives. Stanley's description was a masterpiece, even by his own hyperbolic standards. The detail was rich, the story vivid, the characters, including the author himself, larger than life.

There is for example the wonderfully naked savagery contained in his description of the Ganda forces and their allies. Although clearly an admirer, if sometimes a grudging one, of all (or most) things *Kiganda*, Stanley (as a Victorian, even if outside the Victorian establishment) had still to offer his readers depictions of the barbarism which by the 1870s they understood to define Africa's dark heart. Second, there is the peculiarly Westernized interpretation of events, situated in a late nineteenth-century vision of war. Stanley's scenario would have been familiar to his military-minded audience, namely a carefully regimented campaigning war in which the army seeks a decisive, pitched battle with the enemy. Thirdly,

there is European intervention to bring about a resolution. In his depiction Stanley lends his skills to Buganda's war effort, and introduces a startling innovation aimed at bringing it to a successful conclusion: he supervises the building of a giant canoe, which frightens the islanders into instant submission.

Stanley clearly deemed the Ganda worthy of his support. His military intervention was echoed in a celebrated letter he wrote to the London *Daily Telegraph* calling for missionaries to come to Buganda, where they would find a people ripe for Christian intercession.[2] In the course of the military campaign, in those quieter moments in between Ganda water-borne assaults, Mutesa quizzed "Stamlee" about God and the Bible and the doings of white men. Taking place on a hillside while the violence played out below the two men, these cultural interactions prepared the way for the colonial order in Uganda a generation later. The future had been glimpsed on that sun-kissed mount, whether or not Mutesa recognized it, although Stanley implies that, in some way, dimly, he did.

The war and Stanley's interpretation of it are significant on a number of levels, and encapsulate some of the issues dealt with in this paper. Nineteenth-century European sources pose particular challenges, given their provenance and context. It is argued here, however, that they have become increasingly and unjustly neglected, sidelined both by postmodernist assessments of such texts, and by the decline of interest in pre-colonial history more generally. Europeans were drawn deeply into unfolding dramas and processes of violent change in Africa, wittingly or otherwise. Although their accounts are routinely misunderstood, they can nonetheless provide profound insights into eastern Africa's nineteenth-century military revolution.

We may take it for granted that Stanley exaggerated enormously: the numbers of soldiers and vessels involved; the array of allied "nations" and their regimentation; the level of his own participation. Indeed, as Kiwanuka has pointed out, Ganda sources suggest that Stanley's invention, the great canoe, was largely useless.[3] The story bears the hallmarks of the nineteenth-century European eyewitness account, in which the author depicts himself at the centre of epic and savage events, upon which he ultimately imposes himself, morally and physically. Nevertheless, as numerous scholars have demonstrated since the 1960s, such sources are of enormous value, especially when they are used alongside a range of other evidence.[4] We cast aside these nineteenth-century European sources at our professional peril.

Stanley unquestionably embroidered his portrayal of the Buganda-Buvuma war. For all of his propensity for embellishment, however, it can be safely assumed that Stanley did indeed witness the spectacle of the Ganda army at war, and that there are elements of veracity in his detailed description of its organisation, its command structure, its weaponry. We know from other sources that Buganda had been steadily militarising its political culture since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Alongside the development of long-distance commerce, the polity refined its conduct of warfare as an extension of national policy. Stanley's report supports the notion of a military establishment of remarkable power

and order. Nor did he simply invent a picturesque battle on the lake. Again, it is clear from other source material that the Ganda had been developing a fleet of war canoes since at least the 1840s, and that Buvuma had consistently played the role of spoiler on the northern shore of Lake Victoria.[5] What Stanley was describing, then, was no mere flight of egotistical fancy; regardless of textual overstatement, he was observing the latest attempt by the Ganda politico-military establishment to subdue the troublesome islanders, and impose itself on Lake Victoria. What we have in Stanley's narrative, I suggest, is a snapshot of Buganda's nineteenth-century military revolution, albeit through a highly selective viewfinder. And so, too, in a host of other European descriptions from the nineteenth century do we have evidence for a revolution in military affairs across eastern and northeast Africa.

The purpose of this paper, then, is twofold, on both counts aiming ultimately to celebrate the contributions to eastern African history and methodology made by David Henige. Firstly, we are concerned with the observer: I argue here that European accounts of eastern African warfare in the nineteenth century remain rich sources, and are increasingly neglected by historians. The problematic nature of these sources, well attested, derives in part from the high value they placed on warfare and the knowledge of warfare. Viewed in another light, however, their attentiveness to the subject also suggests they were capable of noticing and registering key developments in African military affairs, even if sometimes unwittingly. Elsewhere, I have emphasized the challenges confronting the historian in using such sources, and there is little doubt that there *are* serious challenges: the racially-charged depictions and ethnocentricity which characterized these accounts continue to exercise an undue influence over popular (and sometimes scholarly) portrayals of African violence today.[6] Here I wish to lay stress on the opportunities these sources offer for the meaningful reconstruction of one of the most intriguing and dynamic periods in eastern Africa's history. Secondly, we are concerned with the observed, for I suggest here, as part of a larger attempt to conceptualize the role of war in African history, that the eastern African region in the nineteenth century underwent something of a "military revolution," a key component in what might be described as a golden age of political, military and cultural creativity. In part, no doubt, these transformations in violence were driven by the demand for slaves and facilitated by the sharp increase in the import of firearms; but they also reflected local dynamics of state-formation and social reformation which were several centuries in the making. The "revolution," in other words, had both endogenous and exogenous elements.

The inspiration for the thesis comes in part from the literature on Europe's "military revolution," still the subject of considerable debate. The first point of departure is Godfrey Uzoigwe's paper of more than thirty years ago, one of a number of seminal pieces on warfare by leading Africanists between the late 1960s and mid-1970s. Uzoigwe's article indicated that something of a revolution had indeed taken place across Africa, but it went largely unheeded and was soon forgotten as new trends swept forward.[7] I wish to take up his argument in the eastern African context, and in this paper I will use three main case studies, that

of Tewodros' Ethiopia, Mutesa's Buganda, and Mirambo's new state in Tanzania, to do so. The period encompassed within the combined careers of these men—between the 1830s and the 1880s—demonstrates the "military revolution" thesis admirably; and it is described in vivid colours by a range of European sources which are troublesome and insightful in equal measure.

The Case Studies

The key zones of violent change with which we are concerned are represented by three men, each the products of their unique political and cultural environments. For half a century, between the 1830s and the 1880s, they dominated east and northeast Africa: Tewodros, the son of minor nobility who made the transition from frontier-zone *shifta*, to self-appointed saviour of Christian civilisation in the Ethiopian Highlands, and state-builder of the most remarkable kind; Mutesa, legatee of one of the most dynamic polities in east Africa; and Mirambo, member of a minor chiefly lineage, who spent much of his career in pursuit of a greatly enlarged vision, and whose challenge lay in the creation of permanent structures. Each shepherded, in different ways and to varying degrees, a revolution in military affairs: the utilisation of violence as an extension of "national" policy; state expansion, in part aimed at greater economic control; new cultural and social forms created around violence. In particular, their actions contributed to a revolution in the scale and organisation of violence.

War, in the affected regions of (present-day) Ethiopia, Uganda, and Tanzania, was highly destructive and evidentially involved a great deal of suffering, upheaval and dislocation; but war was also about construction. Conflict drove creativity and innovation. For example, much nineteenth-century war led to depopulation across the northern Ethiopian Highlands, and in the grasslands south of Lake Victoria; but the movement of populations also led to urbanisation and new patterns of living. New militarisms were underpinned by a range of novel strategies, in part a response to new external environments. Political communities became markedly more ambitious, conceiving statehood in a larger way, and a greatly enhanced military complex was a central part of the process. The new communities and identities were underpinned by war.

In the Ethiopian region, Europeans were fascinated by the grand narrative of Tewodros' life, his achievements and failures. South of Lake Victoria, Mirambo's evident creativity and dynamism attracted much reportage; north of the lake, in Buganda, Mutesa's personality and the kingdom he represented proved irresistible to a generation of travellers and missionaries. But it was not *simply* that. Europeans were not only entranced by these personalities, these "big men." Consciously or not, they were fascinated by the extent to which they embodied larger events, processes, communities and polities. It was not merely Tewodros' incipient madness, the story of the tragic hero, that occupied the narratives told by Europeans; it was also what he embodied in terms of the dramatic change in evidence across the region

in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the manner in which he encapsulated current phenomena, emerging issues, and indeed the deeper patterns of "Abyssinian" history. Mutesa did not only represent the various incarnations of African manhood between the 1860s and the 1880s, from physical young bully to STD-ridden neurotic; more significant was his standing as the manifestation of Buganda's nineteenth-century struggles and politico-military development. And Mirambo was not only the intriguingly successful bandit, reaching out to the world and displaying flashes of military genius; he embodied the region's violent upheaval and dramatic socio-economic change. *This* is what Europe beheld, and what the sources capture. European observers represented a political and material culture that recognized and appreciated the power of violence to achieve change; the texts they produced reflected this, if sometimes in exaggerated form. Theirs was not simply the racialized rant—although there was plenty of that. Their accounts reflected and appreciated a period of concentrated violent change in east and northeast Africa.

The other key aspect of this which needs to be borne in mind is the provenance of much of the information and indeed interpretation contained within European texts. In recent years the relevant historiography has given due weight to the notion of African agency in the imperial adventures of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and in the colonial system which resulted. But the same level of agency is often neglected in considering the era of the explorer and the missionary which preceded it. Europeans relied on African informants; beneath the European voice, there is usually another, African, voice, too easily lost in the clamour and often mistaken for something else. At times, the African informant is the foreground of the story; in other texts, he—the informant is always male, with only a handful of elite women as exceptions—and is virtually invisible. But he is there, his presence felt in much of the data and interpretation that frequently posited as the author's own. Indeed, in the very texts that are held to be the clearest expressions of European prejudice, written by the harbingers of a new imperial order, we can also, if we listen carefully enough, hear a multitude of African voices. Although most often in the background, a great deal of life and movement and energy can be perceived, a textual buzz of excitement representing the dramatic processes unfolding all around. Europeans' production of texts may be likened to the use of tape recorders, switched on for a short time in the heat of the action, picking up a good deal of ambiant noise around them despite the filter of their authorship. Adjust foregrounded sound, and one discerns, crackling and often indistinct, the audible traces of nineteenth-century African society in motion.

Naturally, we must be selective in highlighting some of the key European sources for the ca. 1840–ca. 1880 era in eastern Africa. One reason is necessity: the vast array of available material makes it impossible to comment on more than a small portion of it. From the 1820s and 1830s onward, there is a veritable eruption of published (and of course unpublished) material resulting from a multitude of expeditions and residencies, by travellers and adventurers, scientists, government officials, and missionaries. The expansion is particularly

marked after the 1850s, when the anti-malarial properties of quinine enabled Europeans to survive long enough to observe things and then actually write about them. But another reason for our being selective is "quality control." A sizeable amount of the material that made it into print in the course of the nineteenth century is partly or wholly useless to the historian. The literary market in Britain fed an insatiable desire for tales of ghoulish savagery and barbaric custom in distant tropical lands, and bores and dullards also therefore published, often with very little to say. Sometimes no amount of editorial intervention could disguise their turgidity and fatuity.

The selection which follows suggests what might be expected from (in the author's opinion) the highest quality of material. It should also be noted, again, that none of these sources represents anything like a "new find" and several of them are well-worked mines, standard sources for historians of eastern Africa in the 1960s, especially.[8] While they remain unsafe and unprofitable in some parts, with the appropriate intellectual infrastructure and subsidy they can still prove highly productive.

Witnesses for the Revolution

The first of our three major zones, Buganda had undergone its major period of expansion—both externally, in terms of territory, and internally, in terms of an ever more efficient political and military system—in the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the time the first European arrived—John Hanning Speke, in 1862—the kingdom was in the process of attempting to adapt to a rapidly shifting external environment, and was doing so in some remarkable ways, not least in the construction of a fleet of canoes with both military and commercial utility. Speke's account deals with his six-month sojourn in the kingdom, during which time he dealt primarily with the rival courts of the young *kabaka* Mutesa, not long acceded to the throne, and of the *kabaka*'s mother, the *Namasole*.[9] The text portrays, above all, a nervous, restless state coming out several decades of growth and a fair amount of success, and yet increasingly conscious of the limitations to its reach beyond its own borders, and of tensions escalating at the centre. Speke's is a closely observed study of society and economy, as well as, more predictably, of the political system, and is surely one of the richest accounts of "daily life" in a mid-nineteenth-century African kingdom. He was also keenly aware of the region's past and its commemoration, however controversial the "Hamitic thesis," and how carefully stylized was his interpretation of that history. It is noteworthy that in the text, Speke left Karagwe and commenced his final march into Buganda, but then interrupted the narrative of his journey to present his much-discussed Chapter IX, "History of the Wahuma." Here, he set up the historical framework within which his experiences of the kingdom would be played out. David Henige has discussed the discrepancy in the length of the kinglists which the Ganda offered respectively to Speke and then to Stanley some years later.[10] But the central point here is this was no "history as afterthought"; rather,

in coming first in the story, it reflected the importance which he—and, by inference, his own informants—placed on that remembered past as a key element in the exploration of the kingdom itself.

Throughout, military affairs were very much in the foreground—and indeed in much of the background—as they were, too, in the account written by Speke's companion, James Grant.[11] Soldiers came and went in Mutesa's burgeoning capital; there was much ceremony alongside the practical matters of organising armies; Buganda's frontiers bristled with activity both commercial and military, for the mid-nineteenth-century Ganda saw the two realms not as distinct but as indelibly intertwined. Speke was witness to a polity on the cusp of major change. The Buganda of his account had been a century in the making; in the 1860s, it was confronted with changes—the advance of the Zanzibari commercial frontier, and the attendant heightening of Lake Victoria's geopolitical importance, as well as the encroachment of the Egyptian Sudan—which its political elite were now in the process of evaluating, and seeking to control. Speke's own appearance—though it was probably not wholly unexpected—was only one further element in this approaching vortex. Speke, of course, brought guns, and he made much of Mutesa's childish delight over these. But the Ganda had been acquainted with firearms since the mid-1840s, and the undoubted excitement caused by Speke's weapons represented part of an ongoing assessment on the part of the Ganda of this foreign technology; it would not be long before they were adopted by the Ganda army and integrated into Ganda military culture, and firearms—alongside super-sized canoes and the militarisation of political appointments within the kingdom—would form part of the military revolution that was already underway by the time Speke turned up.

The effectiveness of that revolution was becoming a little clearer by the time Stanley arrived in 1875.[12] The inimitable explorer spent a great deal of time surveying the Ganda army and conducting research into the kingdom's violent past. He described Buganda's military command structures and the army's organisation in minute detail, and provided close-ups on both the army and the canoe fleet in action. Moreover, like Speke, Stanley regarded the kingdom's history as an essential part of his exploration, and was evidently in awe of what he uncovered. He described a parade of the great and the good, and the variously bloody, and presented a series of biographies based on information gleaned from his Ganda guide, "Sabadu." From founding father Kintu—who was used here, as he must often have been, to pass judgement on the current incumbent[13]—to an array of warrior kings and elaborate military campaigns, Stanley portrayed a profoundly self-aware polity and one in which wars past were being used to assess the kingdom's fortunes in these apparently more dangerous times.

Stanley also was one of the key witnesses to the remarkable revolution further south, across northern and central Tanzania, and indeed observed the great war of Mirambo and the Arabs during the 1870s from both sides. First, in 1871, on his westward quest for David Livingstone across central east Africa, he arrived at Unyanyembe to find an agitated Arab

merchant community at war with Mirambo. Exasperated at both the hold-up and at the Arabs' apparent inability to organize themselves, and never one to shy away from a native fight, he joined in on their side.[14] A little less than five years later, Stanley was back in the area; on his way down from Buganda *en route* to the eastern Congo, he finally met Mirambo and spent a few hours with him. Stanley was mightily impressed; he became Mirambo's blood brother and likened him to Frederick the Great.[15]

Such individual accounts are enhanced and clarified when they are brought together in a body of material. Between the mid-1850s and the mid-1880s, European travellers and residents of various kinds were drawn along a corridor of conflict and commerce between Bagamoyo opposite Zanzibar and Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika, and bore witness to the changes unfolding along that critical axis. The result, by nineteenth-century eastern African standards, was a rich trove of information. From Richard Burton and Speke in the late 1850s,[16] to Speke and Grant in the early 1860s,[17] to Verney Lovatt Cameron in the early to mid–1870s,[18] to Stanley and David Livingstone in the early 1870s and Stanley again in the middle of the decade:[19] together, these sources describe a military revolution and its wider effects, in often grisly detail.

This period was also described in ever richer detail by the missionaries. In the latter half of the 1870s and early 1880s, their societies had "stations" dotted across a broad arc from central Tanzania to southern Uganda, and so the sources for the military revolution increased dramatically in scope. The missionaries' arrival in Buganda, for instance, from the historian's point of view, gave rise to something of a critical mass of source material. While Stanley admired the kingdom's organized violence, the missionaries observed the day-to-day operations and the social impact of war, not least through their focus on the "iniquitous" slave trade, which reached its zenith there by the end of the 1870s. Mackay's descriptions are especially valuable, both his published account and the extensive correspondence in the Church Missionary Society archives.[20] Arguably the archives of the French White Fathers, among them the writings of Simeon Lourdel, contain even richer evidence.[21] White Fathers ranted less about the godlessness of the Ganda than their Protestant colleagues, and engaged in the slave trade by purchasing children (who were subsequently cared for at the mission compound). They also observed society and economy closely, as is clear from the Rubaga Diary, a wonderful resource; apart from the period 1882–85 for which they were evacuated, they offered a range of close observations and detailed analyses on the relationship between society, economy, and war. Both sets of missionaries were ultimately concerned to depict a savage society at war with itself and its neighbours; theirs was a humanitarian endeavour, after all, and the Anglican missionaries would become the most effective lobbyists for some form of political takeover. But the violence they were describing, whose significance they ultimately misunderstood, wilfully or otherwise, was nonetheless that of a military revolution in motion. Owing to the cultural framework within which they were operating, they privileged its most repulsive aspects in their texts.

The main corridor of conflict from coastal Bagomoyo to Ujiji on the lake reveals the uncertainty unleashed by the forces of commercial change—particularly between Tabora and Ujiji—as sedentary farming communities found themselves caught up in trade, playing host to strangers from the distant coast, and seeing their young men increasingly lured away for long periods in search of adventure and material gain. Some would never return, and those who did often came back as soldiers of fortune with new senses of loyalty and new aspirations. The sources reveal a great deal of bloody violence and as much wanton destruction as there was evidence of political and social creativity. There were new levels of destruction and barbarity, shocking to the Nyamwezi, who had to cope with the arrival of the Ngoni as well as the coastmen in their heavily armed caravans. The sources also talk of depopulation, describing the disappearance of villages from one expedition to the next, and the rise of larger urban and peri-urban settlements—Tabora, Urambo, Ujiji. Alongside this were the acts of political creativity, especially along that stretch of road to the west of Unyanyembe, which formed the central artery of Mirambo's state. As Europeans traveled along that road for a generation between the 1850s and the 1880s, what they described seeing constituted eastern Africa's nineteenth-century revolution.

One of the great *unpublished* witnesses to these events was Ebenezer Southon, the LMS missionary who spent three years at the heart of Mirambo's state, between 1879 and 1882.[22] No European source provides more information on the Mirambo phenomenon, but he died after a tragic accident—he was shot when his gun went off in the hands of a servant—and he was not deemed important enough to warrant his extensive writings being rushed into press, unlike Livingstone a decade earlier. Yet a richer source on a particular "moment" would be hard to find: Southon's often breathless descriptions reflected a dynamic, energetic polity, at times apparently unsure of itself and yet continually engaged in creative, if frequently violent, activity nonetheless. He described the buzzing socio-economic heart of Urambo, where craftsmen and merchants inhabited a newly created urban space alongside soldiers and the emissaries who came to pay homage to Mirambo. From Stanley and others, one might conceptualize Mirambo's state as Spartan, concerned above and beyond anything else with the affairs of war; from Southon's close observations, it is clear that Urambo represented a local economic and commercial revolution, too, and that Mirambo's aims were about production and profit in a rapidly changing environment as much as they were about the honing of violence and the creation of an enduring politico-military complex. But Southon also relayed much data on the latter, too, and reported Mirambo's own evidently deeply thoughtful attempts to historicize the state in the making—to claim his violence as restorative and as rooted in some vaguely-discerned past, where a large and happy population is united and strong.

What is clear from Southon is that Mirambo's musings about the past reflected his own long-term aspirations, his desired future. This was memory as manifesto, and Speke and Stanley bore witness to much the same thing in Buganda. Mutesa's Buganda, a compara-

tively ancient kingdom and therefore imbued with self-confidence and a surer sense of its historical trajectory, was nonetheless also experiencing a measure of self-doubt in the 1860s and 1870s, and its political elite saw a fluid external environment which brought uncertainty to their frontiers. The stories and biographies given to Stanley in the mid-1870s were as much about the present and the future—Mutesa's failings, and the prospects for a great Buganda in the future—as they were about the past. *Kintu* (the kingdom's founding ancestor) was the historical device, the political gauge, for conveying contemporary assessments. Mirambo—similarly self-doubting, but for different reasons—likewise reached into the past; and his *Kintu* was Mshimba, the last and greatest ruler of an empire which Mirambo was now seeking to restore. These figures grew more significant in the conext of revolutions impossible fully to control or direct, perhaps most obviously so in Mirambo's case. The historical gravitas manifest in imagined founding fathers provided a useful anchor. History, in other words, represented the attempt to place a brake on overly rapid change; it justified the careful management of aggression and forward motion, and facilitated a continual reassessment of goals.

The Ethiopian region was even better travelled by Europeans, compared to the Great Lakes and central east African zones further south. Following a century or so of hiatus after the expulsion of the Jesuits by Emperor Fasilidas in the early and mid-seventeenth century, a steadily increasing number of sources appear from the late eighteenth century onward, beginning with the peerless (and incredulously received) James Bruce and his mammoth work in 1790.[23] Even so, it is worth noting at this juncture that the elite literacy of the Ethiopian region vitiates, or has been seen to vitiate, the importance of European accounts. Ethiopianist historians have focused as much on indigenous source materials—Donald Crummey's recent work, with its extensive use of liturgical manuscripts, is a fine example—as on foreigners' assessments.[24]

European sources for Ethiopia nonetheless remain a rich vein for evaluation, especially for the nineteenth century. Such accounts increased steadily in the early decades of the century, as the *zemene mesafint*, the "era of the princes," of violent centrifugal conflict between the 1770s and the 1850s, reached its height. They map the wars of the regional potentates, Amhara and Tigrayan largely, and the pivotal role of the "martial" Oromo; then they chart the steady rise of Tewodros, who marched from the frontier to the very heart of the old Solomonic imperium, which he then proceeded to reinvent. For Ethiopia, compared to our regions further south, there was a much deeper well of foreign information, dating to the Portuguese expeditions of the early sixteenth century. Europeans in the nineteenth century had perhaps only recently have returned to northeast Africa, but they were able to draw on a body of literature stretching back over three centuries, not to mention fevered imaginings stretching back a couple of centuries before that. Thus Ethiopia is especially well served, by eastern African standards, and European authors referenced one another from the late eighteenth century onward, sometimes to challenge predecessors' findings, but certainly

to evaluate the level of "knowledge" developed. Arguably were better placed than in most other parts of Africa to judge the scale of change unfolding before them.

Of course, Ethiopians were long regarded as different from—that is to say, superior to—their cousins elsewhere across the supposedly benighted continent, and the tone adopted frequently reflects this. European travelogues routinely contained lengthy historical overviews, and it was this appreciation of the antiquity of Ethiopian civilisation which justified somewhat more reverential tones—however far contemporary Ethiopians had apparently fallen from former glories. These journeys into the past usually had as one of their centrepieces the events of the 1530s and 1540s, when a *jihad* led by Ahmed ibn Ibrahim had swept from the Somali plains to the southeast up into the very heart of the Solomonic state, bringing it to its knees before a Portuguese expedition had assisted in achieving a last-minute reversal of fortune; even Edward Gibbon referenced it.[25] It was a deadly struggle for survival that was regularly recalled by Ethiopian leaders in the nineteenth century.

Few Europeans in the nineteenth century doubted the fundamental role of warfare in Ethiopian history, and the degree to which violent militarism underpinned political authority. This is evident in the accounts of those who journeyed across the region between the turbulent 1810s and 1840s, for example Henry Salt, Samuel Gobat, Nathaniel Pearce and Mansfield Parkyns.[26] But it was Walter Plowden who provided one of the best accounts of the nature and meaning of Ethiopian warfare of the period.[27] Resident in the region in the mid–1840s, and for much of the 1850s, as well as being an Amharic speaker, Plowden dedicated two substantial chapters of an extraordinarily detailed description of mid-century state and society to the army and military culture. The "military class" he examined was a topic about which he was deeply knowledgeable, given his personal experience on campaign; it had been a long time in the making, but the military culture he described in the middle decades of the nineteenth century was now clearly driving rapid political change. This was the beginning of a period in which the restless militarism which underlay highland political culture, and which had become ever more significant since the late eighteenth century, was crystallizing into something rather more professional and altogether more effective, under the direction of a handful of talented leaders—Tewodros among them. It would be used, ultimately, to build the modern empire-state of Ethiopia.

Walter Plowden was killed on his way homeward in 1860; it was left to his brother to compile and edit the remaining sections of his notes and correspondences into a workable manuscript. Toward the end of that manuscript, Plowden assessed the rise of a young borderland chief named Kassa—later crowned as Tewodros—commencing the European fascination (in print as well as policy) over the next twenty years with this extraordinary individual and what he represented. While it was expedient to position the narrative around Tewodros, in fact the chief was the product of the emergent military culture that earlier writers had described, and the clearest manifestation of the unfolding revolution in military affairs. There was a clear shift in attitude from the mid- and late 1850s to the period from the

early 1860s onward. The depiction of Tewodros changed from energetic and clearly superior state-builder and warrior, to mad, sad African potentate, raging against a world he scarcely understood from his rocky and isolated citadel. His violence, once righteous and even necessary to bring order to a wild and unsettled region, came in the 1860s to be characterized as barbarous and unstable. His madness was dangerous, which was clearly revealed once Tewodros clapped the European community in irons, in retaliation against a perceived slight on the part of the British Government. It consumed him, and once his earlier achievements faded, only the insanity remained.

In addition to the accounts of the earlier 1860s—those of Dufton and Stern, for example[28]—there was then naturally a flurry of publications around the subsequent British campaign against Tewodros and the drama at Magdala. Captives, liberators and "embedded" journalists all produced accounts—from the captives Blanc and Rassam, to Hozier and Markham, members of the British expedition, to a young and very green Henry Morton Stanley, covering the story for the *New York Herald*.[29]The standard narration of these events spoke to a strong British sense of self in the last third of the nineteenth century, and the era's language and tone, as every student of history knows, must be understood in that context. Britain was able to mount a logistically challenging military campaign and was willing to act to free hostages, including non-British nationals. Importantly, too, the British force would not remain in occupation, but withdraw triumphantly, having liberated a people from tyranny. But it needs to be emphasized that the British had been drawn into an unfolding Ethiopian revolution; Europeans were awarded a bit-part in this great drama, and the sources reflect this.

As there was Plowden in the 1850s, half a century later in the 1890s there was Alexander Bulatovich.[30] A Russian cavalryman, and an expert witness on military affairs, Bulatovich produced a reflective and thoughtful account—though with its fair share of derring-do—of the "state of Ethiopia" at the century's close. As he travelled with Menelik's triumphant armies across the south and west of the expanding Amhara empire in the wake of the battle of Adwa, he was in no doubt about the role of militarism in this "new" political system, nor that something of an upheaval in military affairs had taken place in the course of the nineteenth century. His prognosis was grim—Ethiopian militarism was essentially unsustainable, in economic terms—but he clearly deeply admired the political-military complex which Menelik had harnessed with some considerable skill. Others, too, marvelled—tacitly or otherwise—at this potent polity and its appreciation of the transformative power of violence. Even before Adwa, British diplomat Gerald Portal, in the late 1880s, had described a forceful militarism in the making;[31] but after Adwa, especially, Europeans clustered around to survey this curious creation in northeast Africa which had not only survived the "scramble" but participated in it: Berkeley, Rey, Wylde, to name but a handful.[32] How long Ethiopia would last, no-one knew. But they recognized what had happened, at least up to now: Ethiopia was built on war, and in the second half of the nineteenth century its leaders

had learnt how to channel that violent militarism into something ruthlessly coercive, and politically creative, across an enlarged theatre of operations. It was a process which European onlookers well understood.

Sources and Opportunities: Imaginings and Realities

There is little question that these same sources pose significant challenges for the historian. The late Victorian view of African violence in fact has its roots in the era of the Atlantic slave trade, and more specifically in the pro- and anti-abolitionist debate which raged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For defenders of the slave trade, the commerce in human beings had not produced any increase in the levels of violence within Africa; African societies were already intrinsically bloody, and indeed the slave trade was something of a blessed release from a conflict-ridden land. Abolitionists argued that the commerce had fuelled relentless violence within the continent, and had reinforced the savage element present within African culture; Europe's "civilising mission" should now be to save Africans from themselves, by facilitating pacific activities and, where necessary, intervening directly to bring this about. Both camps perceived rampant savagery in the violence; the difference, reflected in broader debates about race in the early nineteenth century, lay in whether that savagery was believed to be inherent or whether it was seen as fostered by sinister external pressures. Thus were the terms of the modern debate set, the parameters fixed within which both policy and perception would operate. It led to the creation of a moral and intellectual framework within which the "scramble" for Africa was not only possible but imperative. In sum, Africa was indeed a savage and violent place; the salvation of the African (as the abolitionists had believed) was certainly possible, but it was now clear, in the mid- to late nineteenth century, that only the most forceful intervention on the part of Europe would bring this about. Africans lacked the mental and cultural equipment necessary to do this for themselves. It was abolitionist humanitarianism with a hardened racial edge.

Thus contemporary European sources are replete with references to the savagery of interminable African warfare, and continually make more or less explicit connections between race and violence.[33] Europeans were able to make essential judgements about each community they encountered: one was "warlike," another "peace-loving." Across our region, northerly, "lighter" skinned, pastoral peoples were depicted as more "warlike"—and, in various ways according to the author, discernibly more civilized, or at least more *admirable*—than their squatter, darker, agricultural neighbours. Thus were the Oromo, the Maasai, the Tutsi, frequently held up as fine representations of warlike manliness, which in turn meant racial superiority.[34] This often flew in the face of the evidence, namely that the primarily *agricultural* states north of Lake Victoria and in the Ethiopian Highlands were the dominant military powers in their respective regions, but no matter: the image of the individualistic, courageous and dignified pastoralist crystallized, and indeed has endured. Nor was European

testimony always consistent when it came to discussions of what actually constituted "proper war." While some depicted terrible and dramatic savagery, others sneered that these "wars" were in fact quite pathetic and hardly amounted to anything worth recording (although they all went on to record it). Markham wrote dismissively of the "interminable ... skirmishes" of the Abyssinians; Stanley declared that the physical constitution of the African was not conducive to "energetic warfare."[35] Burton's east African is alternately a lazy drunk, or an inveterate cattle-rustler and kidnapper, these activities constituting "war" in the region.[36] The missionary Alexander Mackay managed to hit two targets at once when he declared that although these "little wars" were "of no account in Europe," they were nonetheless pretty nasty and involved large scale killing and destruction.[37]

By the same token, late Victorians clearly admired bloody savage power, and could scarcely contain their glee when they believed they had found it. Semi-civilized potentates were depicted as surrounded by savage hordes, which pressed in on their ravaged and wild frontiers and yet were somehow held at bay.[38] Powerful and articulate elites were racially enhanced by excited Europeans and portrayed as possessing the capacity to act as vehicles in the civilisation of the region. Even a man of God, such as Mackay, quietly admired the Ganda and foresaw that their military prowess and expansionist proclivities—so awful when beheld in a pre-European setting—could be harnessed for the good of the wider region. Buganda, in sum, had civilizing potential.[39]

Critical assessments of these kinds of texts draw inspiration from the work of Edward Said,[40] among others, whose argument regarding Western representations of the "Oriental" (or African) Other is much celebrated, though also critiqued.[41] A rampant Eurocentrism, in sum, was the chief characteristic of the Western imperial project through the nineteenth century and into the first half of the twentieth, which distorted the image of the world beyond in order to position European modernity at the core of global time and space.[42] At its extreme, postcolonial, Said-influenced scholarship has argued in recent years that we can take *nothing* from these sources except what they tell us about the author and his culture.

It is clear enough that Victorian imagery has proved resilient, and that misinterpretations in the nineteenth century echo down to the present day. However, such misinterpretation notwithstanding, there is still plenty to use in those same sources, for the diligent scholar.[43] In large part, this is because Europeans frequently, even if unwittingly, recognized the significance of the events and processes and leaders they were observing and reporting upon. In many ways they were indeed informed by their own cultural and historical experiences and reference points. Travelling Europeans were inevitably drawn to the military affairs of the societies through which they passed, and characteristically they used events and personalities in Europe's own military past as the cardinal points on their historical compass. This presents problems for the researcher, naturally; but the obverse point—one which is often neglected—is that because nineteenth-century Europeans were often drawing on their own recent past (i.e., Europe's history since the sixteenth century), they were well equipped

to notice dramatic change in military organisation. If there was one area in which Europeans were expert, it was the business of war, even if they misapprehended the cultural and socio-economic contexts within which that business was conducted.

Especially in the Ethiopian region, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europeans thus credited *habesha* warfare with characteristics of their own past, including ideas about honour, chivalry and bravery, as well as tactical and strategic proficiency: "Abyssinia" reminded them of bygone feudal Europe. "The present state of Abyssinia," wrote Henry Salt in 1814, "may with justice be compared to that of England previously to the time of Alfred; the government of the country being formed on the model of a complete feudal system."[44] If the Anglocentric reference points are unhelpful in themselves, Salt's snapshot of the tense balance of power early in the century is especially useful when placed alongside later descriptions of the organized violence that culminated in the accession of Kassa Haylu as Emperor Tewodros. In other words, Europeans' "bias," the range of reference points available to them, were not *always* or *necessarily* "irrelevant" or "misleading," and the reverse was in fact frequently true. By the same token, European views of African warfare in many respects reflect meaningfully on their views and experiences of "Western war," and careful reading of these accounts may well also reward the scholar of European military history. Ultimately, one returns to one of the necessities of the historian's practice: to manage unruly sources, and to harness their energy to power the reconstruction of the past.

The importance of European sources is hardly in doubt to the vast majority of professional practitioners no matter how problematic their usage in African history has been.[45] Recently some historians have again argued for the enormous value in rereading supposedly hopelessly compromised texts. Meredith McKittrick's assessment of missionary records for pre-colonial northern Namibia is a fine case in point; Robin Law's work on the West African coast during the slave trade is another indication of the critical importance of European sources.[46] The utility of these sources certainly increases with their quantity; Yoruba country in the course of the nineteenth century, for example, became a major zone of operations for a host of missionary organisations and hence textual evidence.[47] I would argue that the same is true of the zones discussed in this paper, on the east and northeast sides of the continent.

Another argument against the use of such sources is that they are highly selective, choosing to highlight those elements of the overall "African experience" which show the authors in a positive light or are simply of interest to readers. It is however quite misleading to see European travellers—the supposed outriders of so many approaching imperialisms—as imposing themselves on these places and processes. Europeans did not simply "pick" locales and write about them. Rather, the places chose Europeans, as it were: European sources, like many of the agencies of imperialism which came later, were co-opted into African worlds. Europeans followed well-trodden or emerging highways into the "interior," and approached the people and places described in their accounts because they were *important*, and because they were ultimately unavoidable. The notion that Europeans could be "selective" about

what they described—beyond the most basic process of selection involving in recalling a particular experience, maintaining a journal, writing it up for publication later—is to ascribe to these travellers an extraordinary power over their own experiences and a remarkable ability to manipulate those with some larger end in view.

In other words, it is undeniable that there is selection in some of the essential detail, notably in terms of racial reference, and in accounts of brutality and horror; there are elements in the interpretation which have been emphasized over others.[48] But the stories which Europeans told were part of a meta-narrative which was *African*, not European; in terms of our region, Mutesa, Mirambo, and Tewodros were individuals and representatives of states and processes that attracted attention for a variety of compelling reasons, and which left profound impressions on those who visited them. In this way they imposed themselves on the stories later told with such bravado in the clubs and learned societies in London and Paris by returning *muzungu* and *ferenji* "heroes."

Rehabilitating Violence and Its Sources: The Nineteenth Century in Perspective

This paper has made two main arguments. The first is that a careful, integrated and holistic reading of the European sources from the era is extremely rewarding, and sheds a great deal of light on the processes under examination; and just as the European texts are themselves full of misapprehensions and distortions, they themselves have been routinely misunderstood by scholars immersed in postmodernist and indeed presentist agendas. In fact, such sources reveal a huge amount about the revolutionary nature of African warfare. They often reached the wrong overall conclusions (e.g. the essential primitiveness and cultural savagery of African violence) owing to the frameworks in which they were doing the business of observing and then writing; and those conclusions have proved remarkably resilient, muddying the waters of comprehension ever since, through Africa's violent twentieth century, an era when comprehension was never more important. But they absorbed an enormous amount of what was going on around them, and understood a great deal more than they have frequently been given credit for. Moreover, this exercise is also concerned with serving the needs of a *global* history. This is not simply a standoff between observer and observed, each habitually misunderstanding and confusing the other; rather, we are seeking some level of integration, a degree of fusion, of European and African experiences. The evidence for that fusion—the recognition, whether implicit or otherwise, of shared experience—is contained in the pages of the texts under discussion here. Again, if there was one thing nineteenth-century Europeans grasped, it was war and the utility and significance of violence, even if they routinely misapprehended what much of it meant. They racialized it, and saw a violent continent in need of outside assistance. They were right, in many respects, to espy a violent

continent; but they misread the meaning of this violence, wilfully or otherwise, and were of course wrong about both the racial aspects and the need for external intervention.

The second argument made here is that the nineteenth century witnessed something of a military revolution in eastern Africa; indeed, I would suggest that the central thesis holds true of much of the continent during this period. We need to look more closely at the nineteenth-century roots of Africa's violent modernity; Africa in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries can be fully understood only by examining that violent and vibrant era. The brief colonial interlude served to distort key processes of political creativity which had built into something of a "golden age."

The violence reported by Europeans accelerated the "scramble" for Africa. The European invasions from the 1870s until the 1920s were made possible, firstly, by the high level inter-state and inter-communal conflict across the continent in the second half of the nineteenth century, providing relatively small and even innocuous European forces with leverage and opportunities for success. Secondly, in terms of manpower, several decades of violence had produced large numbers of the rootless and the displaced, a swelling population of the willing and able, which could be recruited into armies willing to provide some basic sustenance via adventures which also brought certain perks. Without this, Europe's partition would have been unthinkable; African manpower, set loose by the prolonged military revolution, made the European "scramble" possible.

We do not have to agree with contemporary Europeans' conclusions about what all this violence meant to recognize that they were describing a remarkable sequence of events and processes through which much of Africa was transforming itself. So this is a matter of managing Victorian imagery: there is enough data behind it to facilitate a useable history of African violence. It is therefore imperative that we embark on a more nuanced understanding of Africa's nineteenth-century military revolution, and eastern Africa offers an excellent case study for the purpose. The violent past needs to be rehabilitated, and the nineteenth century seems a good place to start.

Notes

1. The first edition was published in 1878; a new edition, with expanded introduction, appeared in 1899. The description of the Buvuma war is contained in chapters 12 and 13, Volume I, of Henry Morton Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent.*
2. John Bierman, *Dark Safari: The Life Behind the Legend of Henry Morton Stanley* (New York: Knopf, 1990): 176–7.
3. Apollo Kagwa, *The Kings of Buganda* (translated and edited by M.S.M. Kiwanuka)(Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971): 169.
4. As I have endeavored to do in recent work: Richard J. Reid, *War in Pre-Colonial Eastern Africa: the Patterns and Meanings of State-Level Conflict in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007).
5. Richard J. Reid, "The Ganda on Lake Victoria: a nineteenth-century east African imperialism," *Journal of African History*, 39, 3 (1998): 49–63.

6. Richard J.Reid, "Revisiting Primitive War: perceptions of violence and race in history," *War and Society*, 26, 2 (2007): 1–25.
7. Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996 [2nd edition]); L. Henniger, "Military revolutions and military history," and A. James, "Warfare and the rise of the state," both in Matthew Hughes & William J. Philpott (eds.), *Modern Military History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) pp. 8–22 and 23–41 respectively; and lastly, G.N. Uzoigwe, "The Warrior and the State in Pre-Colonial Africa: comparative perspectives," in Ali A. Mazrui (ed.), *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1977): 20–47.
8. For a taste of this, see for example Alison Smith, "The Southern Section of the Interior, 1840–84', and David A. Low, "The Northern Interior, 1840–84," both in Roland Oliver & Gervase Mathew (eds.), *History of East Africa Vol I* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1963), 253–96 and 297–351 respectively; and various essays in Andrew D. Roberts (ed.), *Tanzania Before 1900* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968).
9. John H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Edinburgh & London: Wm. Blackwood, 1863), chapters 10 to 16. The following year saw the posthumous publication of a "prequel," *What Led to the Discovery* (Edinburgh & London: Wm. Blackwood, 1864) covering the expedition across present-day Tanzania made with Richard Burton in the late 1850s.
10. David Henige, "'The Disease of Writing': Ganda and Nyoro kinglists in newly literate world," in Joseph C. Miller (ed.), *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History* (Folkestone: Wm. Dawson and Sons, 1980): 240–61.
11. J.A. Grant, *A Walk Across Africa* (Edinburgh & London: Wm. Blackstone, 1864), chapters 9–12.
12. Stanley, *Dark Continent*, I, 147 *ff.*
13. J. Yoder, "The quest for Kintu and the search for peace: mythology and morality in nineteenth-century Buganda," *History in Africa*, 15 (1988): 363–76.
14. Henry M. Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone* (London: Sampson, Low, 1872), chapters 8 & 9.
15. Stanley, *Dark Continent*, I, 382*ff.*
16. Speke, *What Led to the Discovery*, especially 250–371; Richard F.Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (London, 1993), 66–322. Note that I have made use of the wonderful Folio Society edition of Burton's work, which was originally published in two volumes.
17. Speke, *Journal*, especially chapters 2–7; Grant, *A Walk*, chapters 3–7.
18. V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, 2 vols. (London: Daldey, Isbister, 1877). Much of the first volume is dedicated to the route under discussion here.
19. Stanley, *Livingstone*, especially chapters 4–11; Stanley, *Dark Continent*, I, especially chapters 4–6; H.Waller (ed.), *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa*, 2 vols. (London, 1874), in particular Vol II chapters 6–7.
20. A.M. Mackay (ed. by "his sister" [Alexina Mackay Harrison]), *A.M.Mackay, Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society to Uganda* (London, 1890); the CMS papers are held at the University of Birmingham.
21. These papers are housed in the archive in Rome.
22. His diary and letters, alongside a wealth of other London Missionary Society material, are housed in Special Collections in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. Although they are reasonably accessible to interested scholars—opening times permitting—there would still be great benefit in collecting Southon's papers into a single publication.
23. J. Bruce, *Travels to the Discover the Source of the Nile, in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, 5 vols. (London, 1790).
24. D. Crummey, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: from the thirteenth to the twentieth century* (Oxford, 2000).
25. E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1988) VI: 81.
26. H. Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country* (London, 1814); S. Gobat (tr. & ed. S.D. Clark), *Journal of Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia* (London, 1851); N.

Pearce, *Life and Adventures in Abyssinia* (London, 1980); M. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia: being notes collected during three years' residence and travels in that country* (London, 1868).

27. W.C. Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country, with an account of a mission to Ras Ali in 1848* (London, 1868), especially chapters 3 and 4.

28. H. Dufton, *Narrative of a Journey Through Abyssinia in 1862–63* (London, 1867); H. Stern, *Wanderings Among the Falashas in Abyssinia* (London, 1968).

29. A selection would include: H. Blanc, *Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia* (London, 1970); H. Hozier, *The British Expedition to Abyssinia* (London, 1869); Markham, *History*; H. Rassam, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia* (London, 1869); H.M. Stanley, *Coomassie and Magdala: the story of two British campaigns in Africa* (London, 1874).

30. Long available only in the original Russian, this wonderful source has since been translated into English and published in a single volume: A. Bulatovich (tr. & ed. R.Seltzer), *Ethiopia Through Russian Eyes: country in transition, 1896–1898* (Lawrenceville NJ, 2000).

31. G.H. Portal, *My Mission to Abyssinia* (London, 1892), especially chapters 5–7.

32. G.F.-H. Berkeley, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik* (New York, 1969); C.F.Rey, *Unconquered Abyssinia as it is to-day* (London, 1923); A.Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia* (Westport, 1970).

33. There was, of course, nothing novel in this: Reid, "Revisiting Primitive War," *passim.*

34. Speke, *What Led to the Discovery*, p. 330; P. Broyon-Mirambo, "Description of Unyamwesi, the territory of King Mirambo, and the best route thither from the East Coast," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 22, 1 (1877–78): 31–32.

35. C. Markham, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition* (London, 1869): 52; Stanley, *Livingstone*: 495.

36. Burton, *Lake Regions*, chapter 19, *passim.*

37. Mackay, *Pioneer Missionary*: 386.

38. For example, Portal, *Mission*: iv.

39. Mackay, *Pioneer Missionary*: 216.

40. *Orientalism* (London, 1978).

41. J.M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester and New York, 1995).

42. B.Bush, *Imperialism and Postcolonialism* (Harlow, 2006): 96*ff.*

43. See also Beatrix Heintze and Adam Jones (eds.), *European Sources for Sub-Saharan Africa Before 1900: Use and Abuse*, special edition of *Paideuma*, 33 (1987).

44. Salt, *Voyage*, 485.

45. John Thornton, "European Documents and African History," in J.E. Philips (ed.), *Writing African History* (Rochester, 2005): 254–65; also Thomas Spear, "New approaches to documentary sources," in T.Falola & C.Jennings (eds.), *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken, Written, Unearthed* (Rochester, 2003): 169–72.

46. M. McKittrick, "Capricious tyrants and persecuted subjects: reading between the lines of missionary records in precolonial northern Namibia', in Falola & Jennings, *Sources and Methods*: 219–36; R.C. Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550–1750: the impact of the Atlantic slave trade on an African society* (Oxford, 1991). See also Law (ed.), *The English in West Africa, 1681–1683: the local correspondence of the Royal African Company of England, 1681–1699, Part 1* (London, 1997); and Law (ed.), *The English in West Africa, 1685–1688: the local correspondence of the Royal African Company of England, 1681–1699, Part 2* (London, 2001).

47. For example, J.F. Ade Ajayi & R. Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Ibadan & Cambridge, 1971); S.A. Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland 1840–1893* (London, 1971).

48. P.D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British ideas and action, 1780–1850*, 2 vols. (Madison, 1964); L.Franey, *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence: British writing on Africa, 1855–1902* (Basingstoke, 2003).

The Osmosis of the Gazes: Anthropologists and Historians through the Prism of Field Work[1]

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"The natives' *ipsissima verba* represent an ultimate datum of reality without the blurring screen of a free translation, which should be used only as a supplement to the interlinear rendering. Of course, an intelligent non-professional observer familiar with the language and collaborating by correspondence with an ethnologist may learn to interpret native life "from within" while simultaneously answering the specialist's queries. Boas early recognized this possibility, and his encouragement of James Teit, a squaw man settled in British Columbia, led to a series of splendid monographs on Slaish tribes."[2]

Like any doctoral candidate doing research on oral traditions, I had to collect a large body of data. Just as it is today, the rules of the discipline back then required a methodological reflection on the entire body of information gathered. At the time, I had chosen to analyze the relationship between the Soninke researcher that I identify myself to be, and the topic of my research in Soninke country, the traditionalists. It was as if I were observing my own working conditions from a critical distance. Once I had defended my thesis, Emmanuel Terray strongly encouraged me to rework my text into an article. This was published by *Cahiers d'Études africaines* in 1985 and bore the title "Les recherches en histoire orale menées par un autochtone, ou l'inconvénient d'être du cru": "Research in oral history carried out by a native, or the disadvantage of being one of the locals," my first foray into the university arena.

While carrying out research in Kingi, my land of origin, in the Nioro District of the Sahel in Mali, I described my experience in the following way, though here I am also adding a few similar observations made by researchers such as Dida Badi and Fatoumata Ouattara.[3]

Presumably I was benefitting from "the advantage of being on my own turf." However, this benefit came at a high cost when it came time for me to make some "required choices." I was automatically adopted by my family of origin, that is, my father's family. However, they naturally had expectations of me that lined up with those of the larger community. These "cultural expectations" of the informants place constant pressure on the researcher that ultimately requires him to make a difficult decision. Since the success of my research trip and my reimmersion in my own society depended on the satisfaction of these expectations, the difficult daily test for me was to carry out my research according to scientific standards, which were different from the local way of doing things.[4] Ouattara's remarks coincide perfectly with my own sense of the confused blending of genres to which our hosts constantly beckon us.[5] Specifically, if you are either the classificatory or real daughter or son of your interlocutor, then you have already partially distorted the terms of the exchange that the researcher seeks to establish, those according to his own standards. This is what required Ouattara, for example, to choose a different residence from the one automatically made available to her by the host community.[6] D. Badi calls this tendency on the part of our hosts to impose their way of doing things "harnessing" ("la captation"). It is our responsibility to carry out a procedure that consists of disassociating oneself on a daily basis.[7]

The difficulty of learning in the field worsens when faced, as I was, with a normative order of acquisition of knowledge that generates its own system of oral tradition schools and where the foundations of knowledge happen to be hierarchical and carefully controlled. How then was I to reconcile my university training—which by the way also contains its own internal hierarchy—with that of the traditionalists, in a context of project deadlines in which every month, even every single day, counts?[8] In my case I was working hard to collect data on all kinds of oral traditions, which was unlikely to please my local mentors, as who ever heard of studying oral traditions of subordinate groups and aristocratic traditions at the same time—and both men's and women's texts? These intrusions into areas at all levels of the social scale were sure to arouse suspicion, as traditions—especially the codified ones—are reserved for specific groups. The researcher, therefore, must be somewhat of a chameleon, whether he is aware of it or not, and take on (or at least pretend to take on) all of these different identities.[9] In Ouattara's case, she had to frequent places reserved only for men. She had to cross, and not without disapproval, the "boundaries of gender" and frequent social spaces to which she was not supposed to belong.[10] These deviances are all the more difficult to negotiate because the native researcher, more than anyone else, is carefully identified as such upon his arrival by his future interlocutors. Depending on their information, they may or may not talk to him or her. Badi's Tuareg interlocutors from l'Adagh des Ifughas, a country nestled between Mali, Algeria and Libya, were constantly subjecting him to the following

preliminary questions: Who are you? What are you doing? What did they tell you about *X*? What do you think of it?

More than ever it is important here to be modest enough to recognize one's own limits in the area of languages. Is it so shameful for an average German not to understand the poetry of Goethe? Why should I be embarrassed when I, a Soninke, do not always understand the texts of the Geseru?[11] You only realize this once you learn to distinguish between the categories of high culture and popular culture.[12] The language of high culture, *Xaran Xanne,* and the language of everyday life, *Xanne*, come from two distinct spheres. Obviously the languages are not isolated from each other, but the researcher needs time to learn to move from *Xanne* to *Xaran Xanne.* Ouattara attributed this problem to linguistic incompetence, but the process of knowledge acquisition is by its very nature slow and complex.[13]

I had carried out similar research in other countries before, and many colleagues and students have responded to my work. This produced another factor in the making of critical distance emerged during my home research. When I was conducting interviews on less sensitive topics not directly linked to sources of power, I had time to sift through and analyze the reflections I had formulated about my own practice. I wanted to re-examine my own work critically, in the light of the new ground that had been covered by the profession and the new methodologies that had become current.

In fact, as it has been shrewdly pointed out by David Henige, "In the ebb and flow of the past forty years, various sources and *various approaches have come and, in some cases, gone as well.*"[14] Scientific discourse is affected by the latest fads, schools of thought, and intellectual currents. The article in question was produced by me in an intellectual space somewhere between France and Mali, and steeped in the ambiance of the decline of Marxism. With the criticism of the colonial situation in the 1950s by Michel Leiris and Georges Balandier, history had found its way into ethnological objects.[15] The Annales school had gained control of historians as well as anthropologists, especially since the latter were moving toward the study of history. The result was high-quality work in African studies.[16]

During the two years that followed the publication of my article, I lived in Mali in French-speaking circles, which determined how I was influenced by specific academic trends. Postcolonial studies developed in importance in Great Britain and in the United States, but hardly took off at all in French academic circles.[17]A stormy debate on ethnicity was launched by the publication of J.-L. Amselle's and M'Bokolo's jointly-edited book in 1985. In France, the debate was pursued by Jean-Pierre Chrétien and Gérard Prunier, among others. And so the concept of ethnicity as applied to Africa began to be re-examined in depth.[18]

Post-structuralism arrived late in French-speaking African countries, and indirectly, through North American and British literature. The trend towards "Subaltern Studies," although not very influential in France or francophone Africa, also had some impact.[19] Jean-Loup Amselle in a stinging attack accused certain French intelligentsia of enjoying an en-

gagement with an originally French school of thought only after it was fêted in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s.[20] Criticism of colonial literature, of the history texts produced and narrated by the colonizers, continues to rage in France.[21] At first the issue of the working conditions of native researchers belonging to a specific ethnic group was not discussed in these contexts; nor was this done in the best work of English-language authors.[22] Sophie Dulucq and Colette Zytnicki's articles have analyzed the contributions of Africans working as staff members for colonial administration, commencing a debate that has already been underway in India for several decades.[23] Finally Jean Copans meanwhile has crafted an uncompromising analysis of the field of anthropology in France and elsewhere.[24]

A more active involvement of researchers from the former colonies in a field that was once reserved for the specialists from the Western powers started to gain ground in the 1980s. At this time, intellectuals from Southeast Asia were infiltrating the fields of humanities and social sciences in North American and in British universities.[25] They explored the question of whether it was an advantage or a disadvantage to carry out research on one's own society. Their analysis of the situation was all the more welcome since the problem had never been properly raised by their academic mentors, the Western ethnologists.[26]

How might I approach an article written twenty-five years ago, the writing, initial reception, and present re-reading, which correspond to different stages in the succession of multiple intellectual currents? Can a parallel be drawn between such a discussion focused on Africa and debates in Southeast Asia and America? The Greek *polis* applied the term *ethnè* to those who were foreign to them, and our discipline is founded on this opposition and essentialism.[27] Ethnological discourse is the discourse of the urban elites, of the West describing the Other, of the universal subject describing the essence of the object. Is it then possible for a discipline founded on this paradigm to be transformed once the *ethnè* pitches his and her tent in the land of the subject?[28] What happens when the comfortable dichotomy fades away?

Today's Debates

In what follows, I will juxtapose the clear-cut theses of earlier ethnologists (such as Lowie) who subscribed to the dogmas of distance and exoticism, with those of some of our contemporary colleagues in anthropology and history, for whom otherness remains firmly entrenched even as the prestige of exoticism fades away.[29] We will take a look at the stances taken by unashamed colonial administrators (see the *Revue de l'Histoire de Colonies françaises*), and see the contrast between them and the embarrassed silence kept by most of us, the local researchers.[30] Our Western colleagues when they work in Western fields of study have only begun to question their methods.[31] To be sure there are observations on the topic scattered through Ph.Ds and unpublished manuscripts; as Jeanne Favret-Saada has pointed out, most accounts of field experience are relegated to places "outside the [main] text" such as the foreword, the introduction, the appendix, or to autobiographical novels.[32] Even fewer

of us non-Westerners reflect on our own positions, researchers working on their native turfs while adhering to methods borrowed from a science developed in the West.[33]

At least for my generation, who started school after many states achieved national independence in the 1960s, to acknowledge this problem was to admit to being powerless to fulfill one's duty: to write one's own history and challenge the history written by the colonizers. Back in 1985 I referenced one particularly bold remark that "the observers within the social sciences must come from those societies they observe. They are in a better position to detect these societies' subtlest aspects."[34] This point of view, an Algerian one, grew out of and against the supremacy of French researchers working in francophone Africa. And if few people express such a sentiment publicly, there are many who share it.[35] Achille Mbembe well describes the arguments being put forth by intellectuals and ordinary people in Africa to support their exclusive rights to carry out anthropological and historical research in their own countries. For him, an "historicism" has hindered the explanation of Africa's past and its present in relation to its future.[36] He depicts two of its forms: "Afroradicalism," which is flawed by a manipulative political opportunism, and "nativism." In the case of the former, only autonomy, resistance, and emancipation can produce a legitimate, authentic African discourse. As for the latter, there is a total reliance on the notion of a unified African identity based on race. In consequence, three canonical historical moments are constructed: slavery, colonization and apartheid. Afroradicalism and nativism, two sides of the same coin, are all the rage in certain African-American intellectual circles, especially among the Afrocentrists.[37]

In South Africa a keen interest in history and its writing has emerged since the end of Apartheid, bolstered by the experience of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This Commission, as Jean Comaroff has described, gave rise to many different ways of thinking about the past and about history.[38] Along with interest in the heroic tale of the resistance to Apartheid, mostly led by freedom fighters, a thirst for history has gripped many in South Africa's popular circles, who are claiming their right to their own past. They harness this past to multiple identities, some old, some new, some majestic, some ordinary. Several institutions in South Africa are vehicles of this new history. First, there are the journalists of the popular press and the talk shows. Next, the Pentecostal churches and the NGOs are acting as the spokespersons of healing memories, real-life stories, and even confessional narratives. Organic intellectuals offer "struggle tours" and a "counter-story" (sometimes invading public life with a clamour that leads Comaroff to ask if anybody is really listening).[39] Simon Schama, who coined the term "performative history," especially lauds television history, which he sees as contributing to the democratization of knowledge; he believes in the virtues of history, which for him are liberty, empathy and community building.[40] Yet here history risks being privatized and reduced to consumer goods, such that a delocalized, media-driven history is unfolding every day. Where does the local/native researcher place him- or herself amidst all this noise? Although just as disoriented as their foreign-born counterparts, these Black scholars continue to believe themselves to be innately knowledgeable about their so-

ciety by virtue of being born into it, and continue to claim the exclusive right to narrate their pasts. Indeed some of them are effectively bogged down in an antiquated historicism; instead of seizing history as a breeding-ground for the future, they wear it as a millstone round their necks. As Mbembe argues, their thinking, whether they know it or not, is based on a Manichean worldview.

I wish now to move forward to the second part of my reasoning, which I put forth as the flip side to historicism. The seemingly contradictory syndrome, which at once places a strain on, and provides an undeniable context for historicism and the writing of history is "presentism." "Time marches on [...] the present is in command": this "contemporary experience of time" clearly drives some Africans living in major cities.[41] In the city, children cannot be brought up in the same way they are in the village. The modern school system carried out in a European language or in Arabic, is replacing the training of children in the oral traditions or in the ways of the family.[42] The inhabitants of modern cities are essentially migrants. For those who were either required to or voluntarily left their villages for the anonymous city, in order to improve their chances of moving up in society, the city provides the best chance for them to create a present for themselves, perhaps even a future, but it especially allows them to forget about their condition of being dominated.[43] These migrants, whoever they are, disrupt their social and intellectual development when they give up the option to remain in the village where they would engage in a life-long learning of the oral traditions. Their departure is synonymous with a kind of severing of ties that nothing—neither tape-recorded memories requested from afar, nor irregular visits to one's village of origin—can replace. Over 400 million Africans, more than half of the population of the continent, live in the cities, where the rate of population growth is the highest in the world.[44]

Moreover, it must be said that the village is no longer what it was, if indeed it ever really was what we have been made to believe it used to be. Difficult as it may be, one has further to admit that the bucolic image of Africa belongs to the past. The hurried gait that is so typical of Western urbanites is now seen not only in the cities but also in the "new" African village. The village, at least in the Sahel region, is a melting pot of migrants. Everyone in their own way has either left the village or hopes to leave someday. Some parts of the Yélimané District, one of the most isolated regions of Mali in the center of Soninke country, are more in touch with the world news than are certain areas of Bamako. The migrants from Yélimané invested in information technology in order to stay in touch with their family members who remained behind.[45] In the city, the new inhabitants do not completely discard their past, but they tell themselves a history no longer like the one told in the village. Both the intellectual means and the time to maintain that village history are lacking. What's more, the environment is not very accommodating. The past is transformed—as it always is—and they slowly unlearn what the preceding generation would have liked to pass down to them. Yet here one does not argue on the basis of history, as would be done in a book or in a lecture hall, but rather on the basis of oral tales that provide an alternative—or a "consolation"[46]—when

one's powerlessness in the face of the present cannot be avoided. This omnipresence of the present could also be called "presentism."

The weight of the past has some influence here, but one must get used to the fact that the true dimension of the present, which dictates its own law, has to be accounted for. Presentism influences the transmission of everything that has to do with history and anthropology. This influence directly concerns the descendants of the inhabitants of the cities, who someday will try to look back on what they will consider to be their own past. The example offered by Narayan is that of second- or third-generation migrants who leave their country of birth (the United States) to return to their parents' or grand-parents' country of origin in search of knowledge.[47] While the weight of "historicism" brings us closer to the past, in a nostalgic way, the weight of "presentism" distances us from it and at the very least creates another image of the past. Naturally each generation produces its own view of events, real or otherwise, but rarely have their portraits clashed so much.

With his lively pen, Henige has always reminded us that no matter how much we believe in oral traditions, great care must be taken when we deal with texts, whether these be oral texts from the start, texts written down based on oral sources, or actual written texts.[48] This was his creed in the debate he had with Dierk Lange.[49] Henige acknowledges that the use of oral traditions as a source of history still clearly suffers from suspicions imposed by a "Western cultural bias."[50] However, this in no way justifies exempting these traditions from the type of analysis that written texts usually undergo.[51] The author adds that it is probably more interesting and more instructive to examine the conditions of the transformation of the content of traditions than go on endlessly about whether or not they have changed. Still he denounces any "tendency to subordinate the content of *sources* to their *interpretation*" just as he railed against this tendency in the work of David William Cohen.[52] It is in any case obvious that partaking in the claim of a fully reliable African memory—as if such a thing ever really existed—amounts to a denial of history for those very individuals so extolled. This blindness may serve to bolster a certain myth-worshiping Afrocentrism, but it does nothing for historical research.

The analysis of the effects of being so close to the field, and its consequences, is a long-running story that has been studied indirectly by two French woman historians, Sophie Dulucq and Colette Zytnicki. The African researcher's introspection is not at the center of their investigation, but they bring up in passing the question of the relationship between the "native researcher" and the "field" as seen by the colonial authorities.[53] Studying the question of "vernacular views" of history they have analyzed in detail the relationship between historical truth and closeness to the field. According to certain colonial trends, the "natural" closeness with the continent's past was a "guarantee of historical authenticity." The colonial ethnographic literature, the rules of which were established between 1920 and 1930, was spawned by the writings of the "évolués" (a largely Catholic, new class of French-educated Africans) whom the journal *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies français* rounded up to fill up

their columns.[54] What resulted was an official version of history, and the list of authors is well known. Here I am relying on Dulucq's and Zytnicki's valuable references to Yoro Dyâo, Cheick Moussa Kamara, and Biram Ciré Bâ.[55] Here I cite one of their examples, that of Dim Delobsom. He devoted a book to the Mossi Kingdoms, earning him the following enthusiastic praise from *la Revue* in 1933:

> The main reason this book is so valuable is that it is *the work of a qualified representative of this civilization.* Indeed, Mr. Dim Delobsom is himself a Naba, a Mossi nobleman, raised in Ouagadougou and in Kayes, who became a French civil servant. [...] No other European account could be as valuable as this accurate view that has been opened onto the interior life of this people [...].[56]

You would think you were reading Lowie.[57] Dulucq and Zytnicki point out that although the "natives" who work to build these large cities turn out to be indispensable they still remain "subalterns." The "cultural translators" working for France seized the chance to manipulate those who thought they were using them.[58]Someone who was seen as a lowly informant turns out to be a major voice in the "grand narrative" of the pre-colonial and colonial past. History, as it was told and recorded in writing by Western researchers, is now more than ever caught in a big trap. The "informant"—an outdated and unfair concept that Hastrup and others such as Ghasarian have suggested we get rid of—is somehow still central to their thinking.[59] Indigenous knowledge and colonial knowledge make up a hybrid entity, which is manipulated by two partners.[60]

The inevitable linkage between positivist historians and these indigenous scholars calls to mind the relationship between the anthropologist, who carries out research and writes it up according to the "standards of Western learning," and the African scholar who speaks and/or writes according to a "local approach to the past." This relationship goes way back, and it hardly appears to have been modified by the profound transformations produced in this context by independence movements, modernization, and education. Still change has taken place at all levels, including among the scholars themselves. The development of university teaching, specifically in the humanities and social sciences, has been significant in sub Saharan Africa, in spite of the economic and political strain that the university systems have endured. The number of local researchers gathering data according to Western or Arabic-Muslim standards is on the rise.[61] These scholars, who are keenly interested in local knowledge, were and remain very open to other traditions such as those brought by Western colonial explorations, jihads, and alliances or confrontations with local or distant neighbors. The "colonial library" has always had its proponents and still serves as a model.

There are countless examples of historians and anthropologists who, like their fellow villagers, have moved to the city. After the second, or at most the third, generation, what do they still know about villages or about the knowledge-keepers who live there? In these cases, to use Ouattara's terms, cultural proximity dissolves while social distance increases.[62] Obviously, if the local knowledge-keepers also move to the city, then the spatial distance is

reduced, but nothing guarantees that their cultural distance will be also. Several intellectuals living in rapidly growing African cities have effectively turned their backs on their type of local knowledge. And of course the law of supply and demand remains king. Talented high school or university students, yielding to well-intentioned family pressure, focus on training in areas that will bring them better incomes, and not in our disciplines.

There are more and more people who through birth or because they were raised in the city, within their own country or abroad, develop a relationship with local knowledge completely different from the one their relatives in the village have. The number of descendants of African migrants to Europe returning to do field work is growing, reinforcing the "reversal of otherness" and the "indigenization" of men and women in the field, to borrow words from Copans.[63] For them, sometimes just speaking the language of the country, getting to know or reconnecting with relatives, understanding social relations, knowing how to behave in a group, and striking up a casual, joking conversation with their cousins or relatives, turns out to be very difficult.[64]

The gaze of the native anthropologist/historian on his own turf turns out to be multicentered. The path taken by the researcher, who is schooled abroad and uses university methods, goes a long way towards explaining this. In the same way, the path taken by the migrant and ordinary city-dweller has transformed their gaze. The foray into the university arena of these intellectuals, and the theoretical issues that emerge from it, are rapidly being appropriated in India and in the United States.

As a factor in the development of southeast Asian studies between 1950 and 1990 in the United States, Benedict Anderson rightly points to the growth of both a university and a non-university intelligentsia.[65] Based on this observation, Baud asserts that Latin America is the only region of the world that has been engaged in a continuous, complex, and conflictual intellectual dialogue with the Western intellectual tradition since the nineteenth century. This dialogue has involved a transnational group of intellectuals, some of whom come from Latin America but who now live in the United States. These researchers naturally study their countries of origin. Even though the North/South researcher dichotomy is hardly sufficient on its own, it is still possible to map out how they oppose one another.

Daniel Mato has dedicated a series of articles to the imbalance that Walter Mignolo quickly labeled the suburbanization of South American researchers.[66] Mato deplores the fact that colleagues from the southern continent are reduced to the rank of lowly informants by their northern colleagues, who hand out their usual acknowledgements in footnotes.[67] The disdain with regard to the research carried out in the South has been brought to light by critics of the so-called American post- and anti-colonial historians such as the eminent Van Young.[68] The latter has suggested (in a somewhat arrogant way) that the works of Latin American scholars might turn out to be enlightening even though they still rely somewhat on traditional ethnography. The North-American scientific discourse currently in vogue integrates data gathered by colleagues in the South, finding there an irreplaceable source of

inspiration. Martín Barbero and many others are up in arms about their northern colleagues and emphasize southerners' ideas already existed long before they were "discovered" by cultural studies.[69] The belief persisted that any theory developed would interest the public only if it was taken up by recognized journals and book publishers in the North.[70] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, citing Eaton, correctly points to the necessary conformity to the "set of issues imposed by the new hegemony," that of American university presses.[71] Even if I find Eaton's hegemonic analysis to be somewhat simplistic, I readily agree with this comment, which could apply to almost all of the major book publishers.

The African intellectual tradition tied to the West is clearly not as old and not as well articulated as the one in Latin America, but many of the same problems criticized in the Americas can be found here in Africa. Both are related to the issue of distance between the researcher and the object of study, and to otherness, which I claim is relational, not national or ethnic. Let us now step back into history and anthropology to take a look at a well-established dogma.

The Dogma of Distance

The eminent scholar Fritz Kramer draws our attention to something he has observed as far back as the work of Adolf Bastian, the father of German museology in the nineteenth century.[72] The colonial distance, writes Kramer, ensures that the ethnographer's otherness will be transformed into positive knowledge that is useful to the social technology of the colonial administration. Kramer's analysis is still valid. Indeed, both ethnographers and their descendants, ethnologists and anthropologists, are proud of this distance that allows them to interpret observed reality according to a philological model that a researcher carefully applies to the Other.[73]

According to Marc Augé, "anthropology is first defined as the study of distant societies in the present: the difference that it seeks to study was originally located in space, not in time."[74] This is how the dogma of distance was founded. It was made to differentiate and set up a hierarchy, in line with the comfortable dichotomy that our ethnographer and ethnologist forebears worked so hard to define. Take, for example, the American tradition represented by Herskovits, which consisted of discouraging African American students from carrying out research in sub Saharan Africa on the grounds that they would be subjective since they were not distant enough from their subject.[75] Naturally, at that time, field research on "natives" was the exclusive domain of the middle class white male.

How do we then define the "native" in today's context? Narayan, referring to Appadurai, provides a good definition of the concept of "nativism" with its lingering notions of authenticity and purity.[76] The native is attached to a geographical location, to a place. He is assumed to be free of any contamination, still and pure, and by his very nature available to the foreigner, his opposite. The society from which the native comes is one single

homogenous entity, as Ouattara has so astutely pointed out.[77] Narayan applies this general characterization of the native to the local anthropologist.[78] The native then means anybody acting from within, whatever their identity or the path they have taken. Excluded from the category are other anthropologists, including those who have spent their lives navigating the two different worlds, even those who are more comfortable in their adopted country than in the land of their birth. Copans provides some very apt words with regard to this sub-class to describe the ethnologist as being split into two, and sometimes three, identities—"Western foreigner," "national foreigner" (in the sociological sense) and "native operator."[79]

When we ignore what is so obvious, we create an illusion of distance that results in two very distinct worlds. Many anthropologists have worked against this binary vision by systematically analyzing the relationship between the investigator and the investigated. Michael Jackson situates the complicity between the two actors at the heart of his analysis and goes so far as to suggest in his method that the break with "traditional empiricism," and its sharp divide between the "observed" and the "observer," should be called "radical empiricism."[80] Spittler supports Jackson's method, but emphasizes his own identity as an anthropologist who questions, writes down, records and classifies.[81] Gupta and Ferguson put forth a flexible understanding of the researcher's identity.[82] Far from being something that is established once and for all (middle-class white, for example), it is subjected to a strategic development that stems from the researcher's work itself.

I do not intend to rehash all of these analyses because my interest and my intentions are altogether different.[83] I wish to know what attitudes Western researchers have displayed when using the tools of anthropology and/or of oral history to study their own societies. How do they handle the theme of distance that has been established as an ideology at the founding of ethnology?

Karl-Heinz Kohl aptly defines the problem by bringing up the concept of relational otherness (*die relationale Fremdheit*).[84] Today, anthropologists are focusing as much on Western societies as they are on foreigners in a foreign land. Given this new focus, an anthropologist would need to step back from his own culture, which he previously believed he knew very well. This relational otherness takes on the quality of a methodological principle, which speaks well for the discipline. Thanks to the tools of social network analysis, anthropology was able to move into a new field of study, that of Western institutions.[85] Anthropologists also got their hands on new empirical objects such as corporations, hospitals, subway systems, the inner-city as well as suburban neighborhoods. All of these are inscribed within the same space studied by sociologists of modern Europe.[86] The objective of the discipline is being transformed as it develops.[87] Anthropology sets as its primary goal the "way others conceive of the relationship between themselves and others: the first otherness (that of those who are studied by the anthropologist) begins with the anthropologists themselves and is not necessarily related to ethnicity or nationality. Indeed, it can stem from their social class, profession, or place of residence."[88]

This brings us to the approach taken by Abélès, who writes that "the distance of anthropology is not so much a quality of the object as it is a quality of the approach, whether it is a matter of reducing it in a distant land or introducing it in a local site."[89] Why, I wonder, does this distancing have to serve as the foundation on which we base the analytical capacity of anthropology? Why does it constitute the essence of the distinction we make between ourselves and our colleagues in the social sciences? I ask myself, challenging to Irene Bellier's prescription, why the social distance constructed between anthropology and its research object must be the foundation of its distinction from the other social sciences.[90] How can this be when the same social distance exists between the sociologist and his object, be it the working class or the financial sector? Why must the discipline of anthropology continue to wear the notion of distance like an old stain that won't wash out?

Roland Girtler strongly advises his European sociologist colleagues to study ethnology if they wish to be caught by surprise on their own turf, within their own society.[91] According to him otherness, a founding principal of anthropology, is just as valid in sociology, since in today's world migrants are no longer an epiphenomenon. He advises sociologists to start with the postulate of the otherness of the surrounding world in order to be surprised, as if encountering a stranger. The emotion (*Ergriffenheit*), Leo Frobenius' favorite term, will be their reward.[92] It is important to point out that sociology studies the same migrants that interest specialists of cultural anthropology (*Kulturanthropologie*), especially in Germany, and they also resort to the same methods as those deployed by anthropologists and ethnologists.[93]

The American anthropologist Lloyd Warner was a pioneer in the reversal of the ethnological gaze.[94] After a lengthy stay doing field work in Australia, he learned there to focus on the Other before coming back to turn his gaze towards a small town in the Midwest.[95] This is how urban studies was born and then practiced by one of the founders of the Chicago School, a true convert.[96] On the other hand, American researchers in the humanities and social sciences, and later those of other countries, called into question the research they did on their own society. James Clifford points out the new clarification and energy that characterize the re-emergence of cultural criticism within the discipline. American researchers are turning their gaze towards biology and physics laboratories as well as new urban communities and problematic traditional identities.[97] Clifford concludes that ethnography is encroaching on areas that for a long time belonged to sociology, and is rediscovering otherness and difference in the very heart of Western cultures.[98] James Spradley is certainly one of the best known thinkers with respect to the reversal of the gaze, due to his classical work on the methodology of field work and also because of the extensive work he did on employees and clients of bars.[99] Some anthropologists and sociologists have redirected their focus towards their own societies after spending several years developing field work experiences abroad, especially in Africa.[100]

It was within this context that the Institut International Transcultura (Transcultura International Institute) was founded. This is an international university network that brings together European institutions (University of Paris VII, University of Bologna, University of Madrid), Chinese institutions (Tsinghua University in Beijing, the Academy of Social Sciences), Indian institutions (Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay, University of Nehru in Dehli), Iranian institutions (University of Teheran) and African institutions (Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences [Institut des Sciences humaines] in Bamako, Mali). Transcultura was created in 1988 during the 900th anniversary celebration of the University of Bologna. However, back in 1982 Alain le Pichon, the French co-founder, had, along with some African researchers, already initiated the "Program in the Ethnology of France by Researchers from the Third World" following the "International Colloquium on Oral Tradition Cultures" held in Brest.[101] The wishes of N'Djehoha and Diallo have been slow to be carried out, because so few African researchers have actually practiced "reverse ethnology" as it is defined by these two authors.[102] The researchers who were invited at that time to carry out projects in the rural areas of France were given small, limited projects to work on. Jean Copans rightly points out that these projects are destined to fail since the researchers they bring together all rely on the same patterns of thought that they are seeking to differentiate artificially.[103] What lies ahead for Transcultura at a time when French anthropologists are being defined by their choice to ignore the contributions of other nations to French ethnology? After reading several works written by French anthropologists, Copans asks "why ethnology in France has to reduce itself to French ethnology from France?"[104]

The Transcultura Institute is questioning a certain practice in anthropology that the champions of postmodern anthropology are also vigorously challenging. For Clifford, Gupta and Ferguson, the time has come to move away from field anthropology carried out by a white male in an exotic land towards a "decolonized anthropology" that espouses at best the diverse contours of a world that is "deterritorialized" and "interconnected," moving past the exoticization of the conventional anthropological field.[105] In this way we can open the ground to community members who have traditionally been the anthropologists' objects of study. Amselle highlights two essential contradictions within the postmodern project: 1) anthropologists, every last one of them, rely on the same categories and utilize a common "corpus of knowledge"; and 2) postmodern anthropologists are fueling generous plans to let the natives have their say in the name of political correctness.[106] While anthropologists are trying to deconstruct field anthropology as a mechanism that participates in the West's domination of the rest of the world, the theory of globalization implicitly differentiates between primitive and modern societies and posits that modern societies will inundate primitive ones.[107] How then can we provide even a little bit of autonomy for the native researchers in the field?

With the passage of time, Westerners will not be the only ones doing research, but rather, the Other will also be carrying out university-based research on himself. Moreover,

the "researcher's" society will be subjected to the curiosity of the Other. The question of "distance" will everywhere continue to gnaw, since the anthropologist will still be aware that he is neither the homeless person,[108] nor the trader[109] and even less so the building worker[110] that he studies. If we think that proximity provides objectivity, then we fall back into the same type of reasoning that characterizes the founders of the discipline.

Let us take a closer look at Jean Copans' argument with regard to distance, a word the usefulness of which I question.[111] Let's first take a look at the actors involved. The migrants, the new city dwellers, develop over time, and as a result of the transformation of their identity, a plural and multi-centered gaze. This differs from the "univocity of the gaze" of those who stayed in the village and are more or less sheltered from the major upheavals experienced in the city. This strong "reversal of alterities," as the situation of the migrants is called, enriches the subject's experience, and as a result strengthens the discipline. Copans refers to the research project that Neveu carried out on the Bangladeshi inhabitants of a London neighborhood. Neveu studies the Bangladeshi in their "own land" in Bangladesh, but he also studies them in London.[112] Copans rightly highlights "this back and forth, these turnabouts and decenterings, these multiple distancings or, on the other hand, these reconnections that the anthropologist undergoes with his object," and points out that they "allow him to globalize, but also to localize [...] the immigrants who come from a specific city in Bangladesh." The phenomenon of distance becomes only one facet among many others and the anthropological obsession with it fades away.

The ethnologist is split into two or three different identities that co-exist and observe one another: the "Western foreigner," the "national foreigner," and the "native operator."[113] Now this splitting assumes a much greater importance. The author likens this splittage to spirals that are transformed into spheres that spin inside one another as in a model of the solar system. I heartily endorse this splendid metaphor but with just one clarification. It is an indisputable fact that the gazes of the different actors in the field are continually relaying one another, even "observing one another," but most importantly, these gazes blend in with those of the locals being interviewed, all the while mutually influencing one another.[114] The multiple, intertwined identities of the university researchers depend on them to come back to life in the field.

The multi-centered dimension introduced by the actors, whether they are Bangladeshis or immigrants who themselves have become researchers, is of major importance, and it behooves us to take it seriously. I am thinking, for example, of the deep motivation that drives researchers towards faraway places, towards the Other. Beyond the phenomenon of distance itself, this motivation says a lot more about how distance is conquered or, on the contrary, reinforced. Jean-Loup Amselle provides a good example of this in his latest book when he describes how he ended up going to Mali in search of the traders of the savanna.[115] We need to think more about the reasons that weave themselves between us and our object in order to better understand the conditions under which we act. It is important that with time our

"language impairment" not be allowed to reduce this "object" into lowly objects, because these are after all our interlocutors, our informants.[116]

The Hunting Metaphor

Malinowski described the ethnographer's attitude toward his research object in the following way: "But the ethnographer has not only to spread his nets at the right place, and wait for what will fall into it. He must be an active huntsman and drive his quarry into them and follow it up to its most inaccessible lairs."[117] The hunting horn has sounded. This is how Malinowski defined what an ethnologist is: a man of action who must not only lie in wait, but must also pursue these indigenous people, these natives and informants, to their remotest hiding places. The informant is also like a spring where the researcher goes to sate his thirst. Whether or not one it in quotation marks, the informant still refers to the one who tells things to the Other. While his questioner champs at the bit with desire to learn, he may or may not deliver the expected product.[118] David Henige has written words in this regard that are scathing but utterly accurate: "If nothing else, fieldwork is exploitation. The historian gains experience, raw materials, and a start on a life of scholarship. The interviewees, if nothing else, gain a new perspective of ingratitude, a place in bibliographies and, if lucky in prefaces. This is to put it harshly, but it is not to put it too harshly."[119]

The result for the informant is a life-long status of subalternity, synonymous with a failure to qualify—what Narayan rightly calls the never-qualified.[120]

To be sure this relationship between the assistant and the interlocutor has now been written about extensively. Karl-Heinz Kohl wrote an article about dialogical anthropology in which he criticizes anthropologists who don't feel guilty about how they exploit their informants.[121] The type of person whose ideal is a "hermeneutical fusion of horizons" (that of the anthropologist and that of the informant), reminiscent of Gadamer, is harboring illusions. The fictitious concept of dialogue is an attempt to oversimplify a multivocal process. Ivo Strecker engages this fiction when he writes about how he and Baldambe, his Ethiopian collaborator, called each other *misso*, which means hunting friends. Their game was not to kill animals, but rather the "lies" of other people. In the presence of potential interlocutors, Baldambe, would say to his anthropologist partner: "[...] hunting friend, the elders have just arrived, let's get their lies." The "friend" joins in—again the hunting horn has sounded!

Karl-Heinz Kohl however rightly emphasizes the inequality of the relationship. He talks to this friend about all kinds of things on a daily basis; however, as soon as it is time to record an interview and the tape recorder is on the table, the friend is transformed into an informant.[122] Kohl straightens up and adapts to the context about which he spontaneously claims, "This is science!" It is this asymmetrical relationship that leads Sylvie Faizang to favor the standard term "informant" over the word "interlocutor," as she is convinced that use of the latter constitutes pure hypocrisy.[123] Copans emphasizes the complexity of the conversa-

tion; according to him, if discipline is dialogical between the informant and the anthropologist, then it must also be so for anthropologists among themselves.[124]

In fieldwork it is always the ethnographer, in an act of "epistemological charity," to borrow an expression from Ghasarian, who lets the Other have his say, but he also jealously reserves the last word for himself.[125] After all, he is the one who chooses the tools for research, the publishing language, the one who composes and signs the work. What does it matter if there exists, through charity, a co-author?[126] Furthermore, as Johannes Fabian has underscored, is it really possible to represent this field dialogue with a transcription or transposition?[127] What remains of the shared work? For Hastrup, resorting to the use of native voices is not a solution to the epistemological crisis in anthropology.[128] The guilt-ridden researcher has two problems: the problem of the individual on whom he often depends, and the problem of the field. As Kohl has written, the hunting tradition that has influenced this term "field" has colonial origins. How do we go from the game we want to hunt, towards the individual before whom we are sometimes no more than a lowly student in the purest Socratic tradition?[129]

Informants often write up regular reports that are sent through the mail or delivered personally. They are the force behind the glorious pioneers of the discipline. Franz Boas said that the material collected by the native bears "the immeasurable advantage of truth, revealing authentically and accurately the elusive thoughts and feelings of the native."[130] Local actors, the only ones capable of revealing the secrets of the natives, were admitted into the professionals' inner circles, but only as their instruments.[131]

Even today informants continue to please a new generation of researchers by sending letters, making phone calls and composing email messages, thus allowing them to spend more time in their offices or in the city instead of heading out along paths in the "field" which are getting more and more dangerous. This trend is proportional to the rank and age of the researcher. At the height of his career, his "obligations" associated with mentoring, teaching and administrative responsibilities cut him off slowly but surely from the field. All researchers partake of the scavengers' tradition, the tradition of those who collect things. As time goes by, every one of us accumulates a more or less adequate "war chest" on which to reflect and from which we extract "the philosophy of things." During this time the so-called researcher, if he's been lucky, has trained a faithful assistant who is willing to work remotely on the ground, under orders from his superior.

I hope to have adequately conveyed here the complexity of the native researcher's identity. It is that of a man or a woman from the big city with a multi-centered gaze. Whoever he or she is, they have left their families to get training elsewhere, in the manner of Diawara or of Ouattara.[132] They espouse another form of life and become a more complex whole. A fundamental difference arises, the scientific method, a synonym of distancing that the researcher introduces into the field. Both Diawara and Ouattara had to comply with the principle of small talk with the "elders" to take advantage of moments when they would let down their

guard. Siliman Tunkara, an octogenarian, related the following in 1982 when I asked him to tell me the story of the royal servants of Jaara: "Oh! It's been such a long time since I last talked about that. There are no more ears to listen to my words, these words that are of no importance!"[133] Even if Siliman had proceeded to tell me everything, his point of view would have been different from that of the researcher. At the same time it would not have been the "native view of the past," which is all the more illusory as the world shrinks and the native researcher himself is constantly reminded of his otherness by his family members. "Who are you?" Other researchers in other parts of the world say the same thing.

Aguilar and Messerschmidt accurately described the heterogeneity of cultures and the diversity of human societies.[134] Along the same lines, Kirin Narayan analyzes what she calls her "multiplex identity."[135] She is the daughter of a (South Asian) Indian man who left to study in the United States where he married her future mother. The mother was born of a German woman who had married an American. Narayan is thus a German-Indian-American. She had also been shaped by Nasik, the small town where her father was born, which determined her identity after she arrived there to carry out research on oral traditions. Her work on women's songs also led her regularly to Kangra, a village in the foothills of the Himalayas, where her mother had chosen to reside. The local interlocutors expected that this young, unmarried woman would behave in a dignified manner, that is, according to the local customs. She was considered to be both a native, because of the village where her mother lived, and an Indian from Bombay. One old woman, learning that Narayan did not belong to the ethnic group of the local shepherds, called the Gabbi, simply considered her as a foreigner. Other similar cases could be mentioned.[136] The elderly sociologist Mysore N. Srinivas was subjected to the same ambivalence, and was besieged with questions when he returned to his village after his studies at Oxford in the 1940s.[137]

Nonetheless, let me put two dampers on Narayan's otherwise relevant observations. First, the author devotes her research exclusively to anthropology. For my part, I have opened the topic up to historians—I travelled through the Sahel in this capacity—and the number of historians of Africa fully warrants such inclusivity.[138] It also seems to me that Narayan does not fully appreciate the value of her own role as an actress, or that of the other intellectuals cited here. At issue is a fluid identity but one which we manipulate. To be satisfied with an unbridled flexibility of identity, subject to the tides, is to forget that the very strength of the tides, the will to unleash them, belongs to us. If any native in India or in Africa can feel like Narayan or I have, it is not a given that he or she will react as we did. Taking seriously this ability to act and to react in an autonomous way, we may disbelieve the illusion of a hyper-relativism in which all possibilities are valid at the same time.

We are the products of an historical process: to be born somewhere, to come from such and such family. But our interactions and our lives with our partners in the field, our fostering of relationships that are more or less profound, is the result of initiatives taken by

one side (us) or the other (our partners). In addition to being products, we are also at the same time the driving force of an historical process that we construct together.

Toward an Intellectual History of Africa

The analysis of native views of the past and their relationship with the colonizer is part of "the cultural history of colonization" and of "the history of science."[139] Along the same lines, analyzing the relationships of local intellectuals in our own time is part of the history of history and the history of anthropology, which in turn belong, as Lynette Schumaker reminds us, to the history of science.[140] Copans makes a timely observation when he calls "for conducting an historical anthropology of our theories and an ethnoscience of our practices."[141] He emphasizes the need to restore the anthropological dimension to the production of knowledge. In the same way, Jean-Loup Amselle observes post-colonial intellectual production, and most notably subalternist production throughout the world, from an historical and epistemological perspective.[142]

I have attempted in my own way to look back on the diverse and various forms of the "disadvantage of being one of the locals." Twenty five years are indeed insignificant in relation to the past of an entire people, or better yet of a continent which is coming to terms with the West and with its own history. However, the speed with which events are passing us by requires us to pause and question the nature of scientific discourse. While doing this, I had to face the ingratitude of my return to myself as well as the fear of this return. This fear is caused by more than the methodological difficulty. There is the fear of discovering oneself in the fullest of senses. There is the feeling of nakedness, from pinpointing one's own weaknesses. There is the terror stemming from that nakedness, and of leaving oneself wide open to criticism from other disciplines.

Anthropology and oral history, which necessarily deal with the non-western world, were founded on the dogma of distance. This has been carefully maintained by the natives of these civilizations as well as by the foreigners. The ethnologist of yesteryear based his scientific objectivity on his ability to remain at a distance from those that he observed. The task is now more complicated for both of them, for the foreign-born researcher as well as the native ones, since the science that gave rise to distance is now being practiced among the latter on their own turf. Furthermore the "foreigner" is also now "at home" everywhere he goes, an aspect of globalization. Thus a new set of conditions for defining otherness is drawn up. The dogma of otherness cannot therefore be the basis of a discipline. In the same way, proximity, which reverses the dogma but yet relies on it, is also no longer a valid commendation.

It appears then to be of the utmost importance to update our investigative methods. I feel no temptation to claim that I have developed new quantifiable instruments, but it is laudable to concentrate on teaching how to process materials collected in order to extract from them a scientific text. In order to do this, one must obviously go into the field, whether

this is Germany or Mali. And we must take time to be in the field if we do not wish slowly and definitively to throw dirt over these disciplines.

At the beginning of ethnology there was a specific gaze, that of the ethnologist, and it was the only one that counted. I have shown the relativity of nativeness and the nature of carrying out research specifically because one is a foreigner. Many gazes and many skills are at work. From this diversity come many angles on the same reality observed and sometimes lived. The multicentered and particular gaze of each of these two observers is by definition inadequate to account for this complexity, so several gazes and several points of view are necessary. The osmosis of gazes allows us to better define the object of analysis. The gaze is not just a glance at the other, however sharp it may be. It is the expression of an effort surrounding the investigative method that underlies the anthropologist's three requirements, which I gladly hold out to historians who work in the field: the choice of one's field, the implementation of a method, and the construction of the object.[143]

Notes

1. Text translated from the French by Patricia Marie Phillips-Batoma with the assistance of Paulo Fernando Moraes Farias (and edited by Paul Landau), to whom I wish to express my sincere thanks. I am grateful also to Ute Röschenthaler, Matthias Gruber, Björn Loewe, Odile Goerg, Birgit Müller, Justin Kalulu Bisanswa, Catherine Santeff and to my anonymous reader for their careful readings and their suggestions. This article was supported by the multi-disciplinary project entitled The Formation of Normative Orders at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany and funded by the German Research Council (DfG).
2. Robert H. Lowie, *A History of Ethnological Theory* (New York: Farrar and Rinhart, 1937), 132–33.
3. Dida Badi, "Distanciation et captation tribale: Un chercheur touareg au sein de sa communauté," unpublished manuscript, 2007; Fatoumata Ouattara, "Une étrange familiarité: Les exigences de l'anthropologie 'chez soi,'" *Cahiers d'Études africaines*, 44 (2004): 635–57.
4. Mamadou Diawara, "Les recherches en histoire orale menées par un autochtone, ou l'inconvénient d'être du cru," *Cahiers d'Études africaines* 97, no. 25 (1985): 5–19.
5. Hussein Fahim and Katherine Helmer, "Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Countries: A Further Elaboration," *Current Anthropology* 21, no. 5 (1990): 644–63.
6. Sylvie Faizang, "De l'autre côté du miroir: Réflexions sur l'ethnologie des anciens alcooliques," in Christian Ghasarian, ed., *De l'ethnographie à l'anthropologie réflexive: Nouveaux terrains, nouvelles pratiques, nouveaux enjeux* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2004), 70.
7. Badi, "Distanciation et capitation tribale"; Fatoumata Ouattara, "Une étrange familiarité: Les exigences de l'anthropologie 'chez soi,'" *Cahiers d'Études africaines* 44 (2004): 641.
8. Diawara, "Les recherches en histoire"; Diawara, *La graine de la parole* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1990).
9. Diawara, "Les recherches en histoire."
10. Ouattara, "Une étrange familiarité," 644.
11. Diawara, *La graine de la parole*, 154; Badi, "Distanciation et capitation tribale." The *Geseru* are the official traditionists of the aristocracy of the Wagadu Empire (Ghana 5th –11th centuries AD) and of the Kingdom of Jaara (16th–19th centuries AD).

12. According to the way those terms are used by Claude Grignon and Jean-Claude Passeron in *Le Savant et le populaire: Misérabilisme et populisme en sociologie et en littérature* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1989).
13. Ouattara, "Une étrange familiarité," 646–47.
14. David Henige, "Innovative sources and methods," in Toyin Falola and Christian Jennings, eds., *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken, Written, Unearthed* (Rochester: Rochester Univ. Press, 2004), 331; full stop and italics added.
15. Michel Leiris, "L'ethnographe devant le colonialisme," *Les Temps modernes* 58 (1950): 357–374; Georges Balandier "La situation coloniale: approche théorique," *Cahiers internationaux de Sociologie* 11 (1951): 44–79; Jean Copans, "Mondialisation des terrains ou internationalisation des traditions disciplinaires?: L'utopie d'une anthropologie sans frontières," *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 24, 1 (2000): 21–42.
16. Marc Augé, *Pour une anthropologie des mondes contemporains* (Manchecourt: Flammarion, 2001), 10, 22–23. What resulted was high-quality work in African studies: Jean-Loup Amselle, and Elikia M'Bokolo, eds. *Au cœur de l'ethnie: ethnies, tribalisme et État en Afrique* (Paris: La Découverte, 1985); Jean-Loup Amselle, *Logiques métisses: anthropologie de l'identité en Afrique et ailleurs* (Paris: Payot, 1990); Jean Bazin, "La production d'un récit historique," *Cahiers d'Études africaines* 19 (1979): 435–83; Jean Bazin and Emmanuel Terray, eds. *Guerres de lignages et guerres d'État en Afrique* (Paris: Éditions des Archives contemporaines, 1982) ; Michel Izard, *Gens du pouvoir, gens de la terre: les institutions politiques de l'ancien royaume du Yatenga (Bassin de la Volta Blanche)* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1985) ; Claude Meillassoux, *Anthropologie de l'esclavage: le ventre de fer et d'argent* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986); Emmanuel Terray, *Une histoire du royaume abron du Gyaman: des origines à la conquête coloniale* (Paris: Karthala, 1995); Claude Hélène Perrot, *Les Anyi-Ndenye et le pouvoir aux 18e et 19e siècles* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1982).
17. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Parler pour autrui," *L'Homme* 156 (2000), 88.
18. Amselle and M'Bokolo, *Au cœur de l'ethnie*; Jean-Paul Chrétien, and Gérard Prunier, eds., *Les ethnies ont une histoire* (Paris: Karthala, 1989). Jean Copans provides some convincing explanations of the trend in Copans, "Mondialisation des terrains."
19. Mamadou Diouf, *L'historiographie indienne en débat: Colonialisme, nationalisme et sociétés postcoloniales* (Paris: Karthala, 1998).
20. Jean-Louis Amselle, *L'Occident décroché: Enquête sur les postcolonialism* (Paris: Stock, 2008), 10–11, 260; Mamadou Diawara, "De la fabrique des savoirs et des normes intellectuelles: À propos de 'L'Occident décroché. Enquête sur les postcolonialismes' de Jean-Loup Amselle," *Politique Africaine,* 116 (2009), 185–91.
21. Edmond Bernus, Pierre Boilley, Jean Clauzel, and Jean-Louis Triaud, eds. *Nomades et commandants, administration et sociétés nomades dans l'ancienne AOF* (Paris: Karthala, 1993); Jean-Loup Amselle and Emmanuelle Sibeud, eds. *Maurice Delafosse: entre orientalisme et ethnographie: l'itinéraire d'un africaniste, 1870–1962* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1998); François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar, *Jean-Pierre* Chrétien, and Claude-Hélène Perrot, eds. *Afrocentrismes : l'histoire des Africains entre Égypte et Amérique* (Paris: Karthala, 2000); Emmanuelle Sibeud, *Une science impériale pour l'Afrique?: la construction des savoirs africanistes en France, 1878–1930* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 2002); Francis Simonis, *Le commandant en tournée: Une administration au contact des populations en Afrique Noire coloniale* (Paris: Seli Arslan, 2005); Francis Simonis, *Le crépuscule des commandants: Les administrateurs de la France d'Outre-Mer en Afrique Noire et à Madagascar de la conférence de Brazzaville aux Indépendances* (CRESOI-IUFM de la Réunion, 2007); Francis Simonis, "Le commandant, ses compagnes, son épouse" in *Perspectives historiques sur le genre en Afrique*, O. Goerg, ed. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005).
22. For instance, Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations (London: Sage. 1997*); John D. Y. Peel, "The Cultural Work of Yoruba Ethnogenesis," in Elizabeth Tonkin, Maryon McDonald and Malcolm Chapman eds., *History and Ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 1989), 198–200; John D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Carola Lentz, *Die Konstruktion von Ethnizität: Eine politische Geschichte Nord-West Ghanas 1870–1990* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 1998) Carola Lentz and Paul Nugent eds. *Ethnicity in Ghana: The Limits of Invention* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 2000).

23. Sophie Dulucq and Colette Zytnicki, "Présentation: Savoirs autochtones et écriture de l'histoire en situation coloniale (XIXe-XXe siècles): 'Informateurs indigènes,' érudits et lettrés en Afrique (nord et sud du Sahara)," *Outre-Mers,* 352–53 (2006), 7–14; Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Idem, *The Remembered Village* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

24. Jean Copans, *L'anthropologie et ses doubles: À qui la parole?: Les composantes politiques et éthiques de la recherche, Atelier thématique de la sous-commission de sociologie et d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris: ORSTOM, 1995); Copans, "Mondialisation des terrains."

25. Benedict R. Anderson, "The Changing Ecology of Southeast Asian Studies in the United States," in Charles Hirschman, Charles Keyes, and Karl Hutterer, eds., *Southeast Asian Studies in the Balance: Reflections from America* (Ann Arbor: The Association for Asian Studies, 1992); Kirin Narayan, "How Native is a 'Native' Anthropologist?" *American Anthropologist* New Series 95 no. 3 (1993), 671–86; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Parler pour autrui," *L'Homme* 156 (2000): 87–98.

26. Srinivas, *Social Change*; Srinivas, *The Remembered Village.*

27. Amselle, *Logiques métisses.*

28. Achille Mbembe, "La République et l'impensé de la 'race'," in Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel and Sandrine Lemaire, eds., *La fracture coloniale : La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial* (Paris: La Découverte, 2005), 140.

29. Augé, *Pour une anthropologie*, 26.

30. Ibrahima Thioub writing in another context, discusses the political and social attachment of the historians of the University of Dakar to their writings. Ibrahima Thioub, "L'historiographie de 'l'École de Dakar' et la production d'une écriture académique de l'histoire," in M. C. Diop, ed., *Le Sénégal contemporain* (Paris: Karthala, 2002), 109–53.

31. In this task any narcissistic contemplation is of course to be avoided. Olivier Leservoisier, "L'anthropologie réflexive comme exigence épistémologique et méthodologique," in Olivier Lerservosier, ed., *Terrains ethnographiques et hiérarchies sociales: Retour réflexif sur la situation d'enquête* (Paris: Karthala, 2005), 22–23; Olivier Leservoisier and Laurent Vidal, "Introduction. L'exercice réflexif face aux conditions actuelles de la pratique ethnologique," in Olivier Leservoisier and Laurent Vidal, eds., *L'anthropologie face à ses objets: Nouveaux contextes ethnographiques* (Paris: Éditions des archives contemporaines, 2007), 5; Florence Bouillon, Marion Fresia, Virginie Tallio, eds. *Terrains sensibles: expériences actuelles de l'anthropologie* (Paris: Centre d'Études africaines, 2005), 26.

32. In "L'anthropologie réflexive," 5, Leservoisier, who analyzes "empirical experience in [the context of] scientific production," calls attention to the work of Jeanne Favret-Saada, *Les mots, la mort, les sorts* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), 52.

33. Since my article appeared in 1985, to my knowledge only the Burkinabe anthropologist Fatoumata Ouattara, writing in *Cahiers d'Études africaines* (652), already referred to, has tackled the issue; the Algerian anthropologist, Dida Badi, is presently finishing a text on this topic.

34. N. Sari, "L'auto-ethnologie: un nouveau dialogue," in *Témoignages et méthodes: le chercheur dans sa propre culture. Symposium* (12–14 Novembre) (Paris: Musée de l'Homme, 1982).

35. Sari also reminds us of the notion of "natural proximity" to the African past; S. Dulucq, "Des yeux africains derrière des lunettes européennes?: Historiographie coloniale et logiques autochtones en A.O.F. (c. 1900–c. 1930)," *Outre-Mers*, 352–53 (2006), 23.

36. Mbembe, "African Modes of Self-Writing," *Public Culture*, 14, 1 (2002), 240–41; but see also F. Hartog, *Les régimes d'historicité. Présentisme et expériences du temps* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2003).

37. Mathole Motshekga, director of the *Kara Heritage Institute* in South Africa, is one of the most impassioned spokespersons for Afrocentrism. He firmly believes that the European Renaissance was based on "African knowledge." Two key principles of the cosmology of Mapungubwe were in his view appropriated by Europe and served as a foundation for the metaphysics of Newton and Einstein. For these specific reasons, Africa does not have to import social and moral value systems such as human rights; see his "Indigenous Knowledge's Systems in the African Century," paper presented at the Black Management Forum 30th Anniversary Annual Conference, Durban,

12–13 October, 2006, 4, 8. It would serve no purpose to bring up here the concept of the *Black Atlantic* nor the Afrocentrist debate in the United States, but see Thomas Reinhardt, *Geschichte des Afrozentrismus. Imaginiertes Afrika und afroamerikanische Identität* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007), 263 ff.

38. Jean Comaroff, "The End of History, Again? Pursuing the Past in the Postcolony: Basler Afrika Bibliographien," Working Paper, 18 pages, 2003.

39. With regard to the Italian organic intellectuals from the Basilicata region, in the mountains between Bari and Naples, who have to come to terms with anthropologists in the field, I refer here to Thomas Hauschild, "Le maître, l'indigène et moi. Anthropologie réciproque en Italie du Sud," in *La Méditerranée des anthropologues. Fractures, filiations, contiguités*, Dionigi Albera and Muhamed Tozy, eds., 313–34 (Paris: Maisonneuve and Larose, 2005), 5.

40. Simon Schama, "Television and the Trouble with History," *The Guardian*, 18 June (2002), 6–7, cited in Comaroff, "The End of History, Again?", 4–5.

41. Hartog, 14, 28.

42. Seydou Camara, "Conservation et transmission des traditions orales au Manden: le centre de Kela et sa place dans la reconstruction de l'histoire ancienne des Mandenka," Mémoire de DEA (advanced post-Masters research project in French university system (Paris: EHESS, 1986), and Camara, "La tradition orale en question (conservation et transmission des traditions historiques au Mande: Le centre de Kéla et l'histoire du Mininjan)," doctoral thesis (Paris: EHESS, 1990); Diawara, *La graine de la parole*; and Motshekga.

43. Denise Bouche, *Les villages de liberté en Afrique noire française 1887–1910* (Paris: Mouton, 1964); Diawara, "Le griot mande à l'heure de la globalisation," *Cahiers d'Études africaines*, 144, 36 (1996): 591–612.

44. Fillip De Boeck, "Das Lachen Kinshasa: Eine Postkoloniale Stadt und ihre Architektur aus Worten und Körpern," *Lettre internationale, 76* (2007), 36.

45. Jean Schmitz, "Le rôle des zone transnationales. Migration et négoce aux frontières de la Mauritanie, du Sénégal et du Mali." *Esprit, Vues d'Afrique* (2005): 177–87; Sylvie Bredeloup, "L'aventure contemporaine des diamantaires sénégalais," *Politique Africaine, 56* (1994): 77–93.

46. Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias, "History and Consolation," *History in Africa*, 19 (1992): 263–97.

47. Narayan, "How Native is a 'Native' Anthropologist?"

48. David Henige, "Imported intelligent design, or autochthonous dynamic equilibrium?" *Paideuma*, 54 (2008): 265–69.

49. Dierk Lange, "Islamic feedback or ancient Near Eastern survivals?—A reply to David Henige," *Paideuma*, 54 (2008): 265.

50. W. Bruce Maase and Frederick Espenak, "Sky as Environment: Solar Eclipses and Hohokam Culture Change," pp. 228–50 in David E. Doye and Jeffrey S. Dean, eds., *Environment Change and Human Adaptation in the Ancient American Southwest* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2006).

51. David Henige, "Impossible to Disprove Yet Impossible to Believe. The Unforgiving Epistemology of Deep-Time Oral Tradition," *History in Africa*, 36 (2009): 128–29, 131.

52. E.g. David William Cohen, "Doing Social History from Pim's Doorway," Pp. 191–232 in O. Zunz ed., *Reliving the Past: The Words of Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

53. Dulucq and Zytnicki, "Présentation," 8, 23–24.

54. Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize. The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997): 151; Anne Piriou and Emmanuelle Sibeud, *L'Africanisme en questions* (Paris: Centre d'études africaines, École des Hautes études en Sciences sociales, 1977).

55. Dulucq and Zytnicki, 23–27.

56. My italics. The author refers to two cities that have had a symbolic value for Delobsom's career. Ouagadougou, capital of the Upper-Volta colony, and capital of the Kingdom of Yatenga, an integral part of Moogo, that is, the Mossi country 14th–19th centuries, see Michel Izard, *Moogo: l'émergence d'un espace étatique ouest-africain au XVIe siècle: étude d'anthropologie historique* (Paris: Karthala, 2003), 10, 276, 310, confers a patent of nobility to the prince. As for Kayes, the original capital of the Upper Senegal and Niger colony, later transferred to Bamako, it guarantees if necessary the ownership of the colony to the prince.

57. R.H. Lowie, *A History of Ethnological Theory* (New York: Farrar and Rinhart, 1937), 132–33.

58. Dulucq and Zytnicki, 28; Diawara, "Le griot mande à l'heure de la globalisation"; Achille Mbembe, "Prosaics of Servitude and Authoritarian Civilities," *Public Culture*, 5, 1 (1992): 123–45; Ouattara, "Une étrange familiarité."

59. Kirsten Hastrup, "The Native Voice and the Anthropological Vision," *Social Anthropology*, 1–2 (1993): 173–83; Peter Erikson and Christian Ghasarian, "Un terrain de 35 heures . . . Réflexions dialogiques sur les recherches d'anthropologie finalisée en entreprise," in Ghasarian ed., *De l'ethnographie*: 139.

60. Sylvie Dulucq, "Des yeux africains derrière des lunettes européennes?: Historiographie coloniale et logiques autochtones en A.O.F. (c. 1900–c. 1930)," *Bulletin du Comité d'Études historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F. Institut Français d'Afrique Noire Outre-Mers*, 94, 352–53 (2006): 32; Marie-Albane de Suremain, "Ambitions positivists et savoirs autochtones: Sources et traditions orales," *Bulletin du Comité d'Études historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F. Institut Français d'Afrique Noire Outre-Mers*, 94, nos. 352–53 (2006): 40.

61. David William Cohen pointed out this issue in 1985.

62. Ouattara, 651.

63. Copans, "Mondialisation," 23.

64. Fahim and Narayan echo one another, just like Diawara, "Les recherches," Ouattara, and Badi, "Distanciation et captation tribale."

65. Benedict Anderson, "The Changing Ecology of Southeast Asian Studies in the United States," in C. Hirschman et al. eds., *Southeast Asian Studies in the Balance: Reflections from America* (Ann Arbor: The Association for Asian Studies, 1992), cited in M. Baud, "History, Morality, and Politics: Latin American Intellectuals in a Global Context," *International Review of Social History*, 48 (2003): 58.

66. Baud.

67. The relationship between African researchers and their French colleagues is the object of a lively debate that is becoming polemical. See the articles (commencing with C. Didier Gondola, "La crise de la formation en histoire africaine en France, vue par les étudiants africains," *Politique Africaine*, 65 (1997): 132–39), dedicated to this issue in *Politique Africaine* 65 and 68 (1997).

68. Eric Van Young, "The New Cultural History Comes to Old Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 79 (1999): 211–47.

69. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson eds., *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), Introduction, 29.

70. Baud, 57, 58.

71. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Parler pour autrui," *L'Homme*, 156 (2000): 95; Richard Maxwell Eaton, "(Re)imag(in)ing Otherness : A Postmortem for the Postmodern in India," *Journal of World History*, 11, 1 (2000): 57–78.

72. Fritz Kramer, *Verkehrte Welten. Zur imaginären Ethnographie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat Autoren und Gesellschaft, 1977): 82.

73. Ibid., 75.

74. Marc Augé, *Pour une anthropologie des mondes contemporains* (Manchecourt: Flammarion, 2001): 13.

75. Deborah Amory, "African Studies as American Institution," pp. 102–16 in A. Gupta and J. Ferguson eds. *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 109–10; Gupta and Ferguson, Introduction, 17.

76. Arjun Appadurai, "Putting Hierarchy in its Place." *Cultural Anthropology*, 3 (1988): 36–49.
77. Ouattara, 650.
78. Narayan, "How Native," 676–78; Dulucq and Zytnicki, 23–24, on the topic of Dim Dolobson and the vernacular view of history.
79. Copans, "Mondialisation," 35.
80. Michael Jackson, *Paths Towards a Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Enquiry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989): 3, 5.
81. Gerd Spittler, *Hirtenarbeit, Die Welt der Kamelhirten und Ziegenhirtinnen von Timia* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2001): 27.
82. Gupta and Ferguson, eds., Introduction, 37.
83. Ibid; Michael Jackson; Narayan; Gupta and Ferguson; Spittler.
84. Karl-Heinz Kohl, *Ethnologie: Die Wissenschaft vom kulturell Fremden. Eine Einführung* (München: Beck, 1993), 95–97.
85. Marc Augé, *Un ethnologue dans le métro* (Paris: Hachette, 1986); Marc Abélès, *La vie quotidienne au Parlement Européen* (Paris: Hachette, 1997); Thomas Schweizer, *Netzwerkanalyse. Ethnologische Perspektiven* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1989).
86. Gérard Althabe et al., eds. *Vers une ethnologie du présent* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1992) Augé, *Pour une anthropologie,* 25.
87. The intrusion of French anthropologists into the traditional domains of sociologists sparked the informed commentary by Jean Copans, "La Culture anthropologique: un bagage nécessaire, un terrain sensible," in Bouillon, Fresia and Tallio, eds., 119, who observes that the latter are uncomfortable with this. The reason, he teasingly suggests, is that "the ethnologists who work in the field in France are often not as good as the sociologists who have been there for a long time [. . .]."
88. Augé, *Pour une anthropologie,* 25.
89. Christian Ghasarian, "Sur les chemins de l'ethnographie réflexive, in Ghasarian, ed., *De l'ethnographie*, 57, paraphrasing Marc Abélès, from *Jours tranquilles en 89, Ethnologie politique d'un département français* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1989): 335–61.
90. Irène Bellier, "Du lointain au proche. Réflexions sur le passage d'un terrain exotique au terrain des institutions politiques," also in Ghasarian, "Sur les chemins de l'ethnographie réflexive," 48.
91. Roland Girtler, *Methoden der Feldforschung* (Weimar: Böhlau, 2001), 19 ff.
92. René König, "Soziologie und Ethnologie," in E. W. Müller and R. König, eds., *Ethnologie als Sozialwissenschaft* (Sonderheft 26 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie), 1984, 22 ff., cited in Girtler, *Methoden,* 20.
93. Consider the institute founded in Frankfurt under the auspices of Ina Maria Greverus along with the abundance of dusty institutes of ethnology *(Volkskunde)*, most of which have been transformed into institutes of modern social and cultural anthropology in which material culture plays an important role. Work done at the University of Tübingen easily proves this, notably that of Utz Jeggle and Freddy Raphaël, eds., *D'une rive à l'autre – Kleiner Grenzverkehr, Rencontres ethnologiques franco-allemandes – Deutsche-französische Kulturanalysen* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1997), and Thomas Hauschild. With regard to sociologists who study migrants, see the excellent book that Nicolas Jounin devotes to Malians, among others, working on the public works building sites in and around Paris, *Chantier interdit au public. Enquête parmi les travailleurs du bâtiment* (Paris: La Découverte, 2007). With regard to national anthropological traditions, especially in Germany, see Copans, "Mondialisation."
94. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization: A Social Study of an Australian Tribe* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937); and Warner, et al., *Democracy in Jonesville: A Study of Quality and Inequality* (New York: Harper, 1949).
95. Kohl, *Ethnologie*, 95.
96. James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986): 23

97. Bruno Latour and Steven Woolgard, *Laboratory Life: The Social Construction of Scientific Facts* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979).

98. Clifford and Marcus, Introduction, 23–24.

99. James Spradley, *You Owe Yourself a Drunk: Ethnography of Urban Nomads* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970), and *Participant Observation* (New York: Holt, Rinhart and Winston, 1980).

100. Augé, *Un ethnologue dans le métro*; Althabe *et al.*, eds.; Marc Abélès, *La vie quotidienne au Parlement Européen* (Paris: Hachette, 1997); Fainzang, Sylvie, "De l'autre côte du miroir. Réflexions sur l'ethnologie des anciens alcooliques," pp. 63–71 in Ghasarian, ed., *De l'ethnographie*; Marc Augé, one of the spokespersons of French anthropology, was a researcher in the Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique Outre-Mer in the Côte-d'Ivoire, before undertaking research on the Paris metro.

101. Biaise N'Djehoya and Massaër Diallo, *Un regard Noir* (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1984): 125; Yue Daiyun and Alain Le Pichon, *Le Dragon et la Licorne* (Paris: Charles Léopold Mayer, 2003): 25.

102. N'Djehoya and Diallo, 126, 128; The *École des Hautes Études en Sciences sociales* in Paris also launched the 1970s program *"Formation pour la Recherche en Afrique Noire"* (FRAN) (i.e. training for research in black Africa) which consisted of taking students from the *Centre d'Études Africaines* in the *École* to the field in France, whether they were French, African or of some other origin, to teach them the tools of the trade on site; see Shaka Bagayogo, "Un Africain aux champs: leçons d'un stage. Jouy-le-Moutier, Val d'Oise, mars et mai 1975," *Cahiers d'Études africaines*, 12 (1977): 365–68. My training took place in the spring of 1981 in the Massif Central in the company of classmates who were Malian, French, German and South American. The seed sown in France would not grow very long there, even less so in Europe.

103. Jean Copans, "Mondialisation," 26

104. Ibid., 24–25; Marc Abélès, "Pour une anthropologie de la platitude. Le politique et les sociétés modernes," *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, 13, (1989): 13–24; Augé, *Anthropologues en dangers. L'engagement sur le terrain* (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1994); Michel Agier, ed., *Anthropologues en dangers. L'engagement sur le terrain* (Cahiers de Gradhiva, no. 30) (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1997).

105. Gupta and Ferguson, eds., "Introduction," 16, 35, 37, 38.

106. Jean-Loup Amselle, *Branchements. Anthropologie de l'universalité des cultures* (Paris: Flammarion, 2001): 25

107. Ibid, 25–27

108. Roland Girtler, *Randkulturen: Theorie der Unanständigkeit [mit einem Beitrag zur Gaunersprache]* (Wien: Böhlau, 1996).

109. Oliver Godechot, *Les traders: essai de sociologie des marchés financiers* (Paris: La Découverte, 2001).

110. Jounin, *Chantier interdit.*

111. Copans, "Mondialisation," esp. 22.

112. Catherine Neveu, *Communauté, nationalité et citoyenneté. De l'autre côte du miroir: les Blangladeshis de Londres* (Paris: Karthala, 1993).

113. Copans, "Mondialisation," 35.

114. "Reverse ethnology" is not a phase or isolated project, and its object is still an "Elsewhere" named France, a part of the West. On this topic see the reflections of Moussa Sow, "L'outsider africain en terrain européen, réflexions rétrospectives sur l'anthropologie réciproque," *Études maliennes,* 57 (2003): 5–24.

115. Jean-Loup Amselle, *L'Occident décroché. Enquête sur les postcolonialism* (Paris: Stock, 2008): 58.

116. Copans, "Mondialisation," 33.

117. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co, [1922] 1961): 8.

118. Anthropology has provided some good examples, such as that of the French researcher Marcel Griaule and of Ogotemmêli, the old Dogon hunter from the French Sudan. After his conversation with this great scholar, Griaule published in 1948 *Dieu d'eau* (*Conversation with Ogotemmêli* [1965]), which became a classical text in the discipline. On the German side, Ivo Strecker and his "hunting friend" Baldambe seem to follow to a similar pattern, in a different colonial context and under a guru–apprentice relationship linking the German to the Ethiopian. One day Strecker showed Baldambe the picture of Ogotemmêli on the cover of *Dieu d'eau* and compared him to the elderly Dogon. Baldambe thought the comparison was funny and mimicked the posture of the old man sitting with his hands crossed on his forehead; Ivo Strecker, "'Our Good Fortune Brought Us Together,' Obituary for Baldambe," *Paideuma,* 44 (1998): 61.

119. David Henige, "Oral Tradition as a Means of Reconstructing the Past," in John Edward Philips, ed., *Writing African History* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005): 174.

120. Dulucq and Zytnicki; Narayan.

121. Karl-Heinz Kohl, "Against Dialogue," *Paideuma*, 44 (1998): 51–58.

122. Karl-Heinz Kohl, "Dialogische Anthropologie, eine Illusion," pp. 209–25 in Iris Därmann and Christoph Jamme, eds. *Fremderfahrung und Repräsentation* (Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft), 2002.

123. Fainzang, 70–71.

124. Jean Copans, "Mondialisation," 35

125. Christian Ghasarian, "Sur les chemins de l'ethnographie réflexive," in Ghasarian, ed., *De l'ethnographie*: 24.

126. Anne Doquet, Les masques dogon. Ethnologie savante et ethnologie autochtone (Paris: Karthala, 1999): 90, 94, does a good job explaining how Marcel Griaule reorganized the rambling discourse of his teacher, Ogotemmêli, and directing him during their conversations before himself developing the structure of the final text. Michel Agier has these very apt words on the subject of the fate that awaits the collaboration between the anthropologist and his interlocutor. For Agier, the attemps at co-authorship are never enough, because these authors are "subjected to the triple risk of *disappearing, blending* or *dominating*" (my italics). Agier, "Ce qui rend les terrains sensibles... et l'anthropologie inquiète," in Bouillon et al., eds., *Terrains sensibles*, 181.

127. Johannes Fabian, "Presence and Representation," in J. Fabian ed., *Time and the Work of Anthropology: Critical Essays, 1971–1991* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1991): 217.

128. Hastrup.

129. Stephen A. Tyler, *The Unspeakable: Discourse, Dialogue, and Rhetoric in the Postmodern World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), and Tyler, "Ode to Dialogue and the Occasion of the Un-for-seen," pp. 292–302 in Tulio Maranhao, ed., *The Interpretation of Dialogue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

130. Cited in Narayan, 672. My translation.

131. Narayan, 672.

132. Diawara, "Les recherches en histoire"; Ouattara.

133. Diawara, *La graine de la parole*, 157.

134. John L. Aguilar, "Insider Research: An Ethnography of a Debate," pp. 15–26, in Donald A. Messerschmidt, ed., *Anthropologists at Home in North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

135. Narayan, 673 ff.

136. The Indian historian Nita Kumar tells several similar stories: see Kumar, Friends, *Brothers and Informants: Fieldwork Memoirs of Banaras* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

137. Narayan, 675.

138. Narayan, 676 has an interesting bibliography on this topic.

139. Dulucq and Zytnicki, 14.

140. Lynette Schumaker, "A Tent with a View: Colonial Officers, Anthropologists and the Making of the Field in Northern Rhodesia, 1937–1960," *Osiris: Science in the Field*, 2 (1996): 237.

141. Copans, "Mondialisation," 34.

142. Amselle, *L'Occident.*

143. Augé, *Pour une Anthropologie*, 9; Copans, "Mondialisation," 23.

Promiscuous Translation: Working the Word at Antananarivo

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A missionary will acquire great honour to himself who translates
the New Testament or the whole Bible into the language of the heathen.[1]

I

One of the Reformation's lasting impacts on the intellectual lives of Protestant communities was its call for direct access to the Word of God in vernaculars. Literacy and scriptural translation typified Protestantism and also its missionary endeavors in the age of empire. Both biblical translation and reading were considered prerequisite to a personal, proper knowledge of God. And both also emerged as cornerstones of the theology and practice of British Evangelicalism. Postulating the "sufficiency of the Scriptures, for the instruction and consolation, the establishment and maturity of the Christian character," many nineteenth-century British Evangelicals developed a keen interest in schools, literacy, translation, and reading publics.[2] Many evangelists working the spiritual fields of Britain and its empire were informed by these preoccupations. The establishment of schools for instructing youth in the three Rs, for example, was an important evangelistic strategy of the London Missionary Society (LMS), one of the several foreign Evangelical mission enterprises founded in late eighteenth-century Britain. The "honor" of biblical translation into vernaculars was another.

Teaching youth to read, write, and count was impressed on missionaries-in-training at the LMS's theological school in Gosport, Hampshire, just across the bustling bay from the city of Portsmouth. Robert Moffat had passed through this institution on his way to Southern Africa. A copy of his course notes allows us to appreciate the nature of the training offered there to would-be foreign missionaries. The earliest LMS evangelists bound for Madagascar—David Jones, Thomas Bevan, and David Griffiths—also studied at Gosport.

Headmaster David Bogue lectured aspiring evangelists that schools were the foundation of successful evangelization. Institutions for the study of the three Rs, in his view, were "chiefly for the rising generation" and that in evangelical strategy "children [should be] made the teachers of their parents and will convey to them many valuable ideas." Through the dissemination of such "valuable ideas," Bogue reasoned, "the influence of the Pagan Hierarchy will be . . . greatly diminished and perhaps destroyed."[3]

For Bogue, then, youthful literacy was a particularly efficacious means of Christian evangelization with the capacity to transform heathen societies from within, and by means of their demographic base. Sacred literature translated into vernaculars, the reasoning went, could be read out loud or recited in memory by literate children to their unlettered, unenlightened elders. In this plan, children would be heathenism's Trojan horse. Bogue's theory of youth-based evangelism seldom explained actual patterns of conversion to Christianity in nineteenth-century Africa, including Madagascar. But youth were useful teachers of and collaborators with many missionaries. Literacy, youth, and translation formed a trinity of preoccupation within many British missions with generational implications for the cultural work of empire. Literacy and translation, therefore, form salient themes in the history of youth and generation in certain parts of Africa, as they do also in religious and social history more broadly.

Curious, then, that so little of the historiography of Christianity in Africa produced since the publication in 1948 of Bengt Sundkler's *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* actually examines in detail early projects in vernacular literacy or biblical translation, and especially the role of youth in them. Writing in 1985 at the apex of historians' interest in what was then called oral historiography, Jon Janzen found remarkable the virtual absence of studies about literacy and African Christianity.[4] Only in recent years have scholars begun to turn their attention from social and theological issues in African religious history toward more intellectual ones and in a deliberate way to plumb the many implications of literacy in African thought and practice.

Lamin Sanneh, for example, has argued that biblical translation into vernaculars involved a "radical indigenization" that distinguished Protestant missionaries from colonial administrators and Christian evangelism from Islam's preoccupation with Arabic as a lingua franca (for Sanneh these distinctions were beneficial). A plethora of new studies explore the uses of vernacular literacy in everyday contexts of the past and also along fractures of political conflict, investigating how individuals and corporate groups constructed identities and arguments through writing and translation, or how African composers innovated with the many textual genres available to them. Others have probed the production, transformation, and circulation of evangelical texts, mostly within twentieth-century British empire and on its fringes, tracing out both an international history of the book and the personal utilities of reading and writing in twentieth-century lives.[5]

The recent efflorescence of studies in popular literacy and its uses in twentieth-century Africa has brought us well along the road to appreciating some of the implications of the three Rs in the lives of certain Africans over the last century. Still, little attention has been directed to *originary* processes of literacy acquisition and vernacular textual production, especially during the nineteenth century. Most studies of literacy today assume an existing system of reading and writing as a backdrop to personalized or social experiments in the written word, and most concern the twentieth century.[6]

The nitty-gritty business of creating orthographies and fashioning early textual translations in African speech often set foreigners and their students into a tangle of reflexive intellectual and social relationships. Their complexity and messiness belie the way Evangelical missionaries tended to interpret the world in their published writings: as the confrontation of unmistakably disparate categories of Afroheathen and Eurochristian. Scriptural translation typically required European clerics and African colleague translators to struggle with each others' tongues and intellectual outlooks, and to place their mutually constituted knowledge into the service of textual and semantic transformation, a point Derek Peterson has emphasized in his study of the stakes in the debates over competing alphabets for Kikuyu texts in twentieth-century Kenya. When it came to biblical translation, missionaries typically claimed, as they did in Madagascar, to have translated the Christian scriptures in a straightforward way directly out of classical Mediterranean languages into African vernaculars, representing themselves as the primary cultural and intellectual brokers between Eurochristianity and the languages of Africanity.

But matters of language acquisition and the production and conversion of texts are rarely so straightforward as such bold and simplistic claims suggest. Reciprocal acquisition of mother tongues, experiments in orthography, creative efforts at generating biblical vocabulary, and multiple takes at textual translation and revision formed the base work of many Protestant missions to Africa and elsewhere.[7] And these intellectually and socially promiscuous interactions, in turn, brought Africans and envoys from Europe into relationships that confound both clear-cut claims to authorship and tidy categories of teacher and taught. In this essay, I investigate the foundations of Roman-alphabet letters in highland Madagascar in the interactions of slaves, students, and missionaries. The focus here is on language transactions between missionaries and their enslaved interpreters, on the one hand, and on those within the royal-LMS schools of Antananarivo between late 1820 and about mid-1824, on the other. My concern is how these transactions helped to shape biblical translation and the wider growth of literacy.

Rapid developments in reading, writing, and translation in highland Madagascar of the early nineteenth century are typically explained in hagiographic fashion, with reference to the unique intelligence, training, and dedication of several British men. Missionaries' actions and their writings, however, reveal a complex co-authorship of scriptural translations that foreign evangelists often strategically denied or concealed from audiences in Britain. The

archive casts doubt on the way the story of biblical translation is typically told in Madagascar and challenges us to examine experiments in early African literacy with an eye to the several implications of the persons involved in translation projects and the sequence of procedures employed in the process.

II

Perhaps no Evangelical mission in the early nineteenth century was as successful in its literate objectives as that of the LMS's mission to a kingdom in highland Madagascar, a place known as Imerina. The mission society's first period of toil in Imerina during the early 1820s was staffed by three independently thinking and excessively feuding Nonconformist ministers—two Welshmen and an Englishman—together with their wives, and a number of artisanal auxiliaries who, along with later-arriving missionaries, drifted in and out of the island over the years.[8] With the enthusiastic assistance of their patron, King Radama of Imerina, British missionaries early dedicated themselves to the task of teaching small groups of urban children to read and write, and shortly thereafter set the youth to the foundational task of converting scriptures and other sacred literatures into the vernacular.

The results were impressive. Within eight years of their arrival, by June 1828, LMS missionaries and their first students were managing some thirty schools with an enrollment of over 5,200 students.[9] By March of 1830 Nonconformist schoolmasters and their assistants had completed and published a vernacular New Testament of which they quickly circulated some 5,000 copies to novice and by all accounts avid readers. The entire Christian scriptures in King Radama's tongue issued from the LMS press at Antananarivo in 1835, the first complete Bible translated into an African idiom in the context of western mission.[10] Between 1827 and the departure of the last LMS missionaries from Imerina in mid–1836, well more than 100,000 copies of individual and collated books of sacred scripture, religious tracts, primers, spelling books, and ecclesiastical readers had been printed and distributed from the mission press in Antananarivo. Schools for children continued to function in the absence of the missionaries, and many adults began to acquire the art of reading from youth who had passed through them. By 1840 as many as 25,000 highland Malagasy had gained some experience in reading and writing their language in the Roman alphabet, or some five percent of the population of Imerina.[11] What accounts for the rapidity and success of both literacy training and scriptural translation in early nineteenth-century Madagascar?

The first Evangelical missionary to arrive at Antananarivo, David Jones, acquired some knowledge of Malagasy speechways during his two years of peregrinations about the western Indian Ocean prior to his arrival in highland Madagascar. Malagasy was second as a contact language only to French at the Mascarenes, for example, and we know that Jones

conversed with Malagasy speaking slaves on Mauritian sugar estates and studied publications and manuscripts in Malagasy speech varieties previously compiled by Catholic missionaries and administrators in the colonial islands.[12] But more specifically, for nearly two years before his arrival at Antananarivo, Jones enjoyed the services of an enslaved interpreter named Joseph. Joseph was a "Government Black" (see below) of Malagasy origin who had been allocated to the use of the missionary in 1818 by the governor of Mauritius.[13] Slaves are sparingly mentioned in missionaries' communications with the LMS headquarters in London, but they were indispensable to the earliest evangelizing efforts of LMS personnel, which required translation services. Recourse to native translators was "very desirable at first, before [one] can learn the language," David Bogue had lectured his missionary students at Gosport.[14] Those instructions were heeded by Jones, with the real-life twist that his interpreter was to be a slave adept at working among the principle languages of the islands of the western Indian Ocean (French and Malagasy).

Most politically subaltern Malagasy of slave and free status at colonial Mauritius were multilingual and comprised a valuable resource to Europeans on every kind of mission to Madagascar.[15] Nearly every British envoy from Mauritius traveling to Madagascar was provided by the colonial government with enslaved interpreters who could translate between Malagasy and French and/or English. Some of these slaves were even of "Mozambique" or east African birth. East Africans picked up Malagasy speech varieties either on their land journey through Madagascar to the Mascarenes or in the Mascarenes themselves, where Malagasy served as a contact language.[16] We know of these interpreting bondmen in part because of their tendency to flee their masters.

"Received Lamoora," wrote British ambassador Robert Lyall from Antananarivo on October 5, 1828, "a Malgash slave, belonging to the Government of the Mauritius, who ran away from Mr. Bennet at Tamatave, from Mr. Griffiths. Had him put in irons, and on the 6th ordered him twenty lashes with a small whip."[17] In the business of slave keeping and discipline, British missionaries were no exception. Mr. Bennet was a visiting LMS missionary sent to inspect the work of his colleagues at Antananarivo. Like Jones, the Governor of Mauritius had supplied him with a multilingual slave. David Griffiths had been responsible for recapturing Mr. Bennet's truant bondman, Lamoora, at Tamatave, hauling him more than 200 kilometers back to Imerina, and handing him over to the British ambassador, Robert Lyall, for whipping. This vignette of slave linguistic service, flight, and recapture was not something either Bennet or Griffiths reported to LMS directors in London, or Griffiths to his friends and supporters in Wales. There were certain realities a missionary had to enter into when he worked in the western Indian Ocean, it seemed, and these were best kept in the hush from the Evangelical communities in Britain.[18]

Let us return to David Jones and his slave Joseph. "It was thought just & necessary," explained Jones referring to himself and his wife on their first journey together to

Madagascar, "as we could get no Malagash teacher, to take with us two slaves or servants who could speak French and Malagash; and who would act as interpreters between us and the Malgash—besides taking care of our luggage." With a slave, went the reasoning, one might kill two irksome birds of travel—communication and the ponderousness of baggage—with a single stone. "We petitioned his Ex. G. G. Hall," the acting governor of Mauritius, Jones continued, "for two Govt. slaves, whom he gave us with the greatest pleasure and rice for two months."[19] Both Jones and his wife (who died soon after arrival in Madagascar) enjoyed the services of these slaves. Thomas Bevan had also employed a slave named Joseph as his interpreter, a man David Jones accused in 1818, shortly after Bevan's death, of poisoning him (Jones).[20]

Government Blacks, in the servile employ of missionaries for both their translation services and their sweat, were more precisely a legal category of persons variously known in British colonies as apprentices, liberated Africans, or prize negroes.[21] But legal niceties aside missionaries found it difficult to name them other than as slaves, a term which apparently captures the nature of their relationship to the men. Government Blacks had been captives aboard vessels bound for the Mascarenes and surrounding territories, including the Cape Colony. If intercepted by ships of the Royal Navy and condemned in courts of vice admiralty at the Cape or in Mauritius as illegal slavers, these slave-trading vessels and their cargo were forfeited to the crown. Such captives who arrived in colonial ports as slaves were then typically indentured out on contracts of seven to fourteen years to private individuals or to government, hence the term Government Blacks. At the termination of their indentures they were to become legally free.[22]

Indentured translators such as Joseph continued to work for British missionaries in Madagascar well after the clerics became fluent in Antananarivo's speech variety. What we don't know is how long the translators continued to render linguistic services to the missionaries, or precisely how. When David Jones departed Madagascar in 1830 his erstwhile translator, Joseph, suddenly reappeared in Jones's communications with the British governor of Mauritius. "In 1818 General Hall, then Acting Governor of the Mauritius, granted me a Government slave, named Joseph, to assist me as an interpreter and to render me assistance in the mission," Jones wrote to the secretary for the governor. He did not explain precisely what he meant by "assistance in the mission."

> I should like to have the instructions of His Excellency the Governor, whether I am to take him back with me to the Mauritius or leave him here with his relations. [Joseph had married a woman from Antananarivo and may have originated from near the city.] He is now an old man about 50 or 60 years of age, and I do not think he would be able to walk down to Tamatave. He has been, on the whole, a good and useful servant; and if I return to the Mauritius before the end of this year, as I intend, I should like him to remain, under oversight of my brother Missionaries, to take charge of what I shall leave in the country. I shall be much obliged to you to state the case to his Excellency: and please to let me know his instructions relative thereto, which I shall attend to.[23]

Jones apparently heard nothing in reply to his query and departed Madagascar for Mauritius without his "good and useful servant" Joseph to whom he now entrusted the care of his personal belongings. On the cusp of leaving Mauritius for Britain a year later, Jones again brought the matter of Joseph to the attention of the Governor.[24] We do not know whether Joseph ever returned to Mauritius.

In his earliest endeavors to acquire the language at Antananarivo, Jones utilized as linguistic medium the French creole of Mauritius and Bourbon, which was spoken to varying extents by King Radama, individuals involved in higher levels of government at Antananarivo, the many highland Malagasy merchants trading to Madagascar's east coast, and by the interpreter-slave named Joseph.[25] "It was through a knowledge of it [French creole] that I am become so familiar with Radama in interpreting and visiting for him and through the assistance of which of I have learned the Madagascar tongue," Jones confided in a letter nearly a year after his arrival at Antananarivo.[26] Joseph, the translator with whom he spoke French creole most often and who provided Jones with "assistance in the mission," was important to the missionary's early Malagasy language acquisition and evangelizing efforts, though we don't know precisely how.

A Mauritian slave of Malagasy origin, Joseph would have been the most competent of Jones's associates in both tongues—indeed this is why Jones had sought the services of a Government Black from Mauritius to begin with. It is likely that the ever-shadowy Joseph's French-Malagasy services are what Jones meant when he wrote that "through the assistance of [it] I have learned the Madagascar tongue." One can imagine Jones and Joseph participating together in the school or discussing Jesus's death and resurrection with Radama's courtiers, working through the French creole as Joseph spoke Malagasy with Jones's interlocutors (enslaved interpreters from Mauritius were also utilized by the court at Antananarivo, the most famous of whom was Cherri, given by British ambassador James Hastie to Radama).[27] We must *imagine* how Jones and Joseph worked together, unfortunately, for we know nothing more concrete than that Joseph was Jones's translator, that the range of his linguistic competence included both Malagasy and French, and that he had offered Jones substantive "assistance in the mission."

III

Within weeks of their respective arrivals in Antananarivo in 1820 and 1821, David Jones and David Griffiths each received of King Radama a number of boys and girls aged six to nine with whom to commence their schools. (Thomas Bevan, who had accompanied David Jones to Madagascar's east coast in 1818, died in early 1819 and does not feature in the history of schools and translation at Antananarivo). But schools are easier said than done when students and teachers speak different tongues. Precisely what trans-linguistic literacy instruction within the royal-LMS schools at Antananarivo actually looked like is masked by

the sometimes opaque epistolary prose in the LMS archive and the virtual absence of accounts of the work of the word from students. The evidence we have to work with, in other words, comes primarily from the very party which often claimed for itself the sole honor of translation. Interactions among key players in literacy work and translation must often be read in the syntax and between the lines of foreign pastors' correspondence.

The absurdity of Jones and Griffiths attempting to teach the "three Rs" to children in the absence of adequate interlingual communication skills, or books, was imagined with a degree of candor in a hagiographic tale for British school children composed decades later by LMS Madagascar missionary Annie Sharman, who was apparently unaware of the linguistic services that Joseph had provided.

> I told you that Mr. Jones had quite a good-sized school; but fancy, if you can, a school without any books! The Malagasy actually had no alphabet, and so nobody knew how to read or write. There was no printing, and there was not a single book in the Malagasy language. It must have been a very funny school—probably no slates, no books, no pictures! And the teacher himself only knew a little of the language of those pupils, and of course nobody knew much English or Welsh! I think Mr. Jones must have been very clever indeed to manage a school under such conditions.[28]

There actually *were* some slates, books, and pictures in Imerina's schools, but Jones and Griffiths's "cleverness" at Antananarivo also rested on the assistance of enslaved interpreters and the young students in their schools. "Mr. Jones," Griffiths once reported, "said that he knew from experience that a person could acquire this language by keeping a school, conversing with the children, and the people, than to shut up in his house."[29] "I said, that I knew by experience," Jones confirmed himself of that philosophy, that "a person can acquire that language [Malagasy] much easier and sooner by teaching a school and conversing with the people of the different districts around the Capital, than by remaining all together at the same place and among the same people every day."[30] Because missionaries did not travel much from Antananarivo before 1823, however, their primary interlocutors remained their enslaved translators and their youthful students together with a limited segment of the urban population—mainly those about the court—with whom they came into occasional contact. Teaching was learning, in this pedagogy of acquisition-through-conversation.

While the Welshmen struggled to learn Malagasy, it is clear that Jones and Griffiths, like Englishman John Jeffreys who arrived well after them in 1822, commenced instruction in their schools in English. This important point requires elaboration, for learning English was a prerequisite to translation efforts. Upon arrival in Antananarivo, Jones begin writing his contacts in both Mauritius and Britain requesting English lessons for his school. "As the English language will now be adopted to be taught to the people and not the French language," he noted ten days after his arrival, "it will be necessary to have many Lancastrian lessons sent out for the use of the schools."[31] Impressed upon missionary candidates at Gosport,

the Lancastrian method of which Jones spoke was designed for inexpensive mass education and required that more accomplished students, known as monitors, teach the newer and less proficient ones under the supervision of a missionary evangelist.[32] "I will thank you to send me as many as you have to spare of the English lessons at Belleombre [a Mauritius estate where Jones had previously worked with the children of enslaved Malagasy speakers]," Jones begged of Charles Telfair, the island governor's personal secretary, through the advocacy of whom he also requested Governor Farquhar to have Lancastrian lessons printed in Mauritius and conveyed to Antananarivo.[33] Some months later Jones wrote to the LMS directors for "two or three sets" of English primers.[34]

On a brief visit to Mauritius in mid-1821, Jones appealed directly to Governor Farquhar, requesting materials for his "Royal College" and also for the planned "National School" to be superintended by David Griffiths and which would enroll non-royal youth. "Subjoined I take the liberty of enclosing a list and estimate of the things we shall require for the use of the Royal School established agreeably to Your Excellency's desire at the Court of Ova [Imerina] for the education of the Princes of Radama's family and also for the establishment of a national school in the Lancastrian system," Jones wrote to Governor Farquhar while in Port Louis.

> Your Excellency has been pleased to furnish a parcel of lessons which you had the goodness to bring from England for that purpose: these lessons are peculiarly adapted for the use of the Madagascar school; and for spreading the knowledge of the English language it will be a great favour done to the Madagascar national school, were Your Excellency to direct that one hundred copies of these lessons should be struck off at the printing offices at Port Louis to be forwarded to Radama.[35]

Farquhar soon acceded to Jones's request. Jones probably carried these English lessons with him when he returned to Antananarivo in September 1821.[36] Britain was extending its western Indian Ocean empire through the labor of Welshmen and the medium of English and its letters.

IV

In May 1821 Jones reported on the progress of his students. "My time has . . . been employed in teaching about 16 children delivered under my care by Radama to receive an English education," he wrote. Four of the students "begin to read portions of the sacred scriptures in English with some fluency, and they knew not one of the alphabets when I began to teach them in last November.[37] At a more elementary level, the newest students were still learning to spell and to read. When he arrived in Antananarivo at the end of May 1821, David Griffiths superintended Jones's students from the royal family for two months during Jones's travel to Mauritius before commencing his National School later in the year (at this point, Griffiths spoke English and French as well as Welsh, but not Malagasy).[38] Throughout

1821 and 1822 English instruction dominated in both Welshmen's schools. "I am daily employed in studying the language of this country and in teaching the children of the King's family in the Royal College who learn to read and write English," reported Jones in March 1822.[39] When that same year he returned from a voyage to London, Ratefy (Radama's sister's husband and father of two of Jones's students) wrote to the LMS directors how he was "particularly [gratified] to see my little boy and girl reading and writing english under the care of Mr. Jones."[40] A few months later Mauritius Governor Farquhar's envoy James Hastie and newly arrived English missionary John Jeffreys examined Jones and Griffiths's students. They reported that the "first class of boys being called on to exhibit their lessons held forth their books with that pleasing openness of countenance which pure minds afford."[41] The books were printed English sacred volumes and English grammars.

When the Englishman John Jeffreys joined Jones and Griffiths in Imerina in mid–1822, he and his wife, Keturah, also commenced teaching English to the twelve students sent to them by Radama.[42] Neither Jones nor Griffiths would lend any of their language materials to the Jeffreys, who were forced to commence their language work from scratch and remained well behind their Welsh colleagues throughout 1822 and 1823 in acquisition of the vernacular.[43] Ethnic-based suspicion may have animated the strained relationship among Welsh and English missionaries in Imerina, but there is little concrete evidence for this; disagreements were always about substantive issues and certainly the Welshmen were not in agreement among themselves. "[W]hile I am teaching the children the English I am myself acquiring the malagash [*sic*]," John wrote shortly after he commenced his school in June 1822, reporting the same language-acquisition procedure the two Welshmen had adopted before him.[44] A year after his arrival in Antananarivo, however, Jeffreys reported that "I have laboured at the language all this time & am now able to converse *a little* with the natives."[45] For all LMS missionaries, acquisition of Malagasy was a lengthy and laborious process, but much facilitated by their interactions with urban youth and enslaved translators.

During the first three years of their existence, then, the missionary schools in Antananarivo were principally Anglophone in curriculum. The same held true for the LMS's public gatherings, which were usually comprised of missionaries, their students (whose attendance was compulsory), other Europeans in Antananarivo, and sometimes the king and sundry members of the royal court. The slave Joseph was no doubt also in audience. During such gatherings, missionaries addressed their public comments in both English and French. Occasionally a stray adult would tarry at the windows to tickle his or her ears with the sound of foreign tongues emanating from within. When the Griffiths lost their two-and-a-half-year-old son to an affliction of the lungs, "A funeral sermon was delivered at Mr. Griffiths's house in the morning both in English and French," noted the missionaries, "and also an address at the grave in both languages. All the English and the French at Tananarivou and also the children of the schools attended the funeral."[46] Jones baptized the Griffiths's daughter, Sarah Elizabeth, on March 20, 1823 in a similar bilingual English-French ceremony that

was attended by "His Majesty Radama, His royal consort, three of his royal sisters, [and] Prince Rataffe."[47] Until mid–1824, weekly Sunday worship and other religious rites were conducted in French and English—but never in Malagasy.[48]

Meanwhile students' keen appetite for English learning was testified unanimously in clerical letters and journals. (Little is said about how much of the French spoken at public gatherings or in the schools the students actually understood). "They possess wonderful talents," wrote David Jones to his sister, "and in their diligence and avidity to learn, I believe that no children can surpass them."[49] "We soon found that the children possessed no mean capacities," wrote Keturah of her and John's students. "Our instructions were received with gratitude and earnestness. . . . The native children are as generally capable of receiving instruction as any in our own country; and, from all the observations I have made, much more attentive and concerned to attain it. It is very seldom that they discover any of that ennui, and want of interest in their lessons, which is so common in our English schools; their application is unwearied, till they attain their tasks, and that with great correctness."[50]

The apparent enthusiasm of Antananarivo's youth for English letters soon led to an acute shortage of reading materials. The more advanced books missionaries had brought with them were mostly intended for their own study. "I have now under my care in the Royal Academy forty four scholars who continue [with] the same diligence and avidity to learn as they have done always," reported Jones of his students at the king's court some eighteen months after arriving in Imerina. "Some of the most advanced of them read in the [English] New Testament, write on paper and work the common rules of arithmetic; and I shall want very soon some Bibles and more Testaments, English Grammars, pronouncing dictionaries, books on arithmetic &c. and even before they can be sent out from England."[51] For some of these wants in English-language instructional materials, many of them sacred, the clerics solicited colleagues and supporters close at hand in the British colony of Mauritius. But few books actually arrived from Mauritius, where they were exceedingly dear.

The Welshmen next turned to their countrymen. In early January 1822 David Griffiths wrote to churches in Wales to explain his and David Jones's ideas about how to solve the deficiency of English books.

> Anxious to do all we can for the spiritual & temporal welfare of these interesting peoples & especially the rising generation, we had purposed to establish a Missionary and school library at Tananarivo, the Capital of Madagascar and agreed to make it known as extensively as possible to all the well wishers of the Madagascar Mission.... As a word to the wise is sufficient, We flatter ourselves that our Cambrian Brethren will not be backward, but will come forward like men, and deem it no small honour to form the first library at one of the most promising stations.[52]

Conveying English books to an island in the Indian Ocean, the argument went, would augment the masculine honor of Cambrians. The currency of honor attached to literacy and translation in LMS discourse is a measure of the seriousness with which matters of the word were taken. Griffiths also chastised the LMS directors in London for what he felt was

neglect in dispatching materials for use in the schools of Antananarivo. "I trust that you will forward to us by the first opportunity various articles for the use of schools, Bibles and testaments, two hundreds at least of each, spelling books & English grammars, 100 of each. Slates and pencils, and different sorts of copy plates &c. &c. &c. We are at present labouring under many difficulties for the want of these things, and as we cannot procure *these things* in Madagascar you must be perfectly aware that we cannot do without them. *O have pity upon us.*"[53] When in December 1822 the LMS mission at Antananarivo took delivery of a set of French hymn books from London, Jones and Griffiths could find little use for them.[54]

Jones and Griffiths finally received notification in late 1823 that the LMS had dispatched English Bibles and Testaments printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, but these were not yet to hand. "It afforded us a great pleasure to understand that the Directors had paid such a prompt attention to our request concerning a supply of books for the schools," explained Jones gratefully of the news. "We have been labouring under many disadvantages to communicate instructions to our scholars for want of them, having but one book to give between a dozen of children."[55] Soon after he and Keturah arrived in Antananarivo, John Jeffreys also wrote to the LMS directors to send out "A great quan[tit] y of writing paper and ink powder, common paper [for the] use of the schools also superior for that of the mission. These above all things do not forget: a sufficient number of slates and slate pen sets."[56]

Missionaries' repeated calls for slates, pencils, ink, and both "common" and "superior" paper in addition to English books suggests that students in Antananarivo were beginning to write as well as to read by mid–1822. While briefly teaching some children on the east coast of Madagascar in 1818, Jones had made his students write with their fingers in the sand of the beach. Strands being in short supply at the altitude of Antananarivo, however, the missionaries turned to slates, "copy plates," and other inventions. The chronic deficiency of slates was resolved with an ingenious, if grimy, local solution explained by LMS "mechanic" James Cameron.

> The work of education commenced in earnest; but there was no printing then, and not many slates; all lessons were written by hand, and as a substitute for slates, smooth boards were rubbed over with a soft grease and dusted with ashes. On this the letters and figures were formed with a wooden stile, like a common pencil; corrections were made or sums renewed simply by rubbing with a rag or with the finger, and commencing again as contentedly as if no cleanlier or better mode had ever been found out.[57]

It is not inconceivable that Jones and Griffiths had actually learned to spell in this fashion in the Cardiganshire countryside.

As the first students in the schools learned to form words and write sentences and paragraphs in English using adapted European technologies of literacy, they began to move from slates to the more precious medium of paper. Not manufactured in Imerina, where wood was valuable and trees scarce, writing paper in the schools was largely controlled by the mis-

sionaries, who mostly received it from abroad.[58] Students were therefore probably limited in their writing to projects sanctioned and supervised by the missionaries, unless their king and families independently acquired paper for them (this might have been the case for some of Jones's students in the Royal College). "It would be very desirable to have a few reams of paper for the schools sent out for us," David Jones requested of one of the LMS directors, "also paper for private and official letters, and some blank books for Registers, Journals, accounts &c.: as all sort of paper and books are excessively dear at the Mauritius."[59] Much paper arrived from both London and the governor's office at Mauritius, making "the article of stationary" one the earliest forms of British foreign aid to Madagascar. Missionaries kept their paper under lock and key, but that did not prevent their stocks from appearing time to time for sale in Antananarivo's market places, suggesting a growing demand for material on which to write.[60] Reporting on the progress of his students in early 1822, Jones stated that "There are eight of them reading in the New Testament, writing a small hand and ciphering, two of whom are the children of Prince Rataffe [Radama's brother-in-law]. There are four more, who read select passages of the sacred Scriptures, & have begun to write on paper. All the others are following them in spelling with every attention and diligence."[61]

English replaced French, then, with some rapidity in LMS efforts at Antananarivo. The LMS missionaries first taught the English alphabet to their students, with spelling and reading in English preceding experiments in writing on slates and paper, which were then followed by introduction to arithmetic. "I have a number of children in it [the school]," Jones wrote in mid-1822, "who read & write, some of whom are gone through the common rules of arithmetic. There are some of them who appear to possess great abilities to learn and will in time, I hope, prove a blessing to their country."[62] If competence in reading, writing, and arithmetic was a measure of children's potential "blessing to their country," Jones's students clearly fulfilled his expectations in English language studies. The three Rs were each first taught at Antananarivo in English, commencing with reading, then writing, and finally numbers. Because translation at Antananarivo proceeded from English to Malagasy, students' studies of English and their ability to compose on slate and paper were key to their participation in the labor of transforming texts from English into their own speech variety.

As the students in Antananarivo progressed in reading and writing English, they began to apply the English-Latin alphabet to the spelling of words in their own language. Transported across tongues, the phonetic principles of the English alphabet allowed them to compile Malagasy glosses for English words. Study of the three Rs in English, then, was directly linked to orthography and literate competence in Malagasy. By mid-1822, the most advanced of Jones's students in Antananarivo "translated some words into their own language," as did also the second class.[63] The missionaries and the children found "continually an immense field for research in studying the [Malagasy] language" during 1822 and 1823, confirmed Jones. Everyone worked persistently "in correcting and making additions to our [Malagasy] vocabularies &c."[64] Discussing the process of language acquisition in

1823, David Griffiths also confided in his journal that "the language can be more effectually acquired by conversing with the children and having them to write phrases and words in their own language, on the slates &c."[65] What is especially enlightening about this set of exposés is that while missionaries were struggling to acquire a *verbal* knowledge of the language of Antananarivo in 1822 and 1823, students were already *writing* it. At the end of 1822, Jones noted, "There are many children now in the schools who can read and write both English and Malagash."[66] Griffiths confirmed this development in the schools when he wrote in early 1823, and with approval, about "The progress that our pupils have made and the desire which they daily manifest to spell and write words in their own language, and the pride that they take in addressing each other in their native tongue."[67] The pride derived from vernacular literacy, the ever nationalistic Griffiths felt, was something shared by both Cambrians and their highland Malagasy schoolchildren. He may well have been correct about how a Latin writing system for the dialect of Antananarivo fostered a new sense of pleasure and identity among some of its youthful residents. Benedict Anderson would make a similar sort of claim more a century and a half later.[68]

Missionaries had compiled Malagasy wordlists in previous years, but as the students progressed they soon adopted a more systematic and labor-intensive approach: they provided English words alphabetically culled from dictionaries to teams of the most capable of their students, requesting the students to supply them in return with vernacular glosses for the English terms. Typically, students worked these lexical translations on their slates, which were easily transportable to hearth and home for consultation. The results were later copied by missionaries into their paper Malagasy "vocabularies," which eventually formed the basis of two dictionaries published at the LMS press in Antananarivo in 1835 at the behest of Radama's successor and senior wife, Queen Ranavalona.[69]

LMS personnel were also under instructions from London to create Malagasy language catechisms and scriptural translations as soon as possible. By means of catechisms, Bogue had lectured his students at the Gosport seminary, "A great number of falsehoods and superstitions will be banished from [heathen] minds."[70] Despite linguistic challenges, both Jones and Griffiths claimed to have composed catechisms in the King's language as early as January 1822.[71] Jones composed his during 1821, he said, "after the method of Watts," while Griffiths drew his up, independently he implied, yet "somewhat on the same plan with that of Mr. Jones."[72] At this time Griffiths had been in Madagascar for a total of ten months and tending his school for only five, while Jones had been residing and teaching inside the court for only nine months.[73] By their own evaluation their language skills at this point were especially poor, and their work in the schools consuming. Missionaries were actively instructing students in English at this time. It wasn't until two and a half years later (1824) that the foreign evangelists began to preach and speak publicly in Malagasy, and to conduct their classrooms in that language.

"In our schools there are some of our first children beginning to translate catechisms from the English into their own tongue," noted Jones rather openly by early 1823, explaining the central role of the children in the work "and who, in a short time, will afford us a great assistance in the translation of the scriptures &c. Others are now forming school lessons in their own tongue, and begin to teach and *catechize their juniors* on Sundays without our assistance."[74] The LMS missionaries' first twelve students, were key not only to a variety of translation projects but also to verbal evangelism, a pattern typical in British overseas missions and part of the evangelizing strategy taught at Gosport.[75] Students who were translating catechisms from English to Malagasy in early 1823 were on the cusp of offering "a great assistance in the translation of the scriptures," a project the missionaries said took place during the two years between 1824 and 1826. "A version of the scriptures is rendered into the Malagash language and we are going on as fast as possible with revising our translations," Griffiths reported to the LMS directors in April 1826.[76] Given that the missionaries only trusted their Malagasy skills sufficiently to speak and preach publicly in that language in mid–1824, when they first reported embarking on biblical translation, they were permitting themselves—only the pair of them—a mere two years to convert the entire scriptures into Malagasy.

Jones and Griffiths always taught separately and labored apart from each other on their translation projects with their first twelve students. These linguistic helpers were distributed evenly between the two missionaries. In other words, the Welshmen worked with their most accomplished students in linguistic teams. Youth were organized and directed by the missionaries with the support of King Radama. This is also the way in which Jeffreys functioned once he arrived in mid–1822, the difference being that his team was much less advanced than those of his Welsh colleagues. Jeffreys departed Imerina in 1825 without contributing to biblical translation. In claiming credit for biblical and other translations, the two Welsh missionaries were in fact discussing the work performed by teams under their direction.

Among David Jones's students, all of whom were of royal extraction, the most helpful in these early translation projects were David Ramaka, John Rakoto (Rakotobe), David Raharo (Raharolahy), Ramaholy (aka Rainifiringa), Rasatranabo, and Ratsisatraina, many of whom went on to important careers in the kingdom administration when the missionaries departed. We learn their names from documents produced after 1830, not from contemporary letters. Griffiths's team consisted of both royals and commoners and included John Rainisoa (aka Ratsimandisa), Ratsimihara, Andriantsoa, Rabohara, Andriamaka, and Ratsitohaina.

Jones and Griffiths labored with their teams of students—and Jones may have also consulted his slave Joseph—at basic translation projects during the day, and copied the results of mutual effort into their manuscripts in the evening. Jeffreys's journal in mid–April 1823 provides a telling example.

> 17th. Engaged in the school as usual. This evening have been copying some words into the vocabulary.

18 Employed in the school in the evening copying words out of the English Dictionary.
19 School in the morning, in the afternoon engaged in the language.[77]

Jones and Griffiths were frank about their procedure. Explaining the structure of their working days to the LMS directors, the Welshmen noted that they each started teaching school at sunrise and instructed the students to about 8:30 in the morning. "After this" they said,

> the girls are taught in needle work, and *we and our boys* are employed in translating and the study of the Malagash language until noon, when the school is commenced again in the afternoon and dismissed about 4 or 5 and then we dine and take a little recreation if we have time. In the evenings until 10 or 11 o clock we write on paper, translations and Malagash sentences and expressions written [by the students] on slates during the day.[78]

The translation of the Bible from English into Malagasy and the role of youth in each stage of the process is explicitly confirmed by a fourth LMS minister, J. J. Freeman, who arrived in Antananarivo in September 1827. Freeman's stay in Madagascar was short. He departed Antananarivo after an "unhappy difference" that erupted among the LMS missionaries over the wisdom of employing school youth in biblical translation and revision. Freeman outspokenly disapproved of such participation, for in his demanding evaluation the students' skills in both English and Malagasy were not up to the task. According to him, neither were those of the Welshmen. "I became too dissatisfied with the mode of proceeding in the Revision to take any longer a part in it," Freeman explained of the scriptural translations.

> They are Crude. They were commenced before any adequate acquaintance with the language was obtained. They were got up too hastily. They were, to a great extent, made by the Malagasy youths who had been taught something of English by Messrs. J. & G. these cursorily looked over, and copied into a Book, and this was considered a Translation. Frequently (and I name this as an illustration) Mr. G[riffiths]. had 4 or 5 of their youths round his table of an evening, & all translating different parts of the scriptures at the same time; one say the Psalms, another a prophet, another a Gospel, and another an Epistle, Mr. G. sat by correcting these, so far as he knew the Malagasy, *then* very imperfectly & turning from one to another. Could either one of them, mere School exercises onto slate, be deemed even an approximation to excellence, or even fidelity?[79]

In these round-table practices of translation lay an inversion of the division of labor when the subject of study was English. When learning English, the children copied and pondered texts proffered to them in print or produced in manuscript by the missionaries. But in vernacular work it was the children who *composed*, translating from English, and the Welshmen who *copied* vernacular compositions from youths' slates and parsed them to determine their meanings and structures. Tellingly, the missionaries do not report having employed students in the tedium of copying during this period. In part, it may be they felt paper and ink too precious to entrust to the children. A more likely explanation was the value of keeping boys to the productive intellectual work of translation on slates, where cor-

rections and changes could easily be registered. To recopy their manuscripts, then, Jones and Griffiths turned to their *British* colleagues, the "missionary artisans" who had been sent to Antananarivo by the LMS at the request of Radama and at great expense to the home office, but who had found themselves idle for want of materials and markets.[80] Mr. Canham, the weaver, they explained, "has rendered us a great assistance these last months in *copying from our manuscripts* spelling and reading lessons for the schools. He has been also writing out some parts of our vocabularies according to the present orthography settled by the King. We could employ him many months more as a writer if the supply of leather had not arrived from the Mauritius and want of shoes did not call him away."[81]

Students not only participated in translation projects, they assisted in revision of the working manuscripts. The Welshmen's teams turned to revisions once a first translation of the entire scriptures had been completed in 1826. Revisions proceeded very slowly between 1826 and 1830 for the New Testament, and between 1830 and 1835 for the Old. The role of missionaries in the revision was far greater than it had been in the original production of translations from English to Malagasy. An important task in the revision was "comparison" of the Malagasy translation with Hebrew and Greek scripture originals, something only the missionaries had the linguistic skill to effect. A proposal to teach the students Greek and Hebrew had been struck down by both the queen and LMS directors. "The New Testament is now printed in the Malagasy and a number of them are distributed among the natives," newly arrived Welsh missionary David Johns reported of the process in 1830, "We shall begin next week to revise the Old Testament, which will be an employment to us for years. *We must compare it all with the Hebrew*," he noted, because the translation had been produced from the English Revised Version of 1611 but was required to conform to the original languages.[82]

As their knowledge of Malagasy increased, LMS personnel intervened to a much greater extent in emending and amending the translated text and conforming it to classical languages. The students' role in revision, as best we can tell from the evidence, went primarily to copy editing and issues of usage. The primary role of translation labor had shifted from local youth to foreign adults. The minutes of the LMS missionaries' business meetings testify to students' work on the revisions, however, as do their letters. The following entry appears in May 1829 during the final preparation of the New Testament for printing: "To 6 youths for the revision, 3 attending on Monday and Tuesday, 3 on Thursday & Friday, 3/4 Dollr. for 100 verses, 1/8th of a dollar for correcting a sheet from the press, 1/4th of a dollar to 2 youths for copying 100 verses."[83] David Griffiths kept corrected proof sheets of Psalms chapters 75 to 88 with six names of Malagasy revisers on them: Ratsimihara, [Ra]Tsimilay, Rainisoa, Raharo, Raharolahy and [Ra]Tsisatraina.[84]

V

Because foreign missionaries did not become conversant in the speech variety of Antananarivo until at least 1824 and preferred to continue working with native Malagasy speakers thereafter, translation at Antananarivo relied on a variety of skills brought to the task by many individuals. Missionaries were central to the process of planning, organizing, and financing translation projects, but they relied in the first instance on the linguistic services of slaves who had been born in Madagascar and who had acquired competence in the French creole while in captivity at Mauritius. Some of these interpreter-slaves on whom missionaries depended between 1818 and the early 1820s remained with the missionaries throughout the translation process. We do not know the extent and precise nature of their involvement in vernacular literacy projects, from vocabularies, to catechisms, to the Christian scriptures. But we do know that some of the bondsmen, like Joseph, continued to serve the missionaries until their departure from Madagascar.

The scriptures at Antananarivo were converted directly out of the language of King James into that of King Radama with minimal reference, in the first instance, to classical languages. Most translation projects between 1820 and the departure of the missionaries in 1836 relied on the services of children in the royal-LMS schools rather than adult interpreter-slaves. These children were taught first in English and came later to write their mother tongue employing the technologies of English-language literacy. They were soon set to collect vernacular word lists, generate vernacular glosses, and translate passages from the Bible between English and their mother tongue. Most early English-to-Malagasy translations were effected on slate and copied by foreign missionaries into their paper manuscripts. English-Malagasy translations scratched out by children were later transformed by missionaries with the assistance of schoolchildren through a process of "revision" and "comparison" with classical texts such as the Septuagint and Griesbach's Greek New Testament to conform in a number of ways to Mediterranean-language originals.

The published end-product of translation looked as if it might have come right out of the classical scriptural languages, but was in fact the outcome of a *multi-stagedprocess* of translation, copying, comparison, and revision involving British missionaries and a number of Malagasy assistants from varying backgrounds. If missionaries claimed the honor of biblical translation for themselves, they worked in dependence on and collaboration with their interpreter-slaves and school students. The history of translation in Antananarivo, then, is one of labor entanglement and intellectual promiscuity, not the outcome of individual work by a handful of especially intelligent British missionaries.

Conclusions similar to those drawn here were reached six decades ago by Norwegian linguist and missionary Otto Christian Dahl. Dahl's findings, published in Norwegian and restricted to a relatively small reading audience, were disputed by fellow Norwegian missionary Ludvig Munthe, who published his much more widely circulated work in French

and claimed on the basis of textual analysis of the printed version of the Malagasy Bible that missionaries conducted the work of translation by themselves and directly from Hebrew and Greek into the island's vernacular. For the many reasons explored and documented in this article, Dahl was correct, not Munthe. Munthe worked only with the *final product* of translation—the published Bible of 1835. He did not examine the *process* of translation or credit the words of missionaries as contained in their letters, notes, and journals.[85]

In the matter of translation at Antananarivo, doubt about the hagiographic myth of missionaries' linguistic and literary independence is confirmed through a close reading of the archive. For histories of translation and youth more broadly, the story of the work of the word at Antananarivo is not simply one of the elision of co-authorship. More productively—and far more interestingly—it is one of how co-authorship opens up new questions in the intellectual history of world Christianity and the significance of youth and generation in early translation efforts.

Notes

The following designations to manuscript materials in archives are employed in the notes to this article: ACCL SC GGL (Auckland City Central Library, New Zealand, Special Collections, Sir George Grey Library); LMS (London Missionary Society/Council for World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London: ILM, Incoming Letters Madagascar; ILMAU, Incoming Letters Mauritius; JMM, Journals Madagascar and Mauritius); MNA (Mauritius National Archives, Coromandel); NAB (National Archives of Britain, Kew, London); NAB CO (National Archives of Britain, Colonial Office); NLW MS (National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Manuscripts Division).

1. "Missionary Lectures, By David Bogue D.D., Tutor of the Missionary Seminary, Gosport," Transcribed by Robert Moffat, 1817, handwritten copy, 127p., Council for World Mission Library, Manuscripts, School of Oriental and African Studies Library (University of London, London) Special Collections, 17.
2. Paul S. Landau, "Language," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 194–215; Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789–1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of the British Protestant Missionaries to India* (Abingdon: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), 156–69; Richard Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 95–97; David William Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1993). The quotation is from Joseph John Freeman and David Johns, *A Narrative of the Persecution of the Christians in Madagascar, with Details of the Escape of six Christian Refugees, now in England* (London: John Snow, 1840), 296.
3. David Bogue, "Missionary Lectures," Lecture 10, "Of Setting up Schools."
4. John M. Janzen, "The Consequences of Literacy in African Religion: The Kongo Case," in *Theoretical Explorations in African Religion*, ed. Wim van Binsbergen and Matthew Schoffeleers, (London: Kegan Paul International, 1985), 225–52. See also Norman Etherington, "Missionaries and the Intellectual History of Africa: A Historical Survey," *Itinerario* 7,2 (1983), 116–43.
5. Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1989), quotation from 3; Paul Stuart Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995); Stephanie Newell,

Literary Culture in Colonial Ghana: "How to Play the Game of Life" (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Derek R. Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2004); Karin Barber, ed., *Africa's Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Derek R. Peterson and Giacomo Macola, eds., *Recasting the Past: History Writing and Political Work in Modern Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009).

6. This is true also of the history of the LMS in Madagascar. Françoise Raison-Jourde has written about missionaries' linguistic work on dictionaries and folkloric collections in the context of an "unequal exchange" between the oral and the written, mostly during the 1830s, but pays little attention to biblical translation. Françoise Raison-Jourde, "L'échange inégal de la langue: la pénétration des techniques linguistiques dans une civilisation de l'oral (Imerina, début du XIX^{e} siècle)," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 32 (1977), 639–69; Françoise Raison, "Le travail missionnaire sur les formes de la culture orale à Madagascar entre 1820 et 1886," *Omaly sy Anio*,15 (1982), 33–52.
7. Landau, "Language."
8. Bonar Alexander Gow, *Madagascar and the Protestant Impact: The Work of the British Missions, 1818–1895* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1979); Françoise Raison-Jourde, *Bible et pouvoir à Madagascar au XIX^{e} siècle: invention d'une identité chrétienne et construction de l'état, 1780–1880* (Paris: Karthala, 1991); Pier M. Larson, "'Capacities and Modes of Thinking': Intellectual Engagements and Subaltern Hegemony in the Early History of Malagasy Christianity," *American Historical Review* 102,4 (1997), 969–1002; Vincent Huyghues-Belrose, *Les premiers missionnaires protestants de Madagascar, 1795–1827* (Paris: Karthala, 2001).
9. J. J. Freeman to the Rev. Dr. Phillip, Tananarivo, 3 June 1828, LMS ILM 2 4 D, 1; David Jones, David Griffiths, David Johns, and Joseph John Freeman, *The Second Report of the Madagascar Missionary School Society, 1828, Under the Patronage of His Majesty Radama* (Tananarivo: Printed at the Missionary Press, 1828).
10. The African vernacular translations that next appeared as fully printed bibles were Amharic (1840; this translation was not sponsored or conducted by Christian missionaries), Setswana (1857), Xhosa (1858), Duala (1872), Sesotho (1881), and Zulu (1883). Others followed in rapid succession in the last decades of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Geraldine Elizabeth Coldham, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages*, 2 vols. (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1966); Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, 246–49.
11. Raison-Jourde, "L'échange inégal de la langue," 641.
12. William Edward Cousins, "Among Old Malagasy Books in the British Museum: The 'Great Dictionary of Madagascar' by M. De Froberville," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine* (1889), 65–72; Huyghues-Belrose, *Les premiers missionnaires protestants*; Pier M. Larson, *Ocean of Letters: Language and Creolization in an Indian Ocean Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 186–95.
13. Larson, *Ocean of Letters*, 188.
14. David Bogue, "Missionary Lectures," Lecture 2, "Employment of a Missionary."
15. Larson, *Ocean of Letters*.
16. Naturalists Hilsenberg and Bojer were allocated an enslaved French–Malagasy translator of "Mozambique" origin by Governor Farquhar: Hilsenberg & Bojer to Robt. Farquhar, King's Garden Pamplemousses, 26 April 1822, MNA RA 200, 160r. See also Larson, *Ocean of Letters*, 233–35.
17. Robert Lyall to Charles Colville, Tananarivou, 16 October 1828, MNA HB 19 6, 3–4.
18. In a letter to friends in Wales about Bennet's visit, Griffiths does not mention Lamoora: David Griffiths to Revd. J. Roberts, Andavamenarana, 15 September 1828, NLW MS J. Luther Thomas Papers, Madagascar, 1–4.
19. David Jones to Rev. Dr. Waugh, Mauritius [Port Louis], 10 November 1818LMS ILMAU 1 1 C, 1.
20. David Jones to John Le Brun, Tamatave, 25 December 1818, reported in John Le Brun to Directors of the LMS, no place [Port Louis], 6 April 1819, LMS ILM 1 2 A.

21. Christopher Saunders, "Liberated Africans in the Cape Colony in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 18,2 (1985), 223–39; Marina Carter, V. Govinden, and Satyendra Peerthum, *The Last Slaves: Liberated Africans in 19th Century Mauritius* (Port Louis: Centre for Research on Indian Ocean Societies, 2003).
22. Larson, *Ocean of Letters*, 235, 240–41, 252, 264.
23. David Jones to Viret, Tananarivo, 5 January 1830, MNA HB 20, 2–3.
24. See David Jones to Viret, Port Louis, 12 January 1831, MNA HB 20, 1–2.
25. Pier M. Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770–1822* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2000), 49–81.
26. David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Port Louis, 25 July 1821, LMS ILM 1 2 C, 2.
27. Robert Lyall to Charles Colville, Tananarivou, 10 February 1829, MNA HB 19 16, 19.
28. Annie Sharman, *The Martyrs' Isle, or Madagascar: The Country, the People, and the Missions* (London: London Missionary Society, 1909), 45.
29. David Jones and David Griffiths to Thos. Phillips, Tananarivou, 30 April 1823, NLW MS 19157E.
30. David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Tananarive, 28 April 1823, LMS ILM 1 5 A, 3.
31. David Jones, "Journal to Madagascar in 1820 by me, David Jones, Missionary," 4 September–14 October 1820, LMS JMM 1, entry for 13 October, 23. A similar statement that English was to be the medium of study in Jones's school can be found in David Jones to Charles Telfair, Tananarive, 14 October 1820, LMS ILM 1 2 A.
32. Huyghues-Belrose, *Premiers missionnaires*, 325–28.
33. David Jones to Charles Telfair, Tananarive, 14 October 1820, LMS ILM 1 2 A, (quotation); David Jones to Charles Telfair, Tananarive, 18 October 1820, LMS ILM 1 2 A.
34. David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Tananarivoo, 3 May 1821, LMS ILM 1 2 C, note on the envelope cover.
35. David Jones to R.T. Farquhar, Port Louis, 27 August 1821, LMS ILM 1 2 C, 2–3; David Jones to Farquhar, Port Louis, 27 August 1821, MNA HB 21, 130–33.
36. David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Port Louis, 18 September 1821, LMS ILM 1 2 C, 1.
37. David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Tananarivoo, 3 May 1821, LMS ILM 1 2 C, 2.
38. David Griffiths to Rev. W. Griffiths of Glandor, no place [Antananarivo], 2 January 1822, NLW MS 19157E.
39. David Jones to Miss Jane Darby, Tananarivoo, 14 March 1822, LMS ILM 1 3 C, 2.
40. Rataffe to Farquhar, Tananarivoo, 15 April 1822, NAB CO 167 66, 1. The original of this letter is Rataffe to Farquhar, Tananarivoo, 15 April 1822, MNA HB 21, 216–17.
41. James Hastie and John Jeffreys, Report on the Public Examination of the Schools, Tananarive, 17 June 1822, NAB CO 167 63.
42. Diary of James Hastie, 6 May–4 August 1822, NAB CO 167 63, entry for 22 June, 28.
43. John Jeffreys to the Board of Directors, Tananarivou, Emerina, 26 May 1823, LMS ILM 1 5 B, 2–3.
44. John Jeffreys to the Rev. George Burder, Tananarivo, 22 June 1822, LMS ILM 1 4 A, 2.
45. John Jeffreys to the Board of Directors, Tananarivou, Emerina, 26 May 1823, LMS ILM 1 5 B, 41–42, emphasis is mine.
46. "Progress of the Children," document appended to David Jones to the Rev. George Burder, Tananarivou, 28 April 1823, LMS ILM 1 5 A, 6.
47. David Griffiths, Journal, 1 August 1822–10 April 1823, signed also by David Jones, John Canham, George Chick, and Thomas Rowland, LMS JMM 1, entry for 20 March 1823.
48. David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Port Louis, 18 September 1821, LMS ILM 1 2 C, back cover; David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Tananarivoo, 29 March 1822, LMS ILM 1 3 B, loose page preceding the envelope; David Jones to Mr. David Langton, Tananarivo, 16 December 1822, LMS

ILM 1 4 B, 1; David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Tananarivou, 20 November 1823, LMS ILM 1 5 D, 4.

49. David Jones to Miss Jane Darby, Tananarivoo, 14 March 1822, LMS ILM 1 3 C, 2.
50. Keturah Jeffreys, *The Widowed Missionary's Journal: Containing Some Account of Madagascar and also a Narrative of the Missionary Career of the Rev. J. Jeffreys* (Southampton: Printed for the Author, 1827), 120.
51. David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Tananarivoo, 29 March 1822, LMS ILM 1 3 B, 3.
52. David Griffiths to Rev. W. Griffiths of Glandor, no place [Antananarivo], 2 January 1822, NLW MS 19157E.
53. David Griffiths to Rev. George Burder, Tananarive, 27 July 1822, LMS ILM 1 4 B, 3. Emphasis in original.
54. David Jones to Mr. David Langton, Tananarivo, 16 December 1822, LMS ILM 1 4 B, 1.
55. David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Tananarivou, 20 November 1823, LMS ILM 1 5 D, 1.
56. John Jeffreys to the Rev. George Burder, Tananarivo, 22 June 1822, LMS ILM 1 4 A, 3.
57. James Cameron, *Recollections of Mission Life in Madagascar during the Early Days of the L.M.S. Mission* (Antananarivo: Abraham Kingdon, 1874), 5.
58. Paper was manufactured elsewhere in Madagascar, but it seems not to have been exchanged into the interior. Vincent Huyghues-Belrose, "Les supports anciens de l'écriture à Madagascar," *Études Océan Indien* 22 (1997), 12–14.
59. David Jones to the Rev. George Burder, Tananarivoo, 24 June 1822, LMS ILM 1 4 A, 3.
60. One notable case in later years is reported: "At a special meeting of the Missionaries held at the Revd. D. Jones' 29 Sepr. 1829," in Minutes from the Missionary Minute Book, Antananarivo, 11 September 1829 to 1 March 1830, LMS ILM 3 3 A.
61. David Jones to R.T. Farquhar, Tananarivoo, 25 March 1822, NAB CO 167 63, 2.
62. David Jones to James Hastie, Tananarive, 15 June 1822, NAB CO 167 63, 2.
63. Jeffreys, *Widowed Missionary's Journal*, 108.
64. David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Tananarivoo, 29 March 1822, LMS ILM 1 3 B, 3.
65. David Griffiths, Journal, 1 August 1822–10 April 1823, signed also by David Jones, John Canham, George Chick, and Thomas Rowland, LMS JMM 1, entry for 19 March 1823.
66. David Jones to Mr. David Langton, Tananarivo, 16 December 1822, LMS ILM 1 4 B, 3.
67. David Griffiths, Journal, 1 August 1822–10 April 1823, LMS JMM 1, entry for 14 February 1823.
68. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* rev. ed. (London: Verso. 1991).
69. Joseph John Freeman and David Johns, *A Dictionary of the Malagasy Language, in Two Parts*, 2 vols. (An-Tananarivo: London Missionary Society, 1835); David Johns, *Ny Dikisionary Malagasy, Mizara Roa: Ny Faharoa'ny, Malagasy sy English no foroni'ny D. Johns Missionary amy ny London Missionary Society. Raharo no nanampy hanao ny Malagasy sy English* (An-Tananarivo: Tamy ny Press ny ny London Missionary Society, 1835).
70. David Bogue, "Missionary Lectures," 14 (quotation) & 15.
71. David Griffiths to Rev. W. Griffiths of Glandor, no place [Antananarivo], 2 January 1822, NLW MS 19157E; Jeffreys, *Widowed Missionary's Journal*, 107–8.
72. David Griffiths, Journal, 18 January–19 July 1822, LMS JMM 1, entry for February 3.
73. Discounting his travel to Mauritius in 1821.
74. David Jones to Rev. George Burder, Tananarive, 28 April 1823, LMS ILM 1 5 A, 8, emphasis added.
75. Peggy Brock, "New Christians as Evangelists," in Etherington, *Missions and Empire*, 132–52.
76. David Griffiths to William Alers Hankey, Tananarivou, 12 April 1826, LMS ILM 2 3 A, 2.
77. John Jeffreys, Journal, 15 January–19 May 1823, LMS JMM 1, entries for 17–19 April 1823, 44.

78. "Progress of the Children," document appended to David Jones to the Rev. George Burder, Tananarivou, 28 April 1823, LMS ILM 1 5 A, 1–2. Emphasis added.

79. *Sic* throughout. J. J. Freeman to Rev. William Orme, Port Louis, 10 December 1829, LMS ILM 3 2 C.

80. Gwyn Campbell, *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar, 1750–1895* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 59–78.

81. "Progress of the Children," document appended to David Jones to the Rev. George Burder, Tananarivou, 28 April 1823, LMS ILM 1 5 A, 3–4. Emphasis added.

82. David Johns to Evan Jones, Tananarivo, 1 July 1830, NLW MS 19157E.

83. "Copy of Minutes from the Minute Book of the Missionaries at Tananarivo," May–July 1829, LMS ILM 3 2 A, entry for 31 May.

84. "Corrected Proof Sheets of *Psalms* 75:9 to 88:15, paginated 41–48," NLW MS 14642C, c.1832. These he adduced to a friend to demonstrate that he had accomplished the lion's share of the revision work himself.

85. Otto Chr Dahl, "Bibelen på Madagaskar," in *Norske misjonærer som bibeloversettere*, ed. H. Chr. Mamen, (Oslo: Egede-Instituttet, 1950), 128–73; Ludvig Munthe, *La Bible à Madagascar: les deux premières traductions du Nouveau Testament malgache* (Oslo: Egde Instituttet, 1969).

Portraits of Akan and Cameroonian Grassfield Kings and Chiefs in the Basel Mission Archive

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Introduction

In 1990 and 1994, David Henige published two early interpretative essays about photographs in the Basel Mission archive.[1] His quick acceptance of these papers had a useful impact for us in Basel. At that time work with photographs as sources for African history was still very new, and few people realized that mission archives would have much to contribute. In Basel we were looking for finance for a first effort to open to public access a body of photographs whose size, quality, and chronological depth were surprising us. Christraud Geary had already given the collection prominence by including Basel Mission materials in her 1988 Washington, D.C. exhibition on German colonial photography at the court of King Njoya.[2] With the two essays published by David Henige, we had real *gravitas* when we approached potential sources of support. Now, two decades later, as a direct result of the grants which were secured for work with the Basel Mission picture archive from that time, almost 30,000 catalogued images from this collection are accessible online. They are part of the 50,000 images from seven different European and American mission archives on offer in the International Mission Photography Archive (IMPA), one of the digital archive collections run by the University of Southern California. Of these, roughly half are photographs taken in Africa.[3]

With these developments in mind, this essay applies the study of photographs to a historical analysis which is *not* primarily about the history of photography, but about a theme in cultural and social history in two regions of West Africa. The focus is on the way portraits

of West African chiefs and kings in the photography of the Basel Mission archive may lead us to consider neglected but important aspects of relations between chieftaincy and evangelical Christian institutions in Ghana and Cameroon up to the time of the Second World War. This theme can seem to be coin which has been worn smooth by many hands. We know from first principles that there must have been intensive interaction between chiefs and kings in Black Africa from the arrival of the first African or European missionaries in a region where they held sway—with the missions' ambitious plans for grass-roots change it could not be otherwise. And indeed there are detailed modern studies of such interactions from other parts of Africa: Yoruba, Buganda and Tswana, to take three notable examples.[4]

But this is a field in which historical writing has a particular spice when it looks at a local or regional context where kings and chiefs rooted in specific traditions are still a serious factor in local and regional life, and the question of their future, in a rapidly globalising world, is acute. Hence this attempt to write about two specific regions of Africa: that dominated by Akan patterns of kingship in the Eastern Region of Ghana and in Ashanti, and in the Anglophone part of the Cameroon Grassfields. Both are classical kingdom territories in African history and African anthropology.[5] The essay links two regional traditions not because they were related to each other through the *longue durée* of African history, but because the Basel Mission, a strongly centralized, mainstream Protestant mission, worked in both areas. Its missionary men, having mostly enjoyed little beyond elementary schooling and craft training at the time they joined the organization, had then undergone five years intensive training in the Basel Mission College, which has been called a period of socialization in the Mission's particular institutional culture.[6] They were, in the intention of the Basel Mission leadership, to be a homogenous group, united in their view of Africa, and in the measures they planned to adopt in their work. Their thoughts about photography are likely therefore to have resembled one another, when they set out for Ghana and Cameroon—and so did their approach to chieftaincy.

Longstanding contacts between missionary movements in Europe and regions of the non-western world have their own dynamics. It was suggested, when I retired in 2003, that I might work to encourage South Indian interest in the Basel Mission archive—and that not simply among Christian scholars. In my struggles with trying to understand the other environments and other parameters of Basel Mission history in South India I came to realize, with surprise, that in the Basel Mission photo collection the proportion of images of rajahs and maharajahs in South India to those of kings and chiefs in West Africa was as little as 1:20, although the Basel Mission, at least in terms of missionary numbers, grew larger faster in South India than in West Africa.[7] Why there are so few images in these categories from India and what that absence implies in the setting of broad Basel Mission history in India will have to be the theme of another essay. But this discrepancy sent me back to look again at the photographs from West Africa. What sort of clues do they offer as to the significance of kings and chiefs for missionaries and their African successors, and vice versa?

At the level of the Basel Mission as institution there are signs of a fundamental paradox in its assessment of chieftaincy. On the one side it recognized chiefs and kings as "powers that be that are ordained by God" who therefore have a divinely-sanctioned claim on obedience.[8] But at the same time the Mission called for a root-and-branch excision of elements of traditional religion from traditional systems of rule, elements like animal sacrifice and libation which seem still today, for the populations involved, to be essential to the conduct of Akan and Cameroon Grassfield Kingdoms. In Ghana the mission's policy was to gather its converts into Christian villages, the so-called Salems, and to prohibit participation in traditional celebrations with a religious element.[9] In the University of Ghana in the 1960s it was axiomatic that the Salems were a colonialistic attempt to alienate people from their traditional culture and replace that culture with a pietistic western one. The decisive articulation of this view was probably a *j'accuse* addressed by the King of Akyem Abuakwa in 1941 to the Presbyterian Church Synod when it met in his capital, calling for a new formulation of the relations between Christian subjects and traditional rulers.[10] In Cameroon the Basel Mission may have laid less emphasis on separated living, but the potential dichotomy arising from the prohibition of Christian presence at heathen rites will have been real enough.

It seems to me to be axiomatic that, where they still exist, chiefs and kings are to be valued as representing a force for social cohesion, as being people at the summit of the means of arbitration and reconciliation in a familiar indigenous mode, using the familiar language and procedures and indeed strategies of local social patterns. But although chiefs and kings in Africa have these eminently moral functions, and although many of them in the regions we are discussing are, nowadays, "serious Christians," they are automatically put under church discipline on their election, on the grounds that their rule involves their presence at animal sacrifices and other non-Christian rites.[11] And this is no matter which can be handled discretely. My last experience of the public impact of this policy took place in Akropong in 1999. The "discipline" involves exclusion from participating in Holy Communion. At a Harvest Festival service after encouraging his people to contribute generously to the church's main annual fund-raising event, the king withdrew in his palanquin before Communion was celebrated, and as the Communion service got under way you could hear the sound of his drums growing weaker in the distance. Everyone knew the reason for his absence.

A Google search on the theme of the interrelations between chieftainy and Christianity in Ghana confirms this as a subject still engaging wide interest and much passion. But there is a strange anomaly in the academic literature which should be relevant to this theme. Both on the side of studies of tradition and of Christianity specific discussions of this point are rare. It is as if the mental structures of the old Salem debate have evolved into two quite separate modern discourses in which still the twain never meet. This can not only be checked by looking for chapter-headings but also by searching the topics offered by rear indexes of studies which should be relevant to this theme. Explicit indications of relations to "Christianity," "church" or "mission" are rarely or never found in studies of the traditional state. A striking

example of this anomaly is the major collection of high-level essays *Chieftaincy in Ghana* published in 2006, of whose 700 pages less than 30 are explicitly devoted to relations between chieftaincy and Christianity, and a dozen of those are devoted to one of the two marginal cases in South-Eastern Ghana in which a "chief" complicates matters who is in fact the elected chairman of the local Presbytery.[12] And on the "Christian" side even a trenchant and visionary commentator like Kwame Bediako, who built up the Akrofi-Christaller Research Institute in no less a city than Akropong, offers no specific paragraphs or rear-index references to issues in relations between church and traditional state in his main interpretation of African Church History.[13] Perhaps that is not too surprising given that the classic modern studies of Asante statecraft also avoid the topic; Asante's pre-colonial policy about missions was to keep them excluded from Asante territory. But this has helped to steer historians' eyes away from the question of what other policies about religion in general and missions in particular were possible and practiced in indigenous states around Asante's margins. And it seems to have inhibited many analysts from considering the possible cross-over elements in the cultural interrelationships of two classes of institution which nowadays attract the most public support and interest over the whole of rural and small-town Southern Ghana.[14]

It took the eye of an anthropologist, unexpectedly present in Akropong, a town which is both the capital of an Akan kingdom and the site of the first inland Basel Mission station in Ghana, to notice, in spite of the dichotomy public discourse asserted so loudly between Christianity and tradition, that in the 1970s there were many levels of lively interaction in Akropong between the traditional state and traditional family patterns on the one side, and the long-established Presybterian congregation on the other.[15] John Middleton's landmark essay on this can be taken to indicate that the anything-but-superficial discussions about the acceptable boundaries of Christian behaviour which he found being carried on by lay church elders in Akropong in the mid-1970s had deep chronological roots. Indeed in what can fairly be called a visionary periodisation of church-state relations in Akwapim he argued—working on the basis of his anthropologist's instincts, and without having a strong basis other than excellent oral sources among the town's church elders—that the serious work of mutual accommodation between church and state in Akwapim began already in the nineteenth century. These observations do not invalidate the fact that there is a last remnant of church intransigence in its attitude to chiefs and kings more than a century later.

The background literature on this theme in the Cameroon Grassfields is much less extensive than that relevant to this theme in Southern Ghana. Nevetheless Edward Lekunze was awarded a Ph.D. at the Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago in 1987 with a dissertation titled *Chieftaincy and Christianity in Cameroon 1886–1926*, concentrating especially on the activity of the Basel Mission.[16] He makes it clear which parts of his script refer to "Chieftaincy [as] relevant to a centralised and hierarchical structure." And two of his four case studies examine the kingdoms of Bali Nyonga and Bamum, which are important to the argument of the present essay too. He begins with an affirmative answer to the all-important

question, "Did the chief invite the missionaries?"—though one is justified in feeling that he was not able to go as far as necessary and possible in defining these two kings' policies vis-à-vis the mission. He does, however, rightly point out that an invitation from a chief was an invitation to approach a whole community structured as the elders of the community understood it, and comes to the conclusion that the missionaries at that stage had a fatal tendency to judge that "important Cameroonian social structures and institutions, *as chieftaincy* . . . were steeped in a 'heathen' culture [and] were outrightly anti-Christian, and had to be subverted" (my emphasis).[17] A recent and as yet unpublished SOAS dissertation by Guy Thomas takes this history on into the inter-war period, in a chapter which, reporting on relations with Grassfields chiefs, is, at least at first sight, dominated by conflicts over control over individuals and families between chiefs exercising their traditional authority, and missionaries and indigenous church leaders "bringing up" new Christians to live in the parameters appropriate to Christians.[18]

A search for clues as to the modern situation of chiefs and kings in relation to mainstream churches in the Anglophone part of the Cameroon Grassfields is not easy to pursue without the kind of fieldwork which allows one to test consistency between spoken norms and the actual conduct of affairs by both sides. But I am inclined to listen carefully to a European colleague, Hans Knöpfli, who during thirty years of work in the Grassfields as an organiser of church schools and pioneer of "fair trade" exports of village handicrafts to first world purchasers, also accepted appointment to exective traditional office in Bali Nyonga and Bamessing/Nsei. In reply to a recent question from me he wrote "that social harmony is one of the highest values in Grassland culture, and one which, when serious breaches of harmony occur, requires sacrifice for restoration." No doubt the situation in the Cameroon Grasslands is in some ways differently nuanced compared with that in Ghana. But the presence of the same lack of fit between chieftaincy and church can be sensed, and with it a largely unknown history of decades of multi-level tensions and searches for accommodation between the two sides.

The range of unresolved questions in relations between church and traditional state, no doubt changing over time, must have touched the daily lives of the inhabitants of the regions of Ghana and Cameroon discussed here for generations. Outsiders often scarcely realise that this is a problematic area. Sometimes, however, it can present itself in unexpected ways, as when the the chief of Agogo in Asante, on an official inter-Governmental visit to Switzerland in 1999 (he was also the Ghanaian Minister of Culture at the time), asked to be received by the Mission 21 leadership. In the old Mission's administrative Holy of Holies—the Basel Mission *Komiteezimmer* or Board Room—he asked to be brought a tray with a jug of water, a glass, and a large plate. With these he poured libation, calling on the name of God, on the names of his ancestors, and of missionaries who are well-known in the history of his town.[19] This was his main "message" in the Mission House, and has to be interpreted as a powerful appeal, in a traditional mode, to the European "mother institution" of the

Presbyterian Church of Ghana to be open to a renewed discussion of the incorporation of pre-Christian rites of social cohesion.

Structuring the subject matter of this paper with its intention to do justice to two different regions and their traditional polities, whilst also reflecting on the application of visual sources to the specific question of church-state relations, has of course not proved easy. I begin with a cursory statement of the history of the Basel Mission and its photography in Ghana and Cameroon, and continue with the definition and in-depth contemplation of what I consider a *genre* of missionary portraits of kings and chiefs in the Cameroon Grassfields during the Inter-War Period reflecting—to anticipate my results—the open interaction of two different categories of office-holders, kings/chiefs and missionaries. I then compare those findings with the portraits of kings and chiefs taken by Basel missionaries in the years before 1914 in Cameroon, especially those taken by a lady of unusual talent, which help to define, by comparison, the characteristics of the *genre* of the inter-war period there. Finally I turn to photographs from Ghana, and pursue with those holdings the themes which have arisen with the holdings from Cameroon.

The Basel Mission and its Photography in West Africa: A Chronological Summary

According to the website statistics of the Basel Mission photo collection there are 1,200 "hits" when a search is made for Ghanaian and Cameroonian images with the keywords "king" and "chief," 65 percent of them Cameroonian images, 35 percent Ghanaian.[20] There is a certain paradox in the way that the number from Cameroon is larger than that from Ghana , since the first pertinent photograph from a Basel missionary in Ghana dates back to the late 1860s,[21] and the earliest from the Cameroon Grassfields to only 1902.[22] The difference can partly be ascribed to the different historical trajectories of the Basel Mission in Ghana and Cameroon, and partly to the increasing ease with which photographs could be taken over time.

The Basel Mission first sent missionaries to Ghana in 1828.[23] In the 1850s it was establishing inland stations in what is now the Eastern Region of Ghana, moving into Asante when that state became accessible to mission work in 1896. It participated in the coming of the high colonial period in the early twentieth century as a provider of schools, and through its Trading Company's involvement in the export of cocoa.[24] During the First World War, however, the Basel Mission and its Trading Company were expelled from this British colony. The Trading Company was allowed to return after the war under specific conditions which included a full separation of the two organizations. The missionaries were allowed back in limited numbers only in the mid-1920s, at first under the tutelage of the Scottish Mission, and in any case in the context of an African church, newly established with formal indepen-

dence, which entitled itself "Presbyterian." It was perhaps something of a coincidence that none of the post-1928 missionaries in Ghana seem to have been passionate photographers—or at least, that none of them are known as passionate photographers in the Basel Mission archive (there may well still be family holdings of photographs from that period which are not known publicly). But the missionaries were much smaller in number than they had been in Ghana before the First World War, and smaller in number than the Basel Missionaries in Cameroon in the interwar period. Post-1914 photographs from Ghana are, therefore, relatively few and not a body which can keep pace qualitatively with the photographs reviewed in this article.

Before 1914, on the other hand, the Ghana archive contains the production of some notable photographers. The two earliest ones, Wilhelm Locher[25] and Christian Hornberger,[26] did not leave us many images, not surprisingly in view of the amount of complicated handwork with chemicals involved in producing a negative and a print in the 1860s. Two later ones, Fritz Ramseyer[27] and Rudolf Fisch,[28] were active with a camera from the late 1880s to about 1910. They have left us large numbers of interesting and good quality photographs and in the case of Ramseyer a group of images from chiefs' courts in Kwahu which are probably to be regarded as a very important documentation of chiefs' self-presentation and the ornaments displayed by their entourages in the years immediately before their incorporation in the British colony.[29]

Cameroon became a German colony only in 1885, and in that year the German government urged the Basel Mission to take over the work on the coast (Victoria and Duala) started by the British Baptist Missionary Society. It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that the missionaries reached the Grassfields. The enthusiasm for photography there in the decade and a half before the First World War probably had to do with the excitement of discovery. The region between the Cameroon coast and Lake Chad had been assigned to Germany in the international negotiations of the 1880s, but it was only from the mid-1890s that German colonial officers began to move far enough inland to make contact with the spectacular Grassfields kingdoms and they thus became known to the German-speaking public. In this first contact situation two kingdoms in particular pursued a policy of attracting government, mission, and commercial Europeans to their territories to serve their own purposes—Bamum and Bali Nyonga. In both the Basel Mission opened a mission station.

But to see the notable photographic *oevres* which developed in these two kingdoms before 1914–15 only in terms of their impact with the public "at home" would be superficial. The harvest of photographs from Bali Nyonga is of enough anthropological significance to have been the subject of intensive study by Richard Fardon in his monograph on the kingdom's annual *Lela* festival, and reflects the way pre-1914 Basel Mission photography was very much orientated to the theological discipline of Religious Studies.[30] As for the much larger kingdom of Bamum: there the King seems to have understood quickly that photogra-

phy was a new and very effective medium for spreading the news of his power and majesty. As we have seen, Christraud Geary made "German colonial photography at the court of King Njoya" (including the work of Basel missionaries) the subject of a landmark exhibition in the Smithsonian National Museum of African Art in 1988.[31] One particularly talented missionary-cum-writer-cum-photographer, Anna Wuhrman, created a broad, dignified, and *anmutig* (appealing) photographic portrait of inhabitants of the Bamum capital, Fumban, in the years immediately before the seizure of the kingdom by British and French forces during the First World War.[32] Geary has repeatedly shown that the body of photography from Bamum before 1914 can yield good results to an anthropological analysis. But in the case of Bamum I think it is true that a major motivation for mission photography was a joint wish among missionaries and the King to make the quality of life and rule in Fumban, the Bamum capital, known in Europe. The King had his eyes partly on the German political and commercial elite. But both King and missionaries will have understood the role of the Basel Mission as a popular movement in South-West Germany and in Switzerland in support for the Basel Mission's presence in his kingdom.

As in Ghana the Basel Mission was expelled from Cameroon during the First World War, and was never allowed back into what became Francophone Cameroon, being replaced there by the Paris Mission.[33] This meant that the involvement with Bamum was broken off—and indeed the defeat and expulsion of its German Christian allies undoubtedly played a major role in the Kingdom's adoption of Islam as its main religious identity, during and immediately after the First World War. The Basel Mission was allowed back into those parts of the British mandate area, however where it had been working before the War, and which now correspond to the North-West and South-West Provinces of Cameroon. And Anglophone Cameroon quickly became its major area of emphasis in Africa, with energetic efforts at pioneering work in setting up congregations and schools precisely in the territories of the Grassfields kingdoms and chiefdoms. The number of photographs taken in the area in the inter-war period was correspondingly high and photography as an activity taken up, as we shall see, by several missionaries.

Defining a Genre: Basel Mission Portraits of Grassfield Chiefs in the Inter-War Period

Getting a handle on the large number of photographs possibly relevant for this study is not easy. My tendency right at the beginning of preparatory work for this paper was to concentrate on the kind of image which is presumably closest to the relations between missionaries and chiefs/kings—the portrait. After looking at a large number of photographs I decided to begin with the relatively unknown body of images from the Cameroon Grassfields in the inter-war period, partly in order not to be pre-determined in my analysis by Ramseyer and Anna Wuhrmann as major figures in the Basel Mission photographic history we have just

reviewed—and in order, too, to bring into prominence missionary photographers who have not yet been the subject of close attention.[34] And after having defined that first theoretical focus I know no other methodology than browsing through the relevant holdings of photographs, contemplating them, thinking about them, envisaging the situation in which a photograph was taken both from the point of view of those behind and in front of the camera, and gradually getting a feeling for the different thematic groupings and analytical issues which seem to be coming up. The process, of course, needs to be repeated and refined with each body of images one selects—first impressions can be misleading (see the commentaries on figures 5.9 and 5.10, 5.11, and 5.12). In this case I identified twenty-eight images which one could put under the heading of "portraits of chiefs/kings from the Cameroon Grassfields in the inter-war period." This group shades over in one direction into a category where the photographer seemed more interested in Grassfields' architecture than in the people inhabiting the buildings. In another direction it shades over into a group of images showing chiefs attending Sunday services or Mission Festivals. But a good two-thirds of these "portraits of chiefs" seemed to me to justify the definition of a common genre which describes the way in which the photographer went about his work—and the chief/king presented himself. Figures 5.1 to 5. 4 are the examples and reference-points for this genre which I now discuss.[35]

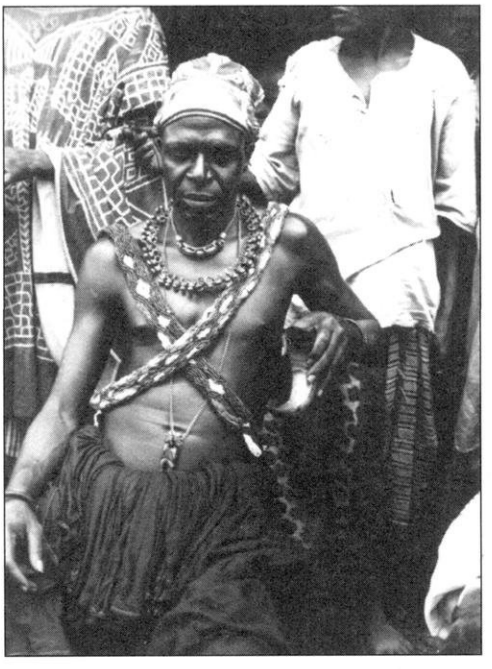

Figure 5.1. "The Chief of Mbod (Nsungli) in his national costume," Wilhelm Zürcher, photographer.

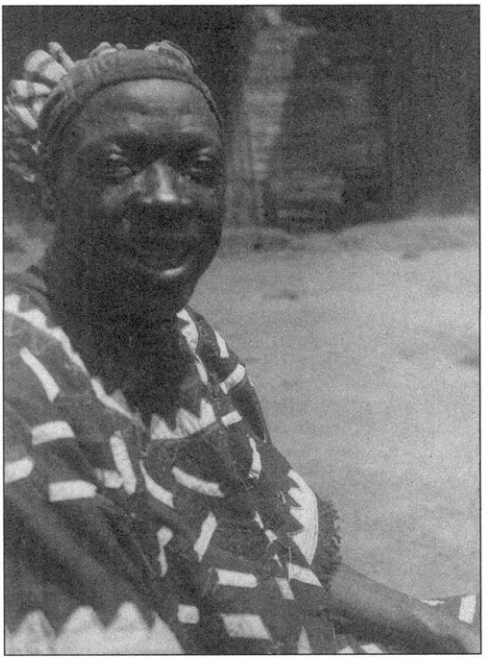

Figure 5.2. "Chief Kuba from Wum," Wilhelm Schneider, photographer.

Figure 5.3. "The Banso Chief," Wilhelm Zürcher, photographer.

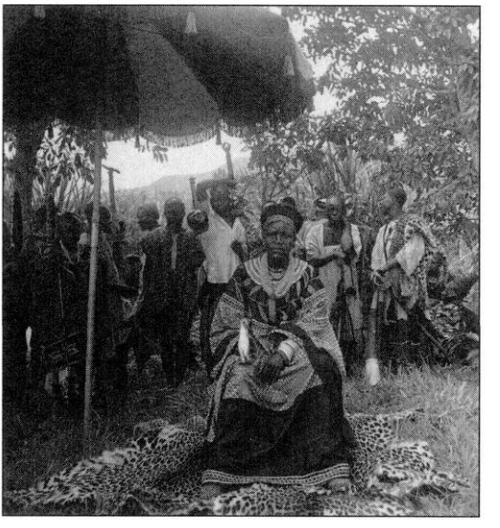

Figure 5.4. No original caption. From an album, "Cameroon 1930–39, G. & B. Tischhauser," photographer unknown.

I suggest that that the genre I am identifying shows five characteristics:

- The images are clearly portraits of individuals, and not depictions of types, in this case of typical office-holders.
- They are close-ups, or semi-close-ups. With the exception of figure 5.4 (a chief with entourage and the ornaments some carry), they all tend, more in some portraits, less in others, toward intimacy and informality. Members of the chief's entourage are sometimes present, but this does not reduce the impact of the image as a portrait of a single person.
- They are at most only minimally posed. The spontaneity with which the subjects look at the camera strongly suggests that the photographs are not solely "designed" by the photographer. Rather they look like products of a personal, reciprocal relationship between photographer and subject which is, on the whole, not conflictual. The facial expressions are often "speaking," rather than being immobile or relaxed, and therefore seem generated, at least to an equal degree, by the subject.
- All are seated (except for figure 5.1, where it is not immediately clear whether the chief is seated or leaning). But the objects on which the chiefs are sitting are in all but one case covered and evidently of no importance to the photograph, although this is a region with a strong culture of elite stools.[36] It is true that in figure 5.3 we are given a good view

of a large and handsome leopard stool, but the intimacy of the portrait reduces the stool with its formal hierocratic significance almost to the level of the incidental. The emphasis is again on the personalities of the chiefs, not their exotic settings.

- The portraits are characterized by *a level gaze* between chief and camera—or better, between the chief and the person behind the camera (or: the person organizing the taking of the picture).[37]

Looking again at the twenty-eight images, having formulated these characteristics, I should agree that the gaze is not always level. One head-and-shoulders portrait shows a man looking slightly upwards under a creased brow—but the caption calls him a "sub-chief," and he was perhaps well-practiced in securing space for independent thought and action which a level-gaze relationship with his superior might tend to limit.[38] Another shows the same man as figure 5.3 but in a much less friendly mode, glancing out of the corner of his eye away from the camera.[39] But on the whole the characteristics stand up to examination. There is one portrait of a chief sitting alone taken from above in a somewhat distant shot, which might be taken to indicate that a photographer was depicting him as a weak and isolated non-Christian antagonist. But this photograph was immediately followed by a semi-close-up, still taken somewhat from above, but in which the chief is definitely looking the camera in the eye with no indication of weakened self-assurance.[40]

What do these characteristics add up to, or signify? And how far can this definition of a genre add a new emphasis based on visual sources to analyses of the relations between missionaries and chiefs based on verbal sources?

We do need to recall that we are talking about a colonial situation. But indications of a hierarchy imposed by the photographer are absent. And I have seen no sign, among the subjects, of being forced into having their photograph taken, or worse, of fearing they would lose soul to the camera, that colonial legend about African primitiveness which crops up still in generalizations about photography and about which, in my opinion, severe doubt is appropriate.[41] Indeed, there is photographic evidence (figures 5.5 and 5.6) that in this period the photographing missionary had more or less become a part of the furniture in Cameroon Grassland chieftaincies and kingdoms. In figure 5.5 he is being largely ignored. In figure 5.6 he is the object of the kind of benign witticisms of which most of us who have lived in any African country for any length of time have been the frequent object, and which we mostly learned to enjoy ourselves—if we understood them.

In dealing with the Basel Mission's Cameroon photographs it is always important to refer back to Christraud Geary's work and here two recent publications—both about the spread of photography as an African activity in the period under discussion—are critically relevant. Her 2004 essay stresses the importance of the photographic subject as author in photography in Africa, and urges a focus on linkages of all members of colonial society through their continual interactions, in interpreting the images we study. This is congruent

with the kind of analysis I am attempting here. But she then goes on to write that there is "a common African convention of looking directly into the camera," a formulation which challenges the significance I lay on my criterion 5.[42] The level gaze I perceive would, in her eyes, not be particularly remarkable. If criterion 5 loses profile, however, the intimacy of the portraits (criterion 2) and above all the spontaneity of the facial expressions (criterion 3) fall more heavily on the scales. At the moment I am not aware of relevant studies of facial expressions in photographic material relevant to this discussion of Cameroon in the inter-war years, or even of the coming of the "presentation smile" in West African portrait photography. But the expressions on the chiefs' faces, while not relaxed, do not correspond simply to the fixed intentional smile. It is much more as if photographer and chief were in conversation before and after the shutter moved; hence my referring to the "speaking expression" on their faces. And my continued assertion that these are portraits arising from a reciprocal relationship.

In spite of its open-archive policy the Basel Mission has proved, because of its German language and script, very opaque for most people researching Anglophone Cameroon in the inter-war period. But we are fortunate in having the recent SOAS dissertation referred to above—still, sadly, unpublished—which tackles the development of the Basel Mission's successor church as an African church in the inter-war period. Guy Thomas's chapter on relationships between missionaries and chiefs is the most direct way of approaching the question whether the definition of this genre can add to a general historical study in a way verbal sources cannot.[43] Thomas's complex pattern of sources—documents in the Basel Mission

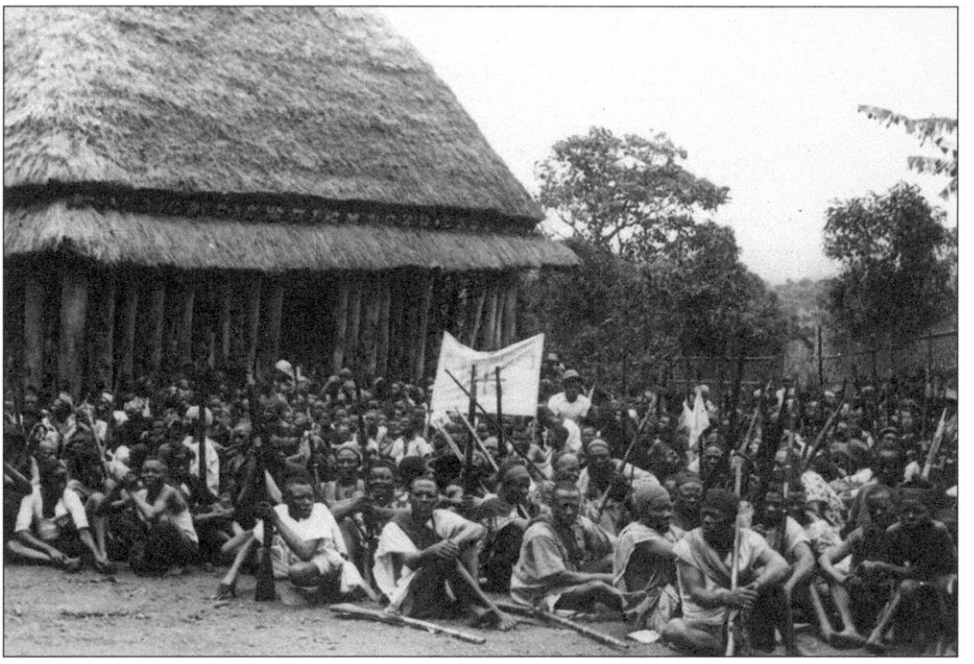

Figure 5.5. "The guests at a festival are waiting for the food, which is to be supplied by the chief of Bali," Wilhelm Zürcher, photographer.

Figure 5.6: "Palavar. In the chief's compound," Karl Lipp, photographer.

archive in Basel, and the Presbyterian Church archive in Buea which he himself helped to build up, plus interviews conducted in Cameroon—offers an unsuperficial history of conflict and co-operation between chiefs and traditionalists in the Grassfields and the Basel Mission communities (missionaries, local Mission employees, and congregations). As he writes, local solutions had to be found to local clashes of authority between the two sides. But the verbal sources are, in my opinion, biased towards reporting on conflict. Serious conflicts, of course, occurred, and they generated—and in interviews may well still generate—their own committed partisan documentation on the Christian side. But one can also trace in the importance of key words like "persecution" both in manuscript originals and in published reports, the appeal made by the Basel Mission in Basel to its supporters at home to maintain their financial support for "threatened" congregations even during years when they themselves were suffering economic depression and political upheaval. All that took place in a context in which the Basel Mission, as a mainstream Protestant missionary society, had, as we have said, no pattern of thought about the religious underpinnings of an African state other than blanket condemnation. In other words, missionaries had a threefold motivation to report to Basel mainly about conflict: the conflicts themselves, the need to appeal for support, and the difficulty of reporting about rapprochements with traditional authorities which the fathers of orthodoxy in Basel would view with skepticism.

At the conclusion of his chapter with its emphasis on conflict, however, Dr. Thomas suggests that eventually "a reformed mode of interaction emerged between chiefs, their subjects, and the [Basel Mission's] sub-clergy."[44] He offers some indications to suggest that this indeed happened. And his experiences in Cameroon will have suggested that a change of this kind must have taken place. But there are methodological problems in using verbal sources to work on the theme of this rapprochement. There is not only the potential hostility of readers in the Mission House in Basel inhibiting open reporting on this subject. There is also the point that compromises between "church" and "state" will have been essentially local, special to each of the many king- or chiefdoms, and negotiated orally in a local language. If I am correct in thinking that we can talk about a genre of portraits from this period centred on the level gaze and spontaneous exchange between individual chiefs and representatives of the Basel Mission, this would be a strong visual indication that conflict by no means dominated relations with chiefs at this time. Thus we can argue that flexible relations, based on mutual respect and interest, were a major part of the Grassfields life of the Basel Mission's church—that Dr. Thomas's "reformed mode of interaction" really did develop in the inter-war period, and that we have here portraits which suggest the kind of relationships in which his new "reformed" consensus on relations between "church" and "state" grew.

Pre-War Mission Photography in Bamum in Relation to Post-War Grassfields Portraits Of Kings and Chiefs[45]

Anna Wuhrmann was one of the most prolific of the Basel Mission's Grassfields photographers, and the one most published at the time the photographs were being taken.[46] As we shall see she also introduced a very new quality into the images from the Grassfields circulating among missionaries and their supporters. She first arrived in Bamum in 1911.[47] She was expelled with the arrival of the British and French forces in this part of Cameroon in mid-1915. She did return for a brief period after the war, loaned to the Paris Mission as it took over Basel Mission work in Bamum, and she thus experienced the hostility which Njoya had developed to Christianity.[48] But the bulk of her photography dates from the early months of 1915 or earlier, when there were mostly cordial relations between "church" and "state," and the Basel Mission clearly occupied a favoured position in Bamum's response to German colonisation, and in what we could very well call its modernisation policies.

Although Christraud Geary devoted a chapter to Anna Wuhrmann in the guide to her Smithsonian exhibition in 1988,[49] the definitive work on Wuhrmann's Fumban photography remains to be written. In particular a series of about 70 notes on individual images which she herself composed in 1917, apparently as a script in case these images would be used by the Basel Mission in public slide shows, was found in an attic in the Mission House in Basel *after* Geary's exhibition (for figure 5.8 see the full English translation of one of those notes in

the appendix to this chapter.)[50] And the intensive correlation of information about persons in Bamum which would be possible between her photographs, the Basel Mission's general archive, and Wuhrmann's own monographs remains, as I write, an unfulfilled dream.

Anna Wuhrmann's particular field of innovation was the portrait. We do not know what sort of camera or film she used, but the shading she achieved in capturing light falling on dark skins is often strikingly beautiful. Her portraits largely document people from Njoya's court and its immediate environs. They vary from full-length depictions of her subjects as individuals or as groups to close-ups of individuals. Her most innovative work was done with head-and-shoulder close-up portraits, often of women, utilizing a variety of camera angles, both in the vertical and the horizontal planes. In contrast to the genre documented above, the straight and level gaze is only one of many possible relationships between camera and subject in her work.

Christraud Geary was evidently very touched by Wuhrmann's images, and summed up the impact they made on her in sentences which have lodged in my mind, and are as fresh now as when I first saw them almost twenty-five years ago:

> Only one photographer [in Fumban] transcended the prescribed relationship between the photographer and the photographic subject and thus overcame the limitation inherent in the ethnographic way of picturing the Other. Anna Wuhrmann, a missionary teacher, developed close friendships with the Bamum people. In her photography she focussed on people and their personalities, creating strikingly intimate images that are almost modern in their conception.[51]

Two points in this judgment are important in connection with the analysis I am attempting here. First of all Geary is, I think, quite correct to emphasize Wuhrmann as the main active factor in the taking of the photographs (". . . she focused on people and their personalities. . . ."). Indeed, it was after looking at the Wuhrmann portraits, with the camera angles carefully chosen, and sensitive use of light, that I extended the list of genre characteristics of portraits of chiefs in the interwar period to include the elements of level gaze and spontaneous co-control by those portrayed in the way the photographs worked out, in contradistinction to Wuhrmann's style. Wuhrmann usually took photographs of relaxed faces, where the later portraitists seem to have encouraged spontaneous facial expressions in their subjects.

Secondly, the word "friendship" is vital to Geary's judgment, but difficult to parse. There is no indication that Geary is using the term "friendship" in any specific social science way. Nor is she referring to any codified relations of friendship, like the "*Duzfreundschaften*" she will have experienced as a young adult in her German home. She is writing about something difficult to define and insert into a social science discussion—mutual interest, empathy, and enjoyment. There is, perhaps, a subtext here. My feeling is that "friendship" is symmetrical in this judgment to the observation that Wuhrmann had overcome the limitations "in the ethnographic approach to the Other." Geary needed a term to describe Wuhrmann's

relations with the people she photographed which represented liberation from social theory and the colonial gaze, and found it in "friendship." At all events "friendship" indicates an open unstructured element in her relationships with her Fumban subjects.

Wuhrmann is pivotal to evaluating Basel Mission photographs linked to kings and chiefs in the Grassfields in the sense that, as we discuss below, we can be confident she influenced the Mission photographers of the inter-war years in Cameroon. But she is also pivotal in the sense that Geary included Wuhrmann's male colleagues who photographed before 1914 as being part of the much more restricted approach to photography which Wuhrmann had left behind her. This latter assertion is not altogether easy to expound. Yes, the male colleagues selected a somewhat different pattern of photographic subjects—rural and urban views, architecture, mixed groups of missionaries and local notables, especially the King (figure 5.7). But their subjects do overlap with Wuhrmann's: they photograph some family groups, and there are some portraits of individuals. It is when we look at the group portraits taken by the male missionaries that we begin to see a difference, which presumably had a lot to do with gender issues. Eugene Schwarz[52] and Martin Göhring[53] took portraits of groups and even individuals, but they stop well short of the quality which Wuhrmann brought to this work.

Figure 5.7. "Missionaries visiting the chief in Fumban," Martin Göhring, photographer.

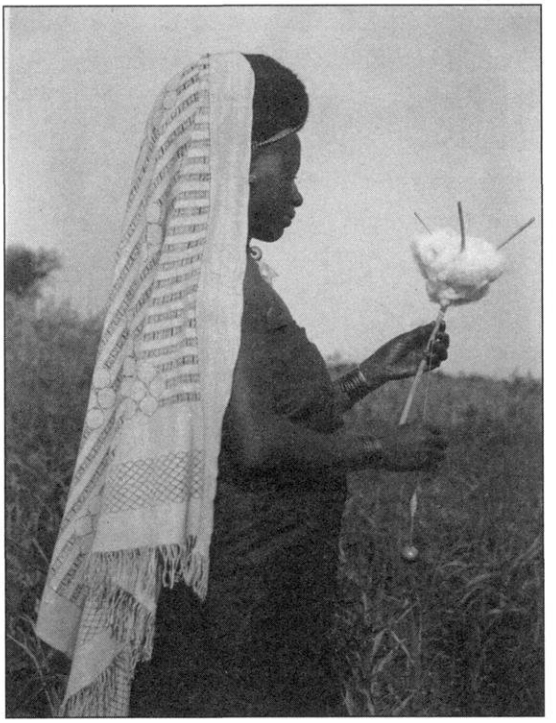

Figure 5.8: "Nkpundia, a wife of the King, spinning," Anna Wuhrmann, photographer.

Leaving aside her own specific gifts as a photographer and a human being, Wuhrmann, one can argue, had two advantages when it came to attempting and carrying through her series of intimate portraits. She was not without responsibility as a missionary. But she was a woman, and her responsibilities were limited and sectorial, to do with education for girls. True, conflict might occur between a woman teacher and the leaders of this polity about who her girls were going to marry. Many young women were apparently assigned by the King to marry particular men, especially those who were notionally related to the King—an important source of royal power and influence.[54] But the general impression given by Wuhrmann's writings and portraits is that she was a welcome source of innovative impulses in Bamum among her pupils, their mothers, their fathers and their potential husbands, and a welcome bridge into personally experiencing contact with the European power which had invaded the Bamum world.[55]

The male missionaries, on the other hand, had to carry the full responsibility for running a mission according to Basel instructions, while achieving daily compromises with local society.[56] And, of course, in the eyes of the German colonial government in Cameroon—with whom the Basel Mission's relations were anything but consistently harmonious (in 1907 Basel missionaries played a role in the agitation which led to the dismissal of Governor von Puttkamer)—it was the male staff of the Basel Mission who were regarded as being responsible for what went on, and not their wives or unmarried female assistants.

Wuhrmann's pivotal importance to the history of Basel Mission photography in the setting of the Grassfields kingdoms and chiefdoms has thus to do with her achievement of a breakthrough into taking portraits showing a radically increased sense of intimacy with those portrayed. It is interesting to be able to go on from there to remark that real set-piece racially-mixed group portraits with missionaries and, for example, the King, are rare in Wuhrmann's *oevre,* but an important part of the photographs by Göhring and Schwarz. But the mens' mixed group portraits of missionaries and local leaders seem more to have the character of portrayals of official relations, however informal the meetings may seem at first sight (figure 5.7).[57]

The male photographers who produced the portraits of chiefs in the inter-war period we have examined may well, in this context, have been influenced to attempt a closer and more informal style of photography by Wurhmann's example. But the regularity with which they record that level gaze is almost certainly not merely a difference between a simple and a complex aesthetic vocabulary. Perhaps their relationships with their subjects were less multivalent than hers. However much the portraits reflect a reciprocal personal relationship it was always, also, seemingly a relationship between two classes of office-holders who might perhaps clash in discharging of their responsibilities.

Incorporating the Photographs from Ghana in This Analysis

We turn now to the photographs of kings and chiefs from Ghana in the Basel Mission archive. Taken overall the largest category of images relevant to this paper—something like half of the photographs of kings and chiefs from both before and after the First World War—shows subjects in one of two familiar traditional formations. In one a chief/king and his male subjects are arranged for an audience in a steeply angled isosceles triangle, with the short side open, and the chief/king sitting at the apex opposite the open side (figures 5.9 and 5.10, and in a more elaborate form figures 5.11 and 5.12). In the other the chief/king is in motion. He may be on foot, escorted by a small group and shaded by an umbrella. Or he may be in a much larger formation on a festival occasion, being carried in a palanquin. In all three of these formations, groups of servants and supporters are present in their appropriate places. During a formal audience, or when he is being carried in a palanquin, his umbrella carrier is present, as are "souls" with their gold ornamental plates hanging on their chests, carriers of ceremonial state swords, bodyguards, drummers, stool- and palanquin carriers, and "linguists".[58]

An interesting question arises. Comparing the portraits of chiefs/kings and their entourages in southern Ghana in this collection with those from the Cameroon Grassfields, it looks as if the life of chief's or kings' courts was much less subject to a set choreography of varied office-holders in the Cameroon Grassfields than in the Akan world. Indeed, if we were to look for genres in the photography of chiefs and kings taken by Basel missionaries

in Ghana the predominant ones, as I have suggested here, are determined by "traditional" and indigenous formality. The kind of spontaneity which I have tried to demonstrate is important in the body of mission photographs of Cameroonian chiefs in the inter-war period is absent or very weak in this large group of Ghanaian photographs.[59]

This group of photographs is dominated by indigenous formality that shades over into individuals or multiples, and of these often nontraditional, portraits of kings or chiefs, their spouses, or immediate relatives. But even here the relationship between camera and subject is distanced. The missionary photographers almost always use that distance to show the subjects full-figure. I have found only two head-and-shoulder portraits of kings or chiefs. One is a portrait of the Chief of Agogo, who had special relations with the Basel Mission as the donor of land for their mission hospital in his capital.[60] The other is a portrait of the "King of Kumase," i.e., the former king of Asante, who had returned as a Christian from an exile—mostly in the Seychelles—which had begun in 1896 and ended in 1924.[61] Both subjects will have had their special reasons for agreeing to a more intimate style of photograph in this case than was otherwise usual.

The main point where photographs of kings and chiefs in the Basel Mission holdings on Ghana show a degree of congruence with the Cameroon genre as defined above is in the

Figure 5.9. "Preaching before the chief of Obomeng," Fritz Ramseyer, photographer.

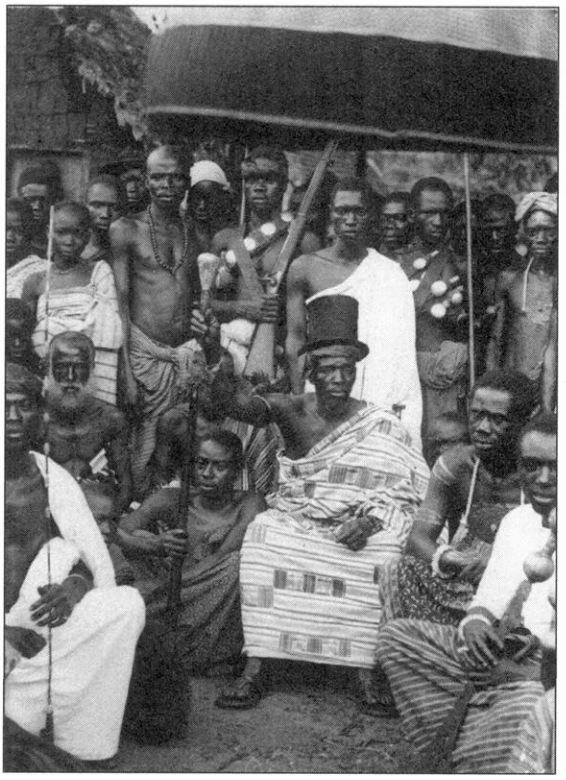

Figure 5.10. "The indigenous chief of Obomeng," Fritz Ramseyer, photographer.

way the camera and its subject exchange level glances. The persons responsible for taking the photographs seem certainly not to have attempted to use camera angles to assert a morally or culturally superior position for Basel missionaries. This even applies to Fritz Ramseyer, a spade-bearded pioneer missionary of the first water.[62] And on their side the chiefs—and their entourages—look at or near the camera, on the level, resolutely, but to a degree very different from that of the Cameroonian chiefs in figures 1 to 4 the images are the opposite of intimate. The whole ensemble stresses, it seems to me, distance and difference.

Kings, Chiefs, and Missionaries: Further Indications of the Encounter Behind the Photographs

It is clear that Basel missionaries invested time, inventiveness, and, probably from the late nineteenth century onwards, their own money in taking photographs of chiefs, kings, and their immediate environments.[63] And it is clear that many chiefs and kings co-operated in this. Easy explanations of this situation which would be generally accepted in the modern West are not hard to formulate. Chiefs and kings in areas where the Basel Mission worked were spectacular symbols of the exotic setting in which mission was taking place, and in Germany (where the majority of Basel Mission supporters lived) monarchical sentiment and interest in distant kings remained high. The photographs were perhaps made simply to

Figure 5.11. "King of Akropong and [illegible: a Banyan Tree?]," photographer unknown.

authenticate what the Basel missionaries were doing, and to stimulate monetary contributions. First impressions of photographs in the Basel Mission collection can however be very misleading and often only confirm existing Western prejudices and biases. Seeking an orientation in terms of the local context, where the photographs were taken, is essential if we are to take the pictures' subjects seriously.

Taking all three groups together we have first of all confirmation of the assertion from first principles, with which I began this essay. Missions-and-churches, and chieftaincy, in these two regions were indeed bound in intricate and long-lasting relationships. These were partly and fundamentally relations of conflict, but the quality of the photographic record would emphasize rather the element of negotiation and adjustment. Thinking about the situation in which both sides found themselves, we can also consider that this was a relationship in which both sides explored the other, in which for both sides the other was a reference point for understanding a major external presence in a complicated and confusing world. For the missionaries, in particular, the photographic record would tend to indicate that kings, chiefs, and their courts were places where authoritative answers, in the broadest sense, could be had to questions concerning cultural and social relationships about which in their early years in a region they would have been ignorant. For the missionaries, kings, chiefs, and their entourages personified the culture they upheld.

FIigure 5.12. "King of Akropong with all the chiefs," photographer unknown.

For instance, the archive records a commentary on figure 5.3 which explains that the photographer "understands how to win [the] trust" of the king in the photograph. "He maintained close contact with him, told him exactly what he would be preaching to his people, and, after every journey [there] he reported in detail what he had experienced."[64] Translated into non-mission-centric language this is a clear indication that this king was fully informed orally about the activities of the missionary in his kingdom. The missionary briefed him on arrival. I would then use the formulation that the *King* debriefed *the missionary* before his departure. In any case we can be sure that the conversations were not one-sided, that the missionary will have gained decisive insights into the organization and ethics—the culture—of Banso through this contact.

In the same way, after study of figures 5.9 and 5.10, I argue that Fritz Ramseyer was not simply following a Western choreography and preaching to the Chief of Obomeng and his (male) people, however much the missionary gesture recorded by the camera may have been intended to give that impression to European eyes, as was the information Ramseyer himself published about the picture (see the comment on figure 5.9). He will have been placing himself in principle in the choreography of statements and replies in an Akan chief's or king's court, in which a chief's "linguist" (*okyeame*) will have communicated the visitor's concern to the chief and his entourage in a rephrased and repeated form, and after discus-

sion the linguist's formulation of what had been decided was the decisive communication to the visitor. I would also argue that such contacts played a large role in the way missionaries learned about their cultural environment and its specific implications for whatever they intended to do or communicate. Of course, it may be that what is propagated nowadays as a fundamentally unchanging custom centred on the role of the "linguist" is a modern "invention of tradition," but having found a nineteenth-century linguist's staff in figure 5.10. I am strongly inclined to argue that what I was told in southern Ghana was normal and ancient etiquette in a chief's court will have applied to these encounters.[65] It is clear that their involvement in indirect rule formalized aspects of chieftaincy in Ghana. But very early photographs in the Basel Mission collection—photographs, like these from Kwahu, which can with some justice be categorized as pre-colonial rather than colonial—repeat what are now familiar Akan court formations, like that in figure 5.10.

Having raised this point, other broader considerations and patterns of information can be brought into relation to the photographs discussed here. We have already seen that Guy Thomas argues that the central point of relations between missionaries and their Cameroon colleagues on the one side, and chiefs and kings on the other, was a question of "mutual recognition, tolerance or defiance," and that co-existence between "'traditional' customs and Christian values had to be [or better, were being] negotiated."[66]

In relation to Ghana, Michelle Gilbert and I in a recent publication comment on documents pertaining to a sharp conflict between the king of Akwapim and the Basel Mission Church in 1900, which demonstrates how much expertise had been gathered by the two sides about each other in sixty years of the Basel Mission presence in the state capital, Akropong.[67] This conflict was about the terms to be observed if a certain king's "Soul" was to be allowed to resign from his traditional duties and become a full member of the church.[68] The crucial point in relation to the argument of this article is that both sides—"church" and "state"—sought to defend themselves and manipulate the other by reference to rules and regulations prevalent *on the other side of the dispute.* This became most clear during fierce arguments about the ex-soul's marriage status, which was linked to the question of the disposal of the man's estate in the event of his death (he was a wealthy merchant, elderly and childless, and had been seriously ill). The king's knowledge of Christian ethics and congregational rules was extensive, and he incorporated them in his attempt to steer the church towards agreeing that one of the King's own female relatives should be acknowledged as having the right to be the man's single Christian wife. But the church responded by citing traditional procedures which had linked the man to another women in what was to be regarded as his primary formal traditional marriage, which gave that woman the right to be regarded as his single Christian wife.[69] The king, in the traditional way, had accepted the role of witness to that marriage by accepting "drinkables" at the time this news was passed to him. He could scarcely now cast serious doubt on the existence and validity of this other marriage.

Such detailed and concrete insights into the relations between the Basel Mission and traditional authorities in West Africa are not easy to find, but once one considers—in situations of conflict or as part of normal discussions between the two sides—that issues like these were a matter of constant negotiation, then it becomes quite plausible that kings' and chiefs' courts were central reference points for the missionaries' growing cultural competence.

Jan Vansina's *Paths in the Rainforests* can be read to emphasize how all human communities have centres of intellectual articulation in which new problems are perceived and examined, common opinions developed as to their nature, and common solutions discussed and attempted.[70] Here it was the kingdoms and chiefdoms that acted as centres of intellectual articulation. Indeed, one could argue that they consciously understand themselves as centres of excellence in competition with other, similar centres.[71]

Such centres may well have been interested in gaining the adherence of persons of unusual gifts, incorporating people with desired talents even though they may have no claim to such a position of leadership through descent. The *Nkom* in the court of the Fon of Bali Nyonga in the Cameroon Grassfields—a state which, as we have seen, played an important part in Basel Mission history in this region—are appointed *ad personam* for their talents, for instance. Using visual sources we can almost certainly recognise that at least one missionary in the early stages of contact with the Basel Mission was enrobed as an *Nkom*; so it seems thirty years later was a non-Bali pastor who was becoming influential in the area.[72] Quite unambiguously a modern Swiss colleague, Hans Knöpfli, has been enrobed as *Nkom* three decades ago, and found the exercise of this office offered a fascinating view of the kingdom as it faced the changing modern world.[73] In this case the kingdom had a form of flexibility which integrated talented people in its structures at a leadership level, and seems to have sought such leaders in the Basel Mission and its church in that regard, although with limited success.

Here attention has been drawn to the key role of the Akan "linguist" or translator (*akyeame*), noting that they may have been appointed for their talents rather than simply because of their membership in a particular lineage. The history of linguists with a Christian background in Akan traditional courts has not, as far as I know, been much noticed.[74] There are indications that the incorporation of people from Christian congregations for the sake of their talents and experience takes this and other forms neither familiar to the general historiography of this part of Africa, nor present in its formal church history. Consider this extended comment by a Ghanaian pastor in Akropong in the early twentieth century:

> If it should also be asked, in what degree does our native government interfere with our Christian religion? we should remark that considering that at least two-thirds of the [rulers] are Christians (excluded [from Communion services) whose conduct and mode of ruling ought to have been consistent to the religion they had [previously] professed and [is] not . . . it interferes in a great measure . . .

> The king . . . is a Christian who was educated in our mission schools till as far as to our seminary. . . .[The]Commander in Chief of all Akwapim is a Christian. . . . one of the three principal linguists is a Christian . . . the principal chiefs, the chiefs of Aburi and the chief of Larteh also are Christians. . . .[although these] stick closely to the old heathenish mode of government . . . some of [them attend] regularly the divine services. . . . and at home on their tables you will find . . . open Bibles.[75]

A large part of the "traditional" leadership of Akwapim was provided by men who had formerly been full church members and trained catechists and teachers. For the Pastor writing his report to the fathers of orthodoxy in Basel, it was inconceivable that Christianity could co-exist with belief in the continuing influence of the ancestors and with participation in traditional sacrifices.[76] And yet he tells that many of those he lists were Bible-readers and attended church regularly. The interaction between the Basel Mission community and the traditional state was intense and lasting. With Middleton's periodisation of relations between church and state in Akwapim to hand, I would argue that the grouped chiefs and sub-chiefs under their umbrellas in figures 5.11 and 5.12 are a part of Akwapim *church* history. Of course, having said that, one has to agree that they are also images which speak to the success of the Akwapim state in drawing key Christian laymen back into a visibly traditional complex of leadership. Effort had been evidently been expended to maintain Akwapim as a virile state and centre of excellence, in spite of changes which were by no means under local control.

Conclusion

Historical photographs can be much more than illustrations of processes of thought based on other classes of source.[77] This study shows that historical photographs can bring new materials and insights to existing discussions about non-photographic matters, and even launch new directions for inquiry in them. There is always a balance of interaction between visual and verbal sources in such analyses, which are not always the same thing. The search to define a genre, for example, has been a strongly visual process, supported only in the background by catalogue documentation which helps anchor images in time and space, and ensures in case of doubt that they are "about" the theme which is under consideration. But the final presentation of the state umbrellas of figures 5.11 and 5.12 as memorials of an African state's *church* history illustrates not so much a concentration on visual sources, as a dialectic between verbal and visual sources. The two kinds of material can work together, like the two feet of a climber scaling a rock-chimney.

The new materials and new impulses brought to discussions in this paper are however not easy to weigh and finally assess. The researcher also quickly becomes aware of a further problem beyond the expected biases of the sources. The Christian world at a national and international level, and the world of development activitists, discount the importance of chieftaincy and presume it will die away. Outside the ranks of the chiefs and kings them-

selves, people who argue for the contemporary significance of chieftaincy for social cohesion, are hard to find.[78] If a Westerner is not interested in chieftaincy he will not hear about it in conversation with his African partners.[79]

In this context the materials in this essay are first and foremost a contribution to enriching the texture of accounts of a relationship which is too often discussed in terms of dichotomies, or simply neglected. The genre discussed reflects real mutuality in relations between chief and missionary as significant local office-holders at the time, and in the region, analysed. The pre-war Bamum photographs give the later genre more profile, though the result of the comparison between the genre photographs and those of Anna Wuhrmann is rather different from the comparison with those of the pre-war male missionaries' photographs. The Ghanaian photographs suggest very strongly, interpreted in their local context, that already in the nineteenth century, relations between mission and traditional state in Ghana were varied and complex and by no means unrelievedly negative. It is worth making the point explicitly that twice in this paper, assertions, or hypotheses—which seemed to John Middleton and Guy Thomas to be correct about past relations between church and state and which were based on their own experience and reflection, but for which they had little documentation—are given substantial support by the analyses of photographs attempted here.

There should be no need to argue that correct knowledge of the past is important for any human community—and that should be quite obvious in an Africa in which the perceptions of the past held in popular ideas about the content of oral tradition can still prove to have uncomfortably normative value for the communities involved, especially in situations of difficulty. In the two regions of Africa addressed in this paper churches and the traditional state are the two most powerful and influential popular grass-roots institutions. Their relations—not forgetting the complicating background of the basic theological assessments of the traditional state in mainstream Protestantism—are important for peace and progress. Working to get the general understanding of their relations in the past right is definitely worthwhile. And it is one of many themes which allow us to select groups of images from the vast pile of historical photographs of Africa available online nowadays, images which can stimulate our thinking, and enrich our envisioning—and thus our perception and understanding—of relations between the West and the African past which is some way beyond our common Western understanding.

Notes

1. Paul Jenkins, "In the eye of the beholder: an exercise in the interpretation of two photographs taken in Cameroon [Bamum] early in [the twentieth] century," pp. 93–103 in David Henige & Thomas McCaskie, eds., *African Economic and Social History, Studies in Memory of Marion Johnson* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); and Jenkins, "The earliest generation of missionary photographers in West Africa and the portrayal of indigenous people and culture," pp. 89–119 in *History in Africa* (1993), reprinted in *Visual Anthropology* (1994), pp. 115–45.

2. Geary, Christraud, *Images from Bamum—German Colonial Photography at the Court of King Njoya* (Washington, D.C.,: Smithsonian, 1988).

3. The Basel Mission holdings in International Mission Photography Archive (IMPA) can be found at http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/impa/controller/index.htm>.

4. [The work of Isaac Schapera, Hoyt Alverson, Jean and John L. Comaroff, Q. Neil Parsons, Julie Livingston, Steve Volz and Part Themba Mgadla, and this editor, Paul Landau, pertain to the Tswana and mission example; that of Christopher Wrigley, Roland Oliver, Holder Hanson, Michael Twaddle, Thomas Spear, Holly Hansen, Ronal Kassimir, John Illiffe, and Paul Gifford, among others, pertain to Uganda and missions; and *inter alia* for Yoruba, one thinks of the work of J.D.Y. Peel, Toyin Falola, Lorand Matory, Elizabeth Isichei, Henry Drewel, Kristin Mann, Caleb Oladipo and others.—Ed.]

5. The Basel Mission was also active in what is now the South-West Province of Cameroon, but I follow here the conventional view this is primarily a region of what may be regarded as stateless peoples, or at least peoples where chieftaincy is relatively weak. See Heinrich Balz, *Where the Faith has to Live—Studies in Bakossi Society and Religion.* 2 Vols. Basel: Basel Mission Archive, 1984.

6. Miller, Jon, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control—organised contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast 1828–1917.* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2003).

7. To confirm these statistics call up the Basel Mission Photogaphic Archive (bmpix) home page as in n3 above, and conduct the search for "India" and "King," "India" and "Chief," "Cameroon" and "King," "Cameroon" and "Chief," "Ghana" and "King" and "Ghana" and "Chief," always activating the geographical limiter first.

8. This classical Christian reference to the authority of the state is in the Epistle to the Romans 13:1.

9. Salems appear less frequently discussed as they were half a century ago. See Gabriel Klaeger, *Kirche und Königspalast im Konflikt—Christenviertel und Tradition in den Debatten zum* Ohum-*Festival in Kyebi (Ghana),* Vol. 26, Ethnologie (Hamburg: LIT, 2007). Stephan Miescher's *Making Men in Ghana* (Bloomington: Univ. of Indiana Press, 2005) posits the traditional dichotomous relationship between Christian village and "tradition" as a structural foundation of his analysis.

10. This document and the response it generated can be found in Mission 21 Archive (Basel Mission Holdings) D–10.1.11, D–10.1.15, and D–10.4.23.

11. A strategy has been developed to avoid this sanction—the presence of a Christian chief at rites deemed to be non-Christian is delegated to a relative. This is very rarely done, however. The most famous experiment of this kind was carried on by Chi Kangsen, who in the 1980s was simultaneously, as ordained pastor, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon, and sub-chief of the kingdom of Wum in the Cameroon Grassland. The experiment was tragically broken off when he was killed in a traffic accident in 1988; see Dah, Jonas N., *Kangsen as they saw him* (Buea/Cameroon) 1989.

12. Irene K. Odotei, Albert K. Awdoba, *Chieftaincy in Ghana. Culture, Governance and Devlopment* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2006). See also Nukunya, G.K., *Tradition and Change in Ghana. An Introduction to Sociology* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1992): 125–31 for what Nukunya calls the "debilitating" impact of Christianity on tradition, not least the traditional state.

13. Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: the Renewal of a Non-Western Tradition* (Edinburgh: Maryknoll, 1995). It is true that (pp. 219–23) Bediako writes in dialogue with the King in Akropong he knew well—Nana Addo Dankwa III. But it is significant that this discussion is subsumed primarily under the question of the future of "ancestor worship," and not primarily concerned with the future of African traditional states.

14. It is clear that these comments on relations between chieftaincy and the church refer to mainstream protestantism. The Catholic scene in Ghana is very different—see Pashington Obeng's work, for instance his bijou essay *Asante Women Dancers: Architects of Power Realignment in Corpus Christi* (Boston University, 1995), which reflects a multi-layered inculturation led and empowered by a powerful Ghanaian bishop who is also a trained social anthropologist. I should add that two recent Basel doctoral theses in history whose research has been strongly focussed on the Basel Mission Ghana archive have some relevance for the theme of this article: Veit Arlt, "Christianity, Imperialism and Culture: the Expansion of the Two Krobo States in Ghana c.1830 to 1930," Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Basel, 2005, is strongly concerned with the complex of attraction and repulsion

between the Basel Mission and the development of Krobo statehood. Ulrike Still, *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood: the Basel Mission in Pre- and Early Colonial Ghana* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), is more obliquely concerned with this topic.

15. Middleton, John, "One hundred and fifty years of Christianity in a Ghanaian town," *Africa*, 53, 3 (1983), 2–19.
16. Edward Forcha Lekunze, "Chieftaincy and Christianity in Cameroon 1886–1926: A Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Evangelistic Strategy of the Basel Mission," Ph.D. diss., Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1987.
17. Lekunze, p. 201.
18. "Why do we need the White Man's God? African Contributions and Responses to the Formation of a Christian Movement in Cameroon, 1914–1968," Ph.D. diss., SOAS/History, 2001, here pp. 122–41,149–50.
19. The present writer was asked by the Agogohene effectively to function as his servant in bringing water and pouring it into the glass so the libration prayer could go ahead. Although libation is characteristically poured in Ghana using schnapps, many authorities aver that water can also be used—and the southern Ghanaian public is well aware that using water is more likely to stir up an approving Basel Mission response than using schnapps would.
20. See n3 above.
21. bmpix QD–30.011.0035.
22. Jenkins, Paul, "Warum tragen die Missionare Kostüme? Forschungsmöglichkeiten im Bildarchiv der Basler Mission," *Historische Anthropologie. Kultur, Gesellschaft, Alltag,* 3 (1996): 292–302.
23. For recent literature on the Basel Mission in Ghana see Miller; Peter A. Schweizer, *Survivors on the Gold Coast: The Basel Missionaries in Colonial Ghana* (Accra: Smartline, 2001); and Paul Jenkins, "Afterword: the Basel Mission, the Presbyterian Church and Ghana since 1918," pp. 195–222 in Miller, cited above; Arlt, and Sill.
24. Franc, Andrea, *Wie die Schweiz zur Schokolade kam. Der Kakaohandel der Basler Handelsgesellschaft mit der Kolonie Goldküste (1893–1960)* (Basel: Schwabe, 2008).
25. Wilhelm Locher, 1819–88, Ghana 1849–67, mostly stationed in Accra: 107 images in bmpix.
26. Christian Hornberger, 1831–81, Ghana 1858–81, 67 images in bmpix. Hornberger was trained in Basel but sent abroad by the Bremen Mission and stationed, during the time he was using a camera, in Ho in what is now the Volta Region of Ghana. See my 1993 essay cited in n1 above.
27. Fritz Ramseyer, 1840–1914, Ghana 1864–1908. Ramseyer worked mainly on the frontier to Asante (living with his wife as hostage there 1869–74), and moved to Kumase in 1896. He is thought to have begun taking photographs in 1888. There are 1,029 images ascribed to him in bmpix.
28. Rudolf Fisch, 1856–1946, Ghana 1885–1911. There are 1,150 images ascribed to Fisch in bmpix. Fisch became a qualified doctor, was based mainly at the Basel Mission's first hospital in Aburi, but travelled extensively, partly to treat sick colleagues on other Basel mission stations, and partly in reconaissance. He made a long journey through what was then Northern Togo and the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast in 1910 from which many photographs survive.
29. Jenkins, Paul, "'From a real body, which was there, proceed radiations which ultimately touch me, who am here', an encounter with a missionary portrait of a pre-colonial Akan court official," *Visual Anthropology* (2009): 275–92.
30. Fardon, Richard, *Lela in Bali. History through Ceremony in Cameroon* (New York: Berghahn, 2006).
31. Geary, *Images.*
32. Anna Wuhrmann, 1881–1971, Cameroon 1911–15, 1922, always Bamum. From her marriage in 1923 she was known as Anna Rein-Wuhrmann, and often appears in the literature under this name. 296 images are ascribed to her in bmpix, though this may be an underestimate.
33. See also n48 below.
34. The images selected in Figures 5.1 to 5.6 are (in alphabetical order of photographer) by Karl Lipp, 1905–? Cameroon 1931–9 (175 images are ascribed to him in bmpix); Wilhelm Schneider

1902–1990, Cameroon 1930–1940, 62 images in bmpix; Georg Johann Tischhauser, 1896–1993, Cameroon 1930–1939, 64 images in bmpix; Wilhelm Zürcher, 1900–1960, Cameroon 1932–1952, 522 images in bmpix. As far as I am aware all these missionaries worked primarily in the grassfields, except for Karl Lipp, who was a mission administrator on the coast but visited the Grassfields. Note that Geary, "Missionary photography: private and public readings, "*African Arts,* 1991: 48–59, 98–100 is a study of the photographs of Wilhelm Schneider, and that 158 of his images (including some portraits of chiefs), originally in family hands, are held by the Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, in Washington DC.

35. CRCC, the institute hosting the IMPA web site, plans to begin publishing online "visual essays" on the use of IMPA images. These should include, by the early weeks of 2012, a longer and more detailed statment about this genre, with a full commentated list of the portraits involved: <http://crcc.usc.edu/initiatives/impa/visualessays>.

36. The linkage between chieftaincy or kingship and sophisticated handicrafts is the sustained subject of Hans Knöpfli, *Craft and Technologies: Some Traditional Craftsmen of the Western Grasslands of Cameroon*, Vol. 2, *Sculpture and Symbolism—Woodcarvers and Blacksmiths* (Basel: Basel Mission, 1999), and Vol. 4 *Living in Style—Handicrafts, Music and the Fabric of Social Life* (Basel: Basel Mission, 2002).

37. Missionaries themselves often appear (as in figure 5.9) in images where the records indicate they were the photographers. The problem in terms of archival lists is that the source of much of this information (lists of images received from abroad, for Ghana and Cameroon under the reference numbers D–30–0 and E–30–0) are actually listing the names of the missionaries who sent the image to headquarters. But in bmpix we have usually inserted this name in the field for a photographer/"creator," in the sense that this person will usually at least have organised the taking of the photograph. He (it seems to be always "he") can be regarded as the "producer," in a cinematographic sense. The history of the local assistants—or missionary wives—has so far not been investigated.

38. bmpix reference number: E–30.85.126.

39. bmpix reference number: E–30.85.220.

40. bmpix references E–30.85.218 and E–30.85.219.

41. I should perhaps make clear that I have become so sceptical about stories of Africans fearing to lose soul to the camera that I demand documentation whenever I hear people citing it, and insist that evidence of this fear has to be really convincing, linked to single incidents, and independent of a European writer's wish to offer a titillating demonstration of African primitiveness.

42. Geary, Christraud, "Portraiture, authorship and the inscription of history: photographic practice in the Bamum Kingdom, Cameroon 1902–1980)," pp. 141–64 in (ed) Michael Albrecht et al., *Getting Pictures Right. Context and Interpretation*, Cologne, 2004, here especially pp. 141, 143 and 149. Also "Through the lenses of African Photographers" pp. 87–100 in (ed) Nii Quarcoopome, *Through African Eyes, the European in African Art 1500 to present.*, Detroit, 2009.

43. Guy Thomas, 122–41, 149–50.

44. Ibid., 149.

45. A relatively large number of the Basel Mission's Bamum photographs have been published already, esp. by Geary. The same applies to pre-1914 Bali Nyonga photographs; see Fardon; Jenkins, "Warum Tragen," and Paul Jenkins, "Much More than Illustrations of What We Already Know: Experiences in the Rediscovery of Mission Photography," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (October 2002): 157–63. In view of this only two representative images from mission photography in the Cameroon Grassfields from before World War One are published in this essay, and readers interested in more can refer to these publications, or work with bmpix.org.

46. For her main publications on Fumban and Bamum see [Rein-]Wuhrmann, Anna, *Fumban, die Stadt auf dem Schütte* (Basel, 1948); *Liebes und Leides aus Kamerun*, (Basel, 1931); *Mein Bamumvolk im Grasland von Kamerun* (Basel, 1925); and *Vier Jahre im Grasland von Kamerun* (Basel, 1917).

47. Biographical details in n32.

48. Modern relations between the Basel Mission and Bamum showed themselves once more in a very cordial light when the current Sultan visited Switzerland in 2008, explaining more than once in

public that his journey was partly a pilgrimage to the Basel Mission House with its rich archival resources on Bamum, and its record of contribution to Bamum's development.

49. Geary, *Images,* 118–29, 145.
50. These notes are contained in a booklet with ref. no. E–30–0.6. Most of the texts have been transcribed and translated in full in the catalogue information of the relevant images in bmpix.
51. Geary, *Images*, 119.
52. Eugen Schwarz, 1882–1959, Cameroon 1907–16 mostly active in the Grassfields, 192 images in bmpix.
53. Martin Göhring, 1871–1959, Cameroon 1895–1916 (the first decade nearer the coast, the second decade in Bamum), 519 images in bmpix (though perhaps only 50% of these are from the Grassfields).
54. Claude Tardits, *Le Royaume Bamoum* (Paris: Peeters, 1980), contains much information on Bamum's mega-polygamy and the way marriages were arranged—e.g., pp. 770ff.
55. Wuhrmann's own commentary to figure 5.8 hints very strongly at the kind of relations which subsisted between her and the court—Njoya was, indeed, sending his many daughters to Wuhrmann's school escorted by one of his wives who Wurhmann regarded as a kind of senior governess.
56. There is good evidence that at times the leadership in Basel feared its established missionaries in Fumban were succumbing to the temptation to "go native" in the court of King Njoya.
57. Geary's later comment on this point (Geary, "Portraiture") stresses Wuhrmann's "strong sense of personal style" and "overwhelming authorial presence" in her photography, and considers that, in contrast, in Göhring's photography "the African subjects determine how they want to be seen" (148).
58. For an explanation of "souls" see n68 below, for an explanation of "linguists" see the appendix, notes for figure 5.9.
59. There is a striking methodological point here. Arlt (Ph.D. diss.) includes sensitive analyses of single portraits of Krobo chiefs stressing the innovative character of the King's clothing and accessories. These have also flowed into his joint essay, Veit Arlt and Nii Quarcoopome, "Photography, European Emblems, and Statecraft in Manya Krobo (Ghana) about 1860–1939," in Quarcoopome, ed., 61–74. Incorporating the term "genre" in our vocabulary, however, allows us to include quantitative elements in our analyses. Thus Arlt and Quarcoopome can stress—correctly—the use of individual portraits, and at the same time I can write about genres, and the *prevailing* style of photography of chiefs and their entourages.
60. Agogohene: bmpix QD–30.018.0090.
61. "King of Kumase": bmpix QD–30.018.0035.
62. For biographical note see n27.
63. At the beginning of the twentieth century Basel missionaries were expected to finance their own photographic work, but were paid small fees for images which were taken over into the organisation's official photographic collection.
64. See the full catalogue information on this image, E–30.85.122 in bmpix.
65. I am not arguing that this choreography will have been invariably followed, or that chiefs and kings never spoke in public themselves, just that this was a fundamental structure of formal encounters which missionaries will have been aware of, and will also have been aware that cordial relations demanded a degree of adherence to these forms.
66. Guy Thomas, 122.
67. Michelle Gilbert and Paul Jenkins, "The King, His Soul and the Pastor: Three Views of a Conflict in Akropong 1906–7," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 38, 4(2008): 359–415.
68. "Souls" were close associates of the king, born on the same weekday, and with mystical links which protected but could also endanger him. Their sign of office was a gold plate which hung on their chests. For further dertails see Gilbert and Jenkins.

69. Under the Basel Mission's rules on inheritance, since the man had no children, all his wealth would accrue to his wife on his death and in this case therefore under the prevailing rules of the matriliny to the Akwapim royal family. It might be added here that the "church" had a scale of compensations a man was expected pay to a wife if he broke off the relationship by becoming a Christian. This included a tariff for what had to be paid to a less formal wife (like the king's female relative in this case). Such compensation payments with known tariffs as at least a basis for discussion were a feature of the "traditional" administration of Akan justice, and taken over, it seems, by the "church"—another sign of the closeness and interaction of the two sides.

70. Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforest:Towards a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1990). I am referring here to ideas which underpin Chapter 6, and especially a section of the book entitled "Dynamics of Tradition," 191–96.

71. Jean Pierre Warnier, *Echanges, développement et hiérarchie dans le Bamenda pré-colonial* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985) is a sustained exposition of the conditions of competition between kingdoms and chieftaincies in the Cameroon Grassfields.

72. Jenkins, "Warum," and Jenkins, "Much More than Illustrations,"a step-by-step demonstration of how a photograph of a Cameroonian pastor in Bali Nyonga, wearing a traditional robe, was researched and interpreted.

73. I am very grateful to my colleague Hans Knöpfli for many hours of fascinating conversation about this and associated topics.

74. Kwesi Yankah, *Speaking for the Chief. Okyeame and the Politics of Akan Royal Oratory* (Bloomington: Univ. of Indiana, 1995), deserves to become a classic but does not however appear to treat church–king relations.

75. Full stop added. From Theophilus Opoku's manuscript annual report for his congregation in Akropong for 1900, dated 28th Feb. 1901, D–1.73.048 in Mission 21 archive, Basel Mission holdings. A major part of Basel Mission church life in Ghana pivoted around church discipline.

76. But see Patricia Purtschert, "Looking for traces of hybridity: Two Basel Mission Reports and a Queen Mother: Philosophical Remarks on the Interpretation of a Political Deed," *Journal of Library Studies* (2002), 284–94.

77. Esp. Paul Jenkins, "Everyday life encapsulated? Two photographs concerning women and the Basel Mission in West Africa c.1900," *Journal of Africa Cultural Studies* 2002: 5–60; Jenkins, "Photographs, engravings and half-tone plates: documenting and evaluating Authenrieth's rare images of Bakossi [Cameroon] in 1893, in Jurgen Thies Bonenkamp, *et al*, eds., *Umwege imd Weggefährten. Festschrift, Heinrich Balsz* (Neuendettelsau, Germany: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und √ñkumene, 2003): 38–69

78. The local newspaper in Basel provided an egregious example of this during the visit of the Sultan of Bamum referred to in n48 above. Instead of giving it at least a second grade headline and emphasising the positive aspects of an Islamic ruler "on pilgrimage" to a Christian mission house, it offered an eye-witness account of the Sultan in the Mission 21 Archive with frequent ironical side-references to the "Sultan" of the Walt Disney opus.

79. I experienced a recent and worrying instance of this problem at a high-level theological conference recently at which an African speaker gave a very competent analysis of developments in the Pentecostalist scene in his part of Africa, with no mention of the way new Pentecostalism relates to chieftaincy there. When I approached him about this omission he turned out to possess a fund of detailed information about this but concluded that it was not important enough to be part of his presentation.

Appendix: Chapter 5 photographs

A. Portraits of chiefs/kings, Cameroon Grassfields, inter-war period

Figure 5.1
bmpix ref. no. E–30.85.122. IMPA Record ID: impa-m30146.
Original caption (translated): "The Chief of Mbod (Nsungli) in his national Costume"
Photographer: Wilhelm Zürcher
Date: 1932–37
Place: Mbod/Nsungli

Figure 5.2
bmpix ref. no. E–30.87.009. IMPA Record ID: impa-m30578.
Original caption (translated): "Chief Kuba from Wum"
Photographer: Wilhelm Schneider
Date: 1930–35
Place: Wum

Figure 5.3
bmpix ref. no. E–30.85.119. IMPA Record ID: impa-m30143.
Original caption (translated): "The Banso Chief"
Photographer: Wilhelm Zürcher
Date: 1932–37
Place: Banso

Figure 5.4
bmpix ref. no. QE–30.121.0091. IMPA Record ID: impa-m55618.
No original caption
Photographer unknown: from an album, "Cameroon 1930–39, G. & B. Tischhauser"
Date: 1930–39
Place: unknown
Caption: From an album, "Cameroon 1930–39, G. & B. Tischhauser"

B. Palace spectators and the camera, Cameroon Grassfields, inter-war period

Figure 5.5
bmpix ref. no. E–30.85.212. IMPA Record ID: impa-m30236.
Original caption (translated): "The guests at a festival are waiting for the food, which is to be supplied by the chief of Bali"
Photographer: Wilhelm Zürcher
Date: 1932–45
Place: Bali Nyonga

Figure 5.6
bmpix ref. no. QL–30.004.0027. IMPA Record ID: impa-m40430.
Original caption (translated): "Palavar. In the chief's compound"
Photographer: Karl Lipp
Date: 1933
Place: Probably Bali Nyonga, possibly Bafut.

C. Photographs in Fumban/Bamum before the First World War

Figure 5.7
bmpix ref. no. E–30.29.033. IMPA Record ID: impa-m28638.
Original caption (translated): "Missionaries visiting the chief in Fumban"

Photographer: Martin Göhring
Date: 1907–12
Place: Fumban
King Njoya receives his visitors at an entrance to his massive palace. Wives, or female servants, can be seen at the back to the left. Note the mixed requisites, some evidently traditional, some Western, and the presence of a camera case to the right.

From the left: the missionaries Schwarz, Lutz, King Njoya, (perhaps) the missionary Spellenberg. Lutz is sitting on a stool carved in the shape of a leopard. The stool on right (with child climbing) looks like Bamileke work. (Thanks to Christraud Geary and Peter Valentin.)

Figure 5.8
bmpix ref. no. E–30.33.053. IMPA Record ID: impa-m28945.
Original caption (translated): "Nkpundia, a wife of the King, spinning"
Photographer: Anna Wuhrmann
Date: 1911–15
Place: Fumban
This is one of the portraits to which Anna Wuhrmann wrote a commentary in 1917 (BM Archive ref. no. E–30–0.6, image no. K 3565). Translated: "King Njoya's wife, spinning. The King's wife in our picture is called 'I die today' [Wuhrmann does not comment on this]. She is not one of the important wives in the court. She lives a quiet and peaceful little life and her colleague wives love her because of her friendliness and her goodwill. Sadly this pleasant woman has no children of her own. She is not happy in the loneliness this imposes on her, and so the King has made her the supervisor of the royal daughters. Every morning she brings them to school. And then she, whom you might describe as a high governess, sits in the shadow of the house waiting for her charges till teaching has finished for the day. She fills in the time till the end of school with some small handwork—mending baskets, stringing beads, carving a calabash. Or with amazing skill she spins a fine thread."

D. Distance, the level gaze and, perhaps, adjusted choreographies—Kwahu, Ghana

Figure 5.9
bmpix ref. no. QD–30.042.0042. IMPA Record ID: impa-m38339.
Original caption (translated): "Preaching before the chief of Obomeng"
Photographer: Fritz Ramseyer
Date: 1888–1895
Place: Obomeng/Kwahu

Obomeng is a sub-chiefdomin the Kwahu highlands, north of Accra and east of Kumase.

The men of Obomeng have gathered with their chief in the classical arrangement for a formal audience. Yet Ramseyer's own commentary to this picture implies that his sense of how the encounter with the missionary should proceed was followed. In a book of early half-tone plates of photographs he took in Ghana, published in Neuchatel in 1895 (*Achtzig Ansichten von der Goldküste; the French version was Quatre-vingt vues de la Côte d'Or*) he wrote: "Abankwa [the name of the chief] hearing a court case. Important cases are sometimes heard on the street. If we come across a gathering of this kind when we are on trek, and if the people are not too worked up, we ask them to interrupt their proceedings for a while, which they usually do very willingly, at least in Kwahu. And we use this fine opportunity to preach the good news of the gospel." In what is now regarded as the ancient choreography, however, audiences of this kind would require the involvement of a so-called "Linguist" (Twi: Okyeame, plu. Akyeame) to rephrase the visitor's message or concern in the appropriate language, and sum up for the visitor the decision come to by the group.

Figure 5.10
bmpix ref. no. QD–30.043.0041. IMPA Record ID: impa-m38446.
Original caption (translated): "The indigenous chief of Obomeng"
Photographer: Fritz Ramseyer
Date: 1888–95
Place: Obomeng/Kwahu

This is clearly a close-up taken on the same occasion as figure 5.9, concentrating on chief Abankwa. It is relevant to the question of adjusted choreographies, in the sense that a modern "Linguist" is a clearly recognisable figure. He holds a tall linguist's staff with a wooden carving covered with gold leaf at the top, a decoration which alludes to some traditional symbol or reminds people of one of their proverbs. Clearly in figure 5.9 no such linguist is visible.

In this close-up, however, we see that the chief is holding the top of a simple staff without a carved decoration—and that by his side, squatting down, someone is holding the bottom of the staff, suggesting a linguist's staff, in common use in the nineteenth century. The implication is that the man sitting and holding the bottom of the staff was the linguist. My argument from Akan first principles—that the familiar choreography of the structured dialogue will have applied when missionaries appeared before this kind of assembly—would receive an important confirmation if, as I suggest on the basis of this image, we can be sure that a linguist was present in the group photographed.

E. TRANSFORMING OUR READING OF WHAT LOOK, AT FIRST SIGHT, LIKE IMAGES WITH A CLEAR MESSAGE: AKWAPIM

Figure 5.11
bmpix ref. no. QD–30.106.0148. IMPA Record ID: impa-m55814.
Original caption (translated): "King of Akropong and [illegible: a Banyan Tree?]"
Photographer: unknown
Date: 1888–1914
Place: Akropong/Akwapim, Ghana

Figure 5.12
bmpix ref. no. QD–30.106.048. IMPA Record ID: impa-m55813.
Original caption (translated): "King of Akropong with all the chiefs"
Photographer: unknown
Date: 1888–1914
Place: Akropong/Akwapim, Ghana

Almost certainly these are photographs of an assembly of all the chiefs of Akwapim, each with his umbrella. This will have been a state festival, probably part of the annual Odwira celebration. Figure 5.11 is a more general view. Figure 5.12 is a semi-close-up of the central tableau (the striped umbrella in front on the right in figure 5.12 is the second away from the camera on the right in figure 5.11.) The King of Akwapim is visible in figure 5.12 at the top of a step-pyramid built, no doubt, for the occasion. The album from which these photographs were taken is linked to the name of the missionary Balthasar Groh-Wenger, and his wife Martha. Balthasar Groh was in Ghana 1887–1913. It seems very possible that the King is Nana Kwasi Akufo, who features in the essay by Gilbert & Jenkins (fn. 67). A studio portrait of Kwasi Akufo is available at D–30.11.041.

Nothing, one might think, could be more "African" than an assembly of this kind. But the image should be read with the report from a Ghanaian pastor, Theophilus Opoku, in mind, part of his Annual Report for 1900. In other words many of the umbrellas will have been sheltering chiefs who had been in Basel Mission employment when they were younger, and even at the moment the photograph was taken, though formally excluded from the congregation for participating in "heathen" rites, they were attending church regularly, and reading their Twi bibles.

This is in one sense, therefore, a photograph of the church history of Akwapim—certainly a photograph belonging to a dynamic and many-sided religious history there which western academia has always found difficult to grasp in its entirety, and which is by no means over, or finally resolved.

The figure in an aggressive pose immediately in front of the camera is a unique feature of this ensemble and appears in no other group portrait of a chief and his entourage in the Basel Mission's Ghana photographs. Is he an indication that the photograph was taken at the height of tension between Kwesi Akufo and the Basel Mission Church?

"I Often Shed My Tears about This": "Freed" Slave Children and "Apprenticeship" in Colonial Ghana, ca. 1890 to ca. 1930[1]

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Introduction

It would be an honor for any historian of Africa to write a chapter of a Festschrift in honor of David Henige. Among African historians of my generation, trained in both Africa and overseas, especially at North American universities, the respect for Henige is deep. Some of us came to African history with packages and flavors of oral history excavated from ashes of the evening fireside histories as we sat at the feet of patriarchs and matriarchs, or had the latitudinal license to stretch the stories of court jesters, griots or jeli, and palace linguists into localized mythical stories to shape our budding historical consciousnesses. The struggles to accommodate our oral histories and localized histories did not only occur in the confines of graduate classrooms, but also in the hallowed pages of some Africanist journals. The application of oral history challenged established historiographies that had derived from colonial reports, touted as the efficacious models of contemporary Western histories.

For my part, I recall how oral history, localized histories, and "Africanized" newspaper sources whipped up my appetite for asking new questions about the roles of Africans in abolition, and energized my efforts to feminize the history of emancipation in the Gold Coast. Among several editors of African history journals only Henige recognized the new thrust of my ideas, shaped as they were by oral history and "Africanized" sources. As a result, Henige

gave me great guidance in reworking my ideas for publication as a young and ambitious graduate student. With Henige's assistance and encouragement, I was able to publish three articles in *History in Africa,* the journal founded and edited by him.[2] This further empowered me to hone my emerging perspectives on slavery and abolition and the feminization of post-proclamation unfree labor in the Gold Coast and Africa as a whole.

This essay is an addition to the growing body of literature on gendering abolition and emancipation in the Gold Coast. Due to the paucity of primary sources, the present chapter like the existing literature also deals with specific areas of the Gold Coast, namely the southern regions of what is today Ghana, focusing mostly on the Central Province. It examines the ways that the colonial state tried to assist former slaves, and to a smaller extent, liberated pawns. Both groups constituted mostly young females in their transition from bondage to freedom, spanning ca. 1890 and ca.1930. Principally, the essay discusses the colonial policy of "apprenticeship" or fosterage administered by the colonial state to assist "freed slaves" in their quest for freedom.

Raymond Dumett and Marion Johnson delineated this subject in their debate with Gerald McSheffrey regarding the form that abolition took in the Gold Coast. Nonetheless the core areas of the subject remain to be fully studied.[3] Here, I argue that the colonial apprenticeship policy, based on the Ordinance of 1890 and enacted by the Gold Coast Legislative Council, did not better the conditions of former slaves, mostly young females. As a result, the apprenticeship policy facilitated the relapse of former slave children into dependency and bondage. Among others, the apprenticeship policy in the Gold Coast provided cheap, involuntary menial labor for the elite of the colonial society, both African and European.

Divided into several sections, the first portion of this chapter, in the tradition of Henige, problematizes the sources, while the second part looks briefly at the aspects of the literature relevant to the present study. The third section looks at the history of apprenticeship in the Gold Coast from circa 1890 to about 1930. The fourth part is devoted to highlighting inter-regional apprenticeship between the Gold Coast and Northern Nigeria. Dealing with a biographical case study of an apprenticed former slave girl, the final section fills some gaps and further raises some questions about the efficacy of the colonial policies of abolition and emancipation as well as the nature of African responses and initiatives, especially the ways that freed slaves themselves sought to adjust to freedom.

Problematizing the Sources

Historians of Africa have come a long way, sometimes along difficult methodological paths, to embrace the use of oral history. Its use in the reconstruction of the African past is the work of several scholars, institutions, and governmental initiatives.[4] Among them Henige has clearly mapped out unique methodological pathways of oral history in the writing of

African history.[5] Henige has demonstrated that while oral history undoubtedly has its inherent challenges as an aggregate source of history, its methodological framework can be effectively scaled when it is married with other sources, for example, archeology, linguistics, and texts. Because of his work, the methodologies of gathering oral histories, including recording, indexing, storing, codifying, and distilling them are now well known and largely accepted. Certainly, the use of oral history illuminates and interrogates the written colonial sources on African history which are lopsidedly laden with the perspectives of the agents of European imperialism in Africa. Like colonial sources with their hegemonic bent, oral history with all its apparent localisms and revisionisms nonetheless restores African voices to the history of the continent and provides some epistemological balance in the reconstruction of African history.

The sources that form the superstructure of this essay, in contrast, are colonial reports written from the standpoint of colonial policies on abolition and emancipation in the Gold Coast. Some of them are first-hand account by colonial officials, but others were collected from African agents and former slaves in the fold of the apprenticeship policy.[6] As Henige has stated,

> When colonial rule still prevailed, if barely, attempts to plumb the African past were typically regarded, at best, as a means to administrative ends and, at worst, as interesting stories. Missionaries and administrators collected oral data for utilitarian purposes, caring little whether they were true so long as they were serviceable.[7]

Here, such sources point to the ways that former slaves fared in the Gold Coast within what colonial officials framed as "apprenticeship," but which turned out to be the feminization of post-proclamation unfree labor. Although it is difficult to categorize "freed" slaves in the primary sources, the evidence broadly refers mostly to young girls ranging in age from about eleven years to the late teens able to take on some adult tasks in given contexts. The colonial apprentice policy mandated that all "freed" slaves under colonial apprenticeship be no more than sixteen years old.[8] In order to capture some historic moments in some parts of this essay, I use the nomenclature of the so-called "freed" slaves as it is deployed in the primary sources. In a broader sense "freed" is a designation for former or liberated slaves, or simply put, slaves who had obtained their freedoms as a consequence of the colonial abolition and emancipation policies, but "freed slaves" also refers to persons who had fled in the pre-abolition period in order to escape their bondage.

The overall paucity of the evidence warrants some additional caveats here. As noted, the present data on apprenticeship deals specifically with the Cape Coast district of the Central Province. It should be stressed that there are major gaps in the extant documentary evidence on the period 1876–1890s and 1900–1924. Colonial abolition policies were more vigorous in 1874–75, that is, in the immediate aftermath of colonial rule, than at any other time.[9] Indeed, after 1876, very little was done about abolition and emancipation, and for this reason comprehensive sources on abolition do not exist. Thus the colonial state's efforts

from about 1876 through the end of the century, to abolish slavery and pawnship and to harness the transition from servile to wage labor, were dismal failures. Effective abolition of unfree labor occurred only from the 1920s forward when the colonial state assumed full political control to restructure the pre-capitalist relations of production. In spite of the paucity of the sources, some aspects of the available evidence are very helpful in illuminating essential historical processes.

The records are silent on the actual number of former slaves that fell under what may be described as ad hoc colonial policies of the 1870s and 1880s as well as the more specific policy, classified as "apprenticeship" in the aftermath of the transformative policy changes from the early 1890s forward. Exegetical readings of the spate of descriptive and qualitative colonial perspectives on former slaves suggest that the number may be several hundred, and that the so-called "freed" slave population was certainly larger than the liberated pawn population. Pawns were different from slaves as they were usually held in or close to their home regions. It should be stressed that pawns continued to be freed alongside slaves by the colonial courts throughout the post-proclamation epoch.[10] The difference in population size was due to the fact that liberated pawns could trace their debtor-kin groups more easily. In reality, debtor-kinship groups and pawn-holders tended to belong to the same lineages. Consequently, unlike former slaves, liberated pawns were more likely to return to their families than to become the wards of the colonial state. Some pawns who were freed in the interior and brought down to the coast as the wards of the colonial state eventually managed to return to their families.[11] As will be explained later, the policy of apprenticeship was inter-regional, involving the Gold Coast and Northern Nigeria. This made it possible to place former slave children from the Gold Coast into apprenticeship in Northern Nigeria and vice versa.

Most of the apprenticed females are simply called Ambah or Amba in the records. Ambah is a variation of Amma or Ama, an ethnic Akan common name, which means Saturday-born female. No reason is given in the records to explain why the generic name of Ambah or Amba was used for so many apprenticed former female slaves. Thus wherever applicable I have used surnames in addition to the generic name of Ambah or Amba to identify individual apprentices.

A Synopsis of the Extant Literature

The British abolition of domestic slavery and pawnship or debt-bondage in the Gold Coast (colonial Ghana) began in 1874–75 and lasted well into the 1930s. Paradoxically, the British had overlooked the Asante Kingdom, but stealthily imposed colonial rule on and enacted abolition in the very states and societies of the Gold Coast that had assisted the British to defeat Asante in 1873–74.[12] Absolutely, the composite subject of colonial rule and abolition policy in the Gold Coast, the area designated today as the southern region of mod-

ern Ghana, has attracted an avalanche of studies.[13] But the actual processes entailed in the emancipation of slaves and pawns in the Gold Coast, as well as their consequent evolving, congealing forms of unfree labor, compared to the colonial officials' framing of abolition policies, are yet to be fully assessed.

At least two broad categories of literature may be noted here. The first has looked at the ways that epochal 1807 abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade transformed international commerce, and reconfigured post-abolition servile institutions and the lived experiences of those in the crucible of unfree labor. For example, Sandra Green describes the institution in the riverine districts of what is today the Volta Region, called *trokosi*, in which "families intimidated by the threat of continuous spiritually induced death were forced to hand over their prepubescent girls to work for and be sexually controlled by the priests." *Trokosi* was "specifically influenced by events associated with the 1807 legislative abolition of the slave trade."[14] Kwabena Adu Boahen has in addition examined the shifting nature of gender and servitude in the Central Province of the Gold Coast between 1807 and 1874. He argues that along the Fante littoral an economic and social transformation expanded women's slave-holding capacities.[15] The conclusions of this first school concern the definitive effects of abolition in 1807, the seismic changes in the economic and political spheres which paved the way for the inception of cash crop production in West Africa, euphemistically called "Legitimate Trade." These scholars demonstrate the ways that the 1807 abolition impacted gender and social formations in the immediate post-abolition Gold Coast.

The second school of thought looks specifically at the colonial abolition policies that date from the formative stages of colonial rule in the Gold Coast in 1874–75. It maps out the colonial state's evanescent role in abolition and emancipation and also rehearses African responses and initiatives to the intermittent colonial abolition policies. Admittedly this body of work is very massive in the genealogies of its conclusions, but a look at a few of its interpretive signposts will suffice here. Claire Robertson shows that in the colonial capital of Accra abolition did not wholly free female slaves from bondage.[16] Beverly Grier, whose work deals with the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast, argues that abolition increased the use of female pawn labor in agriculture, especially in the cash-crop production of cocoa.[17] While Grier's work concentrates on agriculture, I have also examined the use of unfree female labor in porterage services in the post-abolition Central Province.[18] Very recently, I have looked at *abaawa* labor and its expansion from the early post-abolition period to the contemporary era. *Abaawa*, an Akan word for a young female or a maiden, is a euphemism for exploitative kinship-based involuntary labor mostly done by prepubescent female house-helps or live-in domestic servants.[19]

From the standpoint of the comparative literature, one major gap in the work on the Gold Coast is how the colonial government dealt with the problem of former slaves, and to some extent, liberated pawns adrift in transitioning from bondage to freedom. Certainly, the freeing of slaves is well-documented in the historiography and needs no further elaboration

here, but the liberation of pawns or of those in debt-bondage is still seldom treated. While the subject cannot be fully tackled here, it may be stated that once abolition was put in place, some pawns certainly took matters into their own hands and deserted, while others used the colonial courts to facilitate their liberation, consequently disregarding whatever outstanding debts and arrangements had tied them to pawn-holders. Both the primary sources and the existing literature do not make clear how creditors and debtors responded to the desertions or the freeing of pawns. It is very likely that debtors unilaterally used the abolition ordinances to cancel their debts to the creditor pawn-holders. In fact, one outcome of abolition in the Gold Coast regarding debt-bondage, as I have elsewhere argued, is that human pawning increasingly gave way to the pawning of immovable property, such as land. This was not only because of the seeming efficacy of abolition laws, but also the realization that migrant and local wage labor had became cheap enough to superannuate pawn labor.[20]

From Freedom to Bondage: Implementation of Apprenticeship Policy

Within the available evidence are some detailed accounts of colonial policies of abolition and emancipation prior to the introduction of formal apprenticeship policies. The Gold Coast abolition ordinances of 1874–75 excluded systematic and coherent policies to assist former slaves and liberated pawns in their transition from bondage to freedom.[21] In fact, prior to the apprenticeship policy enacted in the early 1890s, colonial officials had engaged in uncoordinated activities, which for want of a better word may be described as improvised measures. For example, some liberated slaves were summarily placed under the care of prison officials, while some former slaves were handed back to their former holders upon being freed. Still other liberated slaves, mostly women, were either placed in arranged marriages with colonial operatives, or lived with District Commissioners as live-in servants.[22] These unsystematic emancipation policies illustrate the persistent undercurrent of the servile institutions in the post-proclamation period. Indeed, in the throes of the hopelessness, some liberated slaves returned to their former holders, consequently reverting to forms of dependency and bondage.

As a result of the imminent failure of the policy of custodial care in the 1870s and 1880s, the colonial government came up with a new policy of "apprenticeship" to better the conditions of former slaves.[23] The apprenticeship policy was based on the Colonial Office's Apprenticeship Act of 1833. Its cardinal principle "was the belief that slaves had to be 'trained' toward self-discipline and 'responsibility' deemed to be essential for 'free' laborers."[24] In fact, a dispatch sent by the Colonial Office to the colonies as a part of the Abolition Act sought to "lay the foundation in our colonies of a social system absolved for ever from the reproach of slavery and which voluntary and effective industry shall take the place of

compulsory labor."[25] Also, according to a memorandum issued by the Colonial Office for the colonies, apprenticeship involved "training for a particular kind of skilled labor which 'combines' education and labor with the promise of eventual self-employment."[26] These arrangements did not better the conditions of former slaves, especially females that were the most marginalized and vulnerable because of their gender, exploitable reproductive capacities, foreign origins, and their kinlessness. As a result, such liberated female slaves suffered the most from the paradoxical colonial policies that liberated slaves, but put them into other forms of bondage.[27]

The evidence shows that in apprenticeship policies from the 1890s forward, the colonial state did make efforts to help former slaves in their adjustment to freedom. Specifically on September 29, 1890, an ordinance was passed by the Gold Coast Legislative Council to assist former slaves. The ordinance, referring to "apprenticeship" in the official records, sought to "provide for the Registration and Protection in certain other respects of alien Children in the Gold Coast Colony."[28] The alien children were former slave children who had not been claimed by their relatives in the aftermath of abolition in 1874–75. It should be pointed out that the Ordinance did not specifically mention pawns as a part of the package, but the institution of pawnship all the same fell under the colonial state's efforts to root out all forms of unfree labor, however defined.

Several events paved the way for the application of the Ordinance of 1890 in the Gold Coast and its consequent apprenticeship policy of the early twentieth century. First, in 1888–89, Inspector R.E. Firminger, a former colonial operative in the Gold Coast, then recuperating in England, reported that there was endemic post-proclamation slavery in the Gold Coast.[29] Second, in 1889–90, Mr. Ed. MacMunn, a former District Commissioner of Accra, claimed in England that the colonial government and the Gold Coast courts were lax in administering the abolition laws.[30] Third, in the aftermath of these two allegations of post-proclamation slavery, the London-based Aborigines' Protection Society (APS) vigorously raised the issue of emancipation in the Gold Coast with the Colonial Office. Finally, the Colonial Office put official pressure on the Gold Coast colonial government to be more vigilant with abolition and emancipation of slaves.[31] It was these concatenated pressures from different constituencies that compelled the Gold Coast colonial government to formulate an official policy to assist former slaves. The gap in the evidence does not allow us to fully reconstruct how the Ordinance of 1890 was administered in the 1890s. However, the available evidence suggests that during the first three decades of the twentieth century, the colonial government somewhat implemented the Ordinance of 1890. Thereafter, "apprenticeship" in the Gold Coast involved the placement of former slave and pawn children in the guardianship of colonial officials, prominent African families, and the Christian missions.

In theory, the apprenticeship policy in the Gold Coast sought to equip former slaves with skilled labor to make them independent in the long term. But as in other British colonies, for instance, the Cape Colony and the British Caribbean, where apprenticeship policies

had been implemented earlier, the apprenticeship in the Gold Coast became a means of exploiting the labor of former slaves.[32] For example, Nigel Worden has explained that apprenticeship in the Cape Colony deviated from the objectives set by the Colonial Office in that it arbitrarily placed children in the guardianship of colonists.[33] The same can be said for the Gold Coast. However, in the aftermath of the First World War, as result of international anti-slavery pressures, attempts were made to reform the pre-existing apprenticeship policy. In spite of this, apprenticeship continued to be a source of cheap labor for the elite of the colonial society.[34] Former slaves in apprenticeship in the Gold Coast provided involuntary labor for their individual upkeep. Unlike in Northern Nigeria, apprentices in the Gold Coast were not paid for their labor as house servants, farm-hands, carriers or porters, and traders. In fact, the productive labor of the apprentices benefited the Gold Coast apprentice-holders.[35] In the long-term some apprentices acquired certain skilled labor from whatever work it was that they performed, for example, masonry and carpentry, but it should be stressed that the acquisition of such skilled labor by apprenticed former slaves, though theoretically intended as a colonial policy prescription, was an accidental by-product of the apprentice-holders' exploitation of apprentices under their tutelage. In other words, apprentice-holders did not set out to help apprentices to acquire skilled labor that would facilitate their transition from bondage to freedom.[36] Thus apprenticeship in the Gold Coast was a source of cheap labor for the apprentice-holder and hence fits Alain Morice's view that the usefulness of apprenticeship "depends largely on the intentions" of the apprentice-holder.[37]

Former slave children were apprenticed through several methods. One was through a written application to the colonial administration. The application form included specifications of the number of apprentices that an applicant wanted, gender sought, and how long an applicant intended to keep a prospective apprentice.[38] Upon the acceptance of an application by the colonial state, an applicant had to make a written undertaking by filling out and signing the apprenticeship form. Among other things, the form demanded that an apprentice should "obey [the] lawful commands and not absent herself [*sic*] by day and night from the service of an [apprentice-holder]."[39] The undertaking also stated that an apprentice-holder would

> provide... sufficient good meat and drink and lodging, and suitable clothing, and medical advice and medicine, and will instruct her or cause her to be instructed in the employment necessary for future life and will cause to be sent regularly to school until he [sic] is certified to have passed out of Standard IV., and will bring her to the District Commissioner... on the First Monday in January, April, July and October in each year.[40]

Whether these measures, especially the education of the apprenticed children, were fully carried out remains ambiguous in the sources. The statement of undertaking that informs the application stipulates that apprentice-holders should equip female apprentices with basic skills for domesticity and marriage, while male apprentices should be trained for employment

in the public sphere. The second approach, which appears to have been the norm, however limited in practice, especially from the 1920s, was the colonial policy of apprenticing former slave children to the Christian missions.[41] In a unique case the colonial government granted sums of money to the Roman Catholic Mission at Cape Coast for the upkeep of an apprenticed former slave girl, but it is doubtful whether the colonial state did so for all the liberated slaves apprenticed to the Christian missions.[42] The evidence shows that the Christian missions had to depend on their own resources, at times woefully inadequate, to cater to the needs of apprentices. Notwithstanding a well-documented case that will be discussed below, the evidence suggests that the colonial policy of apprenticing former slaves to the Christian missions was selective and ad hoc in nature, or at best evanescent without fruitful results.

The apprenticeship policy stipulated that only children under sixteen years of age were apprenticeable, and at least in 1908 this age limit was enforced.[43] In that year, Mr. H. Bryan, the Colonial Secretary, directed Mr. E.C. Elliot, the Commissioner of the Central Province, as follows:

> I have the honour to draw your attention to sections 19 and 20 of Ordinance No. 8 of 1893 and to request that as the girl appears to be 16 years you will inform me under what arrangement she has been apprenticed. How did the girl come to be in the possession of Superintendent Simmons?[44]

It is not clear in the records whether the age limit of sixteen years old was rigorously enforced in the early twentieth century. Even if it was, given the uncertain origins and familial backgrounds of former slaves it would have been undoubtedly difficult to determine every exact age. The evidence illustrates that most of former slaves in apprenticeship in the Gold Coast were females and it is likely that the majority had originated from the Salaga slave trade.[45] Although such former slaves had been given "southern" Akan, Guan, and Ga-Adangbe names, they were still collectively referred to as "Wangara," an ethno-geographical designation laden with derogatory connotations synonymous with the "Northern" regional backwater, specifically, the slave trading axis of Salaga.[46] Some of the liberated slaves were also from the immediate interior or protectorate states.[47] For instance, in 1880, Acting Inspector General, Mr. Cecil Dudley, "captured King Akwasi Baidoo [of Denkyira in the interior] and the principal offenders" for slave-holding and jailed them in the Elmina castle prison. Consequently, the "released slaves[,] . . . mostly women and young children," were placed under the care of the "Authorities at Elmina pending the trial" of the king and his chiefs.[48]

As noted there is a paucity of evidence regarding the actual number of apprenticed former slave children. However, one of the recorded lists show that between 1908 and 1913 fourteen liberated slave children were apprenticed to the elite of the colonial society, both African and European in the Cape Coast District.[49] Undoubtedly the true figure may be higher: among other things, records were not properly kept, especially between 1902 and 1905.[50] In 1910, the returns submitted by District Commissioners for some parts of the

Central Province indicate no apprenticeships, and it is possible that the apprenticeship policy was tapering off.[51] Also in 1911, the Acting Commissioner of the Central Province sent memoranda to District Commissioners reminding them to furnish returns on apprenticed children in their respective districts to the office of the provincial government. In response, all the District Commissioners reported that no one had been apprenticed in their respective districts.[52] This suggests that the decline of apprenticeship in the Gold Coast, at least, in the Cape Coast district, may have coincided with the end of apprenticeship in Northern Nigeria, which according to C. N. Ubah, occurred between 1907 and 1911.[53] The reason given for the abolition of the policy in Northern Nigeria was that it had become unproductive and failed as an effective agency of adjustment for former slaves, and the same may be said for the policy in the Gold Coast.[54]

Nonetheless the evidence suggests that the apprenticeship policy survived in the Gold Coast, although it was overshadowed by the demands of the imperial war effort in the Gold Coast during the First World War from 1914 to 1918, and continued in the 1920s through some major transformations in policy.[55] From about 1920 forward, various Christian missions, in addition to apprenticing freed slave children to the elite of the colonial society, assumed significant apprenticeship roles in concert with the colonial state, although their cooperation with the state was not always harmonious.[56] The apprentice-holding role of the Christian missions was sometimes made difficult by the intervention of colonial officials. Writing to the Colonial Secretary in 1909, for instance, the Commissioner of the Central Province explained that the "Mission [the Vicarate of Elmina] is willing to take charge of the girls provided they are allowed to deal with them in their own way." This included only an "elementary" education especially in "domestic matters," and marrying them off "when old enough and with their consent to suitable men."[57] For its part, the colonial government wanted "older" children apprenticed, but the Vicariate of Elmina demurred, on the grounds that older apprentices were too difficult to retrain in the ways of the church.[58] It is likely, though further research is needed, that the Christian missions did educate some of the apprenticed children in basic literacy, and equipped them with social skills.[59] At least one biographical account subsequently used here as a case study illustrates as much, even though, as noted, the education of apprenticed former slave girls mainly prepared them for domesticity and marriage.[60] This mirrored the colonial norms in the Gold Coast by the early twentieth century.[61] It is therefore not surprising that marriage was a recurring theme in a substantial number of official reports on apprenticed females.[62]

The evidence, inadequate as it may seem, suggests that apprenticed children also suffered abuse at the hands of their apprentice-holders.[63] For example, four freed slave children, one from Gambaga in the Salaga slave trading axis, and the rest from around Lokoja in Northern Nigeria, apprenticed to the wife of Willouhhy Osborne, the Attorney-General of the Gold Coast and subsequently the Chief Justice of Southern Nigeria, were brutally maltreated. Although the specific charges are not discussed in the source, the abuse of the four

apprentices became a subject of concern at the Colonial Office in London and was debated in the British Parliament, and appeared in newspapers, including the *Morning Post*.[64] Nor did those apprenticed to the Christian missions necessarily fare any better: they too were exploited as menial servants and put through harsh, regimented daily routines.[65]

That apprenticed females were sexually exploited may not have been the norm, but it is not in dispute either.[66] In 1908, A. B. Josiah of Cape Coast in the Gold Coast applied for "5 female slave children" from the Freed Slaves' Home in Zungeru. Unfortunately for Josiah, this occurred just as the "Visiting Committee of the Home" ruled that "no girl wards should in future be sent out to anyone other than European ladies and religious missions." Similarly "boy wards" were not to be sent outside the Zungeru region.[67] The fact that the authorities streamlined the policy confirms the abuse experienced by apprentices, especially females, at the hands of apprentice-holders. Additionally, on June 21, 1909, the District Commissioner of Saltpond wrote to the Acting Commissioner of the Central Province that:

> I have the honor to inform you that I was at Mankessim on the 7th instant when I visited Mr. Taylor at his house and saw the 3 slave children (sic) at present with him... Ambah, a girl of 16 years...has a child about 2 weeks old; Mr. Taylor is the father of this child.[68]

Mr. Taylor's sexual exploitation of this Ambah, apprenticed to him by the colonial state, may fairly stand for what other apprentice-holders did to liberated female slaves under their tutelage. The available evidence does not allow us to quantify the number of apprentice-holders who were sexually exploited, but the comparative evidence suggests that a sizeable number of apprentice-holders forthrightly cohabited with apprentices. It may have been a common problem.[69] In practice, the colonial authorities turned a blind eye to it, and in this case the District Commissioner of Saltpond claimed that "Ambah" was "quite happy and well treated," and neither the District Commissioner nor the acting commissioner complained that Mr. Taylor had cohabited with her.[70] Rather, the Acting Commissioner, having imputed too much freedoms and choices to apprenticed liberated female slaves, just as other officials may have done, assured the District Commissioner:

> As long as you are sure that these girls and boy quite understand that they are at liberty to go away anytime they wish and that Taylor cannot call on them for any money or return anything he may have given them I think the matter may rest as it is.[71]

In fact, the evidence adduced here supports Ubah's position that apprentices were abused and sexually exploited by apprentice-holders, which may have been well known to the colonial authorities in the Gold Coast.

Apprenticed liberated slaves sometimes took matters into their own hands. Some fled from their apprentice-holders or eloped with their lovers. For example, an apprenticed girl, Ambah Satura, apprenticed to Pet. AW. [*sic*] Renner of Awoonor Chambers, Cape Coast, eloped to Kumasi with Ginadu Wangara, a police sergeant. The efforts of Mr. Renner, the

apprentice-holder, to reclaim Ambah Satura failed because the Chief Commissioner of Asante (adjacent to the Gold Coast) would not, for an unknown reason, permit her to return or to be brought back.[72] By 1909, Ambah Satura had moved with Sergeant Wangara to Sekondi, his new station, in the Western Province of the Gold Coast. In the long run, Mr. Renner decided, it was not worth having her back, and the Acting Commissioner of the Central Province conjectured that if "she is satisfied with her present position I would suggest she might be allowed to remain."[73] The case illustrates how apprentices embarked on ventures, however misguided, in order to safeguard their autonomy.

Overall, poor record-keeping contributed to the ineffectiveness of the apprenticeship policy: it allowed apprenticed children to fall through the cracks of the colonial apprenticeship bureaucracy. For example, in 1908, as a result of the aforementioned abuse of the four liberated slaves in apprenticeship in the Gold Coast, the office of the Undersecretary of State for Colonies in London sought information on them from the Gold Coast officials. Unfortunately, the Gold Coast government could not trace their records at the District Commissioner's office in Elmina where presumably their apprenticeship had been processed, and a search of the "Office of Alien Children" did not yield any information on them either.[74] Mr. E.C. Eliot, the Commissioner of the Central Province, acknowledged that "these records were not kept up during the years 1902 to 1905."[75] This suggests that a considerable number of apprenticed children were forgotten by the colonial state and had to depend on the generosity or otherwise of the apprentice-holders for their transition from bondage to freedom. It is very likely that in most cases apprentices experienced neglect, exploitation, and abuse.

The period of seemingly rough-and-ready colonial policies appears to have ended by 1908. At that point the colonial government adopted a more vigilant stance toward apprenticeship and its record-keeping.[76] There is no evidence in the primary sources or the extant literature that explains the timing and the apparent change in policy. The colonial government began to seek new apprentice-holders for apprentices whose former apprentice-holders had died or fallen into dire circumstance.[77] The colonial government also concerned itself with the problems of apprenticeship beyond the Gold Coast, in Asante as well. When Ambah Satura eloped, for instance, the Acting Provincial Commissioner of the Central Province communicated with the Assistant Commissioner of Police for Asante and the Commissioner of the Western Provinceto effect her return.[78] Additionally, letters were sent to remind apprentice-holders of their obligation under the apprentice policy to report annually to the colonial authorities, which policy apparently enabled the colonial authorities to ascertain the welfare of apprenticed freed slaves.[79] Also, the colonial government kept a watchful eye on Northern Nigerian freed slave children who had been apprenticed to inhabitants of the Gold Coast. For example, Mrs. Maria Hutchinson had to report to the District Commissioner of Accra with two freed slave girls she had acquired from the Zungeru Freed Slaves Home in Northern Nigeria.[80] Whether this vigilance changed the fortunes of the former slave children

in apprenticeship is difficult to determine. The evidence, however, suggests that these radical changes in policy were evanescent and were derailed by the exigencies of the First World War in the Gold Coast.

Inter-Regional Apprenticeship: The Gold Coast and Northern Nigeria

C. N. Ubah, in his study of the Freed Slaves Home in Northern Nigeria, highlights the fact that apprentice-holders were sought in the Gold Coast to apprentice liberated slaves residing in the Zungeru Freed Slaves Home in Northern Nigeria.[81] Thus colonial officials in Northern Nigeria and in the Gold Coast cooperated regarding the apprenticeship of former slaves.[82] The beneficiaries of this inter-regional apprenticeship policy were African and European traders, merchants, teachers, missionaries, and other professional elites. Although freed slave children were officially apprenticed to men, in reality they were kept under the tutelage of wives, consorts, or female relatives of the male elites of the colonial society.[83]

Although, official policy sought to limit the relocation of apprentices as the 1908 case of Josiah shows, in 1910 and 1911, apprenticed children were still being sent to the Gold Coast under the administrative auspices of the Northern Nigerian colonial government. For example, and as noted, in 1910, Mrs Maria Hutchinson of the Gold Coast, "a mother of a senior clerk in the service of this Protectorate [of Northern Nigeria]," was allowed to take two freed slave girls from the Freed Slave Home in Zungeru to the Gold Coast. Mrs. Hutchinson was informed that "she will be liable for the cost of the repatriation of these children, should at any time the necessity to repatriate them arise."[84] Also, in March 1911, Mr. H.S. Goldsmith, the Acting Chief Secretary of the Government in Zungeru, informed the Colonial Secretary of the Gold Coast of the following:

> Mr. J.B. Sagoe, Leatherworker, Northern Nigeria Regiment, in the Service of this Protectorate, Native of Cape Coast has been granted permission by the Acting Governor to take with him to Cape Coast an Apprenticed Freed Slave Boy and His Excellency will feel obliged if you will kindly take such steps as you consider necessary to see that the boy is not illtreated or disposed of.[85]

Certainly, the official information above shows that official policies sought to protect the welfare of apprentices, but whether colonial officials and apprentice-holders carried out such policies is not clear from the available evidence.

Although Ubah reveals that former slave children from Northern Nigeria were apprenticed in the Gold Coast, he does not show that liberated slave children from the Gold Coast were taken to Northern Nigeria. In fact, apprenticed former slave children were allowed to accompany their apprentice-holders to and from both colonies. For instance, in 1909, the District Commissioner of Cape Coast sought information "from the Mothers Superior at Cape Coast and Elmina Roman Catholic Convents" about four freed slave girls

from the Gold Coast who had been apprenticed to the wife of the Chief Justice Osborne of Southern Nigeria.[86] Also in 1910, Mr. J. Andoh, "a clerk in Northern Nigeria and a native of Elmina" in the Central Province of the Gold Coast, took with him a freed slave boy from the Gold Coast to Northern Nigeria.[87] With regard to the case of 1909 above, the names of the freed slave girls were Mary, who originated from Gambaga in the Northern Territories, later a part of the Gold Coast, while the rest, namely Graney, Garthe, and Gambia, were initially brought to the Gold Coast from the Lokoja area of Northern Nigeria.[88] The given names of these apprentices show how apprentice-holders renamed apprentices and so suggest the high degree of paternalism exercised over former slave children. Furthermore, the ambiguity that informs the origin of these freed slave children is a testimony to the indiscriminate manner with which liberated slave children were moved about between the Gold Coast and the Northern Nigeria.

The Gold Coast government showed keen interest in the departure of such former slave children to Northern Nigeria. The apprentice-holder and his/her apprentices were required to report to the colonial authorities on the day before departure so that colonial officials could ascertain the state of health and well-being of the accompanying apprentice.[89] In spite of the official instructions, the records do not explain how freed slave children in the inter-regional apprenticeship were treated or fared in the long-term. Direct evidence does not tell us about the adjustments made by liberated slave children placed in inter-regional apprenticeships, but extrapolating from the wider evidence and the comparative literature suggests that apprenticed children became sources of menial labor for the elite of the colonial society.

A Case Study of Apprenticeship: Amba Ata alias Grace Orleans, 1924–ca.1930

There is a major gap in the records from April 7, 1913, to February 29, 1924. Fortunately, spanning 1924 to 1928 is a composite apprenticeship biography of Amba Ata also known as Grace Orleans.[90] The evidence on this former slave girl throws additional light on some of the questions raised and conclusions drawn above, fills some gaps, and points to further areas of research. Amba Ata first emerges in the official accounts on June 29, 1924: the Gold Coast Governor, F. G. Guggisberg, writing to Mr. Justice R. E. Hall of the colonial courts, noted that he had "approved of the grant of an annual allowance of £15 for the maintenance of this girl [Amba Ata] to the Roman Catholic Mission at Cape Coast until such a time, she may be restored to her family."[91] While the biography of Amba Ata provides multiple perspectives on the colonial policy of apprenticeship and the responses of apprentices, there are several ambiguous strands of information. First, it is not clear what is meant by being "restored to her family." It is likely that if she had an accessible natal "family" the colonial

government would not have apprenticed her to the Roman Catholic Church. She may have been liberated by the colonial state from another family and apprenticed to the Orleans family, whose surname she bore; the Orleans family belonged to the kinship group of Chief Coker of Cape Coast, and was very powerful and influential.[92] If so, however, it is unclear why the colonial government paid for her upkeep with the Roman Catholic Mission at Cape Coast. At any rate the available evidence shows that Amba Ata was associated with the Orleans family as an apprentice and like most apprentices was given the apprentice-holders' family name. This did not indicate outright assimilation into the host kinship network of the Orleans. At best, it was a form of familial association that recognized Amba Ata as an inferior dependant.

Second, Amba Ata "was placed by the order of the Court" into apprenticeship,[93] suggesting that her apprentice-holders, very likely the Orleans family, had been subjected to some form of prosecutorial demands, leading to their loss of Amba Ata to the colonial state. Yet Amba Ata referred to the Orleans as her "parents" in a letter she wrote to the colonial authorities, stating that she wanted to opt out of the Roman Catholic Convent so that she could return to them.[94] While the evidence does not explain the circumstances entailed in the court case or the judgement of the court, when she ran away from the Roman Catholic Convent, she again sought refuge in the Orleans family home.[95] Amba Ata's reference to the Orleans as her parents and the fact that she sought security in their home suggest that apprentices could develop apparently strong attachments to their apprentice-holders. For her part Madam Mansah Orleans, the matriarch of the Orleans family, sought through the District Commissioner's court to retain Amba Ata. The evidence shows that if Amba Ata had had her way, she would have chosen the Orleans as her family. This may be due to the prestige attached to the Orleans family, or simply that she came to the conclusion that her association with them was her best choice.

Finally, the annual allowance of £15 granted by the colonial government in 1924 for the upkeep of Amba Ata was unusual. In the pre-war period the colonial government apparently did not give any allowance to the Christian Missions.[96] This changed in the post-war period when the office of the Gold Coast governor became particularly interested in seeing to the success of policy. In fact, in 1925, the District Commissioner of Cape Coast requested a subvention of £15 because the amount "allocated for the year 1924 [was] exhausted on the 31st December," and his request was granted.[97] Subsequently, the amount of £15 was granted annually by the colonial government in 1926, 1927, and 1928 to the Roman Catholic Convent for the upkeep of Amba Ata.[98] Amba Ata's case may have been quite unusual, as the governor himself was directly involved; ordinarily a junior colonial operative would have written the letter of approval for earmarking money for an apprentice's upkeep. In the 1920s the Colonial Office, through the instrumentality of the International Labor Organization (ILO) and League of Nations, put enormous pressure on the colonial government to abolish all forms of unfree labor, which resulted in addressing problems

facing former slaves.[99] Governor Guggisberg's direct involvement in Amba Ata's case may have exemplified the vigorous shift in colonial policy with regard to unfree labor and toward confronting the problems facing liberated slaves.

In the end, Amba Ata sought to opt out of the Roman Catholic Convent and the letter she submitted to colonial government is worth quoting at length:

> Dear Sire,
>
> I am very sorry to write to you today that, I have now grown up a big girl, so I beg you to allow me to come home. Because I am tired of the Convent. I have also told Rev. Mother to allow me to come home, but in vain. So I am asking you to let me come home. For I am longing to see my parents. I will be very glad if you try to do so. Dear Sire, I often shed my tears about this. So try your possible best and judge my case for I am a poor girl Grace Orleans.[100]

Amba Ata's letter above raises several questions. First, a textual analysis of the grammar, syntax, style, and the first-person narrative content of the letter suggest that she may have written it by herself. This supports the contention that some of the liberated slave children, apprenticed to the Christian missions, had received a rudimentary education. Second, the fact that she wanted to break her association with the Convent illustrates the harshness and failure of the apprenticeship policy. Third, the recurring invocation of "home" reiterates the irony that the host-kinship family was often the only place to which former slave children could return, irrespective of previous abuse and exploitation. Finally, in spite of the problems ranged against her, Amba Ata made decisions and choices to bolster her independence, and such quests for autonomy may well have been common among former slaves who struggled to break away from the constraints of the apprenticeship policy.

After Amba Ata's letter the District Commissioner of Cape Coast asked Mr. Andrew Jones, the Commissioner of the Central Province, if he could "tell me . . . if the girl has any parents to whom she can go."[101] In the end, Mr. Jones instructed that she should be sent back to the convent, and Madam Mansah Orleans complied on May 1, 1928.[102] But Amba Ata, bent on her own choices in freedom, made good her escape from the convent: three days later, Sister Mariah, the Acting Superintendent of the Our Lady of the Apostles Convent, wrote to Mr. Jones, stating that Amba Ata "has not as yet returned to the Convent."[103] Eventually, the Supreme Court instructed the "Police Commissioner [of Cape Coast] . . . to cause the girl to be searched for and sent back to the Convent at Elmina."[104] The remaining evidence shows that Amba Ata was not captured by the authorities. In the end Amba Ata's case, while undoubtedly unique, points to the vigilance adopted by the colonial government in the post-First World War period, and illustrates former slaves' struggles for autonomy and freedoms.

Conclusion

The gendering of abolition literature has provided insights into how abolition shaped not only the fortunes of former slaves and pawns, but also how abolition and emancipation reconfigured forms of unfree labor, in this case "apprenticeship," in the post-proclamation Gold Coast. At the inception of colonial rule in 1874, no systematic effort was made to assist former slaves. It was not until about the early 1890s that the Gold Coast Legislative Council enacted an ordinance to assist former slave children in the form of "apprenticeship," indeed, as a means to facilitate liberated slaves' transition from bondage to freedom. Overall, the policy of apprenticeship remained woefully inadequate, and was fitfully applied. Although, in 1908, colonial officials adopted a vigilant stance toward the problems of apprenticeship, the evidence illustrates that the transition in policy did not benefit the majority of former slave children. Rather liberated slave children became a source of cheap labor, and in some cases, objects of sexual gratification for the elite of the colonial society. The case of Amba Ata, alias Grace Orleans, amply demonstrates the ambiguity of the policy: she seemed to have acquired some education that could have been an engine of social mobility, but the lack of autonomy that buttressed the apprenticeship system derailed her chances for a full adjustment to freedom. In all, Amba Ata's complicated biography underscores the deficiencies in the apprenticeship policy which inevitably compelled liberated slaves to depend on the very apprentice-holders who oppressed and exploited them. It is likely that liberated slaves who sought adjustments on their own fared no better, because the choices available to them could not secure their complete autonomy.

Notes

1. See letter dd. 9/10/27, signed by Grace Orleans, an apprenticed former slave girl, in Slave Children, National Archives of Ghana, Cape Coast (Hereafter NAGCC), ADM 23/1/126. This is a bulky file that contains numerous materials on apprenticed "freed" slave children from the period 1906 to 1929. Except where the subject is cited as a whole, references will be made to documents by citing their specific case numbers and dates as they appear in the original.
2. Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "'A Smattering of Education' and Petitions as Sources: A Study of African Slave Holders' Response to Abolition in the Gold Coast," *History in Africa*, 27 (2000), 39–60; Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "To Wassa Fiase for Gold: Rethinking Colonial Rule, El Dorado, Antislavery and Chieftaincy in the Gold Coast (Ghana), 1874–1895," *History in Africa* 30 (2003), 11–36; and Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "'We Shall Rejoice to See the Day When Slavery Shall Cease to Exist': *The Gold Coast Times* and African Abolitionists in the Gold Coast," *History in Africa*. 31 (2004), 19–42.
3. Raymond Dumett and Marion Johnson, "Britain and the Suppression of Slavery in the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories," in Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts (eds.), *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 88.
4. See, for example, Daniel F. McCall, *Africa: In Time–Perspective* (Legon: Ghana University Press, 1964); J. Vansina, R. Mauny, and L. V. Thomas (eds.), *The Historian in Tropical Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Bogumil Jewsiewicki and David Newbury (eds.), *African Historiographies* (London: Sage Publications, 1986); Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as*

History (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Jan Vansina, *Living with Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); and Toyin Falola and Christian Jennings (eds.), *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken, Written, Unearthed* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003).

5. See, for example, David Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); David Henige, *Oral Historiography* (London/New York: Longman, 1982); and Henige, *Historical Evidence and Argument* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), as well as several works that deal with the oral history of non-African history and around 170 articles on the use of historical evidence.
6. NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; also see note 1.
7. David Henige, "Rich in the Wisdom of Hindsight," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 34, 4 (2003), 577.
8. For this methodological approach, see, for example, Tara Innis, "From Slavery to Freedom: Children's Health in Barbados, 1823–1838," *Slavery and Abolition*, 27, 2 (2006), 252.
9. See Further Correspondence Relating to the Abolition of Slavery on the Gold Coast, Parliamentary Papers, 1875, C. 1139 (Hereafter C. 1139); and Further Correspondence Relating to the Abolition of Slavery on the Gold Coast, Parliamentary Papers, 1875, C. 1159 (Hereafter C. 1159)
10. See, for example, Despatches from Governor to Secretary of State, 1879–80, February 7, 1880, No. 57, NAGA, ADM 1/2/23; C. 6354, The APS to Colonial Office, August 20, 1890, No. 1; and C. 6354, Griffith to Knutsford, January 26, 1891, No. 7.
11. See, for example, Despatches from Governor to Secretary of State, 1879–80, February 7, 1880, No. 57, NAGA, ADM 1/2/23.
12. For a very recent work that encapsulates the historiography on the British and Asante contest for power in the Gold Coast, the British officialdom's constructions of colonial rule in Asante and the Gold Coast, and African Responses, see Kwabena Akurang-Parry, "Ritual, Rumor and Colonialism in Asante and the Gold Coast: The Case of the Alleged Human Sacrifice of 200 Girls by Asantehene [King] Mensa Bonsu in 1881–1882," in Toyin Falola and Matt Childs (eds.), *The Changing World of Atlantic Africa* (Durham: NC. Carolina Academic Press, 2009), 69–94.
13. For the processes of abolition in the Gold Coast, see, for example, Gerald M. McSheffrey, "Slavery, Indentured Servitude, Legitimate Trade and the Impact of Abolition in the Gold Coast, 1874–1901," *Journal of African History* 24, 3 (1983), 349–268; Peter Haenger, *Slaves and Slave Holders on the Gold Coast* (eds.) J. J. Shaffer and Paul E. Lovejoy (Basel: P. Schlettwein Publishing, 2000); Trevor R. Getz, *Slavery and Reform in West Africa: Toward Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Senegal and the Gold Coast* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004); Akosua Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery from the 15th to the 19th Centuries* (Accra: Sahara Publishers, 2004); Gareth Austin, *Labor, land, and Capital in Ghana: From Slavery to Free Labor in Asante* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005); Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "The Administration of the Abolition Laws, African Responses, and Post-Proclamation Slavery in Colonial Southern Ghana, 1874–1940," *Slavery and Abolition* 19, 2 (1998), 149–66; Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "Slavery and Abolition in the Gold Coast: Colonial Modes of Emancipation and African Initiatives," *Ghana Studies*, 1 (1998), 11–34; Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "Rethinking the 'Slaves of Salaga:' Post-Proclamation Slavery in the Gold Coast (Colonial Southern Ghana), 1874–1899," *Left History*, 8, 1 (2002), 33–60; Ella Keren, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade in Ghanaian Academic Historiography: History, Memory, and Power," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 66, 4 (2009), 975–1000; Manu Herbstein "Reflections in a Shattered Glass: The British Council's Celebrations of the Bicentenary of the 1807 Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in Ghana," *Slavery and Abolition*, 30, 2 (2009), 197–207.
14. Sandra E. Green, "Modern Trokosi and the 1807 Abolition in Ghana: Connecting the Past and Present," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 66, 4 (2009), 959–60. See also, Robert Kwame Ameh, "Trokosi (Child Slavery) in Ghana: A Policy Approach," *Ghana Studies*, I (1998), 35–62.
15. Kwabena Adu-Boahen, "Abolition, Economic Transition, Gender and Slavery: The Expansion of Women's Slaveholding in Ghana, 1807–1874," *Slavery and Abolition*, 31, 1 (2010), 117–36.

16. Claire C. Robertson, "Post–Proclamation Slavery in Accra: A Female Affair," in Martin Klein and Claire C. Robertson (eds.), *Women and Slavery in Africa*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 220–45.

17. Beverly Grier, "Pawns, Porters, and Petty Traders: Women in the Transition to Cash Crop Agriculture in Colonial Ghana," in Toyin Falola and Paul E. Lovejoy (eds.), *Pawnship in Africa: Debt Bondage in Historical Perspective* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), 161–86.

18. Kwabena Akurang-Parry, "'The Loads are Heavier than Usual' Female Forced Labor in the Central Province, Gold Coast (Colonial Ghana) ca.1900–1940," *African Economic History*, 30 (2001), 31–51.

19. Kwabena Akurang-Parry, "Transformation in the Feminization of Unfree Domestic Labor: A Study of Abaawa or Prepubescent Female Servitude in Modern Ghana," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 78, (2010), 28–47. For female domestic service in comparative perspectives, see for example, Melanie Jacquemin, "Can the Language of Rights Get Hold of the Complex Realities of Child Domestic Work? The Case of Young Domestic Workers in Abidjan, Ivory Coast," *Childhood*, 13, 3 (2006), 391–392; Jayne Howell, "Of Servanthood and Self-Employment: Changing Patterns of Domestic Service in Southern Mexico," *Urban Anthropology*, 31, 3 &4 (2002), 389–416; Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women: A Modern History* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994, 109–116; Iris Berger, "Dependency and Domesticity: Women's Wage Labor 1900–1920," in Iris Berger (ed.), *Threads of Solidarity: Women in South African Industry, 1900–1980* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 16–45; Karen Tranberg Hansen, *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press,1992); Robert Lee, "Domestic Service and Female Domestic Servants: A Port-City Comparison of Bremen and Liverpool," *History of the Family*, 10, (2005), 435–60; Jane L. Hegstrom, "Reminiscences of Below Stairs: English Female Domestic Servants Between the Two World Wars," *Women's Studies*, 36, 1 (2007), 15–33.

20. Accounts of pawnship, also known as debt-bondage, in the Gold Coast are scattered in the scholarly and travelogue accounts of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. In the main they identify pawnship as a consequence of problems and crises within the kinship system that forced kin groups to pawn their members as human collateral for debt; many emphasize the supposed benignity of the institution of pawnship. See Brodie Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa*, Vol. I, (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1853 [1966]), 318 and 322–29; Cruikshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa, Vol. II,* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1853 [1966]), 198–200 and 247–50; Thomas J. Hutchinson, *Ten Years Wandering Among the Ethiopians* (London, Frank Cass, 1861), 10–14; A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (Chicago: Benin Press 1887 [1964]), 285 and 289–300; John Harris, *Dawn in Darkest Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1912, 1968), 45; W. Walton Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti* (London: Frank Cass, 1915 [1964]), 177–86. For fuller a fuller account of pawnship or debt-bondage in Ghana, see, for example, Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "'What Is and What Is Not the Law': Imprisonment for Debt and the Institution of Pawnship in the Gold Coast, 1821–1899," in *Pawnship, Slavery and Colonialism in Africa,* ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and Toyin Falola (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003), 427–47.

21. See C. 1139; and C. 1159.

22. See, for example, Dispatches from the Governor to the Secretary of State, 1879–80, February 7, 1880, No. 57, National Archives of Ghana, Accra (hereafter NAGA), ADM ¬Ω 23; C. 6354, Griffith to Knutsford, January 26, 1890, No. 7; C. 6053, Holmes to Hughes, July 27, 1889, Encl. 26 in No. 59; C. 6053, Cole to Hughes, September 17, 1890, Encl. 8 in No. 59; and Case No. 104, November 3, 1875, NAGA, SCT 17/4/2. For fuller accounts, see major works in note 2.

23. See Slave Children, NAGCC.

24. Nigel Worden, "Between Slavery and Freedom: The Apprenticeship Period, 1834–8," in Nigel Worden and Clifton Crais, *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and its Legacy in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony* (Witwatersrand: University of Witwatersrand Press, 1994), 118.

25. Quoted from Worden above, who quotes from "An Act for the Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Colonies; For Promoting the Industry of the Manumitted Slaves; and For Compensating the Persons Hitherto Entitled to the Services of Such Slaves, August 28, 1833, Stanley to Cole, July 18, 1833."

26. Worden, "Between Slavery and Freedom," 118.
27. See Akurang-Parry, "Transformation in the Feminization of Unfree Domestic Labor."
28. The Aborigines Protection Society (APS) to Colonial Office, March 20, 1891, No. 8, in Correspondence Respecting the Administration of the Laws Against Slavery in the Gold Coast Colony, Parliamentary Papers, 1891, C. 6354 (Hereafter C. 6354)
29. See, for example, Hodgson to Knutsford, February 17, 1890, Encl. 1 in No. 59 in Correspondence Respecting the Slave Trade, Parliamentary Papers, 1890, C. 6053 (hereafter C. 6053); C. 6053, Return of Number of Slave-dealing Cases disposed of in the District Commissioner's Court, during the months of August and September, 1889, Encl. 9 in No. 59; and C. 6053, Thompson to Hughes, August 6, 1889, Encl. 12 in No. 59.
30. See, for example, C. 6354, APS to Colonial Office, March 20, 1891, No. 8; C. 6354, Griffith to Knutsford, January 26, 1891, No. 7; and C. 6354, Peregrine to the Colonial Secretary, October 7, 1890, Encl. 1 in No. 7.
31. Ibid. See also Hodgson to Knutsford, February 17, 1890, Encl. 1 in No. 59, in Correspondence Respecting the Slave Trade, Parliamentary Papers, 1890, C. 6053 (hereafter C. 6053); C. 6053, Return of Number of Slave-dealing Cases disposed of in the District Commissioner's Court, during the months of August and September, 1889, Encl. 9 in No. 59; and C. 6053, Thompson to Hughes, August 6, 1889, Encl. 12 in No. 59.
32. See, for example, Worden, "Between Slavery & Freedom," 118–32; and Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 42–45.
33. Worden, 122.
34. See, for example, Report of the Committee of Experts on Slavery Appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, April 4, 1933, NAGA, CSO 41/33, (hereafter RCES). I thank Thelma Ewusie, Archivist, NAGA, for bringing this file to my attention. See also League of Nations, Slavery: Report of the Advisory Committee of Experts, Slavery 1936. VI.B. 1. 20. As this is a bulky file, numbers and dates of particular documents therein will be cited.
35. C. N. Ubah, "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," *Slavery and Abolition*, 14, 3 (1993), 220–21.
36. See Slave Children, NAGCC.
37. Alain Morice, "Underpaid Child Labor and Social Reproduction: Apprenticeship in Kaolack, Senegal," *Development and Change*, 13, 4 (1982), 518. This study was carried out among small-scale metal workers in Kaolack, Senegal's largest town in 1981–1982; its theoretical underpinnings are relevant to this study.
38. See, for example, A.B. Josiah, dd. November 22, 1906 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No. M.7/07, December 6, 1907 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
39. Most of the freed slave children were females. For the Gold Coast, see for example, Robertson, "Post-Proclamation Slavery." This corresponds to the comparative literature on gender and slavery and pawnship in the colonial period. For Northern Nigeria, see for example, Paul Lovejoy and Jan Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 37–38 and 263–64. And see, for example, the Encl. in No.M.7/06, December 3, 1908 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
40. Ibid.
41. Vicariate Apostolic of the Gold Coast, 10.IV.09 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
42. See, for example, Ibid.
43. Copy of Minutes by the Attorney General, dd. October 10, 1906, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126. In Northern Nigeria, the age limit was 12 years old, and if the freed slave was with a guardian, he/she might be granted a "freedom ticket." See Ubah, "The Colonial Administration," 222.
44. No. Case 864/08, December 28, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
45. Akurang-Parry, "Rethinking the 'Slaves of Salaga.'"

46. No.28/7/09, May 4, 1909 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and Case 864/08. May 13, 1909 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126. For a fuller account, see Marion Johnson, "Slaves of Salaga," *Journal of African History*, 27, 2 (1986), 341–62; and Akurang-Parry, "Rethinking the 'Slaves of Salaga.'"
47. Return of Alien Children Apprenticed in the Cape Coast District during the Quarter Ended 31 September, 1909, dd. January 13, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
48. Despatches from Governor to Secretary of State, 1879–80, February 7, 1880, No. 57, NAGA, ADM 1/2/23. The many forts and castles along the coast were turned into administrative units, including colonial prisons. In the interior states, the indigenous rulers operated what was known as the "Native" or "Chief's" prison. See for example, Kpong Native Affairs, NAGA, ADM 11/1/604.
49. See Case 864/08, December 28, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
50. No. Case 168/08, November 24, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
51. See, for example, No. 324/C251, April 5, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; W.M 16/10, January 6, 1911, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and 153/332/11, June 30, 1911, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
52. Return of Alien Children apprenticed in Elmina District during March Quarter, 1911, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and Return of Apprenticed Alien Children in Saltpond for the Quarter ending 31 March, 1911, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
53. Ubah, 224–27.
54. Ibid. 224–25. According to Ubah, the committee mandated to study the usefulness of the freed slaves home was given the following terms of reference: "whether the Freed Slaves Home were fulfilling in the best, most economical and most efficient manner the purpose for which they were set up, namely the training of liberated slave children...; how the homes were regarded by the native population and the inmates themselves..." Among other things, the committee reported that life in the Homes was not likely to result in the inmates "'becoming self supporting and useful members of society.'"
55. See for example, Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "Critical African Voices: The Indigenous Press and Economic Effects of the First World War in the Gold Coast (Modern Ghana), 1914–1918," *African Economic History* 34 (2006), 45–68; and Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "Disrespect and Contempt for our Natural Rulers:' The African Intelligentsia and the Effects of British Indirect Rule on Indigenous Rulers in the Gold Coast ca. 1912–1920," *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, Series 2, 2, 1 (2006), 43–65.
56. Vicariate Apostolic of the Gold Coast, 10.IV.09 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126. For comparative accounts of the role of the missionaries in the guardianship or apprenticeship of freed slaves, see for example Ubah, "Colonial Administration," 219–20; and Pieter Emmer, "Between Slavery and Freedom: Apprenticeship in Suriname (Dutch Guiana), 1863–1873," *Slavery and Abolition*, 14, 1 (1993), 96–97.
57. No. Case M.7/06, May 26, 1909, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
58. Ibid.
59. See, for example, Ibid.
60. See, for example, Vicariate Apostolic of the Gold Coast, 10.IV.09 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126. For Northern Nigeria, see G. O. Olusanya, The Freed Slaves' Home—An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3, 3 (1966), 525; Ubah, "Colonial Administration," 215–16; and Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death*, 83–84.
61. See, for example, David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 117; and C.K Graham, *The History of Education in Ghana*, (London, 1971), 133.
62. See, for example, Catholic Mission, St Francis Hill, Cape Coast to the Acting Provincial Commissioner, July 1909, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
63. For a comparative perspective, see Ubah, "Colonial Administration," 222–23.

64. See No. Case M.7/06, December 3, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and Extract from the *Morning Post*, Friday, October 23, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
65. See letter dd. 9/10/27 signed by Grace Orleans in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
66. Akurang-Parry, "Transformation in the Feminization of Unfree Domestic Labor."
67. No. 16/08, dd. January 9, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
68. No.S.P.11/09, June 21, 1909, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 21/1/126.
69. According to Ubah, 222–3, this was a problem in the Zungeru Freed Slave Home, and "one of the allegations made against the management of the Zungeru Home in 1905 was that 'of the girls who had passed through the Home and were known of, only 10 per cent were apparently undamaged.'"
70. No.S.P.11/09, June 21, 1909, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 21/1/126.
71. Ibid.
72. Re: Alien girl Ambah Satura, March 25, 1909, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
73. No. Case M.7/06, May 26, 1909, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
74. No. Case 168/08, November 24, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No. Case M.7/08 December 3, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
75. No. Case M.7/08, December 3, 1908, in Slave Children NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126. I have not come across any data on this office.
76. See, for example, N.M.7/06, December 3, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; No. S.P.11/09, June 21, 1909 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; No. 7/06, July 26, 1909, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No. Case 1004/09, August 5, 1909, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
77. No.28/09, May 4, 1909 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
78. No.M.7/06, August 30, 1909, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and Case No.1066/1, October 8, 1909, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
79. See, for example, No. M.7/06, September 12, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
80. Letter from Mrs. Hutchinson to the Colonial Secretary, December 21, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No. M.7/06, May 5, 1911, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
81. Ubah, "Colonial Administration," 220.
82. Ibid.
83. See, for example, No.3389/1910, August 26, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126. See also No. 767/1910, September 19, 1910; No. 767/1910, (?) November, 1910 in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; Letter from Mrs. Hutchinson to the Colonial Secretary, November 11, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No. 767/1910, November 24, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
84. No.3389/1910, August 26, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126. See also No. 767/1910, September 19, 1910; No. 767/1910, (?) November, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; Letter from Mrs. Hutchinson to the Colonial Secretary, November 11, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No. 767/1910, November 24, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
85. No.554/1911, March 18, 1911, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
86. Extract from the *Morning Post*, Friday, October 23, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; No. Case 168/08, dd. November 24, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No. M.7/06, dd. December 3, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126. Ubah, 223, suggests that they were two; it is more likely that there were three of them from Northern Nigeria. This conclusion would exclude Mary from Gambaga. See No. Case M.7/06, December 3, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
87. Case 767/1910, August 15, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No.M.7/06 August 19, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.

88. No. Case M.7/06, December 3, 1908, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
89. No.M.7/06, August 19, 1910, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126. See also Ubah, 220.
90. For similar approaches, see, for example, Edward Alpers, "Representations of Children in East African Slave Trade," *Slavery and Abolition,* 30, 1 (2009), 32–38, and Alpers, "The Story of Story of Swema: Female Vulnerability in Nineteenth-Century East Africa," in Klein and Robertson (eds.), *Women and Slavery in Africa*, 185–219.
91. M.P.2918/24, February 29, 1924, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
92. See letter dd. 9/10/27 signed by Grace Orleans in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No. 506/1928, May 1, 1928, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
93. No. 1225/24/M.7/06, August 7, 1924, Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
94. See letter dd. 9/10/27 signed by Grace Orleans in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
95. No.506/1928, May 1, 1928, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
96. See, for example, Vicariate Apostolic of the Gold Coast, 10.IV.09, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
97. No. 5588/M.P.10982/24, August 1, 1924, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; No.216/25/M.165/1919, March 10, 1925, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No. 98/25/M.7/06, March 12, 1925, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
98. No.7/26/M.&/06, January 5, 1926, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; No, 254/26/M.7/06, February 2, 1926, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; No. 418/26/M.7/06, August 30, 1926, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; No. 638/27/M.295/25, May 16, 1927, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and No. 731/27/M.295/1925, June 13, 1927, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
99. See, for example, Akurang-Parry, "'The Loads are Heavier than Usual.'"
100. See letter dd. 9/10/27 signed by Grace Orleans in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
101. No. 1579/27/M.295/1925, October 20, 1927, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
102. No. 506/1928, May 1, 1928, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; No. 834/28/M.71906, May 2, 1928, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126; and Letter from Mansah Orleans, dd. May 2, 1928, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
103. Letter Sister Maria, dd. 4/5/28, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.
104. No. 544/1928, May 8, 1928, in Slave Children, NAGCC, ADM 23/1/126.

Historical Tradition and the Situational Deployment of Story

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On the second floor of Memorial Library at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, there is a dimly lit corner, at the edge of iron book shelves, next to Dr. David Henige's book-filled, neatly kept office. Across from Dr. Henige's office is a yellowish long wooden table. There I used to read for hours upon hours the fascinating African stories from Harold Scheub's collections and Jan Vansina's *Oral Tradition as History* as I prepared for my African Mythology course. I also read John Lamphear's *Traditional History of the Jie of Uganda* and became fascinated with Jie historical tradition, a fascination that ultimately led to my travel to Najie in northern Uganda to become an apprentice to Jie storytellers living in the vast sprawling Karamoja Plateu and in the desert plains of Turkana in northern Kenya.

I would often engage in conversations with David Henige about African oral tradition, as he went in and out of his office. These conversations centered on oral tradition, history, memory, and myth, and the implicit relationships and connections among them. My discussions with Henige, my reading of Scheub's analysis of African stories, Vansina's works on oral tradition, Lamphear's book on Jie oral tradition, and my apprenticeship to African storytellers in northern Uganda and Kenya among the Jie and Turkana people, helped me begin to fathom the historicity of Jie stories, and to see them as memories informing people's historical consciousness.

Specifically, I learned from Henige, Scheub, and the African storytellers that the purpose of performing historical tradition is not to reconstruct the past, but to locate and reflect on that past in a present context. Henige, like Scheub and Vansina, was interested not only in the narration of the past, but also in the production of the past during performances, when reciprocal relationships influence the experiences of both the performer and his audience. Echoing the power of doubt, in his usual and unique way, Henige often questioned the objectivity of history, pointing out the inexorable effects of the political and emotional

significance of remembering in representing the past. Henige's reaction took a variety of forms in his response to my questions about the interrelationships between memory and history, understandably so, given the complicated and multifaceted nature of these topics. In discussing my fieldwork experiences with Henige, my quest to link tradition and memory, coupled with my extensive reading and discussions of Scheub's and Vansina's theorizing of oral tradition, played an important role in understanding the relationship between past and present in performance processes, as Jie storytellers play the role of historians.

The second set of influences derives from Najie in the Karamoja Plateau in northern Uganda and in the Turkana land of northern Kenya. There I became an apprentice to storytellers and participated in the performances of historical tradition in various social contexts. There I played the tape-recorded stories that I had collected in Najie and in various parts of Turkana land, listening to them with the Jie and Turkana storytellers who had performed them. When I returned to Madison, I shared with Henige, Vansina and Scheub what the Jie and Turkana storytellers had told me. While the storytellers in the field said their performances were about real events, Henige and others insisted that they were narratives of people's memories about their past experiences told in the context of the present. Here I discuss the notion of oral historical tradition as a narrative kept in memory among the Jie people of northern Uganda and northern Kenya. The topic of memory and history is an apt contribution to a book written in honor of Henige.

This paper focuses on the contextual use of "memory images" in historical traditions in Jimos village in Najie and in the kraals around Koteen Hill in the Karamoja Plateau and Tarash River in northern Kenya. The analysis of the historical tradition within the social and political context provides an opportunity to examine how present social relations are interlocked with the significant local memories in historical traditions. This interlocking provides unique pathways for the local construction of identities and personal relationships both in the Jimos village and in the kraals in the region. Memory images contained in the Jie historical tradition vary according to current social and political circumstances, among other factors. They are shaped by local kinship politics, subsistence activities and by various other patterns of cultural and political ecology, which provide them with discourses to construct their world and engage in social relationships. In Jie culture, historical traditions form an integral part of the local discourse, and figuratively connect the conceptual realms of the local people with their day-to-day empirical existence. The memory images of Jie historical tradition are often "interlocked" with various other local traditions linking salient social interactions and providing the discursive plot for local social dramas.[1]

The Jie speak a Nilotic language. In 1995, they numbered about 50,000, most of whom lived within the borders of Najie, which has an area of approximately 1,300 square miles. Najie is a dry and warm high plateau zone with an altitude of more than 3,500 feet. As an ecological zone, Najie has recognizable, thin wild vegetation, and dry climate. The Jie cultivate many crops which are adapted to the dry environment. Medicinal plants, tobacco,

and maize, are all interspersed in the edges of sprawling sorghum fields, but sorghum is the most important crop in the Jie's diet and economy. Varieties of sorghum grow well in the cotton soil of Najie. There are also numerous varieties of wild fruits, bushes, and clumps of thorny thickets, all important to the economy of the Jie.

There is a major territorial division in Najie. The larger block is in the south, called Lokorwokol (place of Orwakol), and the smaller one in the north is Lokolodiny (place of Lodiny). An east-west axis therefore divides the whole of Najie into two parts named after the earliest politico-religious leaders of the Jie, Orwakol and Lodiny. The Lokarwokol territorial division, which is the focus of this paper, is subdivided into seven territorial sections namely, Losilang, Kotyang, Kanawat, Kotido, Komukunyu, Panyangara, and Nakapelimoru, deriving their names from the seven wives of Orwakol. All of the subdivisions of Lokorwakol are strung out along the banks of the Longiro River, except Nakapelimoru, which is located in the southeastern part of the Karamoja Plateau. About thirty miles east of Nakapelimoru is the Koten Hill region, where the Turkana cattle are allowed to graze near the eastern edges of the Karamoja Plateau.

The oral traditions I have studied among the Jie are called *eemut* (plural: *ngiemuto*), "story-history." The past depicted in an *eemut* usually contains an occasion-bound plot encapsulating what Vansina calls "remembrance-images" or here, memory images.[2] The historical tradition is thrilling to watch when performed, as it is a spontaneously composed prose narrative, delivered before an audience. A performance of historical tradition, inherently dramatic and artistic, does not simply narrate certain past events but reflects on those past events. The discourse of historical tradition is one of the means by which Jie people rationalize the social and political realities of their contemporary world.

The plot of historical tradition unfolds against the ancient geography of Najie, thematically encoding Jie ancestral values associated with the human ideals and moral virtues of living in a dry environment. The Jie people love their land and believe that they inherited the land they inhabit from their ancestors, and that these ancestors set the society's rules and customs, and define rights and access to resources. Thus, their perception of the contemporary world has at its base the memory of the moral authority of the ancestors who sanctified their land and enforced interdependent relationships in which (for the most part) male elders control various resources and provide for the women and young men and children. Because of the moral superiority of their ancestors, Jie people generally live their lives as defined by their ancestors. In Jie ideology, the primary source of this ancestral moral superiority is associated with the uncertainty of life in a dry environment, as well as the uncertain political relations recorded by historical tradition. Various institutions, rituals, and countless performances in the historical tradition (which are believed to be true stories) reflect the moral superiority of the Jie ancestors. The central concept is the need for survival in an unpredictable dry environment, necessitating a respect for individual rights to resources and moral obligations for people to share pasture, water, and food vital to individual survival.

The dry environment produces conditions that encourage sharing resources between people because sharing of scarce resources is practically important for survival. The memory images of historical traditions provocatively and poetically trigger the meaning of the historical traditions, fully expressed in the tradition of sharing and offering of food and water. The meaning of the memory of ancestral experiences of sharing resources for survival is discursive and it is "institutionalized," referring to the ancestral memories that created the complex interaction of practices among people and between communities.[3] The storytellers constantly modify the memory images of ancestral events, in order to construct a "pastness" as a lived experience.[4] The memory images provide people with knowledge as to how their ancestors lived and how people in the contemporary world should live.

The interlocking engagement between memory images and historical tradition, as represented in the local transactional strategies between people and communities, is the central puzzle. The Jie memory images of past famines and survival distinctively feature in the historical experience and the political thought of the mixed-farming and transhumant Jie, which are clearly linked to the historical tradition. The placing of the "implicit meaning" within the historical tradition[5] enables one to examine the linkages between memory and historical tradition, which create a powerful space for people to experience the past ancestral discourses in the present performances of historical traditions. Analyzing Jie historical traditions as performance requires some knowledge of basic concepts in folklore and anthropology. The writings of Harold Scheub provide background on the concepts of oral tradition as performance, cultural memory, and folkloric motif; Karen Barber illuminates the concept of oral tradition as a dialogical representation of ideology; and Michael Meeker provides context for the concept of oral tradition as political discourse.[6]

Historical Tradition as Performance Art Defined: Harold Scheub's Concept of Memory and Oral Tradition

Harold Scheub's original and highly provocative conceptualization of oral tradition was and is fueled by his apprenticeship to Xhosa and Ndebele storytellers in a way useful for my study of Jie historical tradition as performance. Scheub defines Xhosa oral tradition, as "cultural memory and folkloric motif."[7] He teases out the roles of the storyteller as artist and creator, a manipulator of memory, working with empirical reality and fictions both. Storytellers, according to Scheub, nurture and perpetuate the collectively remembered memory images within the context of contemporary human experience. They organize and give meaning and form to these collective memories as a philosophical statement and as "historical observation" in performances. He maintains that the performance of oral tradition is a confluence of ancient images with those of the contemporary world, the routine of everyday experience and rituals: the world of the storytellers and their audiences.[8]

For Scheub, it is the storytellers who juxtapose the inherited memory images with contemporary images and artfully bring the members of the audience into an emotional union with their past. Through the work of their art, the storytellers unify varying disparate images of the past in such a way that enables the members of the audience to have contact with the cultural memory condensed in their imaginative tradition. Performance is a crucial device in the transmission of ancient images which enables the members of the audience to experience past in present.

Scheub's conceptualization of oral tradition in terms of performance is useful for my work for two reasons. First, he situates the oral tradition within a "relevant context," to use Bauman's formulation, in which settings and "cultural scenes" serve as the most important organizing principle of memory images.[9] In Jie society there are certain cultural scenes, such as peace talks, sacrifices, and various rituals, which require performance. In addition to such formal cultural settings, performances of oral tradition might occur spontaneously while people rest under the trees, work in the field or with penned cattle. There are also cultural scenes for which performance is not necessarily expected, yet may occur. During these performances, the storytellers usually set the "interpretive frame" as they distil the collectively remembered memory images within a contemporary context.[10]

Second, Scheub's exploration of the interrelationship between memory and performance is crucial for my understanding of the ways the storytellers organize the semiotic richness of memory images and evoke emotion, through which people come to terms with past and present life events. My experiences as an apprentice to storytellers in sub-Saharan East Africa have shown me the subtle manipulation of memory and emotion by storytellers. Through their poetic body language and their words, the storytellers persuade the members of the audience to identify themselves with their heroes, their icons and their traditions. Identification occurs in performances when the storytellers persuade the members to connect with the past, thereby effecting a convergence of the contemporary world with the mythic world of the ancestors at various points.

Historical Tradition as Dialogical Representation of Ideology: Karin Barber's *I Could Speak Until Tomorrow*

In her treatment of oral tradition, Karin Barber studies the representation of ideology, society's conception of itself, and personhood — salient and enduring themes in the fields of folklore and anthropology. Barber's study of *oriki* (historical tradition) as performance and art explores how *oriki* is created through various commentaries and utterances that enter into *oriki* genres during their performance. Barber describes how they become entangled with public discourse on various genealogies and kin groups who, by virtue of their dominant political position, embody society's ideology and sense of identity. The diverse

cultural memories found in *oriki*, according to Barber, are not historical tales in the way we understand history in the western world, but rather they are deeply grounded fragments of memory images through which communities express their heartfelt convictions about themselves, to themselves.

The performances of *oriki* "open windows" to the past and enable the members of the audience to peek through these windows as they reimagine their contemporary situations in light of past events. The performances are ways of "experiencing the past by bringing it back to life."[11] Barber's general thesis is that the raw materials of historical traditions are created and valorized in performance contexts, as new contexts enter into the text in the form of assemblies of diverse voices. These voices engender memories that are compressed and packed with hidden meanings that codify "past-derived observations" and explanations in light of the present.[12] *Oriki*, as a major feature of Okuku cultural memory, references not only past events, but also current social and political moments, so that in the process of remembering and inscribing during a performance, the storyteller and audience may imagine present relations. *Oriki* performances are deeply embedded social practices which inform present actions in the society. "*Oriki*," Barber says, "are essentially historical in the sense that they are one of the ways in which the relations of the present with the past" are constructed.[13] Through them the Okuku community comes to terms with itself in light of the past.

This way of looking at historical traditions accords with my understanding of the Jie historical tradition and its performances. The memory images of the Jie historical tradition stem, in part, from storytellers' poetic representations and valorization of political ideology in multiple contexts and performance situations. These performances constitute the "dialogical imagination" of the past, those highly entangled fragments of memory images that capture whatever may be "worth remembering."[14]

Unlike *oriki*, which speaks disconnected utterances and memory fragments, the Jie historical tradition is composed of coherent memory images in complete prose narratives, which refer to diverse incidents and circumstances concerning the Jie ancestral family. Performances of the historical tradition serve as medium for the poetics of remembering the past both in Scheub's and Barber's senses. Such poetic recalling of past memories are essentially political investments which restore the authorial voices of the ancestors. An examination of how and why the past is remembered poetically reveals the strategies and ideologies that enable the actors to survive in a dry environment and to share scarce resources.

Therefore the Jie historical tradition as remembered memory images engages poetic discourses of vulnerability created by the dry environment. My argument is that we cannot understand the fundamentally central role of the historical tradition in Jie people's collective memory without understanding its profound relationship to the project of survival in an unpredictable environment. As I will show, thematic images in the historical tradition are grounded in the conception of vulnerability. This vulnerability, created by uncertainty in political relations and the unpredictability of the physical environment, throws into relief

the moral responsibilities and glorious deeds of ancestors who experienced similar political and environmental uncertainties, and yet they responded to crises and maintained moral responsibility.

The performance event enables the storytellers and the members of the audience to remember the meaning of the ancestral past and to reimagine key events relevant to the present circumstances.[15] Therefore the images of the historical tradition arise out of myriad performance contexts and social climates that shape over and over the remembered memory images of the past and its meaning. The memory images of the Jie historical tradition are beautiful and multi-vocal with their "semantic-open-endedness"[16] (Bakhtin's term, relayed by Barber); they evolve dialogically with contemporary contexts through performance.

Michael Meeker: Poetic Discourses of Vulnerability and Social Responsibility for Survival

Michael Meeker analyzes the interrelation between the poetics of historical traditions and political violence among the camel raiding Bedouins in North Arabia. Relying on Alois Musil's rich corpus of the oral texts and ethnographic descriptions of the Rwala Bedouins, Meeker uses language that is congruent to the experiences of the Jie people and their historical tradition. According to Meeker's analysis, Rwala Bedouin nomads, who live in a dry and unpredictable environment, are forced to maintain the integrity of their "vulnerable domestic wealth" in order to survive. To overcome conflict and to ensure survival in an uncertain environment and unpredictable situations, the actors are forced to form independent herding groups across the desert and establish political alliances in order to defend against the patterns of social and political instabilities that threaten their herding groups. However, sometimes the political community and authority are not effective in resolving conflict and protecting human lives. To overcome this, the Rwala Bedouins developed a distinct political institution which Meeker refers to as "the ceremonial narratives." Performance of these narratives entails retelling stories of actual wars and raids which have occurred mostly within living memory. The act of composing a ceremonial narrative is also the act of constructing a personal identity; during this process, the storytellers harness sometimes disturbing memories laden with emotions familiar to the members of the audience.[17]

The construction of personal identity has an interesting correlate in the ceremonial narrative. The content of the ceremonial narrative is patterned and expresses certain themes such as "the relationship of men and personal instruments of aggression," which, Meeker writes, is a "central feature of North Arabian Bedouin political experience."[18] Meeker observes that ceremonial narratives are persuasive and that they assume a way of life for nomadic pastoralism that demands routine political strategies.[19] The storytellers, in developing interpretations of the ceremonial narratives, attempt to explore strategic possibilities for

dealing actively with contemporary political experience and conflict situations. They persuasively appeal to memories of past events and urge their audiences to consider what kinds of behavior might be the basis for standard human interaction for those who live in hostile environments and face political uncertainties, yet who must protect and support human life.

Ceremonial narratives are expressed via certain artistic and poetic conventions that invoke the moral authority of "political investment" to protect and support human life against various crises, whether social, political, or natural. The very process of telling the ceremonial narratives provides a window on historical processes according to Meeker, revealing "some indication of the way in which popular motivations took shape within a pattern of circumstances" and thus of "the general character of a people's historical experience."[20]

The forms of artistic expression observed by Meeker in the ceremonial narratives among the Bedouin are also intrinsic to the performances of the Jie historical tradition. Jie, like Bedouin people, live in a dry environment, cope with similar political uncertainties, and deal with the problem of protecting the integrity of "vulnerable domestic wealth" and resources. Here, Meeker's analysis of the Bedouin ceremonial narratives sheds light on the Jie storytellers' poetic reflections on the historical tradition and their invocation of ancestral moral authority. The Jie historical tradition, like ceremonial narratives, is a form of persuasive expression; performances are a response to Jie political and historical experiences, expressed in certain fixed forms and involving fixed themes. Moreover, they provide a glimpse not only at the political and historical experiences of the ancestors, but also at patterns of political motivations and events important to Jie people.

The Jie storytellers, like their Bedouin counterparts, are intimately familiar with their society and unfolding political events, hence they often appeal (strategically and poetically) for peace to counter the aggression that threatens their existence. Among the Jie, the artistic expression of the peoples' vulnerable and interdependent selves is profoundly bound up with the process of performance of the historical tradition; this, in turn, is bound up with political interests. Indeed, the concept of the vulnerable individual is entwined with political interests and the concerns and interdependences of communities and individuals. The themes of interdependence are invoked as proper moral standards for everyday life and they are involved in conflict mediations between communities and individuals.

The forms of Jie and Turkana historical tradition generally consist of a prose narrative, if written down equivalent to between a paragraph and a few pages in length, created spontaneously before an audience. The stuff of Jie historical tradition is "at once cultural memory and folkloric motif" in Scheub's sense, and it is fascinating to witness the storytellers artfully fusing contemporary images with the "the repertory of remembered images" that are held in common to recreate the meaning of the fundamental themes of their society.[21] The force of the historical tradition depends not only on a story's images and plot but also on an individual's experiences with that familiar tale—dimly recalled memories that resonate and echo through the emotionally-felt real-life experiences of the members of the audience. When

Vansina observes, "oral tradition is a memory of memories in the most literal way," he must also be talking about the Jie historical tradition.[22] The performance of the historical tradition is not a simple narration of certain past events but a poetical reflection on the events.

The congruence of the Jie historical tradition with the ceremonial narrative performances of the Rwala Bedouin, *oriki* of Okuku people, and the *ntsomi* traditions of rural Xhosa people suggests some common ground for interpretation. Indeed there is a possibility for fruitful dialogue between the students of Middle Eastern and African historical traditions.

Jie Historical Tradition as Performance Art

Of all the storytellers with whom I spoke, Lodoch was perhaps the most articulate, steeped in his tradition and best equipped to explain the oral traditions of his society. I had the unique opportunity to become his apprentice in Jie oral tradition, and what I share here is based on the extensive commentaries of Lodoch as well as of numerous other storytellers. All of these storytellers were enthusiastic and generous in sharing their knowledge of their traditions with me, as I shared with them my knowledge of the Kurdish-Turkish oral traditions from my own background. In this sense we engaged in collaborative work and exchanged ideas. When sharing the meaning of the historical tradition with me, the storytellers were passionate to include in that genre the biographical stories of people who lived in the recent past. Nacham, one of the Jie storytellers I interviewed, explained:

When people fight, when people refuse to share food and water, when the sons rebel against their fathers and when the fathers mistreat their sons and their daughters, people would remember the story of Koryang, the story of Nakol and others, as well as the mistreatment of Lodiny by Orwakol and Nayeche's mistreatment by her brothers. Or the mistreatment of the Kadokini people by the Rengen people. The storytellers create historical traditions in much the same way they create folktales. They manipulate images and patterns of past and present time as they manipulate the images of the animals and humans in folktales.[23]

Like Nacham, Lodoch too revealed to me the artistic and poetic implications of the stories told during peace ceremonies which we both attended. During performances, Lodoch usually sat next to me and revealed to me the art of Jie storytellers, commenting on how they created and developed their characters and whether they tied the images of tradition with the contemporary circumstances effectively. Storytellers always communicated important messages relevant to the present contexts; they repeated again and again that their present homeland was the land of their ancestors, and that community members should respect their mythic sanctions and share the resources handed down to them.

Whenever we gathered with the elders under the trees, in the cattle enclosures or in the dry river beds to settle disputes and resolve conflicts, they would sit in a semi-circle, telling stories about "bygone days," "gossiping" about raiding, recent or past conflicts over water

for the *kraals* (cattle pens), or various other contemporary local situations.[24] Their conversations were dramatic and their words lofty when they talked about the ways of the ancestors who settled along the banks of Longiro River, how they resolved past conflicts so admirably and lived in peace, generously shared water, pasture and food, until the coming of AK–47s.

"The guns," they would say, "shattered our world and destroyed friendships between brothers, fathers and sons, and between tribes."

> The young men of today are hungry and greedy for power and cattle. They no longer share the water and pasture; the wells and pastures are no one's possession. They [these resources] belong to our ancestors, but with their guns a few young men get together and claim ownership to the rivers and hills of our ancestors. They ambush innocent people and deprive them of their cattle, usurping their women and children. Where is the humanity of the ancestors?[25]

Thus they would question their contemporary situations. During such gatherings, they would often recall past famines and the political crises of their youth; they would talk about how they sumptuously feasted together during times of peace and abundance and how they survived together, helping each other during prolonged dry seasons and devastating famines. They would occasionally remember certain epidemics that wiped out their cattle, how they shared the milk of few emaciated cattle and ate the *atap* (bread) made from what few grains they had.

With their lofty phrases, the storytellers would juxtapose the tainted contemporary world with the memories of their youth and with the inherited memory images of their ancestors, elevating their times and situations to the level of their ancestors and mythic beginnings as depicted in the historical tradition. This artistic creation of the past is no different than the creation of the fabulous realms of *ntsomi* of Xhosa, *oriki* of the Okuku, or the ceremonial narratives of the Bedouin people. The poetic exchanges between the elders often transported members of the audience to the metaphoric centers of the ancestral past, to the epic world, "the world of the true heroes," as they would say.

Performances usually began with the storyteller's act of invoking the names of ancestral figures, collectively remembered for their exemplary deeds, in order to establish the theme for his performance. They told of specific journeys of ancestral heroes and heroines such as Nayeche and the gray bull Engiro, Orwakol and Lodiny on the waterless landscape. The journeys and pauses, famines and feasts, sharing or refusal to share food and water in the desolate landscape encapsulate "whatever is worth remembering," in Barber's sense of the phrase. Through these fragments of memory images found in the historical tradition, the storyteller reaffirms people's connections with one another, and even resolves present political dilemmas.

As Barber points out in the case of *oriki* traditions, the memory images found in the Jie oral tradition should not be considered mere "historical messages" representing certain events.[26] The corpus of historical traditions I collected during my research indicate that

the images of the historical tradition do not have one-to-one representational relationships with reality. Instead, they articulate diverse conventionalized discursive messages and they are produced in different contexts, during different times in front of different audiences. The Jie historical tradition takes on new shape and new meaning depending on the context of a given performance. As Bauman argues, in a theoretical way the structure and interactions in each performance influence the meaning of the oral tradition as each performance is dialogically played out within the context of the situated action.[27] Similar to the *oriki* or *ntsomi* traditions, the performance context enters into a narration of the past in constitutive way and becomes a part of the historical tradition. As Albert Lord argued, "the moment of composition is the performance," and hence "composition and performance are the aspects of same moment."[28] The storytellers are the composers and creators of the oral tradition; the teller of the oral tradition is not a mere carrier of oral tradition, but the creator of the oral tradition. The members of the audience both witness and actively participate in the act of creating the historical tradition. In Jie historical tradition, the processes of identification and of performance are intertwined with a fresh cluster of social connotations and verbal icons of events, producing a "semantic open-endedness" evolving together dialogically within contemporary contexts.

During Jie performances, as with *oriki* and ceremonial narratives, the images of the historical tradition catalog kinship ties between those who are in adverse relationships and those who are friends at the present time. Sharing the memories of ancestors enhances social and political strategies and differentiates friends from enemies. Following Scheub, Barber, and Meeker, I stress the relationship between the poetic composition of oral art and the everyday experiences of the Jie people that play a significant role in formulating their sense of self. The plots and images of the historical tradition allow the Jie and their neighbors, the Turkana people, to frame their experiences on the model-lives of their ancestors. In Jie culture, the concept of being vulnerable in an unpredictable environment is poetic and "persuasive." As "persuasive discourse," it can be analyzed according to the methodologies of previous researchers.[29] The performances are of the historical tradition is an attempt to persuade the audience to act as reasonably as did their venerable ancestors in their own unpredictable situations in their difficult environment.

Narratives and Themes of the Historical Tradition

Plot in the historical tradition is linear, and narrative events unfold in a temporal sequence. Each story involves a series of events that are believed to have happened in the past, and hence they deal with the lived experiences of the ancestors, given a structure to the cultural experience. The storytellers' artful arrangement of the plot molds fragments of memory images into a story. Performance of the historical tradition involves integrating the memory images into narrative events with a movement from "conflict to resolution." As Scheub writes,

"narrative is not story," and "story is the totality of activities that comprise storytelling performance, each of which is a crucial ingredient." Narration, he maintains, "the organization of events," is not the most important thing "as far as the eventual experience of the story is concerned."[30] We can chart and "scientifically" analyze narratives, according to Scheub, but such analysis tells very little about the story, which relies on the context of the performance. Context prompts the storytellers to weave narrative, the performance event, and the mood of the audience into the creation of the story.

As the plot of the story unfolds, ancestral heroes move from conflict to resolution, toward reestablishing equilibrium and mending broken relations in a tainted contemporary world. In Jie tradition, Orwakol helped the Lodiny people during the long dry season; Orwakol offered to share the pasture and water and invited Lodiny and his people to Dadai. In similar circumstances, Kadanya aided his people; after settling near the Apule River, people suffered from hunger and diseases. Akuj told Kadanya in a dream how to help his people survive. In a complimentary story, Apobelo had a dream and instructed people to go and bring Nairanabwo, a great prophet who lived near Loongor Well in Acholi land, to Najie in order to help people rescue their grain from disease and infestation. So too does the historical tradition encourage reasonable behavior: when people in the villages became unreasonable with their requests for cattle, Orwakol, as a young *kraal* leader, moved his *kraals* farther and farther away from the village in order to avoid conflict. These images from the historical tradition assist the contemporary Jie people as they try to adjust themselves toward a balanced society.

Skilful storytellers bring lessons learned in the past back to the contemporary world as they contextualize and communicate norms for basic human relations and moral standards. The storytellers manipulate the images of the historical tradition as a kind of language in their attempts to create a positive human world within the model of the ancestral world. The memory images of the historical tradition are stock types and they are well known to the members of the audience, as these individuals have experienced similar situations in their diverse social relations. The storytellers use these images, creating a multiplicity of meanings and symbolic connotations in order to dramatize any threats to society and the social order.

Orwakol is an ancestral hero and great *kraal* leader. In narrative, this founder of the Jie society unites the diverse constituents of the society and brings them to the land, which they now occupy; yet he has an insatiable need to accumulate cattle. Orwakol mistreats Lodiny, who determinedly wrests away Lodiny's cattle, ultimately causing Lodiny to leave Daidai and establish his own homestead in Lokatap Rock. In another version of the story, Orwakol falsely accuses Lodiny of adultery, ultimately causing Lodiny to build a new fire and start a new society. Thus Orwakol is not always portrayed as a redeeming ancestral figure.

Other ancestral heroes, such as Nayeche, are also ambiguously cast and not always viewed as redeeming in their actions. Nayeche, like Lodiny, is mistreated by her brothers and parents and chased away, but she survives and gives birth to the forebears of another society,

the Turkana. At other times however, she appears as rebellious girl who fights along with other young people against elders in the *kraal* and refuses cattle to the people in the villages. Surprisingly, she also saves people by offering them wild fruit. A third ambivalent character is Lokolong. Sometimes depicted as an ideal ancestor, Lokolong rescues the society from death and extinction by sharing the offspring of his bull, the only surviving bull in the entire Najie. In other instances, however, Lokolong is portrayed as a ruthless man who demands the peoples' only milk-cows in exchange for the offspring of his bull. His obsessive desire to gather wealth turns him into the archetypal evil accumulator, a cattle-gobbling monster.

Diverse qualities of heroes are symbolically highlighted by storytellers during their performances, according to their contexts. These clusters of diverse meanings and identities attached to the characters of the historical tradition give "plastic possibilities" (Barber's term) to their traditions. These meanings and identities enable the storytellers to manipulate figures and images according to the needs of a specific context.

The "truth" of the historical tradition derives from its associations with the varied nature of human experience and the possibilities conveyed by its metaphorical content. The accuracy with which a tradition conveys historical events is of less concern to the individuals involved in these performances. In their performances the content and form of the Jie historical tradition are never still; they are hot, vibrant, and changing at each performance, as the storytellers try to capture the essence of the past with all its troubling and redemptive possibilities in various contexts. Unlike historians, who capture, arrest and fix the motion of history in still chronologies, the storytellers celebrate the motion inherent in stories which are central to their art and thought.

Through their performances the storytellers (re)create themselves as bearers of the ancestral moral standard. In this regard, historical tradition can also be considered the tradition of personal life. In fact the Jie people perform these traditions in specific social contexts, articulating their emotions about their personal lives and their social relationships.[31] Vulnerability, which is crucial to the Jie experience, links together in interdependencies parent and child, people in sedentary villages and those living at *kraals*, and different ethnic communities occupying distinct ecological zones and practicing different economic activities. Nowhere are notions of vulnerability and interdependence more clearly articulated than in the plots of the Jie historical tradition. In addition, while the Jie historical tradition attests to vulnerability and interdependence in all aspects of everyday life, it also articulates individuals' desires to free themselves from the bonds of dependence.

In Jie tradition, refusal to share food or water among close friends, kin and strangers can be a sign of rejection. The denial of such vital resources is among the most common of themes of the historical tradition; this denial causes the separation of ancestral kin or the dispersal of clans, leading to sentiments of rejection and loss. When people experience such rejection they often invoke memory images which articulate the sentiments and idioms of

sharing in order to remind people of their obligations to share scarce resources and to protect human life.

This point was well illustrated in a performance which took place on June 12, 1997, in Jimos village. The performance was prompted by circumstances involving a young man in his early thirties, whom I shall call Lomoye. A close friend of mine, Lomoye often visited the Jimos village and stayed with other young men, tending a few herds that remained in the village, and doing various odd jobs as needed, in exchange for food, beer, and tobacco. One day he came to help Urien to water his cattle. Urien was always happy to see Lomoye, and soon he invited him and me to join him in a sacrifice, which was to be held in a bush on the banks of Longiro River near Daidai.

When we arrived in the place, young men were cooking and serving older men the cooked meat and we were greeted by the people there and offered some meat and beer. Lomoye, I noticed, sat reservedly in the corner and waited, but nobody offered him food or beer. Lomoye sat in the corner for awhile until a young man rudely approached him and told him to leave. Feeling rejected and uncomfortable, Lomoye silently left the site of sacrifice. As Lomoye was walking away, an old man, whom I shall call Lokodoi, got up quickly, leaning on his staff. Wrapping his sheet around his body Lokodoi moved toward Lomoye, summoning him to give him a piece of meat he was eating. This gesture was very powerful, as all the other men who were busy eating remained silent and watched Lokodoi giving Lomoye his portion of the meat. Lokodoi was irritated by the behavior of the young man who refused the food to Lomoye, and left the ritual ground and went back to the village and, I was later told, spent the whole night hungry.

The next day Lokodoi remained aloof and quiet, and said nothing about what happened the day before. That night I, Lodoch and Urien joined Lokodoi in his *etem*, his men's gathering place. Lokodoi sat on the sandy ground, next to him sat Lomoye and a few other men near the flickering fire, as the flames lit his face at intervals. After greetings and drinking beer, Lokodoi told a story that showed how he felt about the mistreatment Lomoye received from the young men on the ritual ground. The story conveyed the pain of rejection in a rather amusing way; with his poetic voice and rhythmically shifting expressions and mimes, Lokodoi criticized the Rengen people for their greed and refusal to share resources with the Kadokini people. Entrancing the audience with his performance, Lokodoi stressed the importance of generosity and sharing, no matter how puny the resources were.

Here is the text of the story which I recorded during the performance, followed by the translation into English:

> Aperi kuwar neniti eyai akoroo apotu Ngirengen toyara akuma tonyama emany akuma kimika Ngikadokini akimwar. Totiakaros cho Ngikadokini ikwa ngitunga ngulu angawiyoi dang. Abal kimwakasi ai ilosete napakana Kodokini kidol iyong elal. Kolong rosek keroko Ngikadokini ekudok, keroko akwap dang ipasi kemam ngitunga alalak keya kasi nakwap naga. Ani emoikinete Ngikdokini a wotokin a lo Rengen toloto arukaun ngakech beru a lo Panyangara ka Nakapelimoru. Kiboikinos

ikes katikat na Panyangara ka Nakapelimoru toriamut ngitunga ngul agogong kech aneni kiboyeto ngitunga ngul aneni. Temasi Ngkdokini nyo nyepoida ka anyaun ka iwon kane to chunaretei Rengen? Atonaikisi a nepei ane be ikwaan robo etal yok dang kangolo a Ngirengen a yenio sek dang.Ani eyarate ikes kech mong eyengete topei pite angitunga a Lodiny ani inokio akim iboikinosi ikes lowae ngolo alokwap tobobongito kuju neni inokinitae akim, lowae ngolo a Lodiny. Atiakatait angitunga alugu mam nyeka chi napakang nait iboyete ikes erai Ngirengen ngitunga ngulu a Lodiny. Alotoma Orwakol napakana eyario emong dang epote Ngikodokini ki-boikinos to chakakinai a kech kait erai ngipeyok ke ekisil a kimar akimuj. Akiriket Ngikodokini napakana egelena anakiret Angikoorwakol. Atoma Kodokini eyakatar a kech kiriket ani eyarete ikes aiteng eyarete ikwa ngitunga a Lodiny.

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During a prolonged famine, the Rengen people killed a tortoise and ate its liver. They refused to share it with the Kodokini people. The Kodokini people separated (from the Rengen people) as the people of kraals usually separate. I don't know how many Kodokini people there were when they left, but if you go to Kodokini now, you will see that Kodokini is large. Long ago the people of Kodokini were very few, and the land was vacant. There were not very many people living in that land.

When the Kodokini people left the land of Rengen, they went to get women from Panyangara and Nakapelimoru. They then settled in the middle of Panyangara and Nakapelimoru. They became strong again and stayed there. The Kodokini people asked themselves, "What is the use of moving back from here to Rengen? Let us stay here. Our customs are the same as those of Rengen and we already know them."

When the Kodokini people performed their ceremonies there (the new-found land in between Panyangara and Nakapelimoru) they followed the customs of Lodiny people. When they killed the bull, they killed it in the same way as Lodiny's people did. When they made their fire they sat at the southern-most part and faced to the north side of Lodiny.

The division of these people did not matter—they remained as Rengen, the people of Lodiny. Even now, when people kill a bull within the land of Orwakol, the Kodokini people come and sit with them. They receive their share as visitors in respect of peace of sharing food. Now the Kodokini shrine is different than the shrines of Orwakol.

In Kodokini they have their own shrine, but when they kill a cow, it is killed the same way the people of Lodiny kill a cow. When the Kodokini people kill a bull, the Orwakol people go there and sit as visitors.

* * * * * * * * * *

Lokodoi's representation of the memory images in the historical tradition appeals to the moral authority of the venerable ancestors, encouraging people to meet their social and political obligations, to cooperate and to share their scarce resources. Various versions of the Kadokini story are well known in Jie society and they unambiguously express the importance of sharing a resource, even if it is as small as the liver of a tortoise.[32]

Although the story was about the Rengen people's ancient conflict with the Kadokini people over the sharing of food, the story also referred to the young man's inhospitable treatment of Lomoye the day before. By narrating the story of Kadokini, Lokodoi was drawing the audience's attention to the moral responsibility of sharing food and resources in social interactions. Although Lomoye was in the audience and could have admitted the pain of being rejected and humiliated, he ignored the apparent message of the story which conveyed how he must have felt after that mistreatment and rejection. At the end of his performance, Lokodoi stated, "the refusal of food is the ultimate rejection." With his story Lokodoi powerfully illustrated the implication of rejection through the formulaic medium of the historical tradition. The ancient memory images of the Kadokini people's experience carried a discourse and experience which Lomoye lived through in the present; concurrently, Lomoye's experience provided the social context for the performance of the historical tradition. In everyday experience, people react differently to the refusal and rejection of food, water, pasture and other scarce resources in Najie, but Lokodoi's performance of the historical tradition mirrored the ancestral complex of denial described and detailed in the story. The performance had the impact it had because audience members shared certain experience and knowledge of his chosen images. Common experience provided the communion between the performer and the audience and they both came to terms with the reality of living in an environment where resources are scarce and survival depends on sharing; this is perhaps why the plots of Jie historical traditions are usually set in the long dry seasons, when the society experiences political and environmental crises.

The story of Kodokini is not the only explanatory story that refers to ancestral incidents. Certain versions of the stories of Lodiny and Orwakol, Nayeche and Ngolengiro preserve these explanatory themes for human relations, embodying the troubling memories which force the Jie people to redefine their social relations in contemporary contexts.

A similar historical tradition was invoked by Rianaro one evening in 1996. It was prompted by the actions of a man whom I shall call Lowotomoe—the owner of a famed, powerful bull also named Lowotomoe. The story transpired in the *kraal* in Koteen where both Lowotomoe's and Rianaro's cattle grazed. Rianaro, who apparently wanted Lowotomoe's famous bull to mount his cows, made several attempts to convince him but Lowotomoe persistently rejected the request. Rianaro and other people in the *kraal* considered Lowotomoe's refusal to be parsimonious, shameful, and unfriendly. Finally, one evening Rianaro confronted Lowotomoe for his unfriendly gesture and decided to discuss this matter with his friends and close kin in his *etem* in the *kraal*. He sent a message to people in the villages asking several of his kin to join him in the *kraal*. Lodoch and I joined the group and went to Koteen to participate in the discussion.

On that moonlit night, several men sat on the course of the dry riverbed around the campfire and talked and talked.[33] The discussion that night focused on the discourse of friendship and sharing, as they made references to various heroic leaders of the historical

tradition, juxtaposing the images of the historical tradition with the conflicting feelings and motivations of Lowotomoe. The conversations, for the most part, concerned the ordinary social relations between kin and friends who share the same ***kraal***; these individuals expected Lowotomoe to behave as a Jie man who knows the meaning of friendship; they suggested that a good friend should not refuse the offspring of his bull to his friend, as this would constitute an improper behavior for a friend who shares the same ***kraal***. At a chosen moment during the conversation, Rianaro cleared his throat and, preparing for a long chat, said, "Lowotomoe should not have refused the offspring of his bull, to his brother who helped him with bride-wealth when he took the second wife. A friend should not refuse his bull to a friend who experienced the pain of hunger with you. A friend should uphold the standard of friendship and brotherhood and preserve the images of our forefather."

Wounded by the behavior of Lowotomoe, Rianaro narrated the story of Lokolong and his bull Ngolengiro, a well known story about the only bull that survived the famine and cattle disease of a time long ago. With this story, he took his predicament and placed it into the resonant embrace of ancient fragments of memory images from his oral tradition, thus linking the action of Lowotomoe to the mythical essence of his culture. In his narrative of the bull of Lokolong, Rianaro tenderly rendered the images of the past as comments on Lowotomoe's behavior.

While Rianaro was narrating, Lodoch sat on the sandy ground next to him. The silvery moonlight lit the entire Plateau as the Koteen Hill cast a long shadow, concealing the dry riverbed. The songs of young herders in distant ***kraals*** rose and fell in the darkness of the night, at intervals here and there as Rianaro composed his story. Rianaro's skinny face shone behind the flickering fire and his body movement and facial expressions were observable as he unfolded the story of Ngolengiro, animating the unforgotten memory of Lokolong's bull, the only bull that survived that terrible famine and the unbearable heat that parched the land. The brown earth burned like ashes and cattle and people died of disease, thirst, and hunger:

> Abu emanik a Lokolong angolo Panyangara kidong erai epei bon ka ngatuk ngapei pei angina kidding. Renge dang epei iteng, Kanawat dang apei iteng ngagulei daadang a Najie edongitotor ngatuk ngapei pei. Kidong Ngolengiro emanik aitunganan ebei Lokolong Panyangara ama. Tomei ngatuk nu daadang tomei tomanik a Lokolong. Kaati dang tome angina keng lomani kaati dang tome angina kend lomanik. Bu emanik lo taanyu ngatuk nu. Kiboyoto ngatuk nu a loreee a Lokolong ani cho euri aiteng ngina kidal Lokolong paka epolounit iketaok. Ani epolounit itaok kiakia Lokolong a kituk neni ailopee tema, "Oum cho a koni iten." Arai epeimanik bon kidongit Najie daadang emanik a Lokolong. Ngaatuk daadang taany epeimanik kolong. Bas, touriata ngaatuk tari tokona kotere emanik a Lokolong. Ani kemam emanik a Lokolong kemamete tokana ngaatuk a Najie.

* * * * * * * * * *

There remained only the bull of Lokolong from Panyangara. The bull remained alone and there was a single cow in every clan. The Rengen people were left with only one cow; Kanawat was also left with only one cow; all the clans in Najie remained with only one cow each. There remained only one bull, the bull of Lokolong from Panyangara. Everybody took his cow to the bull of Lokolong. So and so took his cow to that bull; so and so from another village also took his cow to that bull. The bull mounted these cows. The cows stayed in Lokolong's homestead and when a cow delivered a calf, Lokolong milked that cow until her calf had grown big. When a calf grew big, Lokolong sent a message to the owner and said, "Come for your cow." The bull of Lokolong was the only bull remaining in the whole of Najie. Long ago, that one bull mounted all of the cattle. So because of the bull of Lokolong, all the cattle multiplied. Had the bull of Lokolong not been there, there would have been no cattle in Najie today.

* * * * * * * * * *

Rianaro's enthralling voice expressed intense longing for the past. His sorrowful and shifting expressions, the poetic movement of his body actively engaged the members of the audience and connected them with the time of Lokolong and his bull of long ago. The audience, entranced by Rianaro's poetic voice and gesture, became part of the performance. Lodoch, with precise timing, sang a song with his poetic voice complimenting the patterns of Rianaro's narrative. Soon the members of the audience all joined the song:

Kirimo lolem oye oye aruku eweya loita medo
Kirimo lolem oye oye aruku eweya loita medo
Tolot Turkan atolemutu ngalita
Kirimo lolem oye oye eweya loita medo
Kirimo lolem oye oye aruku eweya loita medo
Tolot cho Dodos atolemetu ngibelai
Kirimo lolem oye oye aruk eweya loita medo
Kirmo lolem oye oye, kirimo lolem, kirimo lolem
Kirimo lolem oye oye aruku eweyo loita medo
Tolot cho katap atolemutu ngalita
Kirimo lolem oye oye aruku eweya loita medo
Kirimo lolem oye oye kirimo lolem, kirimo lolem
Kirimo lolem oye oye aruku eweya loita medo
Tolot Turkan atolemutu nyebela
Kirimo lolem oye oye aruku eweyata loita medo

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The hornless one with a firm standing hump with a pointed head going around oye oye
The hornless one with a firm standing hump with a pointed head going around oye, oye
It went to Turkana we got *ngalita* [sticks, to drive them home][34]
The hornless one with a firm standing hump with a pointed head going around oye, oye

The hornless one with a firm standing hump with a pointed head going around
oye, oye
It went to Dodos we got the *ngibelai* [clubs, to drive them home with finality][35]
The hornless one with a firm standing hump with a pointed head going around
oye, oye
The hornless one, the hornless one
The hornless one with a firm standing hump with a pointed head going around
oye, oye
It went to katap we got *ngalita* [sticks][36]
The hornless one with a firm standing hump with a pointed head going around
oye, oye
The hornless one oye, oye the hornless one, the hornless one
The hornless one with a firm standing hump with a pointed head going around
oye, oye
It went to Turkana we got *nyebela* [clubs][37]
The hornless one with a firm standing hump, with a pointed head going around
oye, oye

* * * * * * * * * *

The voices of the audience members theorized the story, and their song became an approving commentary on the tradition and narrative that Rianaro was performing. After the song, Rianaro continued his performance, this time repeating how the bull of Lokolong saved the whole of Najie from total disappearance, miming the actions of the narrative. Rianaro's dance-like movements heavily symbolized his direct response to Lowotomoe's refusal. The song condensed the experience of Rianaro with the repertory of remembered memory images from a well known story. The levels of engagement that Rianaro's performance created, punctuated by the music of unspoken words, body movement and emotion, transported all who were present—members of the audience and the storyteller—to the metaphoric center of remembered memories, enabling them experience the thin boundary between present and the metaphoric past, the "ancient" moments of the ancestors, as Scheub would suggest.[38]

The images of the story and the story itself reveal fundamental themes which the members of the audience must value. Although a version of this historical tradition has been analyzed by Lamphear for its historical significance,[39] versions of the particular narrative may be analyzed on many levels, and I wish to make a few points regarding the Rianaro's performance and its context. First, the moral of the story centers on the importance of sharing during hard times, but the tale also carries the messages about the vulnerability of cattle as a form of domestic wealth. The refusal to share the offspring of one's cattle threatens not only the Jie people's fundamental ancestral values but also the existence of cattle, the foundation of Jie society. In this story there is only one bull, like the gray bull Engiro, the father of all the cattle.[40] Ngolengiro redeems the Jie cattle by a contribution to procreation; like the father, he embodies the power of fertility. Thus, Ngolengiro's mounting of the emaciated cattle of

the clans closely ties the positive association of procreation with the human value of sharing. By presenting Ngolengiro as the only surviving bull, the father of all the cattle, the story carries messages about the moral responsibility of a father, and his moral worth. This conflation of cattle and wealth-symbolism balances the importance of sharing in conjunction with procreation and multiplication of society. The story thus articulates the norms of sharing, driven by procreation and multiplication, as virtuous human behavior.

Through its depiction of the procreation of cattle in the midst of famine and ecological disaster, the story suggests that the virtuosity of sharing can counteract the threat of loss and disaster. First, decent human behavior entails sharing and helping others to survive, as symbolized by Lokolong, who, in contributing to the procreation of cattle, prevents the loss of all the society's domestic wealth. In social life this might be equivalent to a man who maintains the family herd and his close kin. Second, although Lokolong is generous, he nevertheless happily receives whatever is due to him, which identifies not only the importance of giving but also of receiving. Thus the story suggests reciprocity as a critical foundation for moral virtue.

In the performance of this historical tradition, associations between past and present figures are intertwined; Lokolong is identified with Orwakol, whose bull mounted the cattle of Jie on the model of Engiro and fathered all the Jie and Turkana cattle. Lokolong is responsible and honorable like Orwakol by taking proper action and enabling his society to survive, in particular through the procreative power of his bull. With his performance, Rianaro expects Lowotomoe to confirm to ancestral ideals and share the offspring of his bull. Lowotomoe's denial of his bull's offspring can be transmuted into the etiquette of morality by which individual worth is judged. As sharing and cooperating between friends is understood as a moral responsibility, Lowotomoe's denial is interpreted as deviation from the standard norms which the ancestors established.

The two performances demonstrate how storytellers manipulate memory images into patterns, though their moralizing messages may perhaps have little to do with the actual events involving Lomoye and Rianaro, respectively. The storytellers' artistic ordering of the plots of the historical tradition illuminates the essence of their contemporary experiences. The fertile seeds of both stories are the memory images which elicit emotions in Scheub's sense, and, reveal messages relevant to contemporary situations and remain recognizable to the audiences. The two stories are consistent with fantastic tales: in one, we witness the sharing of a tortoise liver; in the second, we find a mythical theme borrowed from the story of the gray bull Engiro, the father of all the Jie cattle. In the first story of the Kadokini, major clan members eat the liver among themselves, refusing to share with the members of the minor clan, thus reminding them of their marginal relationship to the mainstream community. Ultimately the Kadokini people become upset and leave the society. Thus moral implication of the story is plain: one has an obligation to share food and resources with others, even though the others may not be members of the society or family. The force of the

story, however, is in its context. The emotional implication of the story has to do with the predicament of Lomoye, who was denied food and who, as a poor single man without family, is a marginal figure. The "fantasy image" (Scheub's phrase)[41] here helps the storyteller to emphasize the fact that no matter the size of the sacrificial meal, it would have been enough for people to share the meat with Lomoye. In this way, it becomes clear that the crux of the story is not the incident of Kadokini in history long ago, but how Lomoye was treated by people during the sacrificial feast. Here, performance provides fanciful yet rich and powerful symbolic associations for the predicament of Lomoye, as the storyteller makes the point that the pattern of Kadokini experience continues in the present and has become real again when Lomoye is denied food. Within the performance context—the refusal of food by an irresponsible provider of the sacrifice—the storyteller observes a pattern in the basic human need for food and the consequences of denial and irresponsibility.

When the audience members broke into song during Rianaro's performance, they demonstrated an intense emotional response to the well-known image of Lokolong's only bull. Emotions elicited by the song communicate friendship, "political investment" and tribal identity, as Meeker points out in the case of the Bedouin society.[42] The verses of the song confirm proper behavior: the sharing of the bull's procreative power, an investment in economic security, and the friendship such investment could afford. As the song works the images of the story into patterns, the members of the audience express their sympathy with Rianaro by joining him with their song. The plot of this story is constructed around two interrelated patterns and each build on the other. In the first pattern, the Jie people are in the middle of ecological disaster, experiencing societal crises and are confronted with life-and-death issues of cattle disease and famine. The only way to survive is to replenish the loss of cattle through procreation. The society depends on the only bull, the bull of Lokolong, and he recognizes this and cooperates with the members of the society. Lowotomoe, the antithesis of Lokolong, refuses the offspring of his bull to his friend, and thus he becomes a part of the pattern of the tainted contemporary world. The storyteller unites the two different characters, the venerable Lokolong, an ideal ancestral character who is concerned with the survival of society, and the greedy and uncooperative Lowotomoe, a corrupted, contemporary image. With their songs the members of the audience send a message to Lowotomoe: to send his bull to mount the cows of Rianaro. In fact, the song functions as an indirect invitation to Lowotomoe (who, though not in the audience, was near the *kraal* and likely within hearing distance) to behave as his ancestors did: to volunteer his bull and preserve the sense of oneness and unity created by the ancestors. After all, his bull is a descendent of Lokolong's bull, just as Rianaro's cows are descended from that mythical stock. The patterns unite the predicament of Rianaro with the past events found in the fantasy images of the historical tradition.

The point here is that, like all memories, historical traditions have a strong basis in the emotions. The artistic composition of the stories elicits emotional responses, whether they

are denials, refusals or rejections, from the audience members. Storytellers must use their artistic manipulations to reshape these emotional outbursts into narrative form and give contemporary meaning to the stories. The obvious discourses articulated by the storytellers within powerful performance contexts unite the members of the audience. The artistic representation of the sharing of food, water, pasture, and cattle, and the cyclical patterns of famines draw the members of the audience into this union. The emotional resonance of these traditional images is the single most important unifying force that the storytellers can manipulate, as they fashion emotion and image into a linear plot, arranging the fragments of memory that capture and communicate vital human experiences, just as do the *oriki* of Okuku, *ntsomi* stories of the Xhosa, and the ceremonial narratives of the Bedouin.

Notes

1. This is Elizabeth Tonkin's term, from *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
2. Jan Vansina, "Memory and Oral Tradition," in Joseph Miller, ed., *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History* (Hamden Connecticut: Folkstone, 1980): 262.
3. In Cunnison's sense of the term: see Ian Cunnison, *History of the Luapula: An Essay on the Historical Notions of a Central African Tribe* (Lusaka: Rhodes-Livingstone, 1951).
4. Tonkin.
5. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History,* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.
6. Harold Scheub, *The Tongue is Fire: South African Storytellers and Apartheid* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996); Karin Barber, *I Could Speak Until Tomorrow: Oriki, Women, and the Past in a Yoruba Town* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1991); and Michael Meeker, *Literature and Violence in North Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
7. Scheub, *The Tongue is Fire,* xxi.
8. Ibid., 22.
9. Richard Bauman, *Verbal Art as Performance* (Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.), 27.
10. Richard Bauman, ed., *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992): Introduction: 1.
11. Barber, 15.
12. Ibid., 29.
13. Ibid., 25.
14. Bakhtin's term (see n16 below), recalled by Barber, Ibid.
15. Performances are organized by "social relations of causality, temporality and other issues" as Bauman reminds us (in *Folklore,* Intro.: 4.
16. M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogical Imagination* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981): 7; also see Barber.
17. Meeker, 52.
18. Ibid.: 151.
19. Ibid.: 7.
20. Ibid.: 151.
21. Scheub: xxi.
22. Vansina, "Memory": 272.

23. Nacham, recorded in 1997.
24. As a reading of Charles Briggs, *Competence in Performance: The Creativity of Tradition in Mexicano Verbal Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988) would lead us to expect.
25. Rianaro, recorded in 1997.
26. Barber: 15.
27. Bauman, *Folklore*: 4.
28. Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003 [1960]): 13).
29. Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1984); Steven Caton, *Peaks of Yemen I Summon: Poetry as Cultural Practice in a North Yemeni Tribe* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1990); Meeker.
30. Scheub: 47.
31. As I have indicated elsewhere: Mirzeler, "Veiled Histories, and the Childhood Memories of a Jie Storyteller," Ph.D. dissertation, History, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1999.
32. Later that night Lodoch explained to me that because of the refusal to share the liver of the tortoise, the Kadokini people felt intense rejection and they left the Rengen clan and settled in the territory of the Orwakol clan, with whom they do not share fire. John Lamphear, *The Traditional History of the Jie of Uganda* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1976): 29, also writes about the Kadokini traditions in the context of the historical migration of the Kadokini people, but he does not contextualize the story as I do here.
33. Sept. 2, 1996.
34. Ngalita is a stick used for driving cattle. This verse indicates that when the bull Ngolengiro went to Turkana land to mount Turkana cows, the Jie people jealously used their sticks to bring the bull Ngolengiro back to their home.
35. The phrase emphasizes that when the bull Ngolengiro went to Dodos, the Jie people used their clubs rather than sticks to drive Ngolengiro back to Najie. The verse emphasizes the extreme measures the Jie people took in guarding their only bull Ngolengiro from the Dodos people. Note the contrast when the bull went to Turkana land: the Jie people have much closer ancestral ties with the Turkana as opposed to the Dodos people, hence their annoyance and use of clubs instead of sticks to drive the bull back home. The storyteller also uses the adjective *cho* in order to indicate sorrow over the fact that the bull went to Dodos.
36. Again, the Jie people used sticks in driving the bull back home from Katap (Acholi), indicating the closer relationship of the Jie with the Katap people. It was not necessary for them to use clubs.
37. This time the storyteller indicates that when the bull went to Turkana land for the second time, the Jie people who used sticks the first time now used clubs to bring the bull back home, now determined to prevent the bull from going back to the Turkana.
38. Scheub.
39. Lamphear, 224.
40. The name "Ngolengiro" comes from the word Engiro, the mythic bull and original ancestor of the Jie cattle that was captured by Orwakol. It was also Engiro whose footprints Nayeche followed on the dry plateau in search of water.
41. Scheub.
42. Meeker.

Modern Oral Tradition and the Historic Kingdom of Kongo[1]

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The oral traditions of the Kingdom of Kongo provide a rich and particularly detailed examination of the sort of work on oral tradition that David Henige reveled in. Kongo, almost alone in Africa has both an extensive and well recorded oral tradition, and a very deep documentary tradition. Not only is Kongo's documentary tradition extensive, but it includes an extraordinarily large number of sources authored by Kongolese.[2] Thus it is possible to trace the kingdom's history in detail using documents alone, and moreover one can even make a fairly good stab at it using only Kongo-generated documentation alone. It is not surprising then, that Jan Vansina presented Kongo as one of the many societies that could be fruitfully studied by both written and oral traditions in his classic work on Central African history.[3]

While a great deal has been written about, and from, the written sources of Kongo history, much less has been done about its oral traditions. It is not that they are not taken into consideration, but only that relatively speaking they have been less fully considered. Even in Vansina's classic *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, in many ways an exemplary study intended to show the value of oral tradition for the recovery of the undocumented African past, the Kongo sections are written overwhelmingly from contemporary documentary sources. This is because the oral traditions collected today present a fundamental problem to any researcher, which is that if one only uses oral traditions to reconstruct the past of Kongo, the past they present is radically different from that presented by the documents. This mismatch in information has puzzled historians, who have coped with it through a variety of strategies.

The traditions of Kongo seem to describe the country as being a very decentralized federation of clans. The history of the clan (*kanda*) is the foundation, and it describes the activities of the clans more or less in isolation from the rest of the country.Although there is a king in the traditions, his role seems very limited, for it is the clans that take all the action,

and that action in turn is very local, describing the movements of small groups of people and some of their interactions. Most of the action of the kingdom appears to be more symbolic than real, and for that matter there is relatively little action described in them, save for migrations.

This kingdom of clans is radically different from the one that can be described from both Kongo documents and the reports of visitors. In their accounts as frequently synthesized in books since Adolph Ihle's 1929 treatment, Jean Cuvelier's influential *L'ancien royaume du Congo*, published in French in 1946, the rapid fire contributions of Georges Balandier, W. G. L. Randles and Jan Vansina between 1965 and 1968, and even later efforts by myself and Ann Hilton, Kongo is a centralized, even bureaucratic entity, with a powerful king and a great deal of high intrigue.[4] There is, in fact, no place for migrating clans in this history, any more than there is a place for a bureaucratic kingdom in the traditions of the clans.

All of the historians and anthropologists have had to resolve this contradiction in a variety of ways. The early Baptist missionaries, for example, simply denied that Kongo had ever been as described in the texts, which they felt was simply a misinformed speculation of foreigners. But such opinions simply could not survive moderately careful scrutiny of existing documentation, especially after the publication of Paiva Manso's *História do Reino de Congo* in 1877.[5] António Custodio Gonçalves has come closest to making clan histories the guiding principle in more recent historiography, by taking the structure of clannic interaction as a language for understanding the activities of the kings without really tapping clan histories for information.[6] And most scholars feel obliged to integrate clan histories in other ways. The majority of scholars have tended to follow the solution proposed by Jean Cuvelier in 1930 and developed more thoroughly in 1946, which was to displace the clan traditions to the period before the arrival of the Portuguese, as being from the formative period of the kingdom, and then to continue from the arrival of the Portuguese using only the documents.[7] Cuvelier also augmented this technique by including traditions and proverbs to reinforce information received from older texts. For example, to describe the flight of the partisans of Mpanzu, Afonso's half brother and rival following Afonso's victory over his opponent in 1506, Cuvelier drew on the migration tradition of the Mpanzu clan to recount movements.[8] Elsewhere, in order to identify the first members of the Kongo nobility to be baptized, he found clan mottos that stressed their baptisms, such as Nkenge eLau, whose motto explicitly says, "Ntete ndia mungwa muna Kongo" (I was the first to "eat salt" [be baptized] in Kongo).[9]

In 1983, I proposed a different model, suggesting that the clan traditions related to the eighteenth century when the kingdom lost its central unity, and subsequently I revised my own position to the one I hold today, which is that on the whole the clan traditions relate to an even later period, roughly after 1850.[10] Both my solution and the one proposed by

Cuvelier rely on the same idea, that is, that the traditions usually relate to a different time from the documentation, either earlier than their scope or later.

Collecting and Presenting Tradition: The Redemptorist Project

No work on Kongo tradition can avoid the influence of the Belgian Redemptorist missionaries, especially Jean Cuvelier, the bishop of Matadi, and his colleague and intellectual successor Joseph de Munck. Cuvelier and his colleagues sought to harness the pride that Kongos had in their history and past to evangelical ends by recalling both their traditions and their documentary past. It was his hope that he could marry the love of traditions that many Kongos had to the knowledge that there was a Christian past that could be developed or redeveloped for a Catholic future. When he was appointed inspector of schools for the Kikongo speaking part of Belgian Congo in 1926, he availed himself of the opportunity for travel that this position presented to collect tradition systematically all over the region.[11] He, and sometimes his informants, wrote what they collected in small school notebooks, which were usually entitled simply "Mvila," the Kikongo word for a clan's praise name. There are some 50 such notebooks surviving in the Redemptorist archives, now held at the Catholic University in Leuven/Louvain, Belgium.[12] Cuvelier actually began presenting his ideas systematically in a series of articles that he published in the Kikongo language mission newspaper, *Kukiele* in 1928. In these articles, generically entitled "Mambu ma kinza nkulu a nsi a Kongo," Cuvelier produced a synthetic history of Kongo, citing and using clan traditions and trying to cross their information with that in documents. Cuvelier's long 1930–31 French article on Kongo traditions in the colonial journal *Congo* introduced Western scholars to the world of tradition and presented many samples of translations of them, integrated into a historical narrative and defending his solution to their problems. Although formally engaging in the same task as he did in "Mambu ma kinza nkulu," the narrative structure of the French article was much more academic in nature than that "Mambu" which started with long slightly reworked quotations from the traditions giving the work the feel of a traditional narrative.

In 1934, Cuvelier published a very large if not complete set of the traditions he had collected in the 110 page book, *Nkutama a mvila za makanda*. It was encyclopedic in nature as indicated by the title, as *Nkutama* in Kikongo signifies a listing or encyclopedic concept. Close to five hundred clan names can be found in the book, arranged alphabetically. This book is certainly the most fundamental work on Kongo oral tradition ever published. Along with his articles in *Kukiele*, Cuvelier presented a powerful body of sources as well as a range of interpretations. As soon as it was published and distributed, *Nkutama* became the bedrock of oral tradition in Kongo. Many families obtained copies of the book, and many went into the clan treasuries, special boxes containing items of particular significance to the clan including *malungu* (bracelets), other pieces of jewelry or metal objects, *nkangi kiditu*

(images of Jesus), documents of particular significance and the like. Typically such boxes are held by *mfumu za makanda* (clan heads) and are carefully guarded, perhaps secretly, and passed down for generations. There are many ordinary families who own copies of at least these books, as well as others in the same genre, for example, *Tuka Kongo*, a Jesuit publication with similar themes, or the historical reconstruction created by Joseph de Munck from clan traditions and documents of foreign origin, *Kinkulu kia nsi eto*.[13] For many these are the only books they have.[14]

Nkutama is still widely regarded as being the authoritative version of clan histories, and can be and frequently is consulted on occasions of doubt. Prohibitions of marriage between clans deemed too closely related to intermarry, noted in *Nkutama*, are considered today sufficient proof that marriages are blocked after reading them, even in Luanda.[15] Although the books were created and are systematically presented only for clans that lived in the Belgian Congo in the 1920s, there are a few that could be found there collected in or near Angola, or at the least of clans that have branches in Angola. Most Angolans recognize that *Nkutama* is not a complete listing of all clans, and therefore defective, but many still consider it authoritative for those clans it does contain. Subsequent editions of *Nkutama* contained more clan names, and the final edition, published in 1972 edited by Joseph de Munck, contains clans that were not in the original edition, for example those collected by de Munck in later periods, particularly in Angola and included in the last edition.[16]

While de Munck was vital in continuing the work on *Nkutama*, especially after Cuvelier's death in 1962, he also compiled and wrote a second highly influential book, *Kinkulu kia nsi eto*, first published in 1956 and then published in a second augmented edition in 1971.[17] Even before writing this book, de Munck was a dedicated collector of traditions, either in person or through the good offices of his catechists, who traveled far and wide. In the 1960s and through the 1970s his workers traveled in Angola, systematically visiting villages, making notes of historically significant sites, and actively seeking to connect traditions to historical events described in documentary sources.[18] While *Nkutama* is simply a list of clan histories, more or less raw data on clans, on the other hand, *Kinkulu* is a work of history, combining Cuvelier's initial work of 1928 that included extensive use of European language documentary sources, but then summarized and presented in schoolbook fashion. Although it is a short work, it contains information that is not found in any other historical work especially for the nineteenth century, based on clan traditions.[19] It has also been instrumental in shaping oral tradition.

One of the most important legacies of this corpus of Redemptorist work, and its widespread diffusion in Kikongo speaking Congo and Angola, has been its role in determining modern oral tradition. People who claim to have special knowledge of tradition, or have received them orally from their parents or other elders, either in groups, such as the explication that took place and perhaps still takes place in the traditional education of youth, even outside the school system, often own copies and make particular use of such books.[20] The

traditions presented on such occasions, usually by an elder with considerable knowledge, were quite likely, after 1928, to be informed by the articles in *Kukiele* that began appearing in that year and especially by *Nkutama* when it appeared in 1934, as well as existing traditions available to the clan, and passed on orally by a preceding generation. As the post–1928 generation passed into adulthood, they encountered other traditions based on similar material and, even if illiterate, were likely to absorb at least some of the traditions that had been presented in this way. As Henige noted in his work on oral tradition, this "feedback" tends to reduce the variability of oral tradition but also renders it less creative and more like oral versions of written texts.[21]

Following the publication of *Kinkulu kia Nsi eto* in 1956, interpretations might also tend to those favored by such works, and indeed, one can say that Cuvelier and de Munck's version of the marriage of tradition and documents, retold in Kikongo in printed form, has become the favored version of tradition and is now presented as the traditional version. It is, of course, ultimately a synthetic version of tradition, using older oral materials, documents and interpretation of missionary priests, but it can pass along orally without the participants realizing how it was arrived at. In fact, in most people's conception, oral tradition is passed down, by oral means only, during the night time stories of their youth by a respected elder, who one imagines, received it in the same form in his youth, and backwards through a chain of intergenerational gatherings to the time when the events themselves took place. That this is not entirely the case makes modern oral tradition what it is—a combination of African tradition and modern scholarship.

This is not to say that oral tradition is not creative in its own way of handling such sources. For example, de Munck, seeking to present modern historical reconstruction to Kongo students, told the story of the Bantu migrations in *Kinkulu* in such a way that it might seem that the Kongos came from Egypt. In recent years, more and more elaborate stories connecting Kongo and ancient Egypt have emerged, dressed in the finest traditional clothes, and presented as the ancient history of the country. It is not as if the traditionalists are making stories up, they might hear them in this, or similar forms from others orally. The well know Angolan politician and intellectual, Miguel Ferraz Alberto has been passionate in his evocation of Egyptian origins, which he has defended on the basis of tradition, linguistic similarities, comparisons of regalia and reading of Biblical sources, and given his eloquence and interests, one can expect that his interpretation of these matters, spoken in elegant and proverb-rich Kikongo can pass into oral tradition as well.[22]

Oral Tradition and Beatriz Kimpa Vita

In fact, one can never be exactly sure where oral tradition will go. In 1998, I published a biography of the famous Kongo prophet and religious leader, Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita.[23] In reviewing my work, Simon Bockie was critical of the book which he thought had only con-

sidered the point of view of Kimpa Vita's enemies, who were Europeans, and not that of the Kongos themselves. He complained that I had not used oral traditions about Dona Beatriz that, he said, were well known in his youth and that he had heard, in all probability by the fire told by an elder, and which he further contended were well known throughout the Kikongo speaking territory.[24] While I did not seek to reply to his review, I was quite convinced that he had simply heard fed back traditions that had surfaced following the publication of the first of the documents concerning Dona Beatriz in 1953, perhaps through the publication of the story in *Kinkulu* in 1956. I considered it important that Rafael Batsîkama's biography of Kimpa Vita, published in 1966 offered no information about her life from oral tradition.[25] This was particularly telling, I thought, because he had made extensive use of the original documentary material, and elsewhere in that book and in his other important book *Voici les Jaga* he used *Nkutama* as well as proverbs and traditions which he had learned or collected himself.[26] It seemed to me that if there were traditions that were relevant circulating around fires in Kongo and were well known, he would certainly have cited them.

When I did field work in Mbanza Kongo in 2002, I was taken to visit Agostinho Afonso, a famous informant who lived in the lower town of the city and was reputed to be versed in the history of Beatriz Kimpa Vita.[27] He spoke in Kikongo, elegantly in the manner of speaking often called "Kimfumu" which conveys both knowledge and authority. As I listened to him speak, I noted that he frequently gave the names of people in French form, for example calling the king of Kongo killed at Mbwila in 1665 as "Antoine," or calling the names of the Italian priests who were witnesses to her death as Pere Laurent de Lucques (Lorenzo da Lucca) and Bérnard de Gallo (Bernardo da Gallo).[28] He also included exact dates for events, which is very uncommon if it is ever found in traditions. To me, although I admired his delivery and his use of proverbs, I was sure that much of what he said had been fed back from written sources that had appeared in French. After our session was over I asked him to name his sources, and as I expected, he mentioned his father and mother, clan elders and Radio Zaire.

However, recognizing that elements of tradition may be fed back should not obscure the possibility that within them are other components which might just relate to knowledge passed down orally through the generations. During his presentation, Afonso noted that Beatriz' mother played a central role in the development of the movement. Indeed, as the story progressed it seems she became more and more critical to the whole. As Beatriz was killed by the priests, and indeed as the priests burned many people, it was Beatriz's mother, it emerged, who continued the movement. Finally, he linked both Beatriz's teaching and that of her mother to Bundu dia Kongo, a present day religious-political movement whose spiritual and intellectual head is Muanda Nsemi. While Muanda Nsemi has himself written a pamphlet on Dona Beatriz, it has little that is historical in it, certainly not fed back from written sources nor clearly based on tradition.[29] It is, however, clear that Bundu dia Kongo has claimed descent from Kimpa Vita, either as a political ploy or because they have employed

similar sorts of tradition. Nor is this confined to Bundu dia Kongo, for in 2002, the cultural affairs officer in Mbanza Kongo and avid collector of local lore and tradition, Pedro Gabriel, related to me a tradition circulating in Mbanza Kongo that the Antonians always had a quarter in the city, and that when the Baptists came, the Antonians went with the Baptists and the Catholics remained where they were.[30]

While I can certainly recognize that there is feedback in the traditions about Kimpa Vita today, and that modern political and religious movements are moving rapidly to include her among their founders, this does not preclude there being that kernel of truth that makes legends so exciting and so frustrating. Is it possible that Kimpa Vita's mother did play a role in continuing movement? Is it also possible that thanks to her efforts it might have continued underground for centuries? There is little doubt that a "Mother of Saint Anthony did indeed appear shortly after D Beatriz' death, as asserted in Father Lorenzo da Lucca's eyewitness account of the aftermath of Beatriz' execution. Immediately another woman came forward and preached as the Mother of the false Saint Anthony, comforting the people not to be afraid, for if the "daughter was dead the Mother still remained," and she made herself out to be called the "Mother of Virtue."[31] Cuvelier's French translation of the manuscript which contains this quotation was published in 1953, and was known, for example to Batsîkama when he wrote his work on D Beatriz. It is therefore possible that a careful reader might have fed this statement back into tradition, from which it subsequently developed into a potential branch to survive until the present. Still, it is a small section, one that is easily overlooked, and published in an academic journal.[32] It is possible that it is not fed back, but a real survival of the movement, though on the whole it would seem not.

Oral Tradition and King Garcia IV

On the whole, however, I confess to being skeptical of the claims of oral tradition in Kongo. I am prepared to accept that they do relate to historical events, but my own contention is that for the most part they describe events of the middle to late nineteenth century. This is based on my reading of traditions and the information contained in them. Traditions, as presented in *Nkutama*, and in the notebooks that underlie it, typically begin with a statement of the *mvila*,the boast or praise name of the clan. These might be historically significant, but many are not, for example "Nzinga wa zinga nsi . . ." (Nzinga circled the country . . .) actually is a play on the verb *zinga* which serves as a root for the name. Following this, they describe migrations from a variety of starting points, then following an itinerary such as this one from Kabata, "Tuka mu Kongo, nsaukidi Luezi, ntokele muna Kintinu, ntungidi Sole (Songololo), ntungidi Nkanda (nkoko Luo), ntokele Kivuza, ntokele Tava . . ."[33] or "leaving from Kongo I crossed the Luezi, I took up land in Kintinu, I built Sole (Songololo), I built Nkanda (on the River Luo), I took up land in Kivuza, I took up land in Tava . . ." (the use of the first person singular presumably represents the first founder's own description, but

other traditions use the first person plural, tutukidi, tusaukidi, tutokele, tutungidi, etc). The text goes on to outline itineraries for other branches of the clan, giving their stopping places on the migration as well.

My interpretation of this tradition, and the many others that resemble it, is that they describe trade routes that developed in the 1850s and beyond in Kongo. During this period, when commodity trade dominated the economic life of the region, traders, often based near Soyo, or Boma or perhaps in Mbanza Kongo itself established villages or quarters of villages at stopping points along the roads leading to the production centers of peanuts, rubber or other export products. We know that this trade involved a considerable percentage of the population and that having places where there were people who could protect one's goods and receive travelers as family members was important. These centers then described traditions that allowed everyone to know more or less how to get from their home to other stops on the traditional routes. Since the traditions rarely present any chronological information, and indeed appear to take place in a single generation, this interpretation seems to be consistent with a recent past.

While the idea of traveling to trade centers might well explain the basic structure of tradition, the traditions might incorporate other material, for example in the praise name that had greater or other historical significance. The praise name of the clan Mvemba, for example, incorporates the widely known story that King Afonso I buried his mother alive, "for the faith of the Savior King" (*nkanka a Ntinu Nkangi*).[34] Another praise name links itself to the seventeenth century history of the country by using Kongo's famous proverb involving divisions into three by invoking the three fire stones "on which Kongo cooked" (*makukwa matatu malambidi Akongo*) to remember the division of the royal family into three rival branches, Kimpanzu, Kinlaza and Nkanga.[35] This situation developed in the 1630s in the successive reigns of Álvaro III (a Kimpanzu), Pedro II (a Nkanga) and Álvaro VI (a Kinlaza), and whose descendents were all engaged in a sort of battle during the reign of Garcia II (1641–61, but especially in 1656–7).[36] The events were well enough remembered that they were cited by Bernardo da Gallo in his 1710 description of Kongo's history, 80 years later.[37]

Thus, although I contended that Kongo's clan traditions were actually about events in the recent past—Cuvelier's older informants might have been born in 1870 after all, when the trade revolution was still building in intensity, there were fragments of much earlier stories that survived. We know of the Afonso of tradition because of his own letters, and we know that the story of his burying his mother alive was already in circulation in the 1680s. We know of the three divisions in the Kongo royal family because of the survival of documents from the era which describe it in great detail.[38] But of course, in both of these cases the traditions are not of much help to historians. The documents remind us that Afonso did not, in fact, bury his mother alive, and they tell us so much more than the three stones proverb does about the family structure of the Kongo elite in the seventeenth century and its contestations.[39]

But if these stories are not very helpful, there are others which might be much more informative. One such story that the traditions can help us with is that of King Garcia IV. He is one of Kongo's most obscure kings, who ruled from 1743 to 1752. There is no testimony from documents about his reign or any of its circumstances. His name was only known to posterity thanks to king lists written down in 1758 and 1844 that mentioned him and gave the dates of his reign. The only historical fact they contain is that he was crowned by the Vicar of São Salvador, Pantelão das Neves Fronteira.[40]

But buried in one of Cuvelier's entries in *Nkutama* is a little chronicle associated with the clan Nsimbi a Nimi a Nzinga near Mbanza Matari.[41] It describes a series of rulers, each of which was from the royal faction of Kinlaza, "*Mfumu wavangidi luyala mu Mbanza Matadi*" or "the rulers who exercised rule at Matadi." First there was Dom Luvwalu (Álvaro) whose "father was Nlaza" (*se andi Nlaza*). Curiously the tradition says he was "without a piece of cloth from Europe, he wore cloth woven from palm leaves" (*e ndele kianangama kuna Mputu kialembwa etenda*). While the reference might just be hopelessly obscure, it is interesting to note that the Antonian Movement insisted on the wearing of a special cloth woven from the bark of the *nsanda* tree, as this was alleged to be the material in which the Baby Jesus was swaddled. While João II, ruler of Bula (which included Matadi) in the early eighteenth century, had hastily thrown Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita out of his domains in 1705, his enemies might well have become Antonians and chosen to wear this special cloth, at least for the moment, as indeed, Beatriz was said to have thousands of followers when she went to Bula to visit João and demand his adherence to her cause.

Álvaro was followed by Don Galasia Nkoko a Mvika "child of Nlaza" (*mwan'a Nlaza*), who for some reason was "a wanderer of the roads" (*Nlenge a nzila*) and then by Don Galasa Nkanga a Mvemba, another Kinlaza, who "went to the throne of Kongo" (*Yandi wele mu kiandu ku Kongo*). This name, Garcia Nkanga a Mvemba, corresponds to some degree with Garcia IV's name, "Ne Canga a Mibando," as given in the kinglist of 1758.[42]

Garcia's membership in the Kinlaza clan, and his residence in Matadi also give us another small piece of information. We know that according to Cherubino da Savona, a Capuchin missionary who was active in Kongo in the 1760s that Pedro IV, the restorer of São Salvador and the kingdom decreed that the kingship should rotate among the two rival lineages of Kimpanzu and Kinlaza. We also know that the first successor of Pedro IV, Manuel II Mpanzu a Nimi, was a Kimpanzu. This tradition tells us that the succession did take place as envisioned by Pedro IV, for a Kinlaza did indeed follow the Kimpanzu ruler on the throne. It carries additional weight, because we know that the Kinlaza branch that controlled Matadi in Pedro IV's time were partisans of Pedro's deadly rival João II.

In 1706, however, João's court had split when the would-be king was incapacitated by disease and effective rule passed to his sister Elena. Elena's conduct of the office alienated a number of her followers, and as a result some of the nobles, including those around Matadi, quit their allegiance to him (or her) and swore loyalty to Pedro IV.[43] It seems likely

that in fact, it was from this group that Manuel II found his successor, one that had probably supported him following Pedro IV's death and thus were favored with the succession. It is tempting to suggest that perhaps the reason that Don Galasia Nkoko a Mvika, Garcia IV's immediate predecessor, was said in tradition to wander the roads was because he was forced to migrate during this period.

Another little tidbit adds something even more interesting to what tradition might tell us about Garcia IV. This also comes from a chronicle sort of note, found in Cuvelier's notebook, "Mvila XXII" and partially printed (with exactly one line missing) in *Nkutama*.[44] It describes a Don Galassa Mbundi a Nganga, not exactly a personal name but a title, meaning roughly "master of priests" who struck an alliance between the Kimpanzu and the Kinlaza (*wabundidi Kimpanzu ye Kinlaza*). Given the history of Garcia's succession, it seems quite possible that the tradition refers to the arrangement that Pedro IV made and that in one or another way Manuel II managed to concretize as an alliance between his own Kimpanzu and this group of Kinlaza at least. The tradition then goes on to say "*wa mbambi a sumika ka isumunwa ko*" or "those of Mbambi did not join in the alliance."[45] Here again there is the possibility that "mbambi" simply refers to some local group whose history is otherwise unknown, but if we were to read "mbambi" as "mbamba" it would suggest that people from Mbamba province rejected the alliance.

An Mbamba rivalry is borne out by the historical facts. Though Manuel II came from Mbamba Luvota, the home of the Kimpanzu in the late seventeenth century, the province of Mbamba itself was hostile to them, and in the 1730s there was a major war in Mbamba which devastated the province, for Anton Felice da Cortona mentioned it in 1733 and in 1734.[46] Mbamba was certainly a pivotal province and one that might have swung for or against whoever ruled in São Salvador, especially if they were not Kimpanzu. In the 1780s, for example, partisans of the former King Pedro V made a massive attack on São Salvador to dislodge the partisans of José I, a Kinlaza who had come to the throne in 1779.[47]

Virtually none of these traditions would be meaningful were it not for the documentation available to us from contemporary sources. But it is certainly worth noting that if my speculations are correct, tradition used with the documents can illuminate events in Kongo in ways that are not well illustrated in the documents. It is possible that a more careful study of *Nkutama* or Cuvelier's notebooks will reveal other small chronicles with historical value. Moreover, it is equally possible that having found an incident or event that is verifiable in documents, the remaining portions of the tradition, for which there is no independent verification can contribute even fuller knowledge to the study of Kongo history. The chronicle of Matadi which contains references to Garcia IV continues with the history of several more rulers, including two sisters from a new lineage, the last of whom, Dona Isabela, had her "eyelids always lowered" perhaps a sign of "diminished spirit" or insanity.

I have always been a partisan of reading the documents carefully in Kongo history and confess to skepticisms with regard to traditions. My skepticism is rooted in the fact that early

in my studies of Kongo history I could not find the links between what was found in traditions as I knew them in those days and what could be found in documents. But a deeper study of those in *Nkutama* and its sources has made me less skeptical and thus more willing to enter into their study.

I learned at least some of my skepticism from David Henige's example. His studies of tradition, of the means of transmission of traditional knowledge, and of feedback in particular, have made me more critical of the blind following of tradition as if it were superior to the written documents that characterized some of the historiography of the 1960s. On the other hand, there is another side to tradition, which if viewed with a healthy amount of skepticism and in the right context might still rescue some corners of history from obscurity.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the III Encontro sobre a história de Angola, Luanda, September 30, 2007. Primary sources for this work include KADOC (Katolieke Documentation), Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, and Tomassi Family Papers, Cortona.
2. Up to the present no documentation of local origin prior to the colonial period is known for the region of Kongo. That archives existed, not only in the capital but also in the provinces is clear from the accounts of travelers as recent as the mid nineteenth century, but no such archives have actually come to light.
3. Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savannah* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 37–69, 130–54, 189–97.
4. Adolph Ilhe, *Das alte Königreich Kongo* (Leipzig: Verlag der Werkgemeinschaft, 1929); Jean Cuvelier, *L'ancien royaume de Congo* [original Dutch *Het Oud Konigrijk Kongo*, 1944], (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwier, 1946); Georges Balandier, *La vie quotidienne au royaume de Congo* (Paris: Hachette, 1965); Jan Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes de la savanne* (Léopoldville: Institut de recherches économiques et sociales, 1965), W. G. L. Randles, *L'Ancien royaume du Congo des origins a XIX eme si√®cles* (Paris: Mouton and Co., 1968); John Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641–1718* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Ann Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
5. Levy Jordão de Paiva Manso, *História do Reino de Congo (Documentos)* (Lisbon: Socio Effectivo da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1877). The publication of António Brásio's *Monumenta Missionaria Africana* (1st series, Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952–88), a collection that eventually reached 15 volumes, some 7,500 pages beginning in 1952 has informed all the scholarship since the late-1960s (Vansina and Balandier made little of no use of it in 1965, while Randles made extensive use in 1968).
6. António Custodio Gonçalves, *Le lineage contre l'état* (Évora, 1985) and *A história revisitada do Kongo e Angola* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 2005).
7. Cuvelier's first published attempt was "Traditions congolaises," *Congo* 2/4 (1930): 469–87 and 3/2 (1931): 193–208 and also developed in *L'ancien royaume*, 9–18. He seems to have drawn the account of the first king and the dispersion of the clans from Mpetelo Boka, "Nsosani akingudi. Lusailu lua makanda, yezimbvila zazonsono . . ." 15 September 1912 (MS in possession of Jos Roosen, thanks to Hein Vanhee for making a scanned copy available to me), 2nd unnumbered page. Most of this text in fact is a history of Kionzi, the home of the author, not Kongo. A recent synthesis following this approach is António Setas, *História do Reino do Kongo* (Luanda: Editorial Nzila, 2007).
8. Jean Cuvelier and Louis Jadin, *L'ancien Congo, d'apres les archives romaines, 1518–1640* (Brussels: Academie royale des sciences colonials, 1954), 104–5. The tradition's exact wording in Kikongo

can be found in Cuvelier, Jean, *Nkutama a mvila za makanda* (Tumba: Impr. Mission Catholique, 1934), 68–9 (but with reference to the clan Nimi Lukeni), collected at Kimpangu Fulezi).

9. Cuvelier and Jadin, *L'ancien Congo*, 274. The quotation is found in Cuvelier, *Nkutama*, p. 77 and relating to clans in Mpangu in Cuvelier's day. In the full statement, the leader is named Dom Bastiao ne Nkenge Nanga.
10. Thornton, *Kingdom of Kongo*; John Thornton, "The Origins and Early History of the Kingdom of Kongo, c 1350–1550," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 1 (2001): 89–120.
11. Information supplied to me by the former Redemptorist archivist, Father Joseph Roosen in correspondence in 1995. Roosen also gave me a copy of an unpublished biography, "Notice biographique de Mgr. Jean-François Cuvelier (1882–1962)," he had written on Cuvelier.
12. KADOC (Katolieke Documentation), Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, section 7.2 (8). This is a large file box filled with loose folders, notebooks and the like. I have not had the chance to examine them all, but I did manage to examine enough to understand the structure of the collection Cuvelier did. My chronology of his work is based, first, on Roosen's statement to me that this was Cuvelier's opportunity and methodology for the collection of tradition, and second for characteristics of the notebooks themselves. I examined "Mvila" nos. VII, XXII, XXIV, XXVI, 26, and similar note books called "Clans 3" and "Kionzo."
13. H. Matota, *Ntuka Kongo* (Kisantu, 1960); Joseph de Munck, *Kinkulu kia nsi eto* (Tumba, 1956; 2nd ed., Matadi: Diocèse de Matadi,1971).
14. My thanks to Camilo Afonso for explaining the significance and distribution of these books and their significance in Kongo life.
15. My thanks again to Camilo Afonso for providing me with this information.
16. The final edition is called the fourth edition, even though there are only two physical editions, the 1934 imprint and the 1972 one, the first published in Tumba and the second in Matadi. The other editions are runs of corrected histories that appeared under the title "Nkutama a mvila za makanda" in *Kukiele* in 1935 and in 1944. In citing this text, I use the 1934 edition, as it is available on the website "Ne-Kongo" as a free download at http://www.nekongo.org/akongo/docs/langue_culture/nkutama_mvila_makanda.pdf (accessed August 3, 2010).
17. I have only read the second edition, published in Matadi.
18. De Munk's notes and papers are also found at KADOC 4.8.16.2–5 through 4.8.16.2–11. These include sketch maps of routes, notes on the names and clans found in villages, detailed by-name lists of village residents with clan affiliations, notes on travel and on places, and excerpts from traditions, documents and the like. The works are written in Kikongo (primarily) with some elements in French and Dutch. It is possible to date them roughly as they are often written on the back pages of missionary stationary.
19. Cuvelier compiled a large quantity of documentation including many transcriptions of unpublished materials, which he was able to use, and perhaps make available to other missionaries. Many of these are found in his papers in KADOC 7.2 Cuvelier collection. One can obtain a good idea of the range by checking the critical apparatus on his entries in *Biographie coloniale belge* (2 vols, Brussels: Institut royal colonial belge, 1951).
20. I rely here on descriptions of such education sessions, explained to me in Mbanza Kongo on 28 September 2002 by António Delfina Cuti, Luzolo Kiala, and Pedro Gabriel based on their personal experience of doing this, and their assurances that the practice was widespread.
21. The classic study on feedback is David Henige, "The problem of Feedback in Oral Tradition: Four examples from the Fante Coastlands," *Journal of African History* 14 (1973): 223–35.
22. Ferraz had not published much of his corpus. I am grateful to him for a collection of his mimeographed writing, and for correspondence. In 1997 when I met him, Ferraz was head of the "Sovereign Conservators" political party, and is a frequent presenter at cultural events in Angola.
23. John Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: D. Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
24. Published in the *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 32, no. 3 (1998): 645–47.

25. Raphael Batsîkama, *Ndona Béatrice Kimpa Vita, serait-elle temoigne de la foi?* (Kinshasa, 1966) reprinted in *L'ancien royaume du Congo et les BaKongo* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999).
26. Batsîkama, Raphael, "Voici les Jaga", in *L'ancien royaume du Congo et les BaKongo,* 178–218.
27. Session conducted on 28 September 2002.
28. In follow-up questions, he noted the Portuguese names of the kings.
29. Muanda Nsemi, *Mama Vita Kimpa* (nd, np). It is not clear to me why he reversed the order of her names from that which is used by most people. Apparently he did not feel the need to retell her story in detail as it was perhaps too well known to need repeating.
30. Exchange of 27 September 2002, Mbanza Kongo.
31. Lorenzo da Lucca, Lettera Anua 1706, fol. 274 published in Teobaldo Filesi, "Nazionalismo e religione nel Congo all'inizio del '700: La setta degli Antonioni," *Africa* (Roma) 36 (1971): 655.
32. I overlooked it myself in writing *The Kongolese Saint Anthony* and Linda Heywood brought it to my attention in 2009.
33. Cuvelier, *Nkutama*, 4.
34. *Nkutama*, 70.
35. *Nkutama*, 73.
36. The division is described this way in the anonymous king list, drawn up in 1758 and now found in the Instituto Histórico e Geografico Brasileiro, lata 6, doc. 2, "Catallogo dos reis de Congo. . . .," fol. 2v.
37. Bernardo da Gallo, "Conto delle villicazione missionale . . ." 1710, published in Carlo Toso, *Una pagina poco nota di storia Congolese* (Rome, 1999): 46–47.
38. Thornton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 50–53.
39. For a fuller account of the intricacies of the Kongo royal families based on the documentation, see John Thornton, "Elite Women in the Kingdom of Kongo: Historical Perspectives on Women's Political Power," *Journal of African History* 47 (2006): 437–60.
40. Instituto Histórico e Geografico Brasileiro, lata 6, doc. 2, "Catallogo," fol. 5, giving his name as "Ne Canga a Mibando," the ms. contains no date, but the cover folder gives its date as 1758. This chronology is confirmed by another king list, compiled about the same time, now found in Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra, MS 1505, "Papeis sobre Angola," a collection of historical notes taken for the preparation of a history of Angola. The second of these sources does not give Kikongo names of the kings but does have the same dates.
41. Cuvelier, *Nkutama*, 72, a retelling of some elements is found also on p. 76. The text was first published with slight variations in 1929 in *Kukiele* 4 (1929), 29. There are variations in the text in the 1972 edition of *Nkutama*, and I did not find the original notebook at KADOC when I did research there in 2002, but during my brief visit there I was unable to consult all the materials.
42. Instituto Histórico e Geografico Brasileiro, lata 6, doc. 2, "Catallogo," fol. 5.
43. See Thornton, *Kongolese Saint Anthony*, pp.
44. *Nkutama*, 18. The original MS, "Mvila XXII" is found in KADOC 7.2 (8).
45. My thanks to Simão Souindoula for his assistance on this translation.
46. Tomassi Family Papers, Cortona, Anton Felice da Cortona to brother Annibale, 20 November 1734, fol. 1.
47. Academia das Cienças de Lisboa, MS Vermelho 296, Rafael Castello de Vide, "Viagem do Congo do Missionario Fr. Raphael de Castello de Vide, hoje Bispo de S. Thomé," 118–22.

Shaka's Military Expeditions: Survival and Mortality from Shaka's Impis

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Extreme destruction, and images of rampant violence and countless deaths of warriors and civilians, have come to be associated with Shaka's deployment of *izimpi* or "*impis*" in his military campaigns to extend and consolidate the rule of the AmaZulu chiefdom across most of modern KwaZulu-Natal between 1817 and 1828. But just how destructive *were* Shaka's military expeditions? Contrary to common assumptions, when Shaka deployed his troops on a campaign they did not always engage in battle when they arrived at the scene of their intended attack, for chiefs and chiefdoms sometimes submitted immediately without resistance, and sometimes took flight before the arrival of Shaka's troops. Even when a battle did ensue, the levels of mortality from battle were rarely high, and battles were usually fought away from civilian populations, so that only rarely were there civilian deaths of women and children resulting from Shaka's military campaigns. Verifiable instances in which there were high numbers of casualties and deaths, and in which women and children were also victims, left a record of brutality and atrocities associated with Shaka's troops. Surprisingly, however, the records of these battles indicate that it was Shaka's troops themselves that often suffered the highest numbers of deaths on campaign and in battle, rather than their intended targets. But the question remains as to just how much depopulation actually resulted from Shaka's campaigns, and how many chiefdoms and people survived through strategies of submission or flight.[1]

Following the death of his father Senzangakona in 1816, Shaka had the heir killed and usurped the AmaZulu chieftaincy. At this time the AmaZulu chiefdom was only one of many in the region, and numbered no more than four thousand people, including a few minor chiefdoms that had already come under Senzangakona's rule, so that the numbers of adult men enrolled into AmaZulu military ranks numbered only in the hundreds. As Shaka used these available troops to intimidate neighboring small chiefdoms into submitting to his rule,

he gained control over the ranks of their men of military age, and his regiments grew rapidly in size and numbers. Within ten years the numbers of warriors under Shaka's command had grown a hundred fold, from about five hundred men to over fifty thousand soldiers mustered in some seventeen to twenty regiments of about three thousand men each. The broader political dispensation changed dramatically over the course of Shaka's rule, before his assassination in September 1828. In the era of his father's rule the AmaZulu chief owed allegiance to and was a subordinate tributary chief to the AmaMthethwa chief Dingiswayo, who had used military force as well as persuasion to consolidate many smaller chiefdoms in the area. Other large chiefdoms of about the same size as the AmaMthethwa chiefdom, judging from their numbers of large villages and regiments, were those of the AmaNdwandwe, the AmaHlubi, the AmaQwabe, the AmaNyuswa, and south of the Thukela River, the AmaThuli and AmaCele. A chiefdom was defined in terms of its chief or *inkosi*, and was a sociopolitical unit falling under the leadership and authority of the head of the ruling line of descent for that chiefdom, whose adherents or subjects included members of numerous lines of descent, i.e. clans or lineages, in addition to his own. The smallest chiefdoms were not much larger than the members of known related members of an extended family, or lineage, and might number fewer than a hundred people, while the largest, including the populations of their smaller subordinate tributary chiefdoms, numbered ten thousand or more. Shaka's consolidation of rule over a wide territory meant that at the time of his death in 1828 the subjects of the AmaZulu chieftaincy or kingdom included the people of virtually all of the pre-existing chiefdoms, large and small, with a population that must have numbered well over two hundred thousand people including adult men in regimental barracks scattered across KwaZulu-Natal.

Tracing the chronology of all of Shaka's known military expeditions, this article examines evidence of the *impis* of Shaka's troops during his rule from 1817 to 1828 in order to assess more closely levels of mortality from battles in which they engaged, in order to provide a corrective to misleading and false assumptions about the degree of destruction wreaked by Shaka's military expeditions, and to reconsider the extent of depopulation experienced in the region of KwaZulu-Natal. A consideration of the outcomes of Shaka's military expeditions, whether or not they resulted in battle, and the numbers of slain, indicates there was only limited depopulation in the region of KwaZulu-Natal as a result of military action, and to a large extent only temporary depopulation occurred as a result of flight from battle and temporary population displacement. This chapter explores levels of fighting associated with the *impis* and mortality from each battle, and the outcome of each battle demographically and politically. Such in turn allows for an informed examination of the extent and role of violence perpetrated by Shaka's *impis* in causing demographic changes and shaping the sociopolitical dispensation in southeastern Africa in the era of Shaka's reign.[2]

For over a century historians accepted the attribution of a chain of regional wars and migrations to destruction wrought by Shaka's troops, and used the term "*mfecane*" to refer

to this presumed process. Thus an estimate that more than a million people had died as a result of Shaka's wars and their effects in the early nineteenth century was not challenged until 1957, although a more accurate depiction of events had begun to emerge with the publication by W.M MacMillan of *Bantu, Boer, and Briton* in 1929.[3] Accepting that the early decades of the nineteenth century were a period of demographic, social, and political turmoil, recent scholars have sought alternative causes for those changes.[4] In a speculative theory, Julian Cobbing argued that slave-raiding and slave-trading by European missionaries and British colonial officials operating across the northern and eastern Cape Colony frontiers and from the area of Delagoa Bay had initiated this period of turmoil and sociopolitical change. His argument was weakened by a lack of substantiating evidence, and in the end his assumptions were shown to be false, as neither slave-raiders nor slave-traders operated out of Delagoa Bay during the period in question, from the 1790s through the early 1820s. (Only an insignificant number of slaves were exported beginning in 1825, long after the processes of sociopolitical consolidation, including that of the AmaZulu kingdom under Shaka's rule, had begun.)[5]

Furthermore, the evidence exonerates both missionaries and British colonial officials from any involvement in slave-raiding across Cape Colony borders, although the agents of Dutch-speaking settlers, notably renegade mixed-race Griqua and Kora groups of raiders, did engage in taking human captives from across the northern frontier for trade and sale within the colony.[6] Instead, significant in explaining high rates of mortality was the presence of famine, caused by frequent and prolonged droughts across the entire region between 1800 and the mid–1820s, demographic dislocations, raiding, and deliberate crop destruction.[7] With few well-known notable exceptions among the engagements which will be reviewed below, mortality rates from battles in this period were generally far too low to account for any substantial depopulation.[8] This article supports John Wright's conclusion that the region south of the Thukela, later colonial Natal, was only indirectly controlled by Shaka through subordinate allied chiefs, and that it experienced a period of political amalgamation characterized by the incorporation of small chiefdoms that ceased to exist as independent polities, rather than by extensive devastation and depopulation. Wright has not given sufficient attention to the raiding and battles in the region, some of which were carried out by Shaka's orders, but he is correct that "at no stage, as far as the evidence goes, did Zulu armies make the murderous sweeps through the Natal area which conventionally they are supposed to have done."[9]

The reconstruction of the history of the peoples of the region of modern KwaZulu-Natal during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century rests of necessity on African oral sources, because the earliest written sources are only available from European traders who did not arrive for the exploration and settlement of Port Natal, later called Durban, until 1824. Colin Webb and John Wright have meticulously translated the oral testimony provided to James Stuart by over a hundred and fifty AmaZulu men, and a few women,

from the late 1890s through the early 1920s.[10] The transcripts made by James Stuart are self-evidently careful and usually were written down verbatim or in spontaneous translation by Stuart who was himself fluent in the isiZulu language. The willingness of so many elderly AmaZulu to confide their historical traditions to James Stuart, a South African-born colonial magistrate, and his generous hospitality to them that was virtually unheard of for a white South African in that era, speak to the mutual respect that governed the process of recording this testimony. As Carolyn Hamilton has made clear, Stuart was not representative of a settler mentality, but rather was driven by a genuine desire to advance the interests of the AmaZulu people among whom he worked.[11] The texts themselves reflect the care he took to record accurately what he was told, since they contained many references which he did not understand but nevertheless wrote down as told. Collectively they include contradictory accounts, indicating there had been no process involving pressure towards conformity in the telling or recording of these oral histories and traditions for any reasons. This variety in perspective is reflected, for example, in Hamilton's study of the diverse portrayals of Shaka, which also demonstrates that controversial information was retained even in the changing political dispensations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[12] Besides reflecting a diversity of information and attitudes, however, the interviews also include accounts that were retained and transmitted independently from each other and therefore provide independent corroboration and confirmation of similar information retained in common. Jeff Peires' *The House of Phalo* remains a model of how the history of this period can be reconstructed using oral and written sources of African and European origin.[13]

The European sources, even when their biases and political or trade agendas are obvious and distort their interpretations of events, when they can be independently corroborated, including by African oral sources, retain importance as documentary evidence of events as they occurred. Most important for the issues addressed in this article are the writings of Henry Francis Fynn, who was among a handful of white traders who opened a trading post at Durban, then called Port Natal, in 1824, and had frequent dealings with Shaka at his capital as well as with the AmaMpondo and Chief Faku among whom he conducted his ivory trade.[14] The reliability of Fynn's writings varies but he was among the first to record oral traditions told to him narrating events prior to his arrival that he had no reason to distort, and he was an eyewitness to many events for which there is corroborating independent oral evidence. Also important, in spite of obvious distortions in its analysis, is an account by Theophilus Shepstone, an early colonial administrator, a summation based on his own interviews of several dozen elderly AmaZulu men.[15]

Shaka's Military Campaigns

When Shaka usurped the chieftaincy after his father Senzangakhona's death he remained a subordinate chief to Dingiswayo as his father had been.[16] Within his first year of rule Shaka joined Dingiswayo in mounting an attack against Matiwane that set the AmaNgwane into

flight from the Newcastle district where they had only been settled for a few years.[17] Shaka also mounted attacks on his own during this time. An important informant of Stuart's asserted that in the early years of Shaka's rule while Dingiswayo was still alive and Shaka's AmaZulu were subject to AmaMthethwa rule, "[t]he Dube chief, Nzwakeli ka Kutshwayo, had been defeated by Tshaka and had paid tribute, also Nqoboka of the Sokulu, [the AmaCele chief] Magaye, and Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe of the Embo."[18] Shaka retained the allegiance of the small chiefdoms that had already become subject to AmaZulu rule, such as the AmaMpongose.[19] Then Shaka sent the AbaTembu under Chief Ngoza a formal warning, which suggests he expected to fight a formal battle between military regiments, and the AbaTembu were routed in the attack after which they emigrated southwards.[20] Passages from the interviews by James Stuart indicate the ambiguous nature of the evidence about the actual fighting in military conflicts and resulting mortality as remembered and related to later

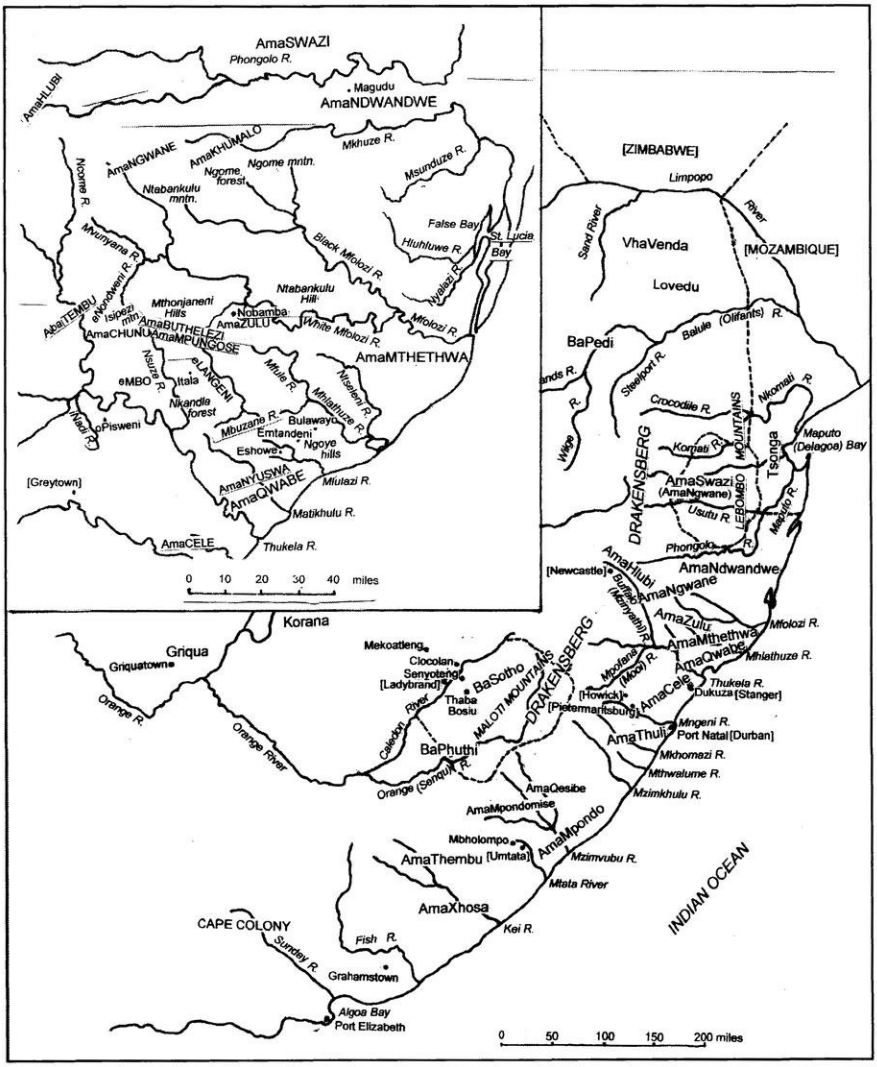

Figure 7.1. Map of the Drakensberg range and the eastern seaboard of South Africa, with an inset of the AmaZulu heartland. Drawn by author.

generations. Although Lugubu first told Stuart that in the fight against the AmaZulu all of the AbaTembu women and children were killed, he subsequently described the fate of the women who escaped, thereby contradicting his own testimony about mortality in this battle elsewhere in his interview. One interviewee provided evidence of a fight in which his father had fought against the branch of the AbaTembu who had been living on the lower reaches of the Mzinyathi when attacked by Shaka's troops at the Emzonganyati (up the Mngeni River).[21] He said,

> The battle at the Emsonganyati. When the Zulus were in the water the abaTembu hurled a shower of assegais at them. The Zulus merely held up their shields, made their way across, and routed the enemy. My father was the first to stab there.[22]

Different branches of a chiefdom sometimes chose different responses to Shaka's demand for allegiance and tribute. Some AmaMbata threw in their lot and migrated with Ngoza but others stayed and *khonza*'d, i.e. gave their allegiance to Shaka, and their traditions relate that they were then forbidden by Shaka to use their own praise-greeting or *isithakazelo* by which they were known, "*Ndabezita!,*" who took it for the AmaZulu and himself.[23] Chief Ngoza led his AbaTembu followers "into the Mpondo country" where they were decisively defeated by the AmaMpondo of Chief Faku and Ngoza was killed in battle. After their chief's death many of Ngoza's AbaTembu followers returned to *khonza* Shaka, i.e. they formally submitted to his rule.[24] Shaka accepted their submission and allowed them to resettle "among the Mandhlakazi."[25]

The divergent fates of various branches of the chiefs identified (among themselves) as AbaTembu because of common origins and retained sociopolitical links indicates the difficulty in interpreting evidence that seems suggestive that many people were killed or died in warfare, when it may refer only to a small number of people or even an individual chief, rather than all of his adherents who may have survived by giving their allegiance to another chief such as Shaka. Thus one of Stuart's informants stated flatly but mistakenly that "there are no more Tembus left; they were killed by the Zulus in Tshaka's day."[26] His testimony referred specifically only to chief Mangete and some of his followers who had gone into hiding in the bushes; they were slowly killed off by bandits who roved the area, killed people and took the food from their cultivated gardens. However this interviewee also testified that some of chief Mangete's adherents had "run off to Pondoland" and only those who remained behind in the Natal region with Mangete were killed off over time.

Shaka sent regiments against Macingwane's AmaCunu at the same time as the expedition against Ngoza because these chiefs were planning coordinated resistance against Shaka, and because they had attacked the AmaCube and had killed their chief Mvakela, an ally and subordinate of Shaka's.[27] Shaka's troops defeated Macingwane's soldiers in a forest fight where they are reported to have killed women and children before they seized the cattle. Macingwane himself escaped and fled south to the AmaMpondo in the wake of Ngoza's AbaTembu migration. His fate remained unknown, but many AmaCunu returned under

Mfosi to tender allegiance to Shaka. Over time they re-established themselves as a subordinate chiefdom under the heir Pakade, a contemporary of Shaka's, who had taken temporary refuge with the Embo (AbaMbo or Mkhize) chief Zihlandlo.[28]

After these larger, more powerful chiefs had emigrated with their followers Shaka proceeded to attack or threaten into submission the smaller chiefdoms in the area of the White and Black Mfolozi rivers nearby the KwaZulu ancestral home, including the AmaMpanza, AmaButhelezi of Pungatshe (who according to some sources did not fight or put up any resistance), the AmaPisi, and others.[29] At this time Shaka also sent his troops twice to attack his cousin Makedama, now chief of the AmaLanga at eLangeni, but the AmaZulu troops were forced to retreat without any cattle. A third time Shaka coordinated an attack with the AbaQwabe and the AmaNyuswa, and Makedama held out in a fortress and then returned to his land. Just after, however, he left with his followers to *khonza* the AmaNdwandwe chief Zwide, only to return not long after with his followers to submit to Shaka and resettle in their original home next to the ancestral home of the AmaZulu.[30] Evidence from the oral traditions thus appear to disagree with Fynn's statement that the people of "the Langeni tribe," Shaka's mother's chiefdom, "freely submitted in the expectation of receiving favourable treatment," but this is explained by the deep divisions within the AmaLangeni, some having remained with Shaka throughout the duration of his years with Dingiswayo among the AmaMthethwa, because they had originally left eLangeni to contest the rule of Makedama who had usurped the chieftaincy violently (and who became the target of Shaka's attacks).[31]

The subordination of the AbaQwabe chiefdom under Pakatwayo became Shaka's next goal, and according to most oral traditions he achieved their involuntary conquest with virtually no fighting.[32] Taken by surprise, the AbaQwabe were unarmed when they were surrounded by Shaka's warriors and did not attempt any further resistance after their chief Pakatwayo was immediately captured. Most traditions agree that Pakatwayo was not killed by Shaka or any of his men but only died the next day "of fear" while he was in the custody of Shaka's warriors in his own village.[33] Some AbaQwabe *khonza*'d Shaka, but others *khonza*'d his superior Dingiswayo, dating these events to prior to Dingiswayo's own death in about 1818. Some AbaQwabe also reportedly *khonza*'d Zwide and the AmaNdwandwe, of whom some then returned to *khonza* Shaka shortly thereafter.[34]

During the early period of AmaZulu expansion while still under Dingiswayo's authority, Dingiswayo reportedly sent Shaka to settle with force a conflict between Sirayo and Mgabi ka Mapoloba, brothers, and allowed Shaka to attack the AmaNyuswa (abakwaNyusa).[35] After defeating the AbaQwabe and incorporating many of them, Shaka attacked chiefs Mahlungwana (of the AmaBele, i.e. AmaNtuli), Mzilikazi (of the AmaKhumalo), Dube (of the AmaQadi), Pungatshe (of the Buthelezi), and Donda (of the AmaKhumalo).[36] Fynn wrote that after defeating Mahlungwana, "many of the [AmaBele] tribe gave their allegiance."[37] This sequence of Shaka's attacks was related with certainty by Stuart's in-

formant Jantshi ka Nongila in 1903, who said that after achieving the submission of the AmaBele under chief Mahlungwana, Shaka next attacked the AmaKhumalo chief Mzilikazi ka Matshobana. Following this he launched a military campaign against Chief Dube and the AmaQadi (a branch of the AmaNgcobo) and, significantly, "[h]ere too there had been no quarrel. He defeated Dube. This tribe did not flee but paid taxes and Tshaka seized a number of their cattle." The depiction is important in recording an *impi* that yielded political results and the seizure of cattle as booty. The story relates what was evidently an accepted practice of the subordination of one chief and chiefdom by another, resulting in a tributary, or tax-paying, relationship. Jantshi reports that Tshaka "now engaged Pungatshe of the Butelezi and defeated him" without further detail, and then defeated Donda, like Mzilikazi the chief of one of possibly three AmaKhumalo chiefdoms, and confiscated his cattle ("Tshaka defeated him [Donda] and ate up his cattle"), but there is no mention of violent fighting or killing.[38]

In 1817 or 1818, the AmaMthethwa chief Dingiswayo was captured and killed by Chief Zwide of the AmaNdwandwe, and Shaka, incensed at the killing of Dingiswayo, sent his troops to attack Zwide. In this "great battle," however, the AmaZulu did not defeat the AmaNdwandwe. Far from having played any part in Dingiswayo's downfall, Shaka is portrayed by AmaZulu narrators as having sought revenge against Zwide on behalf of Dingiswayo, and he planned a night attack towards that end. Rather than face Zwide's troops in battle, Shaka's troops followed his orders and attacked by surprise at night, using a password to avoid killing each other by mistake as Zwide's troops awoke and fought. The AmaZulu retreated into a forest the next day, only to return for a second night attack, in which they "once more stabbed Zwide's people a good deal" but were in the end unable to defeat them. It appears that Shaka did not accompany the troops, as they did not report to him until after they once again retreated.[39]

Shaka's troops then forced the submission of the remnant AmaMthethwa who after their chief Dingiswayo's death were unable to put up any resistance to their incorporation in a subordinate status by the AmaZulu. Although Fynn reported that upon incorporating the AmaMthetwa many were killed, it appears rather that the chiefdom was dispersed and many of those who *khonza*'d Shaka reoccupied their old village sites, and others are said to have emigrated under one of Dingiswayo's sons and given their allegiance to the AmaNdwandwe chief Soshangane.[40] In the initial process of dispersing and consolidating the AmaMthethwa, who had previously given refuge to himself and villages of his maternal relatives, Shaka does not appear to have killed any AmaMthethwa, contrary to Fynn's assertion. Oral traditions agree, however, that in response to a deliberate provocation Shaka later killed the AmaMthethwa chieftaincy's heir Mondisa and others of his followers.[41] Some prominent AmaMthethwa left when they began to realize their safety was insecure under Shaka. According to one narrative of events,

> Nxaba ka Mbekane ka Msane of, I think, the Mtetwa people, ran off, like Matiwana, Mzilikazi, Sotshangana, and Somveli [father of Sitimela, says Ndukwana] ka Dingiswayo. Nxaba was driven out by Tshaka. Somveli also left. This arose when they were in the cattle enclosure at Bulawayo; they were jesting with one another.[42]

Thus the exodus of some chiefs with their followers occurred without any further violence or mortality, for after meeting with Shaka, Somveli "returned home, only to arm and leave for the north on the ground that he and Tshaka had quarreled," although "[a]s a matter of fact Tshaka had not driven him away.. . ."[43]

After Shaka's first attack against Zwide immediately following the death of Dingiswayo, Shaka next attacked Mapoloba ka Mbele, chief of the AmaNyuswa (whom he had previously attacked) and "defeated him and seized his cattle."[44] The AmaNyuswa, a branch of the AmaNgcobo, formerly a strong chiefdom during the reign of Senzangakhona, became subjects of Shaka. Shaka fought against and killed Chief Kondhlo ka Magalela of the AmaNtshali (not to be confused with Chief Kondhlo of the AmaQwabe). His followers fled and then returned to attack Shaka under direction of Kondhlo's son Nkubu, but suffered defeat in battle. When Shaka attacked the AmaCele under their chief ("king") Mande ka Dibandhlela, and Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe, the Embo chief, he "did not kill but merely caught them." Thus referring to the chiefs of larger chiefdoms as "kings," Stuart's informant Jantshi continued, "[a]part from the above battles and conquests, Tshaka attacked many other so-called kings that I cannot now call to mind."[45] Having said that he mentioned a few other conquered chiefs: Duzi, chief of the Makanya, who was not killed by Shaka but was promoted and made an *induna* (officer); Mbenya, also not put to death; and Kutshwayo, chief of the Dube, also not killed. Emphasizing that these conquered chiefs were not put to death, Jantshi explained significantly, "[a]s a matter of fact, Tshaka did not put to death the kings or kinglets he defeated if, when he proceeded against them, they ran away and did not show fight. He made them *izinduna*. Kutshwayo, chief of the Dube, is another of those conquered by Tshaka. This man, like many others, was attacked merely to make him pay tribute, i.e. reduce him to become a subject and then instate him as an induna."[46] Jantshi added that Soshangana was also attacked by Shaka, and "[t]he only king who was not attacked by Tshaka was Mtshwetshwe [Moshoeshoe] of Basutoland. He, hearing Tshaka was so powerful, payed [sic] tribute with elephant tusks and acknowledged allegiance."[47]

In 1821 the AmaHlubi chiefdom, after been attacked by the AmaNgwane of Matiwane, broke up and many migrated west across the Drakensberg mountains under several separate chiefs, to be followed soon after by the AmaNgwane. The fragmenting of the formerly dominant AmaHlubi chiefdom into smaller chiefdoms under several of chiefs signaled the process that was referred to colloquially as *izwekufa*, literally the "death of nations." [48] Many prominent AmaHlubi including members of the royal family *khonza*'d Shaka, submitting to his rule and giving him their allegiance, and he formed them into the Iziyendane regiment stationed at the village of his mother Nandi not far from the AmaZulu capital at Bulawayo.[49]

After the defeat and death of Pakatwayo, Shaka sent troops south of the Thukela to attack the AbaQwabe living south of the river, and the AmaCele chief Magaye there voluntarily became a tributary subordinate ally to Shaka by giving him his allegiance and offering no resistance to the AmaZulu extension of authority into the region of modern Natal.[50] Following Dingiwayo's death and the incorporation of the AmaMthethwa, Shaka sent his cousin Makedama to attack the AmaThuli chiefdom of Ntaba ka Nyebu and other chiefdoms in the Natal region including the AmaCele of Mande ka Dibandhlela. Under Shaka's orders Makedama's troops, aided by the AmaCele chief Magaye who had remained loyal to Shaka, attacked the AmaThuli, other AmaCele, and various other chiefdoms.[51] In various attacks, the chiefs of the region of Natal were defeated quickly, and in cases where they did not *khonza* Shaka, they were put to death.

> Before Tshaka fought with the Ndwandwe he entered Natal and attacked Mande ka Dibandhlela of the Cele people and Duze ka Mnengwa of the Makanya people, killing each the same night. He at the same time killed Sokoti ka Mdindi of the Amanganga people, Nduna ka Mbedu ka Gwayi ka Nyapase of the emaSomeni people, Mtimkulu ka Dibandhlela of the Mapumulo people, and Nzala ka Mangqatshu of the emaNdhlovini people who built at Esidumbini, at the Ivutwaneni stream which enters the Nsuze which enters the Mvoti.[52]

After these disruptive raids Shaka sent a large contingent of the Iziyendane (AmaHlubi) regiment accompanied by some AmaMthethwa regiments to settle in the region of modern Natal and from their new villages there they attacked and raided even further to the south.[53] The AmaHlubi Iziyendane regiment played a destructive role in the region.

> After this Tshaka collected together forces of these various tribes and attacked further south in Natal with them. But he first of all made a colony of Natal by sending the Iziyendane, as well as some Mtetwa people, to live in the neighbourhood of the Mvoti. The Iziyendane were of the amaHlubi tribe. The Hlubis had previously run away from Matiwana (Zwide) [sic] and *konza*'d the Zulus. The Zulus did not fight with the Hlubis.[54]

This use of the term "colony" in this oral tradition with reference to Shaka's establishment of subordinate allies in Natal was explicit and was meant to indicate a resettlement that displaced the existing population, who remained subject to predatory raids if they stayed in the area. As a result, most took flight to resettle among the AmaMpondo. Because the troops of the Iziyendane, AmaMthethwa, AmaNganga, and AmaPumalo were deployed by Shaka to attack and subordinate the small chiefdoms of modern Natal they were perceived to be AmaZulu by the victims of their raids in the south, in spite of the distinct identities they retained as military units.[55] Maziyana explained the perspective of the people of these displaced chiefdoms, a perspective that they conveyed to the AmaMpondo in turn:

> The Iziyendane, Mtetwa, amaNganga, amaPumulo etc. were those who attacked the tribes south. They adopted a Zulu chant, and if any stranger should hear them chanting thus he would dash off and jump into a swamp or other hiding place.

> These men therefore were transformed into Zulus and were regarded as such by the tribes south. When Tshaka came back from eNsikeni he, on hearing from Magaye that the Iziyendane retained possession of the cattle they had seized from the Natal tribes, attacked the Iziyendane themselves and caused them to flee away south to the Nguni country. Others went off to the Sutu country, to Basutos.
>
> It was the Iziyendane and the others mentioned that attacked along the Natal coast as far as the Mzimkulu—on Tshaka's behalf—and scattered all the tribes. They are the ones who, without special instructions, caused people to flee in the way referred to by Fynn, who in July 1824 found only a few kraals of Tulis on the Bluff.[56]

This passage indicates that the warriors of the AmaHlubi, AmaMthethwa, AmaNganga, AmaPumalo, and others had been allowed not only to live but also to continue serving as soldiers following their submission and offer of allegiance to Shaka. However, Shaka did not intend to allow the independence of the subordinate regiments he had sent into Natal to grow, even though he let them build villages there with the implication that their relocation was permanent. On the contrary, he expected that they signify their continued submission to him by sending him all of the booty in cattle they accumulated in any raids, which they did not do. The presumptive behavior of the Iziyendane, AmaMthethwa, and others who had resettled in Natal was to keep the cattle they seized there, provoking a military campaign against them by Shaka.

Shaka therefore depended on the AmaCele chief Magaye's loyalty, and permitted him the latitude to enroll his own military regiments and conduct raids for cattle in Natal, as a tributary subordinate chief to the AmaZulu. Shaka initially provided Magaye with cattle to raise a new regiment, although he took one of Magaye's best regiments from him and made them into one of his own regiments. The evidence about the activities of the AmaCele under Chief Magaye provide insight not only with regard to Tshaka's modus operandi with regard to subordinate chiefs who *khonza*'d him, but also as evidence that some "*impis*" were merely cattle raids and did not result in death or destruction of villages:

> The Rodi [AmaCele] regiment was formed with cattle from Tshaka. Tshaka said to Magaye, 'I shall give you an *impi* so that you can make war.' When Tshaka began to destroy the country he went as far as the Mkomazi. He then went home, and it was then that he, Tshaka, spoke of giving Magaye an *impi* so that he could make war. Tshaka gave him an *impi* and he, Magaye, attacked across the Mkomazi [Inkomati River]. Magaye then 'ate up' [confiscated] the cattle of the country of Ngoyi ka Nomakwelo of the amaMbili tribe. When Magaye returned with the captured cattle, then the uRodi kraal [village] formed and became his regiment.[57]

Following his successful raiding in the Natal region, Makedama was also killed by an *impi* sent by Shaka on a weak pretext because he had been so successful as to have become a threat. Some traditions relate that he had taken decisions that were the prerogative of Shaka and therefore implied a renunciation of his subordinate status.[58] These raids and population dislocations account for the relative depopulation of the area and the extreme poverty and

fear of the residual population encountered by Fynn in when he first traveled through the area between Port Natal and Faku's territory in 1824.

Shaka fought more than one battle against Chief Zwide and the AmaNdwandwe after Dingiswayo's death. After being unable to defeat the AmaNdwandwe after Dingiswayo's death in about 1818, Shaka soon found it necessary to withdraw all of his AmaZulu troops southwards to avoid an attack by an overwhelming AmaNdwandwe force, and AmaZulu towns were destroyed and burned by the invaders. Shaka carefully prepared for their next inevitable military encounter, however. He developed and employed a new strategy that involved luring Zwide's troops, the next time they came, deeper into AmaZulu territory to exhaust and starve them and thereby weaken them before he launched a counterattack at a place of his own choosing. This plan succeeded in the second invasion and attack by the AmaNdwandwe in 1821, and the AmaZulu troops routed those of Zwide and drove them all the way home.[59]

The oral traditions indicate widely divergent fates for the AmaNdwandwe who were counter-attacked and chased into their own territory by Shaka's troops in 1821.

> The Ndwandwe appeared on the Nkandhla heights, following in the track of Tshaka's *impi*. When he got to Nomveve, Tshaka hid his *impi*. In the afternoon the armies made contact through their spies. He unleashed his warriors. At dawn the next day he set them on with the Siklebe regiment in front. He was sitting close by, looking on. He was looking on at his warriors stabbing the men. He said, 'Stop throwing your assegais [spears]. Stab them at close quarters. Use only one assegai.' His *impi* defeated them and drove them up into the hills at the Mhlatuze. That was the day when his army finally defeated them.[60]

Following the battle, "Tshaka defeated Zwide, followed him up and seized all his corn. Zwide was completely routed. Large numbers of Zulus poured into Zwide's dominions and took all they could find."[61] The fate of Zwide's soldiers depended on whether they fought or surrendered their arms to the AmaZulu warriors:

> They said, 'Lay down your shield' to each man. Those who refused to throw down their shields were stabbed. Those who obeyed were collected into Tshaka's army; those who resisted were killed.[62]

Shaka's *impi* proceeded to Zwide's place, and Zwide escaped, but the women, thinking it was their own troops, came out with food: "They were stabbed; they were killed; the food was thrown down. The army went on and surrounded Zwide's *umuzi* [homestead], but he had escaped. They impaled the children on posts; they stabbed the women; they stabbed everything at his home."[63] It is significant that this is the only oral tradition that asserts that any of Shaka's warriors impaled civilians on any occasion. With reference to this AmaZulu attack and defeat of Zwide, the source sounds credible, but the impaling of children and killing of women on this occasion may have been the fate only of Zwide's own family members as the reference is to the attack on his capital, and it is known that many AmaNdwandwe women survived this military defeat. However, at Zwide's village, "*Coma*,

i.e. *buxeka*, spike on posts. Only bigger children were impaled, not infants. The mothers of the latter were killed and the infant left alive at their side, i.e. laid down alive beside her." Stuart's informant Nduna explained, "Tshaka insisted on women being killed, as an army would again rise in that country. Women that bear warriors must exist in Zululand only."[64]

After the 1821 battle and rout the majority of the AmaNdwandwe, including women and children as well as warriors, took flight and migrated as a chiefdom that now fragmented under several senior chiefs, some of whom migrated into southern Mozambique. Zwide appears to have remained with Soshangane while his senior son Sikhunyana led his own portion of the chiefdom into the Transvaal territory and resettled near where Mzilikazi's AmaKhumalo or AmaNdebele chiefdom also relocated. The AmaZulu troops did not pursue these migrant AmaNdwandwe chiefs and their followers very far, but chose instead to round up all of their cattle that in flight they were forced to leave behind. [65] From his numerous informants, Shepstone also learned of these events from interviews he conducted in the 1840s, and he concluded from what he was told that although "Chaka promptly followed upon his advantage and compelled him [Zwide] and a portion of his people to fly his country; the great majority of Zwide's people then submitted to Chaka and became Zulu subjects, and the last serious check upon Chaka's victorious career was then removed."[66] This is an important account in that it states that Shaka did not kill all or even most of Zwide's AmaNdwandwe followers, nor did they all flee, but some, perhaps even "the great majority" of Zwide's AmaNdwandwe, *khonza*'d Shaka after he defeated them and their chief fled. Zwide himself lived for three more years before he finally died of illness.[67]

After Zwide's defeat, the later famous AmaKhumalo chief Mzilikazi came into conflict with Shaka, to whom he had previously tendered his submission and allegiance. As his tributary Mzilikazi had been ordered by Shaka to attack chief Maconi of the AmaNtshingila, put him to death, and seize his cattle. After fulfilling these orders Mzilikazi declined to give up the booty in cattle to Shaka, however. Instead, apparently after a battle with Shaka's troops, in which many of Mzilikazi's followers were said to have been killed and many cattle lost, Mzilikazi withdrew with his followers to avoid Shaka's *impi*s who were sure to pursue them.[68] Mzilikazi led his AmaKhumalo followers north to reestablish a "migrant kingdom" or chiefdom in the Transvaal region, beyond Shaka's easy reach.[69] Mzilikazi's new AmaNdebele kingdom was subsequently attacked twice in major AmaZulu military campaigns sent to the Transvaal during Dingane's reign.[70]

Chiefdoms in the region of modern KwaZulu north of the Thukela river sometimes fought among themselves without Shaka's involvement, but subsequently themselves drew an attack from Shaka. Chief Mnguni of the AmaNgidi people signaled his disavowal of Shaka's authority by refusing to attend a ceremonial dance with his unarmed warriors. Soon afterwards Mnguni and the AmaNgidi were attacked by two other small chiefs, Bovungana ka Mvela of the AmaNgcobe and Kabezele ka Mavovo of the Abasembo (Embo). Mnguni's warriors caught both chiefs and killed the latter, thereby defeating their attackers. However,

their very success demonstrated that they were strong enough to pose a real threat to Shaka whom Chief Mnguni had already provoked symbolically, and Shaka sent his army to attack the AmaNgidi. A direct descendant of the original ancestor named Ngidi had been told that on Shaka's orders when Mnguni's son was killed in battle his head was cut off and sent to Shaka, and he reported that Mnguni's regiments fought two fierce battles. The first lasted four days as Mnguni's warriors struggled to divert Shaka's troops and provide time for the villagers, including the women and children, to retreat to safety with their cattle. The Nsuze and Mhlatuze Rivers, site of the first battle, and Hlobane mountain, site of the second, were said to have become red with blood from the fighting, but none of Mnguni's warriors ran from battle, and they secured the future of their chiefdom which migrated as far as the Orange River to resettle safely there and did not have to fight against Shaka's warriors again.[71]

The AmaMbomvu fought against AmaZulu troops at oPisweni mountain where they were defeated in a surprise night attack against their mountain stronghold, and their cattle and women were said to have been captured.[72] Using ladders to scale the cliffs that protected the villagers and cattle, Shaka's warriors are said to have released the cattle through the gate, while the men who were taken by surprise "tumbled over the cliffs" so that "there was no actual fighting."[73] The AmaBomvu, most of whom survived although their chief was killed, remained in their own territory but under AmaZulu rule.

Shaka's attention was drawn to the southwest as he acquired more knowledge about Faku's AmaMpondo chiefdom, and the chiefdoms of the AmaXhosa beyond him. Thus those chiefdoms that had fled to resettle in the modern region of Natal and further southwest in the territory of the AmaMpondo of Chief Faku soon found they were not safe from Shaka's army. Shaka had begun to fear the strength of the AmaXhosa chief Hintsa.[74] Chief Madikane had led his AmaBaca followers in a migration as a chiefdom from Emkambatini (Table Mountain) near modern Pietermaritzburg to resettle in AmaMpondo territory. This provided Shaka with a pretext to send a military campaign there, Shaka's 1824 *amabece impi* that was putatively sent to "fetch" Madikane, i.e. enforce his submission and seize his cattle as tribute.[75] Shaka instead used this first military campaign against the AmaMpondo to seize their cattle and spread word that as tributaries to him they would not be attacked, and conflicting oral traditions seem to agree that Shaka's ultimate goal for this campaign was to gather information about the AmaXhosa chiefs residing beyond Faku's territory. Taken together the evidence suggests that Shaka's regiments passed unchallenged until, pursuing Madikane's AmaBaca, they found themselves deep in AmaMpondo territory and bordering that of the AmaXhosa chief Hintsa, where these AmaZulu regiments were attacked and lost three units (*amabandhla*) and faced starvation. The defeated but surviving AmaZulu regiments had to rely on eating *amabece* melons for food to survive, from which the campaign came to be called the *amabece* campaign. Nevertheless Shaka's *impi* returned home with

AmaMpondo cattle they had seized as their booty, and with the information they had gathered en route.[76]

Evidence from the oral traditions regarding the level of fighting that occurred during the *amabece* campaign is contradictory. The sources agree that the AmaZulu engaged in fighting and suffered heavy losses before successfully seizing and carrying off many AmaMpondo cattle, but there is some confusion about whether they had first reached the territory of Hintsa. One source referred to the *amabece* campaign as a campaign against "abeNguni" rather than AmaMpondo, and another said, "the *amabece impi* went forth first. It attacked [AmaXhosa chief] Hinsa. The *amabece* [melons] were eaten when there was no other food to eat. They were eaten uncooked, in Pondoland and beyond. My father went with both these *impis*."[77] Another source agreed that Hintsa had been the target of the *impi*, and explained, "Tshaka first sent an *impi* to Hinsa, as it was said he had an *ibuto* so large that it would take all day rising. This regiment was known as the Inkonyane of Hinsa." However, "Tshaka's forces went, failed to find Hinsa, and came on European houses. Mdhlaka turned back as there were no instructions to attack Europeans, and in turning, discovered some of Faku's cattle, which the Zulus seized."[78] Another of Stuart's interviewees explained that the troops had traveled an inland route in trying to find Madikane and the AmaBaca, but upon failing to find them turned into AmaMpondo territory. As they were raiding some of Faku's herds, "the Pondos came to the attack," and

> On the '*amabece*' campaign the Zulu were cut up by the Mpondo, for three Zulu units (*amabandhla*) were finished off. But the Zulu got the better of them and succeeded in seizing some of their cattle, but not many. Tshaka did not accompany this impi. This force got to the end of their cattle (meat supply) and suffered from hunger. They were obliged to eat melons (*amabece*) and wild plants.[79]

After the *amabece* campaign of early 1824, Shaka sent a campaign against Zwide's residual AmaNdwandwe chiefdom in mid–1824, and in this campaign several villages were said to have been "destroyed" although the fate of the villagers is unknown and commonly they would have fled.[80] Zwide died in late 1824 or early 1825 and word was received by Shaka that Sikhunyana, his son, had become chief of that branch of the now divided AmaNdwandwe who had nevertheless recovered much of their strength since their defeat by Shaka in 1821.[81]

In May 1826, having heard that Sikhunyana and his AmaNdwandwe followers were north of the Phongolo River with plans to attack the AmaZulu, Shaka mounted a preemptive military campaign and moved to launch a surprise attack against them.[82] Shaka compelled several of the European traders, including Fynn, to accompany this *impi*, so that more than one eyewitness account from a European has survived. Fynn wrote that the AmaZulu military regiments were accompanied by thousands of boys, aged six to twelve years old, and girls, who served as carriers for all of the supplies and food needed by the warriors, so that he estimated the expedition numbered a total of fifty thousand people proceeding

northwards for several days and camping out at night.[83] When they finally encountered the AmaNdwandwe north of the Phongolo River a major battle was engaged involving tens of thousands of warriors arranged in formal regiments on both sides. As Shaka, Fynn and others observed from mountain overlooks, the AmaNdwandwe women, children and cattle were ensconced and surrounded by warriors on another mountain. Fynn estimated the total AmaNdwandwe population there at forty thousand or more; their warriors were not able to withstand the AmaZulu regiments in the hand-to-hand fighting that ensued.[84] An estimated sixty thousand cattle were captured, and Fynn wrote that the women and children were all put to death.[85] The AmaZulu had struck preemptively in a surprise move against the AmaNdwandwe, accounting for the vulnerability of AmaNdwandwe women and children who would have been safely secured away from the battle had Sikhunyana's warriors succeeded in mounting their planned attack in AmaZulu territory several day's journey to the south.

Shaka had come to eliminate this threat and he is said to have issued an order to "kill off any soul, woman, and child" because "he wanted nothing of Sikhunyana's to survive."[86] Sikhunyana, however, escaped, and the evidence about the fate of his followers is ambiguous. Since it was reported that cattle, but not women and children, were seized by the AmaZulu troops, Fynn and other European witnesses (none of whom participated) may have mistakenly assumed that all of the women and children were killed. European witnesses said that the AmaNdwandwe women stepped forward to fill the ranks of the men and fight, thus providing an explanation for why women were killed in the battle. These witnesses also reported a total AmaNdwandwe mortality of three thousand men and women killed (combined, including warriors).[87] A staggering number relative to other battles, this was nevertheless far short of the total population of forty thousand estimated by Fynn, and it appears the vast majority of these AmaNdwandwe did manage to escape death as the AmaZulu turned their attention instead to gathering the herds of cattle as darkness fell. That most AmaNdwandwe survived this terrible battle is self-evident in that after Sikhunyana's death several other of Zwide's sons and their followers returned to give their allegiance to Shaka, and after they came to *khonza* the younger men were enrolled in the AmaZulu regiments both during Shaka's reign and during the rule of Dingane and then Mpande.[88]

After this 1826 victory Shaka sent troops against two chiefs who had been tributary to the AmaNdwandwe. Mlotshwa held out briefly and then surrendered and gave his allegiance to Shaka, but Chief Beje's people resisted, and when Shaka was forced to send another *impi* against them he compelled several Europeans to join the regiments.[89] Three Europeans and a small party of their Khoi servants, thus coerced by Shaka to fight for him, met up with the AmaZulu regiments that had been stationed surrounding the AmaBeje for months without attacking them. An attempt to raid the AmaBeje cattle provoked a confrontation, but the AmaBele chief was immediately killed, and the AmaBeje surrendered without further fighting, so there were only a few casualties and apparently only two dead (one being the chief.)[90]

Violence in the region persisted because the powerful Embo (Mkhize) chief Zihlandlo, having assisted Shaka in the major 1826 battle against the AmaNdwandwe, retained his relative independence and subsequently raided some additional twenty small chiefdoms, seizing their cattle and sometimes killing their chiefs. Finally Shaka's AmaZulu regiments attacked Zihlandlo, although a putative subordinate ally, and drove him off to the south of modern Natal.[91]

Next, Shaka's half-brother (and successor) Dingane led an AmaZulu military expedition in 1827 into Lesotho and the Caledon River area, perhaps without authorization from Shaka. Dingane's expedition fought a major battle against the AmaNgwane at Ladybrand, as independent oral traditions from the AmaZulu, AmaNgwane, and BaSotho confirm. The AmaZulu oral traditions say little about this battle, probably because it was not authorized by Shaka, that is, ceremonies seeking ancestral approval and assistance were not held by Shaka. But the campaign is remembered by name as the *eyobutshinga impi* and identified as that which went to raid the AmaNgwane; the officers who commanded the troops were remembered by name as well, with reference to the regiment under their command.[92] The BaSotho oral traditions remember these events also with reference to the names of those known to have been killed, including the prominent wives of several chiefs. Their traditions agree with those of the AmaZulu that Dingane was among those who led the *impi* and suggest that it had been initiated in response to a message sent to Shaka by the rising chief of the emerging BaSotho kingdom, Moshoeshoe.[93]

Shaka's regiments appear to have crossed the Drakensberg at the end of 1826, and engaged in one of their first attacks at Clocolan in February 1827.[94] The primary goal appears to have been to raid for cattle, but in at least one battle civilians were said to have been put to death in an attack against a village. Some oral traditions claimed that an AmaZulu regiment crossed to south of the Orange River before turning back to continue their attack and raid against Matiwane's AmaNgwane.[95] The locations and participants in the ensuing fights along the Caledon River valley were remembered by the AmaNgwane, who watched their cattle being swept away by the AmaZulu regiments.[96] Perhaps because one of the oral traditions originated from an eyewitness participant, an UmNgwane warrior, a major battle near Ladybrand involving several regiments from both sides facing off against each other is among the best documented of the conflicts that were fought in this AmaZulu military campaign. The same eyewitness also reported that Dingane was wounded in battle, stabbed in the chest with an *assegai* (spear) which might account for the suppression of later AmaZulu accounts of these events.[97] He also provided evidence of the high mortality suffered in the Ladybrand battle, for "[m]any warriors of both sides fell on that day, and, for years afterwards, the Basuto used to pick up fragments of weapons among little piles of human bones."[98] This was one of only two fights in the region of Lesotho during the 1820s said to have resulted in mortality figures that were counted in "the hundreds," other battles usually reported to have resulted in the death of no more than one or two dozen, and sometimes

less.[99] The BaSotho and AmaNgwane witnessed the AmaZulu warriors driving off the cattle by the thousands, and although one AmaZulu source maintained that all of the cattle died of disease, Isaacs witnessed the return of the troops with cattle as booty from the *impi*.[100]

Upon the death of his mother Nandi in 1827, Shaka moved his capital to Dukuza south of the Thukela River, closer to the European traders at Port Natal and nearer to the territory even further southeast about which he harbored expansionist ambitions.[101] Nandi's protective Iziyendane (AmaHlubi) regiments took her death as a threat to themselves and scattered out of Shaka's control. In 1828 Shaka sent an embassy of several important men with their wives via boat to Port Elizabeth, but they were prevented from going on to Cape Town, or to England, their intended destination. While this mission was away Shaka launched his second major military campaign against the AmaMpondo, scheduled to mark the anniversary of Nandi's death the year before.[102] Shaka accompanied his troops but bivouacked at Fynn's trading post, marking Fynn to his AmaMpondo trading partners as an enemy even though Shaka had commandeered Fynn's settlement by compulsion.[103]

Shaka's army, in two divisions, each subdivided under several commanders, was ordered to go beyond the AmaMpondo to Hintsa's territory across the Umtata River, but to go no further, nor to attack any Europeans they might encounter.[104] They destroyed food crops and took captive AmaMpondo women who were sent back to Shaka, but Shaka (on Fynn's advice) decided to release these and he accepted the submission of several of Faku's subordinate chiefs who thereby became tributary to Shaka.[105] Faku sent messages of thanks and gifts of cattle after the women were returned, but not a formal submission, leaving Shaka still angry with him.

The sources all agree that Shaka accompanied and commanded this major campaign in person, but there was no fighting because Faku put up no resistance;

> In the Hlambo campaign, Tshaka commanded in person. He crossed the Mzimkulu and took up a position there whilst the *impi* went on ahead under the command of Mdhlaka. Faku directed his men not to attack but to allow the Zulus to seize cattle. The force accordingly proceeded far away south as far as Esikaleni se Nyoka in the country of the Bomvana people. On their way thither the Pondos made no attack at all on them; they did not molest in any way. Tshaka himself stayed in Mbulazi's [Mbuyazi, i.e. Fynn] kraal a short distance across the Mzimkulu. The *impi* seized cattle and returned with them. The Pondos kept out of sight. Faku went off to the Drakensberg. His own cattle were not seized. He took off [withdrew with] his father Ngqungqushe's cattle too. The cattle taken were those of his people, light-brown ones (*ezimdubu*). Tshaka remained with the Nobamba regiment at the Mzimkulu.[106]

It appears that although he had rescued his royal herds from Shaka's raiding warriors, Faku may have been ready to *khonza* Shaka and become a tributary subordinate chief. Several oral traditions relate that it was Faku's representatives who had come with gifts to Shaka at the moment of Shaka's assassination not long after:

> The Pondos were defeated and their cattle seized. On the way back Tshaka directed his forces to go off to Balule. Faku followed him up to pay tribute to him, and was in the act of doing so when he [Tshaka] was assassinated.[107]

By the time of this second military campaign against the AmaMpondo, called the *uHlambo* campaign, Shaka's brothers had begun devising an assassination plot against him, and Shaka appears to have become aware of it as he was returning home with his troops.[108] Before reaching Dukuza Shaka therefore ordered the entire army to proceed without resting on a military campaign north against Chief Soshoangane's AmaNdwandwe at the Balule (Olifant's) River northwest of Maputo (Delagoa) Bay.[109] This military campaign against Soshangane at the Balule River was called the *Kukulela ngoqoimpi*.[110]

> On their return [from the AmaMpondo campaign] the *kukulele ngokoimpi* went forth to the north, Tshaka returning home with the cattle seized. The forces were not allowed to go home.[111]

Shaka was said to be crazy to send off his forces without rest, but one informant explained that "Tshaka sent forth this *impi* to the north because there had been no actual fighting with the Pondos, only a seizure of their cattle."[112] Shaka's half-brothers accompanied his military commanders with these troops while Shaka remained behind at the capital Dukuza, where he suddenly realized he had been left personally undefended.[113] Shaka immediately called back the young baggage carriers from the campaign and enrolled them into a new regiment, the iziNyosi or "Bees," to provide for his own defense.[114] Both Fynn's account and oral traditions relate that Shaka had some of the warriors' wives killed, perhaps (though this seems unlikely) several hundred, while their husbands were away, on the pretext that the women had engaged in witchcraft; some traditions relate that this act precipitated his assassination.[115] Shaka's half-brothers Mpande and Nzibe remained with the regiments throughout the campaign, but his half-brothers Dingane and Mhlangana and several other relatives returned before the *impi* had even passed through AmaSwazi territory on its way north, in order to carry out their assassination plot against Shaka.[116]

One of Stuart's informants, whose father had been in the AmaMpondo campaign and then "died in the Balule campaign," explained that unbeknownst to Shaka, "Hlangabeza ka Mabedhla of the amaNtshali tribe had deserted and gone northward after Sotshangana, with people and cattle" so that "[t]he object [for the AmaZulu *impi*] was to 'bring back' Sotshangana, though the more immediate object was to overtake Hlangabeza."[117] With details that can only have come from participants, he continued,

> The Zulus accordingly pursued Hlangabeza, and eventually found out where he had temporarily erected his kraals. He built alongside a forest. Mdhlaka's *impi* divided into two after being prepared for action at night-time. One division advanced on the far side of the forest, whilst the main body came on before daybreak to make a frontal attack. The forces closed in simultaneously, followed by their mat-bearers. Every member of the amaNtshali tribe was put to death, and cattle seized. Hlangabeza himself escaped and got to a pond where he tried to conceal himself

> by getting into the water up to his neck. He was, however, observed by the mat-bearers, who thereupon attacked and put him to death. Prior to this attack, the princes had returned to Tshaka at Stanger, their object being to kill him.[118]

Portuguese sources confirm that the AmaZulu forces also engaged in battle with Soshangane's regiments, as originally planned, and another of Stuart's informants related that after an indecisive battle with Soshangane's forces who, forewarned, mounted a pre-emptive night attack, Shaka's regiments headed home. Many of the AmaZulu soldiers sickened and died of malaria on the return route, and of those who recovered it took two to three months for the sickest to return home.[119]

From the combined mortality caused by war and disease, thousands of warriors were thought to have never returned from the Balule campaign. Fearing the loyalty of the returning troops and their commanders to Shaka, who had indeed been assassinated while they were away, Dingane enrolled a new regiment of the younger men and older men, named the uHlomendhlini, before the regiments that had gone on the Balule campaign returned. Shaka's decision to send an *impi* against Soshangane proved fateful:

> An *impi* was sent to Balule, to Sotshangana. Tshaka's order was that every soul should go– '*kukulela ngoqo*', i.e. take every one, even *ungoqo*, a man who never *konza*s or attends hunting parties or assists in building king's kraals etc., one who is never seen at the king's kraal. It was in this expedition that Maruyi's father Sonyanga was killed. Tshaka was at Dukuza when this *impi* went, and it was during its absence that Tshaka was assassinated by Mbopa, acting in concert with Mhlangana, Tshaka's brother, who really instigated the murder. It seems Tshaka went into the cattle kraal to see his cattle. Whilst there, Mbopa began driving about and beating the cattle. Tshaka said, 'Why are you beating the cattle?' and as he turned his back to Mbopa, Mbopa threw an assegai [spear] at him which struck him. He pulled the assegai out as he ran out of the kraal, but at the gate of the kraal another man lay in wait. This man snatched the assegai Tshaka carried and stabbed him dead on the spot. The *impi* from Balule returned to find him dead.[120]

In addition to Shaka's *impi*s, considerable population dislocations were caused by chiefs and chiefdoms hailing from the KwaZulu region who were subsequently perceived by others as AmaZulu when they passed through or entered Natal and the Transkei, or crossed the Drakensberg into the Caledon River valley and TransOrangia region. The flight southwards from the area of the Thukela and Umzinyati (Buffalo) rivers of the AmaCunu, AbaTembu and AmaNgwane chiefdoms after Shaka's installation as AmaZulu chief caused three periods of population disruptions and associated violence in the region of modern Natal.[121] The status of the Embo chief Zihlandlo and his brother Sambela as tributary and putatively subordinate chiefs to Shaka lends ambiguity to their perceived identity in the 1820s when, although sending tribute regularly to Shaka, they persisted in carrying out raiding and the killing of other chiefs with relative independence and impunity under Shaka's rule, but not at Shaka's command.[122] The Embo remained powerful and relatively independent, in spite of their proffers of allegiance to Shaka, as long as they retained their own

regiments and herds of raided cattle. The reports about the attacks made by Embo troops under Zihlandlo and his brother Sambela reflect an endemic level of insecurity and disorder. Zihlandlo attacked at least seventeen smaller chiefs, killed eleven of them, and confiscated their cattle.[123] Zihlandlo's brother Sambela became a famous fighter as a subordinate chief to Zihlandlo and made at least fourteen attacks against neighboring chiefs, killing at least twelve chiefs and capturing their cattle, before Shaka finally attacked and defeated them and drove Zihlandlo into flight to the south.[124]

The Wages of War: Mortality and the "Death of Nations"

The use of terms like the "death of nations" reflected the seriousness of the political reconfiguration resulting from the expansion of AmaZulu authority over regional chiefdoms, and came to be confused with a presumption regarding the death of people and high mortality from battles. Warfare was more brutal, and demographic disruptions caused widespread misery and civilian mortality from famine and disease, but the numbers of warriors killed in battles and the numbers of civilians killed in military campaigns during the era of Shaka's rule has been grossly exaggerated in the historiography. The eyewitness testimony and secondhand oral traditions told to James Stuart came from men, and a few women, whose social and political networks had been incorporated into the AmaZulu kingdom during the course of the nineteenth century, but many were descendants of people who had been victimized by AmaZulu troops in the process of incorporation. As a result there is considerable variation as well as independent confirmation with regard to testimony about violence and atrocities that accompanied warfare, or occurred as random, terrorizing acts initiated by Shaka or other chiefs. The stories of deaths of civilians as "collateral" victims during military campaigns, and of both warriors and civilians as the result of ordered executions, as corroborated by independent European and African sources, are credible as general reports if not always in their details.[125] The sources agree that warfare had become more violent, and when formal battles were fought hundreds rather than, as previously, only a handful of warriors might be killed in the fighting before it ended with surrender or a rout. However, levels of mortality tended to be exaggerated. Some famous campaigns did not result in major battles, involving opposing regiments of warriors on the battlefield, such as the second AmaMpondo campaign, because invading AmaZulu forces did not meet with significant resistance and raided cattle rather than engaging in formal battles. Some military campaigns resulted in negligible levels of casualties on both sides.

Understanding the processes involved in sociopolitical consolidation and levels of mortality associated with Shaka's *impis* is critical for determining population numbers and the demographic distribution of chiefdoms across the region as European settlement was expanding in the 1820s and after. The failure to recognize the survival and dispersal and, sometimes, reconstitution of chiefdoms and their populations following a rout or pre-

emptive migration of entire villages led to gross distortions in the historiography regarding depopulation. Thus as Saunders points out, a statement attributed to a missionary "that 'twenty-eight distinct tribes' had disappeared in this time of upheaval, 'leaving not so much as a trace of their former existence'," was published in 1843 and again in 1894 although it was demonstrably false since "the list of these twenty-eight 'tribes' in Chase's [1843] book included the names of many Tswana chiefdoms which continued to exist after the Mfecane."[126] Wright has made the same case that in spite of the reconfiguration of chiefdoms in the region of Natal, most people were absorbed into new polities when their own chiefdoms were dispersed or incorporated wholesale, and of those who emigrated, many returned.[127] Among other inflated claims unsupported by any other evidence, Fynn wrote that Matiwane "destroyed 65 tribes of considerable magnitude, besides numerous small ones, whose names were not generally known." Fynn conceded, however, that Matiwane "spared none but those who were willing to join him and by his liberal and fatherly conduct had increased his people to a considerable number."[128]

Much of the hyperbolic and unsubstantiated allegations that have persisted suggesting high levels of brutality and mortality in battles originated in Fynn's "Diary," published in 1950, that has remained one of the most widely available accounts of the period. For example Fynn wrote that after Shaka had succeeded in building the strength of his military in terms of numbers of troops, "[h]e now started a desolating and destructive war on all around, and directed that no quarter was to be given. He ravaged and depopulated the country to a distance of 300 miles to the westward, 200 miles to the northward and 500 miles to the southward. In this vast area only two tribes, the Ngwane under Matiwane, and the Nhlungwini under Madikane escaped his destructive powers, and that only by their becoming roving marauders."[129] Fynn wrote that in order to travel quickly some people were "induced" to "destroy their children when born," but this is not corroborated by any other sources. He moreover conceded that the mortality resulting from the demographic locations caused by migrant chiefdoms in Natal and into the Transkei region was minimal. Rather, "these chiefs who attacked several of the large tribes west of the Umzimkhulu, being more desirous for cattle than for the destruction of people, [therefore] that so many of those tribes escaped who passed forward to the frontiers and now form the principal part of those tribes by whom they are held in much subjection and are termed 'Fingoes,' a name of degradation."[130]

Similarly Shepstone acknowledged that of the people living in the Thukela River valley, "several of them were allowed by Chaka to occupy their lands as tributaries, on their promptly tendering their submission to him; others were attacked and driven further South." However, "one the Amakabela, although repeatedly attacked, and reduced to live upon roots and wild animals, perseveringly clung to the ancient homes," so that some survived there to the time of his writing in 1864.[131] When Shepstone listed what he referred to as ninety-four "tribes" that had occupied the region "now called Natal," he included many

small chiefdoms that would have amounted to no more than a dozen families living in three or four related homesteads; there were only a handful of chiefdoms that had managed to accumulate adherents that could be counted in the hundreds or thousands of people.[132] At the time he was writing in 1864, he could identify the descendants of forty-three of these "tribes" still living in Natal, but he was also able to locate many of these small chiefdoms who were still identifiable living where they had relocated in the region of Transkei.[133] Shepstone also noted that the disappearance of identifiable sociopolitical units could be explained by the dispersal of these communities, rather than their complete destruction, only the chiefs' families having been killed.[134] According to one African source, when Shaka first went to the region of Natal himself "he found that the whole of Natal had been denuded of its former population."[135] Shaka was told by the AmaCele chief that his regiments had been responsible for raids and their destructive effects in the area, but nevertheless the subjects of the AmaCele and AmaThuli were still there, as were regiments that had been stationed there by Shaka.

The histories of the migrant chiefdoms of the AmaNdebele (AmaKhumalo) and the AmaNgwane also demonstrate the survival of people on a large scale even after demographic displacement. The extent to which the dislocation of a chiefdom from one location to another resulted in raids, battles, and the deaths of warriors or civilians must be considered individually with regard to each instance of conflict, and depopulation cannot be assumed. There were other significant factors affecting mortality levels among the population of KwaZulu-Natal and the wider region of southeastern Africa, including the Transkei, Caledon River valley and Lesotho, Orange Free State, and Transvaal areas, in the 1820s and 1830s. There were widespread reports of famine, and these were related to droughts affecting the entire area in the early 1820s, as well as the destruction of standing crops by military regiments moving en masse to capture cattle and, where necessary, suppress resistance from the victims of their raids. Many soldiers who went into the malaria-ridden region of southern Mozambique succumbed to that disease and did not return home from battle. Shaka carried out executions and even massacres of villagers who were his own subjects as individual and collective punishments, behavior so repugnant even to the people closest to him that his mother is said to have reprimanded him for killing his own people. The numbers of people under Shaka's rule who were killed by his order in executions and massacres appear to have amounted to as many or more as the deaths inflicted and incurred in military expeditions and battles, and the decision of his half-brothers to assassinate Shaka was attributed in oral sources to his atrocities against his own subjects.

Trying to estimate the numbers of dead in battles fought by Shaka's *impis* seems callous and inevitably underestimates the human toll as families lost loved ones, and the lost social and economic contributions of each individual who died senselessly can never be known. The numbers of people killed in Shaka's military expeditions may also have been exceeded by the numbers who died from residual causes such as starvation caused by crop destruction

and the loss of cattle. But many military campaigns sent to enforce the submission of smaller chiefs as tributaries to Shaka's rule did not result in any fighting at all when allegiance was promptly forthcoming. Even when these early battles were fought, most resulted in dozens rather than hundreds or thousands killed, and even some major campaigns such as the second campaign against the AmaMpondo did not result in any fighting. From the evidence there appear to have been only a handful of battles in which hundreds of warriors died, and mortality figures in the range of several thousand killed in battles fought by AmaZulu troops during Shaka's reign are only reported for two battles, the first (*amabece*) campaign against the AmaMpondo in 1824 in which the majority of casualties appear to have been AmaZulu warriors, and the 1826 battle in which the AmaNdwandwe then under Zwide's son Sikhunyana were finally defeated north of the Phongolo River. About eight thousand warriors, mostly AmaZulu, were also said to have died in the Balule campaign, although it is impossible to distinguish therein between losses in battle and losses from disease. Mortality counted in the hundreds in a single battle were still considered staggering, as occurred in three battles fought by the AmaNgwane west of the Drakensberg against the AmaHlubi, the AmaZulu, and the BaSotho; losses counted in the thousands in a single battle were unexpected and unacceptable even during Shaka's rule. The violence inflicted by Shaka's warriors and by other predatory chiefs, including Makedama, Zihlandlo, and Sambela were targeted towards chiefs and sometimes their immediate families, rather than entire populations.

In sum the number of people including Shaka's warriors who were killed in battles involving *impis* sent by Shaka, or commanded by these subordinate chiefs, certainly amounted to ten thousand dead, and the true figure was probably twice that number. These figures do not take into account mortality arising from other battles and fights across the wider region involving other chiefs and chiefdoms, nor the associated death from famines known to have occurred west of the Drakensberg during the droughts of the 1820s.[136] As terrible and dramatic as these figures are, they are far lower than the one to two million deaths attributed to Shaka's rule that were estimated in the early historiography.

The widespread use of force and the threat of force to reconfigure the political and social organization of southern Africa in the era of Shaka's reign underscores the false and artificial presumptions of modern claims of "ethnicity" associated with supposed "primordial" cultural identities. This history decisively undermines the legitimacy of any contemporary political, social, or economic claims on the basis of putative but false "primordial" socio-cultural origins. Processes of cultural assimilation followed upon the turmoil and sociopolitical reconfiguration of the 1820s and 1830s, disguising the cultural, political, and social (and biological) heterogeneity of modern political identities that only emerged later in the nineteenth century. Cultural "identities" or modern "ethnicities" currently masquerade, in the words of the Comaroffs, as "the manifest product of biology, genetics, human essence," with damaging political and economic consequences. Hence the historical decon-

struction of the processes of sociopolitical incorporation and amalgamation are more salient than ever to modern politics and economic dispensations.[137]

The supposed "primordial" origins of modern ethnic identities such as the modern Zulu "identity" are contrived from false claims that threaten renewed conflicts. Associated economic and financial claims to benefits are based on a false representation of past political and cultural history. The wages of war in battle and beyond as experienced by the people of southern Africa in the 1820s and 1830s were high, and by the time Protestant missionaries became active in the region in the 1820s and 1830s, populations across the region knew they were recovering from a long period of chronic violence that had sometimes uprooted entire chiefdoms and brought death from violence and famine. Wherever they found themselves settled, communities regrouped and replanted and rebuilt, and through their oral traditions they remembered their relatives and their ancestors who had not lived to see the reconfigured chiefdoms and kingdoms of the 1820s and 1830s that created a new legacy for subsequent generations.

Notes

1. This article is part of a larger project on the pre-colonial history of southeastern Africa encompassing modern KwaZulu-Natal, Lesotho, Swaziland, and southern Mozambique with reference to adjacent areas and developments from 1400 to 1830. Research for this project was supported by grants from a Senior Scholar Fulbright Research Fellowship and the Social Science Research Council, and a Michigan State University All-University Research Grant. I am grateful for the (non-financial) support and encouragement I received for this work from the Departments of History at the University of Durban-Westville, the National University of Lesotho, the University of Swaziland, and the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane during the tenure of my research grants, December 1993–November 1994. I am especially grateful to the staff at the Killie Campbell Library where most of the research for this article was conducted.
2. In English historical renditions, the term *impi* has been used to refer to regiments, units, or to the military campaigns on which they were sent.
3. Christopher Saunders, "Pre-Cobbing Mfecane Historiography," in Carolyn Hamilton, ed., *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History* (Johannesburg: Witerwatersrand University Press and University of Natal Press, 1995), 25. Saunders quotes historian G. M. Theal's original estimate of people killed at "nearer two millions than one;" historian E.A. Walker did not question this estimate, noting that Theal had provided no evidence to support this estimate, until the third edition of his *History of South Africa*.
4. Saunders, "Pre-Cobbing Mfecane Historiography."
5. Elizabeth A. Eldredge, "Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa c.1800–1830: The 'Mfecane' Reconsidered," *Journal of African History*, 33 (1992), 1–35, reprinted in Hamilton, ed., *The Mfecane Aftermath*, 122–61; Elizabeth A. Eldredge, "Delagoa Bay and the Hinterland in the Early Nineteenth Century: Politics, Trade, Slaves, and Slave Raiding," in Elizabeth A. Eldredge and Fred Morton, eds., *Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labor on the Dutch Frontier* (Boulder: Westview Press and Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1994), 127–65.
6. Eldredge, "Sources of Conflict"; Elizabeth A. Eldredge, "Slave Raiding Across the Cape Frontier," in Eldredge and Morton, eds., *Slavery in South Africa*, 93–126.
7. Eldredge, "Sources of Conflict," 25–34; Elizabeth A. Eldredge, "Drought, Famine, and Disease in Nineteenth-Century Lesotho," *African Economic History* 16 (1987), 61–93.

8. For example, the AmaNgwane chiefdom under Matiwane was displaced several times, from northern KwaZulu to the Caledon River valley, and again to the Transkei, each time re-establishing itself and exerting dominance over neighboring displaced peoples who were raided, incorporated, or, as in the case of the new BaSotho kingdom under Moshoeshoe, paid tribute. However there were significantly lower levels of mortality in battles than have been commonly assumed, and the total numbers of persons killed in battles in which the AmaNgwane ever engaged were counted in the hundreds rather than the thousands. Elizabeth A. Eldredge, "Migration, Conflict, and Leadership in Early Nineteenth-Century South Africa: The Case of Matiwane," in Robert W. Harms et al., eds., *Paths toward the Past: African Historical Essays in Honor of Jan Vansina* (Atlanta: African Studies Association, 1994), 39–75.

9. John Wright, "Political Transformations in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in Hamilton, ed., 163–81. However, this article is seriously flawed by his acceptance of erroneous assumptions and assertions including Cobbing's flawed speculations.

10. C. de B. Webb and John Wright, editors, *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples* (hereafter JSA), Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Durban: Killie Campbell Africana Library, vols. 1–5, 1976–2001. The work of translating and publishing these interviews, continued by John Wright following the death of his colleague, is a monumental contribution to the work of preserving the historical record, and reflects methodical precision in the translations and annotations.

11. Carolyn Hamilton, "'The Character and Objects of Chaka': A Reconsideration of the Making of Shaka as 'Mfecane' Motor," *Journal of African History*, 33 no. 1 (1992), 37–63, republished in Hamilton, ed., *The Mfecane Aftermath*, 183–211. See also the useful and insightful commentary of Webb and Wright in the prefaces to each of the volumes of *The James Stuart Archive*, vol. 1–5.

12. Hamilton, "'Character and Objects';" and see Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1998).

13. This body of oral testimony meets all the criteria for validity and legitimacy as an historical source, comprising over a hundred and fifty individual sources each subject to individual scrutiny for reliability. The difficulty of identifying reliability in individual sources is reflected in the work of Dan Wylie, who entails serious errors in his account, and remarks that "the past is ultimately a construction of language; it's something imagined." Dan Wylie, *Myth of Iron: Shaka in History* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006), 4; and Jeff Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the AmaXhosa in the Days of their Independence* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1984).

14. Henry Francis Fynn, "Historical Introduction," in James Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm, editors, *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter (Pty) Ltd., 1986, first pub. 1951).

15. Theophilus Shepstone, "Historical Sketch," 1864, in *Appendices to Report and Proceedings of the Native Laws and Customs Commission* (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book, 1883, reprinted Cape Town: C. Struik, 1968), pp. 415–25.

16. Ndhlovu ka Timuni in JSA v.4, 229; Madikane ka Mlomowetole in JSA v.2, 48; Ngidi ka Mcikaziswa in JSA v.5, 42, 59, 66, 79; Fynn, *Diary*, 14. During the time he served as a warrior for Dingiswayo the AmaMthethwa fought the AbaQwabe, AmaNyuswa, AmaNdwandwe, AbaTembu of chief Mlunjwa, the AmaDube under Nzwakele ka Kutshwayo, the AmaMbata, the AmaNtshali, and the AmaNxumalo under chief Malusi. Ndhlovu, 204–5; Jantshi ka Nongila in JSA v.1, 180; Ngidi, 94; Madikane, 61; Mayinga ka Mbekuzana in JSA v.2, 247.

17. Shepstone, par. 14. The AmaNgwane of Matiwane were distinct from the AmaNgwane or AmaSwazi under Sobhuza.

18. Ngidi, 64. The Embo chiefly line of descent is related to the Embo or Ambo discussed by Etherington for earlier centuries, but other parts of his hypothesis, based on the repetition of chiefs' names in genealogies, are inconclusive or contradicted by the evidence of Stuart's informants; see Norman Etherington, *The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815 to 1854* (London: Pearson Education, 2001), 23–24, 34, 43 n119, 81, 84.

19. Baleni ka Silwana in JSA v.1, 22; Fynn, 14–17.

20. Lugubu ka Mangaliso in JSA v.1, 282; Mkehlengana ka Zulu in JSA v.3, 211, 216.

21. Mkehlengana, 211. That his father Zulu ka Nogandaba was the most renowned of Shaka's warriors lends strong credibility to the factual basis of his testimony, heard directly from his famous father, notwithstanding the predictable AmaZulu perspective.
22. Mkehlengana, 216.
23. Lugubu, 287, 292; Webb and Wright v.1, p.246 n.60.
24. Lugubu, 282, 287, 292.
25. Lugubu, 287.
26. Maziyana ka Mahlabeni in JSA v.2, 277.
27. Macingwane, leading his people south, attacked chieftainess Macibise and was repulsed, before he killed and seized the livestock of one of her officers, an ***induna***. Macingwane then defeated the AmaNtambo and seized their lands for the resettlement of his own followers. Magidigidi ka Nobebe in JSA v.2, 85–87, 90; Mkando ka Dhlova in JSA v.3, 150; Lugubu, 282; Mqaikana ka Yenge in JSA v.4, 23; Madikane, 60; Shepstone, pars. 14–19.
28. Baleni, 18; Mqaikana, 24; Lugubu, 288; Lunguza ka Mpukane in JSA v.1, 307–8; Magidigidi 85, 89.
29. Ngidi, 54; Baleka ka Mpitikazi in JSA v.1, 5; Lugubu, 283. Additional chiefdoms defeated and incorporated at this time were the AmaNtshali (emaNtshaleni), AmaCube (emaCubeni), AmaNxumalo of chief Malusi, and amaLangeni section of the AmaNgcobo. For chronology see also Melapi ka Magaye, v. 3, 81; Magudwini cited in interview of Madikane ka Mlomowetole, 60–61.
30. Ngidi, 54, 55, 61–62.
31. Fynn, *Diary*, 17.
32. Ngidi, 54; Melapi, 78.
33. Mmemi ka Nguluzane in JSA v.3, 241–42; Socwatsha ka Papu, unpub., James Stuart archives; Kambi ka Matshobana in JSA v.2, 208; Makuza ka Mkomoyi in JSA v.2, 168–69; Jantshi ka Nongila in JSA v.1, 183; Mandhlakazi ka Ngini in JSA v.2, 177–78.
34. Ngidi, 54; Mmemi, 242; Mbovu ka ka Mtshumayeli in JSA v.3, 36; Fynn, *Diary*, 16–17.
35. Maziyana in interview of Melapi, 81.
36. Fynn, 16–17; Jantshi, 183.
37. Fynn, 17.
38. Jantshi, 183. Donda was the same chief against whom the AmaZulu had fought a battle prior to Shaka's return in which Shaka's brother Sigujana had been mortally injured.
39. Ndhlovu, 229–30, 232. None of the traditions support Fynn's allegation that Shaka had deliberately allowed Dingiwayo's troops to be defeated by Zwide. For more about Dingiswayo's death at the hands of Zwide see Jantshi, 183; Shepstone, par. 13; Mandhlakazi, 186; Makuza ka Mkomoyi in JSA v.2, 170; Fynn, 11, 15.
40. Fynn, 15; Ndukwana ka Mbengwana in JSA v.4, 277; Nhlekele ka Makana in JSA v.5, 127.
41. Nhlekele ka Makana in JSA v.5, 127; Ngidi, 43; Ndukwana, 326.
42. Ngidi, 70.
43. Ngidi, 70.
44. Jantshi, 186. Stuart's notes of Jantshi's interview, with Ndukwana also present at this point, indicate that all three men were trying to establish with accuracy a chronology of political consolidation under Shaka. This is evident in Ndukwana's interventions and contributions, which were accepted by Jantshi.
45. Jantshi, 186.
46. Jantshi, 187.
47. Jantshi, 186–87.

48. Maziyana, 281. The term is translated by James Stuart as the "scattering of peoples" because it referred not to the literal death of people but to the end of the existence of the sociopolitical units in which they lived.
49. Mabonsa, 14, 20, 26. The fate of the AmaNgwane and the AmaHlubi who migrated west into the Caledon River region is summarized below. The arrival of the AmaHlubi and AmaNgwane in the Caledon River valley in 1821, as remembered by the people they disrupted and then told to French missionaries upon their arrival in Lesotho in 1833, dates the dispersal of the AmaHlubi chiefdom to late 1820 or early 1821.
50. Melapi, 78, 92; Madikane, 53; Maquza ka Gawushane in JSA v.2, 236–37; Dinya, 115, 117.
51. Melapi said, "Tshaka began on [AmaCele chief] Mande when he devastated the whole of Natal. That is where his operations began, and these included Nzala ka Mangqwashi and Duze ka Mnengwa—also, says Maziyana, Sokoti ka Mdingi ka Magojolo of the Nganga people, also Nkuna ka Mbedu, chief of the amaNsomi." Melapi, 81.
52. Maziyana, 296.
53. Ngidi, 63.
54. Maziyana, 295–96.
55. Maziyana, 295–96.
56. *Ibid*, 296.
57. Melapi ka Magaye, 92.
58. Ngidi, 63. There is some discrepancy in Ngidi's accounts.
59. Ngidi, 68, 72–73, 79; Mangati ka Godida in JSA v.2, 209; Baleni, 16–17; Shepstone, pars. 14–19; Magludwini in interview of Madikane, 61; Madikane, 52–53; Mmemi, 270–71; Dinya ka Zokozwayo in JSA v.1, 102–3; Lugubu, 284–85; Nduna ka Manqina in JSA v.5, 1–4.
60. Baleni, 17. See also Ngidi, 72.
61. Ngidi, 72–73.
62. Nduna, 4.
63. Nduna, 3.
64. Nduna, 4. The word *coma* is from *ukuxhoma*, to impale, and *buxeka* refers to "firmly driven into," e.g., as a stake or spear.
65. Ibid.
66. Shepstone, par. 17.
67. Nduna, 4; Ngidi, 79. We know that these events took place in the first half of 1821 because on 11 July 1821 the Portuguese governor at Maputo (Delagoa) Bay first reported the attacks and depredations of the surviving immigrant AmaNdwandwe chiefdoms following the defeat of Zwide and the AmaNdwandwe by the AmaZulu. From Portuguese sources the havoc caused by these so-called "Vatwahs" can be traced, including their threats against the fort and negotiations with the governor there. Caetano da Costa Matozo, letter of 11 de Julho de 1821, in M. Sequeira, "Cartas dos Governadores de Lourenço Marques Desde à Restauração do Presidio na Catembe (1799) a Implantação do Liberalismo na Colonia (1834)," Lourenço Marques, 1927, typescript.
68. Jantshi, 183; Zitshibili ka Nyakanyakana ka Mashobana, interviewed by Norman Nembula, in JSA v. 5, 13.
69. Ndukwana, 278–79; Madikane, 60; Mabonsa ka Sidhlayi in JSA v.2, 25; Socwatsha, unpub., 24; Jantshi, 183; For an overview of the history of Mzilikazi (Moselekatse) and his kingdom, that came to be known as the AmaNdebele (Matabele), see Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath*, 129–55. For an authoritative account of the same see R.K. Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa* (London, 1978).
70. Mandhlakazi, 176; Fynn, *Diary*, 20–21; Omer-Cooper, 138, 142.
71. Mesach Ngidi in JSA v.5, 117.
72. Mgidhlana ka Mpande in JSA v.3, 107; Mayinga ka Mbekuzana in JSA v.2, 251.

73. Mgidhlana, 107.
74. Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli in JSA v.3, 43.
75. Maziyana, 272. Shaka's attention to the southwest is also said to have been aroused by a provocative message sent to him by Chief Nguboyencuga of the AbaTembu claiming he had superior forces, before then fleeing further west into the domains of the AmaXhosa chiefdoms on the eastern Cape Colony frontier.
76. Nduna, 4; Lugubu, 282, 287; Makewu, 163; Mkehlengana, 217; Maziyana, 272–73; Mcotoyi ka Mnini in JSA v.3, 55; Mbovu, 43; Fynn, *Diary*, 62. It was evidently these returning regiments, estimated at 20,000 men or more, who were encountered and observed by Fynn on 11 March 1824, a day after his trading party first landed at Port Natal (Durban) to open up a trade in ivory.
77. Mkehlengana, 217.
78. Mcotoyi ka Mnini in JSA v. 3, 66. He provided this information elsewhere in his interview, when he named Shaka's commanders on this expedition; 55.
79. Maziyana, 272–73. He also named the military commanders on this campaign.
80. Fynn, *Diary*, 91.
81. Fynn, *Diary*, 118. See also Ngidi, 70, 79.
82. Maziyana, 269; Ngidi, 70, 79; Fynn, *Diary*, 122; Charles Rawden Maclean, *The Natal Papers of 'John Ross': Loss of the Brig Mary at Natal with Early Recollections of that Settlement and Among the Caffres*, edited by Stephen Gray (Durban: Killie Campbell Africana Library and Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1992), 49, 63, 67; none of the Europeans actually participated in any fighting, however.
83. Fynn, *Diary*, 123.
84. Ngidi, 65, 70, 79; Webb and Wright, v.5, p. 107 n.255; Ndukwana, 276; Fynn, *Diary*, 124–26.
85. Fynn, *Diary*, 124–26.
86. Mbokodo ka Sikulekile in JSA v.3, 11–12.
87. Maclean (John Ross), 67–69, citing the contemporaneous eyewitness reports of his European associates to him.
88. Ndukwana in interview of Jantshi, 186. Ndukwana said Zwide's sons Somapunga, Nqabeni, Mlomo, and others returned to give their allegiance to Shaka, and that Nqabeni and Mlomo were enrolled in the iziNyosi regiment enrolled during the Balule campaign, and later fight honorably in AmaZulu campaigns under Dingane and Mpande. This decisive battle in which the AmaZulu defeated the AmaNdwandwe can be dated with some precision because just as they were returning from this battle against Sikhunyana "a vessel that had arrived on 6th October, 1826, from Algoa Bay, proved to be the schooner Anne, with Mr. King and Mrs. Farewell on board." Fynn, *Diary*, 129.
89. Fynn, *Diary*, 127–30, and Nathaniel Isaacs, cited by Stuart and Malcolm, *ibid.*
90. The trader Nathaniel Isaacs was among the injured. The European and African sources are in agreement with regard to this account and that there were few deaths. Nathaniel Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa*, edited with footnotes and a biographical sketch by Louis Herman (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1936), v.1, 163, 170–71; Baleni ka Silwana, 18; Mkehlengana ka Zulu, 215; Ndukwana, 289, 17.
91. Mbokodo, 12.
92. Mabonsa, 14; Ngidi, 54. After the AmaNgwane defeat of the AmaHlubi west of the Drakensberg in 1824/5, "Matiwane was presently attacked by the Zulus, just as if they had come to interfere in the fighting going on. Matiwane was then chased by the Zulus via Basutoland; he was caused to cross the Isangqu [Orange River], but the Zulus did not cross." Mbokodo, 17. Also Fynn, *Diary*, 318.
93. D.F.Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto Ancient and Modern* (London: Caxton Pub., 1912), 154–55. We can assume the final battle and defeat of the AmaHlubi was in late 1824 or early 1825 because it was said to have occurred at the same time that Moshoeshoe migrated with his people from Butha-Buthe to Thaba Bosiu known to have occurred then. Ellenberger's work reflects a meticulous record

of oral traditions collected during his years as a missionary in Lesotho; see Elizabeth A. Eldredge, "Land, Politics, and Censorship: The Historiography of Nineteenth-Century Lesotho," *History in Africa*, 15 (1988), 191–209.

94. Ellenberger, 176–77.
95. Ellenberger, 177–78.
96. Moloja, "The story of the 'Fetcani horde'," *Cape Quarterly Review*, 1 (1882), 267–75. This story is retold almost verbatim by Ellenberger.
97. Ellenberger, 178.
98. Ibid, 178.
99. Eldredge, "Migration," 56–60.
100. Moloja, "Story"; Msebenzi in N.J. Van Warmelo, *History of Matiwane and the Amangwane Tribe as Told by Msebenzi to his kinsman Albert Hlongwane*, Union of South Africa Department of Native Affairs Ethnological Publications Vol VII (Pretoria, 1938), 29; Isaacs, v.1, 180; some of Isaacs' information about where they had been was incorrect.
101. Ngidi, 35; Fynn, *Diary*, 131, 137–38. There is strong evidence that Shaka inflicted a fatal wound onto Nandi and then left to go hunting as she lay dying. Fynn, *Diary*, 131–37; Ngidi, 35, 39, 72; Mbovu, 44; Lunguza, 311; Melapi, 86; Ndukwana, 291; Maqluza ka Gawushane in JSA v.2, 232; Mabonsa, 14, 21; Madhlebe, 45; Magidi, 81; Mangqayi in interview of Baleni, 30.
102. Mkando ka Dhlova in JSA v.3, 145; Mkehlengana, 217.
103. In fact Fynn had long since been alarmed by Shaka's southern expansionist intentions and was defensive of both the Cape Colonists and those Africans with whom he lived and worked, many of whom were his own direct family members through marriage. Fynn, *Diary*, 143.
104. Fynn, *Diary*, 144; Mmemi, 268; Maziyana, 274; see also Ngidi, 55–56.
105. Fynn, *Diary*, 132.
106. Maziyana, 274.
107. Mcotoyi ka Mnini in JSA v.3, 66.
108. Dinya in interview of Mcotoyi, 55.
109. Mcotoyi, 66; Jantshi, 187; Melapi, 83; Fynn, *Diary*, 149 and 153; Makewu, 163; Dinya, 95; Madikane, 61; James Stuart file 17 KCM 23465.
110. Mkehlengana, 217. He said that his famous father, Zulu, "also started forth on the *Kukulela ngoqo* impi to the uBalule but was injured unexpectedly in the foot (right foot). This was reported to Tshaka, so he told him to come back, which he did," Makewu, 163. Because on this occasion the mobilization of all invalids and indigent men (e.g., even the *unqoqo* — see third following quote in main text) was deemed an extraordinary act of total mobilization, the term "*khukhulelangoqo*" later came to refer to wholesale mobilization, and by extension implied total destruction and devastation.
111. Mcotoyi, 55.
112. Mkehlengana, 217; he named the *izinduna* in charge of both AmaZulu *impis* to the south, referring to the first as against the abeNguni and the second against the AmaMpondo. Melapi said,"Tshaka gave orders to the Pondo *impi* south of the Mzimkulu and directed it to go to the north when he was there [with the *impi* in the south]. When he was assassinated he was said to have *bunguleka*'d, i.e., gone mad by giving such an order." Melapi, 83.
113. Maziyana, 297, named all of the AmaZulu military commanders who went on "this campaign to Balule." Madikane ka Mlomowetole (1903, 1905) in JSA v.2, 61, provided details of the routes taken by the troops on this campaign.
114. Fynn, *Diary*, 153.
115. Fynn, *Diary*, 155–56; Maziyana in interview of Melapi, 84; Melapi, 85; Maziyana, 294.
116. Dinya, 95; Ngidi, 75; Mayinga ka Mbekuzana in JSA v.2, 249–50; Jantshi, 187, 194; Maziyana, 295; James Stuart interview notes, JS file 58 (AA) NB 23KCM24220, p. 21. Mayinga provided details about individual warriors who went on the Balule campaign.
117. Dinya, 95.

118. Ibid.

119. Melapi, 83, 88.

120. Makewu, 163.

121. Mqaikana ka Yenge in JSA v.4, 22; Fynn, 17; Shepstone, paragraphs 14–19; Lugubu, 284, 286, 287; Maziyana ka Mahlabeni in JSA v.2, 277.

122. Mbokodo ka Sikulekile in JSA v.3, 6, 8, 13, 19.

123. Mbokodo, 12.

124. Mbokodo, 8, 10–11, 20.

125. For example, Mbovu, 43; Ngidi, 60.

126. Saunders, 24.

127. Wright, "Political Transformations."

128. Fynn, *Diary*, 318. Although the designation of a chiefdom as "of considerable magnitude" is ambiguous, it is self-evident that there were not "65 tribes of considerable magnitude" in the southeastern Africa in the early nineteenth century, much less in the more limited regions traversed by Matiwane's AmaNgwane.

129. Fynn *Diary*, 18.

130. The chiefs, referred to by name, were Madikane, Ndinga, Nxumalo, and Ngoza. Fynn *Diary*, 18.

131. Shepstone, par. 18.

132. Shepstone, par. 47.

133. Shepstone wrote, "That several of those aboriginal Tribes who migrated to the South, such as the very considerable ones of the Amabele, the Amazizi and others, are at present among the people called Fingoes, in the Frontier Districts of the Cape Colony; and that three, the Amavundhle, the Abashwau and the Amabaca, occupy the territory called 'No Man's Land,' to the south of Natal, while a section of the Amabaca are in Natal; a fourth, the Amaxesibe, now live on the border of 'No Man's Land.'" Shepstone, par. 49.

134. He wrote "[t]hat thirty nine of the aboriginal Tribes were so completely dispersed and their reigning families annihilated, that they no longer exist as separate Tribes, but some of the individuals belonging to them congregated and formed others [other 'Tribes'],—not under hereditary Chiefs,—such as the Amaduma, and those enumerated under Table II Class No.2 [in his lists]; and that others have become incorporated with these aboriginal communities." Shepstone, par.50.

135. Maziyana ka Mahlabeni, JSA v.4, 295–96.

136. For an excellent study of BaTswana chiefdoms in turmoil in the 1820s and 1830s, and the turbulence created by Mzilikazi's AmaNdebele on the western highveld, see Margaret Kinsman, "'Hungry Wolves: The Impact of Violence on Rolong Life, 1823–1836," in Hamilton, ed., 363–93.

137. John L. and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc.* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 1, demonstrates the modern metamorphosis of putative ethnic claims into claims of cultural ownership and consequent preemptory commercial claims in contemporary South Africa, with haunting and disturbing echoes of apartheid-era claims to resources based on supposed primordial and therefore uncontestable (although false) cultural or biological birthrights.

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Appendix: David Henige's Publications

The following is a list of David Henige's publications as of March 2011. We regret any omissions, and expect that David will continue publishing and adding to this list for many years to come.

1970

Colonial Governors from the Fifteenth Century to the Present: A Comprehensive List. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

1971

"Oral Tradition and Chronology." *Journal of African History* 12:371–89.

1972

Review of "*West African States and European Expansion,*" by Boniface I. Obichere. *Journal of African History* 13:695–97.

"Two Sources for the History of the Guinea Coast, 1680–1722." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 5:271–76.

1973

"Abrem Stool: A Contribution to the History and Historiography of Southern Ghana." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 6:1–18.

"The James Phipps Papers in the Public Record Office." *African Research and Documentation* 2:9–11.

"The National Archives of Ghana: A Synopsis of Holdings." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 6:475–86.

"A New Source for English Activities on the Gold Coast, 1681–1699." *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 13:257–60.

"The Problem of Feedback in Oral Tradition: Four Examples from the Fante Coastlands." *Journal of African History* 14:223–35.

Review of *African Folklore,* edited by Richard M. Dorson. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 6:358–59.

"White Fathers Materials in the London Area." *African Research and Documentation* 2:18–20.

1974

The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera. Oxford Studies in African Affairs. Oxford University Press, 1974.

"Comparative bibliography." *History in Africa* 1:171–82.

"Kingship in Elmina before 1869: A Study in 'Feedback' and the Traditional Idealization of the Past." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 14:499–520.

"Komenda Fort in 1778: Commentary on a Document." *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 15:241–45.

"On method: an apologia and a plea." *History in Africa* 1:1–7.

"Reflections on Early Interlacustrine Chronology: An Essay in Source Criticism." *Journal of African History* 15:27–46.

Review of *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to Africa,* by N. M. Matthews and D. Wainwright. *Times Higher EducationSupplement.*

Review of *History of West Africa II,* edited by J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder. *Times Higher Education Supplement.*

Review of *La tradition orale,* by D. Laya. *Journal of African History* 15:153–54.

Review of *Sources of Yoruba History,* edited by S. O. Biobaku. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 8:430–31.

"Seniority and Succession in the Krobo Stools." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7:203–26.

1975

"Adom/Supome and Jabi/Yarbiw: Local Continuity in an Era of Shifting Paramountcies." *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 16:29–45.

"Akan Stool Succession under Colonial Rule: Continuity or Change?" *Journal of African History* 16:285–301.

"Comparative Bibliography." *History in Africa* 2:221–35.

"Do African Historians Need to Fear the Slouching Beast of Skepticism?" *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8:457–68.

Review of *Asante in the Nineteenth Century,* byIvor Wilks. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8:692–95.

Review of *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to Africa,* by Noel M. Matthews and Doreen Wainwright. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8:354–55.

Review of *Mitteilungen der Basler Afrikabibliographien. International Journal ofAfrican Historical Studies* 8:144–45.

Review of *Survey of Research Materials in the National Archivesof Ghana,* by Raymond E. Dumett. *Journal of African History* 16:640.

"Some Phantom Dynasties of Early and Medieval India: Epigraphic Evidence and the Abhorrence of a Vacuum." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* [University of London] 38:525–49.

1976

"Agaja and the Slave Trade: Another Look at the Evidence." *History in Africa* 3:57–67.

"Comparative Bibliography." *History in Africa* 3:207–15.

"'Day was of Sudden Turned into Night': The Use of Eclipses in Dating Oral History." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18:576–601.

Review of *L'histoire des rois d'Imerina*, by André Delivré. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39:229–30.

Review of *A Treasury of African Folklore*, by Harold Courlander. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9:299–301.

"Some Materials on the Early Guinea Coast in the United Kingdom." *African Research and Documentation* 14:25–28.

"Time Out of Joint: The Pitfalls of African Chronology." *African Affairs* 75:104–08.

Works in African History: An Index to Reviews, Part One, 1960–1974. Waltham, MA: African Studies Association.

1977

"Comparative Bibliography." *History in Africa* 4:309–28.

"Do Numbers Have More Than Face Value?: Non-Random Thoughts on African Quantitative History." In *Explorations in Quantitative African History*, edited by Joseph P. Smaldone, 177–90. Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.

"Dross from the Gold Coast Archives." *History in Africa* 4:305–6.

"John Kabes of Komenda: An Early African Entrepreneur and State Builder." *Journal of African History* 18:1–19.

Review of *African Music and Oral Data: A Catalog of Field Recordings, 1902–1975*, by Frank J. Gillis and Ruth M. Stone. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 10:165–66.

"Royal Tombs and Preternatural Ancestors: A Devil's Advocacy." *Paideuma* 23:205–19.

1978

"*Bibliotheca Missionum*: A Case of Benign Neglect." *History in Africa* 5:337–44.

"Comparative Bibliography." *History in Africa* 5:385–409.

"The James Phipps Papers Revisited." *African Research and Documentation* 16/17:21–23.

"On the Contact Population of Hispaniola: History as Higher Mathematics." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 58:217–37, 709–12.

Review of *Bibliographical Guide to African Studies, 1977. International Journal of African Historical Studies* 11:763–64.

Review of *Mountain Warriors*, by Jeffrey Fadiman. *Africana Journal* 9:60–61.

Review of *The Origins and Development of Efik Settlements in Southeastern Nigeria*, by Kannan K. Nair. *Africana Journal* 9:60–61.

"A Snare and a Delusion (or, Danger, Europeans at Work)." *History in Africa* 5:43–61.

"Word of Mouth: Inchoate Thoughts on the Creation and Use of Oral Historical Materials." In *Fonti Orali: Antropologia e Storia*, edited by Bernardo Bernardi, 103–15. Milan.

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