

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN THE CONGO FREE STATE: ARCHIVAL TRACES AND PRESENT RECONFIGURATIONS

Charlotte Mertens, PhD Candidate University of Melbourne

Abstract

Western imaginings and colonially scripted images of the Congo as barbaric, savage and the Heart of Darkness have dominated understandings of events in the DRC since its colonial inception (Dunn 2003). The contemporary global focus on sexual violence in the armed conflict of eastern DRC has only reinforced such framings. While sexual violence has always captured the social imagination before the Congo, the political frame through which it is articulated has made sexual violence “the major horrendous crime of our time” and “an exceptional form of brutality”¹. Drawing on largely unused archival material, obtained at the Royal Museum of Central Africa and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgium, this paper sheds light on how sexual violence prefigured our own times in King Leopold II’s Congo Free State (1885 – 1908). The vivid memories and testimonies of the grotesque and spectacular violence inflicted upon the Congolese are similar to the sexual atrocities that have taken place in the current conflict in eastern DRC. These memories are in Mbembe’s (2007) words “traces and fragments” of colonial violence and excessive abuses. Yet, today’s international security discourses occur in the midst of an almost complete absence of such history and its memories. Ultimately it is argued that viewing the contemporary and colonial violence as “repetitions in history” (Hunt 2008) is crucial to understand how colonial “traces” live on in the present and are naturalised by history and politics.

INTRODUCTION

This essay is concerned with two of the most tenacious representational forms in which sexual violence has been cast: its current “oversayability” in international discourses on

¹ Angelina Jolie during the 2013 debate on UNSCR 2106 on Women, Peace and Security, June 24.

sexual violence that has marked the conflict in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and its historical “unsayability” in the Congo Free State. Archival fieldwork² reveals that Belgian colonial officials and their sentries employed rape and sexual torture on a massive scale during the predatory rage that characterised the rubber regime of King Leopold II in the Congo Free State. Yet, contemporary international discourse on conflict-related sexual violence in eastern DRC is marked by a complete absence of this history. In recent years sexual violence has become the main frame through which the Congo is made knowable to a global public and through which the role of humanitarian and international organisations is made meaningful. The Congo has subsequently been described as the “rape capital of the world”³ and the “cockpit of conflict-related sexual violence”⁴. These epithets confirm what has long been established within the Western imaginary, namely that Congo is and will always be a land of violence, sexual licence and death.

Colonial rememberings of 1953 mention sentries “amusing themselves while pounding the insides of women’s vaginas with sticks” (Boyoto in Boelaert 1996: 210-211). These colonial forms of sexual violence are similar to the atrocities that have taken place in the current conflict in eastern DRC and which have been reported on by human rights organisations, media and activists. The horror that is evoked by the nature of the violence establishes in us, Western audiences, a perception that the violence is essentially different and incommensurable. As such current representational practices not only dehumanize but also dehistoricize (see also Malkki 1995: 17). Indeed, global governing discourses on gendered violence radically dismiss that precisely imperial actors and their iconic violence gave birth to the ubiquitous Heart of Darkness imagery. It is therefore imperative to uncover the connective tissue, which binds postcolonial gendered violence and representations and narratives regarding it to historical ones.

Connecting the dots between past and present is a fraught task, in particular in a country where history is a violently contested terrain (Lemarchand 2013: 418) and where longstanding Heart of Darkness imagery fuels contemporary understandings of violence.

² I conducted archival research at the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren and in the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2012 and 2014. I also conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the eastern provinces of the DRC in 2012 and 2015.

³ Nicholas Kristof, *New York Times*, 2008, repeated by Margot Wallstrom in 2010.

⁴ John Kelly, Permanent Mission of Ireland to the United Nations, June 24, 2013.

Lemarchand (2013) urges us to draw on a “proper reading of the past” since so many (mis)representations of the past by local and international actors have reinforced the Congo as an inherently savage and violent place. Indeed, when offering explanations for Congo’s turbulent present, scholarly as well as policy analyses tend to refer to Congo’s history of victimization: slave trade, colonialism, Leopold’s cruel red rubber regime, Mobutu’s greed, economic extraction and foreign interventions. The past becomes a scapegoat for all the contemporary tragedies that have befallen upon Congo. It is thus easy to read Congo’s history as a seamless continuity of rape, brutality and toxic violence. This essay is not about reproducing a standard Congo atrocity narrative (see also Hunt 2008). Nor does it provide a classical Leopold II-as-villain account, which is common in conventional state centred top-down approaches (Roes 2010). Rather, through archival research the essay sheds light on the hidden aspects of colonial violence – the sexual – and highlights how traces of this violence continue to circulate in contemporary realities and frameworks of understanding.

In what follows I will examine what most humanitarians and missionaries at the time thought “unfit for repetition” (Singleton-Gates et al 1959: 144) but what is scattered across the archive in the form of memories and testimonies of sexual violence experiences by the Congolese people. In this sense the essay makes plain the “unspeakable” and mimes the violence contained in the archive (Hartman 2008). Yet, I aim to do more than simply recount the violence found in the memories and testimonies. In listening to these stories I want to reveal what lies dormant in the archive and what has been silenced by official historiography, namely sexual abuse as constitutive of colonial power. As such, my essay provides a counter-history, or to use Foucault (1980: 82-83), an “illegitimate” or “subjugated” knowledge, which offers not only a more comprehensive understanding of how the Congolese experienced the colony but also, and crucially, provides the basis to perform criticism of contemporary framings of sexual violence as inherent to the African continent or even as a function of African culture.

ARCHIVAL TRACES AND MEMORIES

One day when my husband was in the forest to gather rubber, the sentinel Ikelonda found me in my hut where I stayed and asked me to give myself to him. I rejected this proposition. Furious, Ikelonda fired a gunshot at me, which gave me the wound of which you still see the trace. I fell backwards; Ikelonda thought I was dead, and to retrieve the copper ring I was wearing on my lower right leg, he cut off my right foot.

This happened in the time of the white man Ekalakamba (Boali of Ekorongo, 12 December 1904).

Boali's testimony together with her photograph can be found in the archives of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Her testimony is but one of 258 statements of Congolese people, fifteen of whom were women, that were gathered by the Commission of Inquiry in 1904-1905, which was set up "to investigate the specific charges of atrocities and gross abuses" (CRA 1905) committed by colonial agents and their sentries⁵ and alleged to be prevailing in certain districts of the Congo Free State.⁶ The charges of atrocities were based on missionaries' reports and extensive campaigning by the Congo Reform Association, one of the first and largest human rights movements of the early 20th century founded by Edmond Morel with the aid of British consul Roger Casement. Western criticism of Leopold's colonial regime did not receive significant attention until Morel from his office on the quay in Antwerp realised that Leopold II's "civilising mission" was a mere façade⁷ and that the entire colony was based on slave labour, extraction and brutal oppression (Hochschild 1998).

When British Consul Roger Casement in Boma, Congo Free State was instructed to investigate the atrocities that had come to light, he travelled for weeks in the Upper Congo Basin to interview eyewitnesses. In his renowned *The Congo Report* (1903) and his *1903 Diary* he spoke of the "infamous, shameful system ... a horrid business ... terrible oppression of these poor people" (Singleton-Gates et al 1959: 153-163) and exposed the cruel rubber system of incentives and the immense suffering it caused amongst the local population. The system ensured colonial agents received a percentage of the market value of ivory and rubber

⁵ The exploitation of rubber and cobalt was assured by State officials and through the use of sentries. Sentries also known as *sentinels* or *auxiliaires* were black, often native sometimes foreign, overseers armed with a percussion gun and were put into a certain area or village by the State or one of the concession companies (Boelaert 1996, 397). Their task is to supervise the work of the natives in the forest, mainly rubber production. The *capitas* are chosen by the white man from the village itself to represent the State.

⁶ The Commission was instituted by decree on 23 July 1904 by King Leopold II himself. As King of the Belgians and proprietor of the Congo Free State, he ruled this private domain from 1885 until he was forced to sell it to the Belgian government in 1908. The Commission of Inquiry came into being after the Congo Reform Association requested an impartial investigation into the conditions in the Congo Free State (see Stengers 1951).

⁷ Morel worked for the company Elder Dempster, a Liverpool-based shipping line that had the contract for carrying all cargo to and from Congo. In the course of his work he noticed ships were arriving in the Antwerp harbour full of ivory, rubber and other goods and departed carrying only arms and military.

produced in the Congo State but on a sliding scale (Hochschild 1998; Vangroenweghe 1986). The more was produced, the higher the commission. Colonial agents thus had a powerful incentive to force Congolese – “if necessary at gunpoint – to accept extremely low prices” (Hochschild 1998:118). When the rubber quota was not reached, the villagers were killed and hands or feet were cut off. Congolese memory accounts give examples of the colonial practice of detaching human hands and feet.

While the white man killed people, he made others prisoner, and cut off hands and feet. He pillaged and burnt down houses. He killed those who did not collect enough rubber (Boelaert et al 1995:75)

The state officials demanded proof for each cartridge the sentries were given that the bullet had been used to kill someone. In this way the severed hands and feet served as “ghastly vouchers with which the native soldier attests the fact that his cartridges have not been ‘wasted’” (CRA 1904b: 23). The State left clear instructions to the sentries: “If they do not want to make rubber, you have to bring me the hands of those you have killed” (Boongo in Boelaert et al 1995: 36). Many testimonies speak of baskets filled with severed hands and feet often positioned at the door of the white man’s house. Often hands and feet were cut off to retrieve the copper rings or anklets that women wore, further underscoring the economic substructure of such colonial exploitation.⁸

Mounting evidence of atrocities provided by missionaries and Casement’s *Report* fuelled Morel’s campaign. In particular, the photographs of mutilated Congolese with severed hands or feet taken by Alice Harris were displayed in publications, pamphlets and magic lantern shows in the UK and even the United States.⁹ The effective use of Harris’s atrocity photographs reached vast audiences, grabbed the public European and North American conscience and gathered support for reform in the Congo. Like the raped women in the current conflict of eastern DRC, the severed hands and feet served as powerful metaphor to advance the international humanitarian campaign (see also Brystrom 2013). Interestingly however, the cruel and exorbitant acts of sexual violence committed by sentries and colonial officials did not feature in the reports and pamphlets of the Congo Reform Association.

⁸ See testimony of Boali (172); Ambo (85). See also Boelaert et al 1995, AE 16: 72

⁹ Alice Harris was the wife of John Harris and founder of the Congo Balolo Mission in Baringa, an area in the Congo Free State. It was controlled by ABIR, one of Leopold’s concessionary companies responsible for most of the atrocities committed at the time, see Vangroenweghe, chapter VII, 1986.

Even though the testimonies laid before the Commission of Inquiry provide distinct examples of sexual torture and rape, Morel's campaign as well as Belgium's state-managed historiography on the colony are marked by sexual amnesia.¹⁰ As Grant (2015) demonstrates, the representation of atrocity must be framed "in accordance with the culturally specific and historically contingent mores of strangers, if one is to enlist those strangers in bringing atrocities to an end" (64). It is thus quite likely that certain testimonies such as the one of Mingo would not have resonated with Victorian moral attitudes towards sexuality of the time. Mingo narrates:

While I was working on making bricks at Mampoko, on two different occasions did the sentries N'Kusu, Lomboto and Itoku, to punish me, make me lift my *pagne* [Congolese dress] and put clay in my sexual parts, which made me suffer greatly [...]
(Mingo of Ilua, 2 Jan 1905).

Historian Vangroenweghe (1986) for example mentions that when Boali testified in front of the Commission of Inquiry and described how she had refused the passions of a sentry, great unease could be felt among the commissioners (131). It is likely that Boali exposed something that was well known at the time – the rape of native women by colonial agents or the claim that agents and sentries lay on native women – but that unsettled Victorian social mores.¹¹ In his diary, Morel also makes clear that some atrocities did not have to be published, such as forced incest (Vangroenweghe 1986:134).

Yet, grotesque sexual abuse and excess inundate the archives and are framed as significant by the Congolese as well as some missionaries. Missionaries often referred to forced incest and raped hostages. Charles William Padfield who was a missionary at the Congo Balolo Mission in Bonginda recounts:

Once forty women had been working at the station of Boyeka. At night the white man made them stand in line and ordered them to take off their clothes. When they were completely naked, he would choose one to spend the night with. He choose Ewawa, wife of Mbwbenga (31 Dec 1904).

¹⁰ On whether missionaries/ humanitarians considered rape "unfit for repetition", see Grant 2015. On whether mutilated limbs are more sayable and photographable as a visual ruin, see Hunt 2008.

¹¹ See Grant (2015) for further explication.

The practice of taking women hostage was a common tactic amongst the colonial officials as a way to force the native men into the forests to collect rubber.¹² To gather rubber, one had to go into the forest, cut and tap the vine. However, once the forest surrounding the villages were drained dry, the natives had to go deeper into impenetrable rainforest and climb higher to reach sap. State officials did not supervise this arduous and painful work as this would have required the officials to travel with the men and to stay for days on end in the rainforest. Instead, to force them into the forests, state officials would keep their women as hostages until the men produced the required amount of rubber. They were held at the station where they were forced to work and on some occasions, women were then divided among the sentries who would “unchain the prettiest ones and rape them” (Bricusse in Hochschild 1998: 162).

It must be acknowledged that often state officials themselves expressed their dissent with certain colonial practices, such as the illegal detainment of women and children, and often pointed to the sentries and *capitas* (overseer) who abuse the power that is given to them to commit all sorts of brutalities (Grenade 1904). In a series of circulars, Albert Longtain, Director of ABIR (1904) admonishes sentries and forest guards to reduce abuse. He expresses his disappointment at the minimal surveillance over forest guards and the excessive trust in unworthy *capitas*. As expressed by George Washington Williams who travelled to the Congo in 1890 and wrote an Open Letter to the King in which he sums up his main accusations:

These black soldiers, many of whom are slaves, exercise the power of life and death. They are ignorant and cruel, *because* they do not comprehend the natives; they are imposed upon them by the State [...] They are the greatest curse the country suffers now (1985: 243).

Yet, the white colonial agents equally committed violence and often watched, laughed and condoned. For example, Mongondo’s testimony confirms Mingo’s story as narrated above, and adds: “The white man Longwango was present. He saw it all and he laughed” (Mongondo, 2 Jan 1905). On the atrocities and its causes Casement makes very clear: “It was the deliberate act of the soldiers of a European administration, and these men themselves

¹² See also Casement’s *Congo Report* (1903); see testimony of Rev. Somerville Gilchrist of the Congo Balolo Mission in CRA, 1904a; see deposition of Harris of Congo Balolo Mission, 15 Dec 1904.

never made any concealment that in committing these acts they were but obeying the positive orders of their superiors” (Singleton-Gates et al 1959: 166). On how the violence was condoned by white superiors listen to Lontombu’s story:

One day, sentry Djoko who was put in our village by the white man Nina, asked my brother Bonkeji to give his wife to him. My brother refused. Two days later, there was a rubber market in our village. Djoko took my brother, tied him to a pole and killed him with an Albin gunshot. I was there and I saw it. Three days later, the same sentry Djoko came to the village with the white man Nina and in the presence of the latter, took the wife of my little brother N’Sala. He is still living with her and is sentry in Ilangi (29 Dec 1904).

The kidnapping or the *rapt* of women, especially the beautiful ones, is a recurring theme in the archive. At least two of the fifteen testimonies by women laid before the Commission complained about how they were taken from their homes and made mistress to the white man or one or other sentry.¹³ But, even more vivid in the testimonies were forms of grotesque sexual violence, such as incidents of forced sexual intercourse or enforced public incest. Boyau tells us the “white men installed transparent mosquito nets in the open and made a brother and a sister or a mother and her son enter and force them to have sex” (Boelaert 1995: 308).

These passages clearly illustrate that rape, sexual exploitation and torture of native women and men was often used as a punishment or as extortion but also more broadly as a display of colonial power. However, the memories also reveal the intensely brutal and intimate nature of the colonial encounter. As Mbembe (2001) argues, colonial violence is not only built into structures and institutions, it also insinuates itself into the economy, domestic life, language, consciousness, even in sleep and dream (175). The colonial regime, based on power, coercion and submission requires direct, intimate contact with its subjects to maintain a bond of “subjection”. According to Mbembe violence in the colony is non-existent unless there is a sense of proximity and being in contact: “To colonize is then to accomplish a sort of sparkly clean coitus, with the characteristic feature of making horror and pleasure coincide” (175). The violence and abuse of which these memories speak illustrate that brutality and

¹³ See deposition 242 of Jema of Lokoka (28 Dec 1904) and deposition 254 of Bonyonoto of Waka (29 December 1904).

intimacy were basic, indeed constitutive of, not only Leopold's rubber regime but colonialism itself.

PRESENT RECONFIGURATIONS

Essentially these testimonies uncover how the Congolese experienced the colony as a place where brutality and intimacy coincide. It is paradoxical given the historical lack of attention to the sexual aspect of such colonial violence that a century later in the DRC the “more hidden and tactile” (Hunt 2008: 223) forms of violence, the sexual, have become the fixated focus of international security discourses and humanitarianism. As established earlier, the DRC has become renowned for its exceptional brutal wartime rape. And while memories of past abuses linger among the Congolese today, current international discourse occurs in the midst of an almost complete absence of such history and its memories. Whilst conducting ethnographic fieldwork I met Espoir during a focus group discussion with community members in the Moyens Plateaux around Minova in South Kivu. Espoir speaks of the war and how she lives in and with violence on a daily basis. She talks about sexual violence and how it has destroyed her community. However, against the “urgency” of her predicament she also pointed to the ignorance of her ancestors and to the history of colonization to explain harmful gender practices and the erosion of traditional gender relations. Espoir spoke of the “trace” of violence, which runs through her life, hopes and dreams. Yet, international discursive practices continually focus on the singular events of brutal militarised rapes, a focus which negates any historical analysis.

But, traces of colonial violence are not only present in the lives and bodies of Congolese today, they are also visible in contemporary representations of the DRC as “the rape-capital of the world” in which the violence is described as the “monstrosity of the century”¹⁴. These representations draw on “hundred-year old racial stereotypes” (Dunn 2003: 5) of African primitivism and barbarity. They further suggest that the colony as a space of terror (see also Fanon 1965) still defines the Congo today. During an interview with the country director of Women for Women International I asked her if she could explain why some rapes in eastern DRC are executed with such brutality. Her reply reflected the perceptions of many other humanitarian workers and international actors that I interviewed during fieldwork: “In the forest, the soldiers are there. They have no family, no wives; they have become almost

¹⁴ As uttered by Dr Denis Mukwege in a promotional video on www.stoprapenow.org

savages” (Bukavu 2012). Perceptions of the violence as barbaric and descriptions of the perpetrators as savage and inhuman are ingrained in contemporary discourse on African conflicts in general (see Richards 2005) and the Democratic Republic of Congo in particular (see Dunn 2003; Baaz and Stern 2013). Indeed the West accepts that the most horrific and unique forms of sexual violence can only come from Africa. It seems thus that in the course of history, violence in the colony has been imputed on the colony itself. This naturalisation of colonial violence through historical and political frames as a native phenomenon has actualized contemporary DRC as a space of terror while the violence committed by colonial powers has somehow been lost.

The testimonies narrated above, which can be found in the archive today, are thus crucial as they form a connective tissue with the present. Through the tradition of oral storytelling, the experiences of violence are passed on from one generation to the next into the present moment, as demonstrated by Espoir’s story. Fassin (2007) in his work on experiences and politics of Aids in South Africa outlines how memories are not only present in the mind but also in the materiality of the body (29). He goes on to say that the embodiment of memory has two dimensions. Firstly, past events are embodied in the objective realities of the present. This partly explains for example why the majority of rape victims in the conflict today do not have access to healthcare. Secondly, past events are inscribed in the subjective experience of the present. This might explain why Congolese refer to sexual violence in their country as an “imported crime”, as something that has come in with the Rwandan genocide or it might explain why many rape victims experience the violence as a “profound injustice”. Indeed, a history of colonization, foreign intervention and predatory state politics are expressed through “collectively created narratives about trauma” (Wilson and Mitchell in Pottier 2007: 840) such as the common perception amongst Congolese today that sexual violence has been imported from abroad. Through these two dimensions “memory becomes actualised” and is further naturalised by historical and political representations and practices.

CONCLUSION

In this essay I have attempted to shed light on how sexual violence prefigured our own times in the Congo Free State. Most testimonies and memories discussed here were only made public more than eighty years after Leopold II was forced to sell his colony. In this way, these memories expose us to a series of “delayed experiences” of sexual and non-sexual colonial violence. These memories are what Stoler (2008) calls “ruins” or in Mbembe’s

words “traces and fragments” of colonial violence, sadistic pleasure and excessive abuses. The historic “unsayability” and the contemporary “oversayability” regarding the violence that I have identified in this essay can be considered as two forms of grappling with it. Yet, neither do justice to the suffering. While one deems sexual violence “unfit for repetition”, the other moves toward another extreme, a “pornography of pain” (Halttunen 1995), in which testimonies of rape victims are used to fit the postcolonial humanitarian narrative (see also Razack 2007).

When the Commission of Inquiry heard the testimonies in the Baringa area, the big chief of all Bolima stood boldly before the Commissioners and pointed at his witnesses that were placed on the table: 110 twigs, each twig representing a life that was taken for rubber (Harris 1904). The large twigs symbolised the chiefs who had been killed, the shorter ones represented the murdered women and the small twigs stood for the lives of children lost. Like the twigs as metaphors for the lives lost and thus for the cruelties suffered by the Congolese under the rubber regime, the testimonies and memories narrated here serve as witnesses to cruel colonial violence. Boali’s picture and testimony featured as an important symbol for Morel’s humanitarian campaign. Boali appears in the archive as a victim of the red rubber regime, who was shot and mutilated because she refused to have sexual intercourse with the sentry Ikelonda. Yet, Boali could easily have appeared as one of the many women who were held hostage and systematically raped in order to force the men to go into the forest and gather rubber or she could have figured as the *ménagère* or housekeeper/sexual slave of a white colonial official in the Belgian Congo.

Regardless of the form of her incarnation, Boali’s testimony matters. It matters because it gives us access to one of the few Congolese voices available of that time. It matters because it gives us insight into how the Congolese experienced the colony as “a place where an experience of violence and upheaval is lived” (Mbembe 2001: 174). And finally it matters because her testimony together with all the others provides an important counter history to the sexual amnesia that marks the official historiography and Morel’s humanitarian narrative and which stands in sharp contrast to the dehistoricizing contemporary narrative on sexual violence. In this way, the testimonies and memories that I have narrated here form the connective tissue between the “unsayable” and “oversayable” and the past and the present. As subcutaneous traces from a violent past, they reshape historical understandings of colonial violence and open new avenues for rethinking past abuses and their endurance into the present.

“I certify that the text, research, ideas, analysis and conclusions drawn in this essay are entirely my own work, except where acknowledged by citation. I also certify that this essay has not been previously submitted for any other publication. Signature of Student: Charlotte Mertens date: 23 October 2015”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ambo of Ikoko. 1904. Deposition 85. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Liasse 1, 21 November, Brussels.
- Boali of Ekorongo. 1904. Deposition 172. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Liasse 3, 12 December, Brussels.
- Boelaert, Edmond; Honoré Vinck and Charles Lonkoma. 1995. “Arrivée des blancs sur les bords des rivières équatoriales (Partie I).” *Annales Aequatoria* 16, 13-134.
- Boelaert, Edmond; Honoré Vinck and Charles Lonkoma. 1996. “Arrivée des blancs sur les bords des rivières équatoriales (Partie II et fin).” *Annales Aequatoria* 17, 7-416.
- Bonyoto of Waka. 1904. Deposition 254. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Liasse 1, 29 December, Brussels.
- Brystrom, Kerry. 2013. “Broadway without Borders: Eve Ensler, Lynn Nottage, and the Campaign to End Violence against Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo”, edited by Florian Nikolas Becker, Paola Hernández and Brenda Werth *Imagining Human Rights in Twenty-First Century Theater. Global Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Congo Reform Association. 1904a. *Evidence laid before the Congo Commission of Inquiry at Bwembu, Bolobo, Lulanga, Baringa, Bongandanga, Ikau, Bonginda, and Monsembe. Together with a summary of events (and documents connected therewith) on the A.B.I.R. concession since the Commission visited that territory*. Liverpool: Congo Reform Association.

- Congo Reform Association. 1904b. *The Treatment of Women and children in the Congo State 1895-1904: An Appeal to the Women of the United States of America - Selections of a pamphlet of E.D. Morel*. Boston: Congo Reform Association
- Dunn, Kevin. 2003. *Imagining the Congo. The International Relations of Identity*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Eriksson Baaz, Maria and Marie Stern. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1965. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Fassin, Didier. 2007. *When Bodies Remember. Experiences and Politics of AIDS in South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Grant Kevin. 2015. "The Limits of Exposure: Atrocity Photographs in the Congo Reform Campaign", edited by Fehrenbach Heide and Davide Rodogno. *Humanitarian Photography*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Grenade, Iwan. 1904. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brussels.
- Halttunen, Karen. 1995. "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture." *The American Historical Review* 100(2), 303-334.
- Harris, John H. 1904. *Report of the Proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry at Baringa*. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15 December, Brussels.
- Hartman, Saidiya. 2008. "Venus in Two Acts." *Small Axe* 26 (June), 1-14.
- Hochschild Adam. 1998. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Höller, Christen and Achille Mbembe. 2007. "Africa in Motion: An Interview with the Postcolonialism Theoretician Achille Mbembe." *Mute*, 17 March, <http://www.metamute.org/editorial/articles/africa-motion-interview-post-colonialism-theoretician-achille-mbembe> last accessed 22 October 2015.

- Hunt, Nancy Rose. 2008. "An Acoustic Register, Tenacious Images, and Congolese Scenes of Rape and Repetition." *Cultural Anthropology* 23(2), 220-253.
- Jema of Lokoka. 1904. Deposition 242. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Liasse 1, 28 December, Brussels.
- Lemarchand, Rene. 2013. "Reflections on the Recent Historiography of Eastern Congo." *Journal of African History* 54(3), 417-437.
- Longtain, Albert. 1904. *Circulaire 21: Aux Gardes Forestiers*. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Liasse 1, 1 August, Brussels.
- Lontombu of Lifumba. 1904. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 29 December, Brussels.
- Malkki, Lisa. 1995. *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory and National Cosmology Among Hutu Refugees*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mbembe, Achille. 2001. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mingo of Ilua. 1905. Deposition 267. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Liasse 1, 2 January, Brussels.
- Mongondo of Mampoko. 1905. Deposition 266. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Liasse 1, 2 January, Brussels.
- Padfield, Charles William. 1904. Deposition 257. Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Liasse 1, 31 December, Brussels.
- Razack, Sherene H. 2007. "Stealing the Pain of Others: Reflections on Canadian Humanitarian Responses." *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 29(4), 372-394.
- Richards, Paul. 2005. *No Peace, No War: An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflicts*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Roes, Aldwin. 2010. "Towards a History of Mass Violence in the Etat Indépendant du Congo 1885-1908." *South African Historical Journal* 62 (4), 634-670.

Singleton-Gates Peter, Casement Roger, Girodias Maurice. 1959. *The Black Diaries: An Account Of Roger Casement's Life And Times, With A Collection Of His Diaries And Public Writings*. New York: Grove Press.

Stengers, Jean. "Le rôle de la commission d'Enquête de 1904-1905 au Congo." *L'Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*

Stoler, Ann Laura. 2008. "Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination." *Cultural Anthropology*, 23(2), 191-219.

Vangroenweghe, Daniel. 1986. *Du sang sur les lianes. Léopold II et son Congo*. Bruxelles: Didier Hattier.

Williams, George Washington. 1890. "An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II, King of the Belgians and Sovereign of the Independent State of Congo By Colonel, The Honorable Geo. W. Williams, of the United States of America". In Franklin, John Hope. 1985. *George Washington Williams. A Biography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson R.A. and Mitchell 2003. Cited in Pottier, Johan. 2007. "Rights Violations, Rumour, and Rhetoric: Making Sense of Cannibalism in Mambasa, Ituri (Democratic Republic of Congo). *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S.)* 13, 825-843.