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# Jung in Africa: the historical record

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*Abstract*: Blake Burleson's ninety-minute presentation was part one of 'A Passage to Africa' moderated by John Beebe. Eight individual filmed sequences from home movies taken by Helton Godwin Baynes during Jung's 1925 expedition to East Africa were shown. In addition to placing these clips in their historical, geographic, and cultural context, Burleson introduced the following cultural complexes revealed in the film and in travelling companion Ruth Bailey's commentary on the film: romantic primitivism, 'going black', self-conscious élite, '*furor Africanus*', the 'black man's burden', racial inferiority, and the 'curse of Ham'.

*Key words:* Ruth Bailey, Jung in Africa, Baynes's film, cultural complex, racial inferiority

## Introduction

Carl Jung's five month 'psychological expedition' to East Africa in 1925-26 was an attempt to establish what he called a 'psychic observation post' outside of the 'European sphere of influence'. Part of Jung's genius was his sensitivity to the hazards of an individual falling under the influence of collective life. It was out of this awareness that he made extensive trips to North Africa, North America, and East Africa during the 1920s in order to seek distance from the European cultural hegemony. Jung's expedition to Africa, however, was also an instinctive pilgrimage repeated by countless Europeans of his generation who left their homes by the thousands searching for something in 'out places' worldwide.

At about the same time Jung was making his trip, there were three other expeditions taking place which were making world news. The February 1925 issue of *National Geographic Magazine* was devoted to an article entitled 'Cairo to Cape Town, Overland' undertaken by the journalist Felix Shay and his wife. Two months before this article appeared Jung had met the world famous naturalist and explorer Carl Akeley who was soon to embark on a fifth extensive expedition to East Africa. That expedition, which would prove fatal to Akeley, was conducted while Jung was in Africa. The third expedition was that

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of another world famous adventurer, Sir Alan Cobham, who was attempting to make the first trans-African flight ever. Cobham departed from London in November 1925 and landed in Jinja, Uganda, on January 8, 1926. Jung and his party had just arrived in Jinja and they were able to witness Cobham's plane land at the aerodrome.

While Jung's expedition, along with those of Shay, Akeley, and Cobham, had 'scientific' aims, the personal motivations for exploration, for travel, for pilgrimage are multifaceted. In part, Jung's journey was motivated by a desire to return to the 'primitive'. This was not only a desire to connect to indigenous peoples who unlike modern Europeans had not 'lost their souls', but it was also a desire to connect to the 'primitive' within himself. There were, of course, shadow sides to these expeditions. While much of Jung's work in Africa was aimed at finding the universal, 'primitive' layer of the human psyche which surpassed personal and cultural differences, we can discern from the distance of time, Jung's own unconscious cultural assumptions which represented his particular period in history and which distorted his aims.

Michael Adams, Sam Kimbles and Thomas Singer, building upon Jung's original theory of complexes and upon Joseph Henderson's theory of the cultural unconscious, have led the way in focusing analytical psychology in recent years on cultural complexes. They point out that while complexes remain 'the cornerstone of the day-to-day work of psychotherapy and analysis' (Singer 2006, p. 199), Jungians have typically limited their exploration to personal or archetypal complexes while largely ignoring cultural complexes. Cultural complexes, which they argue are implicit though not explicit in Jung's work, 'are based on repetitive, historical group experiences which have taken root in the cultural unconscious of the group' (Singer & Kimbles 2004, p. 7). A historical and cultural exposé of the Jung expedition holds the possibility of identifying cultural complexes in the 1920s which continue to shape our understanding of Africa and Africans today.

## The Baynes film

One of Jung's travelling companions on the African excursion was his first assistant Helton Godwin (Peter) Baynes. A British citizen and principal architect of the expedition, Baynes filmed portions of the journey through Kenya, Uganda, the Sudan and Egypt with a sixteen-millimetre camera. This presentation explored eight clips from this film, seven of which were taken in the North Kavirondo district of Kenya near Mt. Elgon where Jung and party camped for three weeks among the Elgonyi people.

## Kikuyu dance

Before arriving in North Kavirondo for the walking safari, Baynes travelled fifteen miles northwest of Nairobi to the village of Kikuyu where he filmed a

dance by the Kikuyu people.[1] The Kikuyu, a Bantu group located in the central highlands, were the largest ethnic population in Kenya. There are two dance circles in the clip; the first is composed of men moving around clockwise, the second is of women. Of particular note in this scene is the fact that the Kikuyu bystanders are more interested in watching Baynes film the event than they are in the event. Near chaos ensues as the Kikuyu gather around Baynes so that, despite his tall height, he has difficulty filming the dance. Aggressive management of the crowd by *askaris* (soldiers) and others clear space temporarily.

One of Jung's travelling companions on the expedition was a twenty-eight-year-old nurse, Ruth Bailey, who became Jung's lifelong friend and companion. When Bailey viewed this clip forty-five years later, her response to the enthusiastic reaction of these Kikuyu bystanders to Baynes was that they 'had never seen white people before' and that 'they thought that [their European] skin was made of white clay' (Bailey 1970, p. 6). While the Kikuyu had, of course, seen Europeans before (Europeans, in fact, lived all around them in farms), Jung did claim that he, like countless explorers before him, was the first to walk on virgin territory. 'Cornwallis Harris, an early traveler in the Transvaal, said that there was something God-like about being the first white man in an area; it was like presiding over a new creation' (McLynn 1992, p. 342). Jung purposefully travelled to the African hinterland in order to bypass the cultural level of the psyche. In the 'Protocols', Jung remarked that '[n]owhere [in Africa] did the cultural consciousness interrupt'. It was 'prehistory . . . a wonderful dream' (p. 371).

Continuing her commentary, Bailey noted that

> it was still primitive in Africa [when we were there]. [Jung] used to say, 'We saw Africa at its very best, as a primitive state'. You see this was before the Mau Mau, because the Mau Mau were terribly bad on Mt. Elgon. They went into savages. When we were there, they were very nice people—like children. They used to run out to see us, and with this Mau Mau it converted them into the most terrible people.
>
> (1969, p. 48)

Bailey's comments expose an unconscious assumption, a cultural complex which has been called 'romantic primitivism'. The Africanist Ali Mazrui, a Kenyan academic and political writer, notes that this theme validates the 'simplicity and non-technical traditions' of pre-colonial Africa (1986, p. 73). Africans, before colonization, were thought to have an idyllic life. They were childlike, innocent, naïve, and unexposed to the greater world of rationality, science, and technology. Early European travellers seeking to escape from crowded and polluted cities often projected these assumptions upon all that they saw in Africa. 'Romantic primitivists' like Karen Blixen (1937/1985) who wrote *Out of Africa*

[1] This determination is based on Baynes's handwritten notes of the contents of the film which are held by Diana Baynes Jansen. Apart from these notes there are no other references to this occasion. It is unknown if Baynes was accompanied by others.

saw the modernizing of Africa—with its cities, states, and political processes—as a corruption of this idyllic garden. Bailey's simple equation that as 'children' (that is in their pre-colonial state) Africans were good and as Mau Mau (in their politicized state) Africans were 'terrible people', is explained, in part, by this assumption of 'romantic primitivism'. Ironically, Bailey is apparently unaware that the Africans seen in the Baynes film are Kikuyu, the principal actors in the Mau Mau uprising which led to Kenyan independence. Kenya's first president and 'father of the nation', Jomo Kenyatta, a Kikuyu, was imprisoned in the last days of the colonial period for his alleged Mau Mau activities. Robert Ellwood (1999) in his book *The Politics of Myth* suggests that Jung, along with Mircea Eliade and Joseph Campbell, were anti-modern romantic mythologists who believed that modernizing peasant populations would have disastrous results. While the colonial experiment in Africa was, indeed, a disaster, Kenyatta's revolution, facilitated by the Mau Mau, was, in part, inspired by a return to indigenous political and cultural structures which were sophisticated and complex.

**Caravan on march**

From Nairobi, Jung and party travelled to the North Kavirondo district in western Kenya where they began their sixty-mile walking caravan from Kakamega to Mt. Elgon, a romantic adventure supported by human porterage. In this clip, we glimpse forty-eight porters carrying the camping equipment and supplies for the five-week journey of the four Europeans. These sixty pound loads were carried on the head. If all porters carried the maximum load, the total weight would be 2,880 pounds. The main camp equipment for typical safaris included tents, ground sheets, mosquito nets, hammocks, bags, wash-basins, pillows, lanterns, lamps, bottles, towels, boxes, blankets, food stuffs, tables, kitchenware, tableware, dishes, hammers, hatchets, ropes, and water-filters. In addition, all personal items of the team were carried by porters—clothing, guns, medicine, Baynes's camera, etc.

How do we evaluate this preoccupation with protection and convenience, this extraordinary effort to take 'civilization' with one into the wilds? On the one hand, the explanation for carrying these excessive loads is relatively simple. Labour was cheap and the safarists wanted to live as comfortably and as safely as possible while in the African bush. There is, however, a further explanation engendered by a cultural complex. It was a common perception at this time that Europeans in Africa should keep up the outward appearances of 'civilization' in order to prevent one from 'going black'. 'Going black' was a complex of major concern and interest in colonial Africa at that time. When Jung and Baynes were interviewed in Nairobi by the *East Africa Standard* just before setting out to Mt. Elgon, the primary focus of the article was on how the 'Bugishu Psychological Expedition' might assist in remedying 'one of the tragedies of Africa', namely the European 'who "has gone native"' (p. 5). Jung would later identify his

own behaviour on safari as compensatory in order to avoid the trap. He wrote:

> It is a compensation, the same thing one finds in Africa in the form of extreme conventionality . . . There is a very rigid etiquette as a compensation for the extreme looseness of the Negro. We found out that ourselves; as soon as we were in the wilds, we became very particular that our boys should be clean . . . we were very strict about the cleanliness of the boys. They liked to be as dirty as possible but when serving at table, they had to wear white turbans and white shokas; we made it ceremonial. And you felt that if you did not shave for one day you would never shave again. You would get out of your own hands, you would practically lose yourself, and that is the beginning of the going black.
>
> (Jung 1997, p. 621)

By the trip's end, Jung felt that he was on the verge of 'going black'.

**Rest house at Mwanza**

According to Baynes's notes of the film's contents, this clip is from the 'first boma of the safari'. This was Mwanza village, located approximately eighteen miles from Kakamega, where there was a rest house. There were four rest houses on the sixty mile hike between Kakamega and Mt. Elgon. A rest house consisted of a square building of hard mud and wattle with thatched roof and cow-dung-packed floor. These were unfurnished and the visitors brought their own bedding. The rest houses were maintained by local chiefs for the visiting colonial officials, but they were also available to tourists on safari. The Jung expedition was, of course, officially sanctioned and financially supported by the British Colonial Office. They were considered 'semi-official' as Jung put it. The rest houses were assets to the local people since they brought in money. The visitors always purchased foodstuffs such as chickens, eggs, milk, sheep, vegetables, and fruits.

In this clip, Jung is seen sitting on the verandah of the rest house talking to the cook, Ephraim,[2] who is holding a tin of, perhaps, tea or coffee. Jung opens a chop box and pulls out a tin. The chop boxes of foodstuffs, supplied by Lawn and Adler of London, contained canned meats, milk products, tinned fruits and vegetables, condiments, breakfast foods, desserts, and beverages.

In viewing this scene, Ruth Bailey said that 'each [team member] had a personal boy . . . ' (1970, p. 8). Jung noted in a letter which he wrote from Africa that they had 'four black servants and a cook' (p. 43). These five Kenyans had been employed in Nairobi and we know four of their names—Ibrahim, Ussuf, Sali, and Ephraim. Except for Ibrahim, the Somali headman, these assistants were all from the Swahili ethnic group, a people from the coast of Kenya. What this scene reveals in the most subtle of ways is the companionship between the

[2] Ephraim is identified by Baynes in his 'Contents of E. African film'.

Europeans and their Swahili assistants, an arrangement facilitated by a cultural complex.

European penetration into the interior of Africa from the time of Livingstone, Stanley, Burton, Speke, and others was supported by Africans from the Swahili coast. The Swahili, while representing only a tiny fraction of the population of East Africa, have had an immeasurable influence upon her history. Since the second century CE, Arabs and Persians had established trading communities along the East African coast. By the seventh century with the advent of Islam, a civilization had been produced—with an Islamicized Bantu population who had Somali, Arabic, Persian, and Indian heritage. This civilization and these peoples were the gateway for Europeans who sought entry into the interior. The Swahili peoples considered themselves above the 'uncivilized' Africans but beneath the royal Arabs, sons of the Prophet. Monotheists who were 'half-brothers' to the Arabs, 'made up for their lack of birth by being zealous [Muslims]' (Blixen 1937/1985). Europeans shared this same assessment of them. Felix Shay, of the 1925 National Geographic expedition, wrote: 'Show me a black boy in Africa with one per cent Arab blood in his veins and I will show you one who is smarter than his fellows' (p. 235). The Swahili made excellent safari companions for many reasons—they were skilled linguists, they knew the terrain—but also because they shared the Europeans' conclusions about Africans as inferior. The Swahili, in fact, did not see themselves as Africans, whom they considered to be pagan savages.

This self-conscious élite complex held firm sway among the Swahili in Kenya until the days of the Moi government (1978-2002). Moi, who was a Kalenjin from the Rift Valley, exploited the complex by arguing that the Swahili, as they themselves had always claimed, were not truly African, not truly Kenyan. Faced with the possibility of being disenfranchised within their own country, Swahili cultural institutions began in the 1990s to re-examine and re-affirm their Bantu/African roots which had been consistently downplayed in their oral and written histories. What we note in the Baynes film is that the companionship between the European safarists and their African assistants is built, in part, on the complex of the self-conscious élitism of the Swahili.

**Paying the porters**

In this clip we see the cooperation between Jung and his African *askaris* (soldiers). Three armed *askaris*, a corporal and two privates, were provided by the district commissioner at Kakamega to escort the caravan. The three were likely to have been drawn from the Kakamega police force or from the King's African Rifles, units made up primarily of Nandi, the predominant ethnic group in the area.

In this clip taken at the Murumbu rest house just north of the Nzoia River at Broderick Falls, Jung distributes money to the porters with assistance primarily from two *askaris* identified by Baynes as 'Sabei and Corporal'. After Jung lights

his pipe and organizes the money, the *askaris* shepherd the porters through the line to the seated Jung. In the distribution of payments, Jung gives one coin to two porters, apparently for them to split between them. Most of the Elgonyi porters in this line are dressed in traditional *shukas* (wraps). Forty-four porters proceed through the line. Corporal and Sabei, who loom much larger than the porters, handle each set as they move to the table. At one point, one of the porters lags behind his partner as they go through the line together. Corporal notices this and forcefully pushes him on. The *askaris* are more careful after this incident. Following the exercises there is general congratulation all around at the completion of the task.

This clip, more than any other in the Baynes film, depicts the colonial situation in 1925. There is the white *Bwana* behind the administrative desk, African soldiers providing order to the European enterprise, and the line of ordinary Africans receiving meagre rewards for their services. While there are multiple complexities to this clip, I want to focus on a cultural complex during the colonial period which continued into the post-colonial era. This complex was called '*furor Africanus*' by Charles Trench (1993) who wrote *Men Who Ruled Kenya* which covered the years 1892-1936. '*Furor Africanus*' was a management technique of employing 'sudden rage at some gross misdemeanour by an African' (p. 86). Trench noted that this complex 'could overcome the mildest European' (ibid.). One DC in 1925 became so angry with a gazetted chief that he had him held down and whipped (ibid.). This anger erupted when the European detected what, from his point of view, was something backward, stupid, illogical, or lazy in African behaviour. What is impressive about this complex is the amount of anger generated by what was sometimes the smallest of indiscretions.

In this clip, we note a porter who on first glance appears not to be paying attention on how to move through the line properly, that is, two by two. This is a simple procedure which young children can obviously perform. This one porter wants to go through by himself. Why can't he understand this simple rule? Well the obvious answer might be that he, in fact, understands the rule quite well but wants to cheat the system. Perhaps the anger generated by African indiscretions exposes the insecurity of the European about the colonial system itself. And where reason would not suffice in engendering cooperation, instilling the fear of wrath in the colonized was the technique of choice in 'handling natives'. This threatening behaviour of colonizers spontaneously arose from the cultural unconscious.

### The playlet of the hyena attack

On the second day on the march, fifteen miles northeast of Kakamega, the caravan entered the Kabras Forest. That evening as they sat around the campfire at the Mulubi rest house, the slumbering caravan was surrounded by a pack of ravenous hyenas that had smelled the blood from the lamb which Ephraim had served for dinner. The sleeping Ephraim who had his own quarters was attacked

by a hyena, although he was apparently unharmed. Several days later Baynes filmed a re-enactment of this attack upon the cook. Jung appears in the scene as theatre director for two *askari* actors.

Re-enactments of events involving wild animals were part and parcel of nineteenth and twentieth century African hunting expeditions. Adventure and travel books written by expatriates (such as Karen Blixen or J. H. Patterson) include accounts of African mimicry. Jung was impressed with Africans as 'excellent judges of character', noting that '[o]ne of their avenues to insight lay in their talent for mimicry' (Jung 1963, p. 259). 'They could imitate with astounding accuracy the manner of expression, the gestures, the gaits of people, thus to all intents and purposes, slipping into their skins' (ibid.). He 'found their understanding of the emotional nature of others altogether surprising' (ibid.). Jung's assessment that African genius lay in emotion is both his original observation about African cultural identity and a typical western projection about Africans, a cultural complex. For Jung, Africans were characterized by the feeling function (Jung 1971, para. 692). They 'live from their affects, are moved and have their being in emotions' (1963, p. 242).

On the one hand, Jung's observations regarding the emotional intelligence of Africans resonate with the Negritude philosophy of Léopold Senghor of Senegal who found African sapience not in analytical reason and cold objectivity but in affective instinct and warm feeling. Hence Senghor's famous maximum, 'Emotion is Black . . . Reason is Greek'. The Africanist Ali Mazrui wrote: 'To the French philosopher Descartes' assertion, "I think, therefore I am", Senghor counterposed the African genius as being, "I feel, therefore I am"' (Mazrui 1986, p. 74). The African theologian John Mbiti's dictum, 'I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am', reflects a similar and well-known feeling-centred approach to African character.

On the other hand, Jung's assessment was a western projection with a long history. The South African Laurens van der Post recognized the projection as a cultural complex with a bipolar dimension. He noted that '[t]he white man can see in the black man only those aspects which confirm and justify his own projection and enable it to pass itself off as an outward and genuinely objective condition—which it is not' (1955, pp. 71-2). Van der Post saw 'the black man' as a 'container' for the 'rational, calculating, acutely reasoning and determined human being that Western man has made of himself' which 'has increasingly considered [the feeling] side of himself not as a brother but as an enemy, capable, with his upsurges of rich emotion and colourful impulses, of wrecking conscious man's carefully planned and closely reasoned way of existence' (pp. 69-70). Van der Post labelled this complex as the 'black man's burden' which was to carry this 'terrible unconscious projection' (p. 71). The 'black man's burden' is, of course, the counterpart of the cultural complex known as the 'white man's burden', a phrase popularized in a poem by Rudyard Kipling in 1907. It was the 'white man's burden' to bring institutions to the colonized which were built on the Enlightenment infrastructure of Reason rather than 'tribal' Feeling.

**Palaver at Elgon campsite**

After five days on the march the caravan arrived on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Elgon where they would camp for three weeks. Jung felt he had found one of the most remote (and 'primitive') peoples in all of Africa—the Elgonyi. The original group which Jung planned to study was not the Elgonyi but the Bugishu, a Bantu people whose headquarters was on the western side of Mt. Elgon across the Ugandan border. The Bugishu, an agricultural people, found natural alliance with the British and had begun migrating into Kenya (and into Elgonyi homelands) in large numbers. The railroad that transported Jung to western Kenya was largely built by Bugishu labour. The Bugishu were rapidly adapting to the colonial situation whereas the Elgonyi, on the other hand, were a marginalized people who were being squeezed by the Bugishu and the European settlers. Traditionally, the Elgonyi were a Nilotic cattle-people of the forests residing in caves in the mountain. By 1925, however, their numbers had dwindled to 5,000 and they were thought to be a 'dying tribe'. Pastoral instincts were giving way to agriculture, and large family units were moving out of the mountain rainforests and into the villages at the foot of the mountain. Jung's campsite was in an uninhabited valley near one of these villages. His aim was to hold gatherings or palavers with the Elgonyi in order to study their dreams and religious beliefs.

In this clip Jung is seated with notebook in hand under acacia trees conversing with about twenty Elgonyi men. While Jung had studied Swahili on the voyage to Kenya, this limited use of the language would prove virtually useless in these palavers. Few, if any, of the Elgonyi whom he interviewed knew Swahili with any degree of proficiency. Jung later admitted that the palavers 'resembled an amusing game of guessing riddles' (Jung 1963, p. 264). In the end, Jung learned very little about the Elgonyi from the palavers; he collected only one dream during the entire three weeks. He concluded that his meagre research results were to be blamed on the 'primitive' Elgonyi, who were not able to sustain consciousness long enough to engage in reasoned dialogue. This explanation by Jung echoed the work of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's distinction between 'primitive' and 'civilized' man.

The real problem with communication, however, was that the Elgonyi did not trust Jung. In taking the palaver approach, Jung was guaranteed to learn virtually nothing of Elgonyi dream-life. While Jung understood that he had to 'win the confidence of the natives', the palaver approach was not to be successful. To the disenfranchised Elgonyi, Jung, with his entourage of *askaris*, looked like a colonial representative. Perhaps he had been commissioned by the British to learn about the traditional ways in order to subvert them, in order to turn the Elgonyi into obedient subjects of the King of England. Amazingly, this projection by the Elgonyi continues to the present. My key Elgonyi informant during a 2003 visit to Mt. Elgon was Reverend Francis Kiboi, an Oxford-educated faculty member at a school of theology in Kenya. Rev. Kiboi proposed the idea to me

that Jung was commissioned by the British to find out how best to handle the unruly Elgonyi. He said

> I see that if Carl Jung had not suggested that [my] people be divided and dispersed probably the British government would not have taken that step. They would have left [them] intact . . . It is unfortunate.

While there is no evidence Jung made any suggestions to the British regarding the Elgonyi situation, Rev. Kiboi's suspicions betray the fact that a colonial complex lingers some eight decades later. It is no secret that African politicians in the post-colonial period have exploited this complex which saw all Europeans (whether settlers, government officials, missionaries, or tourists) as in league against Africans and thus the cause of all evils and calamities in their world. Robert Mugabe's exploitation of this complex in Zimbabwe serves as a recent and unhappy example.

**Cheebteek, Elgonyi prophet**

In Baynes's notes on the film he indicates the arrival of 'Tendeet and his wives' followed by a 'palaver with Gaptek and others'. Tendeet, the Elgonyi headman in 1925, was recently appointed by the district commissioner. Tendeet's father was Cheebteek (alternate spelling of Gaptek), the unnamed 'laibon, the old medicine man' in Jung's *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. The term *laibon* is a Masai word meaning 'prophet' rather than 'medicine man'. The Elgonyi, like all Nilotic peoples of East Africa such as the Masai, recognized unique individuals who had special powers for predicting major events but who were not associated with the healing arts. The Elgonyi word for prophet is *warkoonteet*. In this clip, Cheebteek is wearing a coat. Jung described this visitor to his campsite as wearing 'a splendid cloak made of the skins of blue monkeys—a valuable article of display'. When I visited the Elgonyi in this same vicinity in 2003, a ninety-five-year-old elder who knew Cheebteek confirmed that he wore this coat.

Jung asked this 'old medicine man' whether he had dreams:

> Our Elgonyi porters maintained in all seriousness that they never had dreams—only the medicine-man had them. When I questioned the medicine-man, he declared that he had stopped having dreams when the British entered the land. His father had still had 'big' dreams, he told me, and had known where the herds strayed, where the cows took their calves, and when there was going to be a war or pestilence. It was now the District Commissioner who knew everything, and they knew nothing . . . . God now speaks in dreams to the British, and not to the medicine-man of the Elgonyi, he told me, because it is the British who have the power.
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> (Jung 1964, para. 128).

We must consider if Jung was aware that he was asking a political question when he questioned Cheebteek about his dreams. Under the colonial policy of indirect rule, the *warkoonteet* was the obvious traditional authority to place

in the position of a formal office in the new system. Thus, Tendeet, the son of Cheebteek and the prophet-to-be, had been appointed as 'chief'. These newly appointed headmen, like Tendeet, were expected to carry out the wishes of the District Commissioner. For Cheebteek to admit or to announce that he had dreams would have been an act of treason. Thus we have to wonder in his answer to Jung, if Cheebteek, whose son was a paid employee of the colonial government, was playing the role of obedient servant of the British monarch. Did he see Jung, with his armed entourage, as a representative of the colonial administration, there to find out how things were going? Or was he telling it straight? I think it possible that the answer is both and that Jung is witnessing the sad capitulation of power on the part of Cheebteek. When only a few years later, the Elgon prophet Mangusho began to announce his dreams that the Europeans were going to depart, he was arrested and deported (Goldschmidt 1979, p. 59). Jung's observations here seem to illustrate a racial inferiority complex which has been called 'the colonization of the mind', a phenomenon in which people who have been subjugated militarily, economically, and culturally abandon their indigenous capacities of creativity and insight through an acceptance of assumed inferiority. This cultural complex was played out all over colonial Africa and still exists in many places today.

**Cave family of Elgon**

In the last clip, Jung and party explore an inhabited cave. By 1925, there were only a few Elgonyi families living in caves which were located around the mountain in volcanic ash bands between 6,000 and 9,000 feet. These fortresses provided shelter from the weather and protection from marauding Masai and Bugishu raiders. At about the time of Jung's visit, the British had gazetted the forest region of the mountain which held the cave bands, excluding it as a 'native reserve'. The Elgonyi were thus pushed from their forest homes to the steppes to the south. Thus, the family in this clip represents one of the last families to dwell in these caves which had been their home for centuries. The scene primarily focuses on Jung who coaxes the two boys out of their domicile and playfully talks with them until they retire shyly back inside.

Peter Brown (1981), in his book *The Cult of the Saints*, says that pilgrims were 'not merely going to a place; they were going to a place to meet a person' (p. 88). We might imagine that this Elgonyi boy is the one person Jung has come to meet. This boy, perhaps more than anyone Jung meets on his Africa pilgrimage, represents, at least for Jung, what he called the 'primitive'. Here is a naked boy living in a cave in one of the most remote places of the entire African continent. Jung chose Mt. Elgon as his laboratory for 'psychic observations' for numerous reasons but, in part, the destination was inspired by the novel *She* by H. Rider Haggard. Only months before his African excursion, Jung had conducted a seminar in Zürich which focused on this psychological novel. The settings for the novel were caves in the African interior. Haggard's novel itself

was inspired by the first written record of the Elgon caves provided by the British explorer Joseph Thomson. Thomson explored the caves in 1883, describing a number of large caves occupied by the Elgonyi and their cattle. When Thomson (1968) asked the Elgonyi who had made these caves, they responded to him that God had made them. Thomson, who did not believe that these great earthworks were natural, wrote that they 'must have been excavated by the hand of man'. It was his fanciful conclusion that 'in a very remote era some very powerful race, considerably advanced in the arts and civilization, excavated these great caves in their search for precious stones' (1968, p. 301). The most likely candidates according to Thomson were the Egyptians. Thomson's logic, and, indeed, that of Haggard, was that if any greatness in material culture or civilization were to be found in the interior of Africa, it must have come from elsewhere.

Here we touch upon a cultural complex which we might call the 'curse of Ham'. Its basic premise is that everything African is inferior to everything outside of Africa. Africans are thought of strictly as black and Africa as strictly sub-Saharan Africa, the 'Dark Continent'. Egypt, therefore, which was a great civilization, could not be considered African. We recognize, of course, that this stereotyping of Africa results from eighteenth and nineteenth century associations with race which continue into the present period. A recent example of this complex is the fact that the discredited 1994 book *The Bell Curve* by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein became a best seller in America. *The Bell Curve* argued that blacks were inferior intellectually and that they, like all ethnic groups, should practise 'wise ethnocentricism' in order to capitalize on demonstrated aptitudes of the group. The only claim to aptitude they could think of for African-Americans was 'the dominance of many black athletes'. Jung's conclusions about African capabilities are complicated but I want to point out that, as a result of his trip to Africa, he appears to cite evidence which counters the 'curse of Ham' complex. For example, Jung felt that that he had discovered the source of Egyptian spirituality in the caves of Mt. Elgon. Jung proposed that the 'Horus principle' (that is the principle of light arising out of the darkness or of consciousness arising out of unconsciousness) was originally an African invention which made its way from East Africa down the Nile to Egypt. While neither Joseph Thomson nor H. Rider Haggard could have imagined such a preposterous claim, Afrocentric writers like Marcy Garvey, Molefi Asante, Cheikh Anta Diop, and George James, reacting to the complex of white supremacy with a complex of black pride, later argued that Egypt was built on the genius of the Hamitic Africans from Nubia. Their claims would get a second look when a Euro-American scholar, Martin Bernal, wrote *Black Athena: The Afroasiastic Roots of Classical Civilization* in 1987. Bernal's work suggested that Western civilization built as assumed upon ancient Greece owes its cultural inheritance to a second millennium BC Egypt which was predominantly African. Bernal's thesis is that the Aryan models of classical civilization held in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries are fabrications born out of racism and cultural arrogance. Jung never wrote about his 'discovery' in an

academic journal. We only find references to these ideas in *MDR* and in private letters. Was this because he felt that his conclusions would have been seen as laughable given the cultural attitude about Africa? While Jung as a student of early twentieth century evolutionary models would not have known what is now established (beginning with the discoveries of the Leakeys of Kenya)—that humans are biologically highly homogenous and that we apparently evolved from one small group of African ancestors—Jung instinctively understood that beneath the trappings of their civilized capabilities Europeans were not some newly constructed biological organisms somehow different from Africans. He seemed to intuitively understand that we are all Africans under the skin.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, we recognize that Jung's passage to Africa can be approached on multiple levels. The Baynes film provides a visceral focus allowing us to become immersed in the historical details so that we might more fully appreciate and respect the difficulties Jung faced in his attempt to dislocate himself from the cultural unconscious. His attempt to do so, while partially unsuccessful, was intentional, consistent, and admirable. Jung's motive in seeking out 'the primitive' was, in part, his desire to establish a 'psychic observation post' outside of the 'European sphere of influence'. From that post in Africa, Jung attempted to view the complex of western hegemonic world dominance through democracy, science, industry, capitalism, individualism, and rationalism. The film reminds us of the powerful role that Africa has played in Western imagination and projection as this continent served and continues to serve as the perfect container for the shadow side of Europeans and Americans.

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Translations of Abstract

La présentation de Blake Burleson constitue la première partie de son exposé en panel, 'Billet pour l'Afrique', lors du XVIIème Congrès de l'IAAP à Cape Town. Huit séquences, extraites des films amateurs de Helton Godwin Baynes durant l'expédition africaine de Jung en 1925, y sont montrées. Après avoir replacé ces extraits dans leur contexte historique, géographique et culturel, Burleson introduit un ensemble de complexes culturels révélés par le film et les commentaires qu'en fait Ruth Bailey, compagne de voyage de Jung: le primitivisme romantique, le devenir-noir, l'élite consciente de sa suprématie, la *furor Africanus*, le fardeau de l'homme noir, l'infériorité raciale et la malédiction de Cham.

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Blake Burlesons Präsentation war Teil Eins einer Podiums-Präsentation 'Eine Reise nach Afrika' beim XVII IAAP Kongress in Kapstadt. Acht einzeln gedrehte Amateurfilmsequenzen von Helton Godwin Baynes während Jungs (1925) Expedition nach Ost-Afrika wurden gezeigt. Diese Clips wurden in ihren historischen, geographischen und kulturellen

Kontext eingeordnet. Außerdem gab Burleson eine Einführung in folgende kulturelle Komplexe, die sich im Film und in den Kommentaren zum Film von der Reisebegleiterin Ruth Bailey zeigen: Romantischer Primitivismus, 'going black', selbstbewusste Elite, 'Furor Afrikanus', die 'Last des schwarzen Mannes', rassische Unterlegenheit, und 'Fluch der Unterlegenheit'.

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La presentazione di Blake Burleson faceva parte della presentazione del panel 'Un passaggio in Africa' al XVII Congresso Internazionale della IAAP a Cape Town. Sono stati mostrati 8 filmati da riprese fatte da Helton Godwin Baynes durante la spedizione di Jung nell'East Africa del 1925. Oltre a collocare tali filmati nel loro contesto storico, geografico e culturale, Burleson introdusse I seguenti complessi culturali rivelati ale riprese e dai commenti sulle stesse del compagno di viaggio Ruth Bailey: primitivismo romantico, 'diventare neri', elite conscia del sé, '*furore Africano*', 'il fardello dell'uomo nero', 'inferiorità razziale' e ' la maledizione di Ham'.

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La presentación de Blake Burleson fue parte de el panel 'Un Pasaje a África' en el XVII Congreso de la IAAP en Ciudad del Cabo. Ocho peronas mostaron secuencias de películas realizadas por Helton Godwin Baynes de la expedición de Jung a África Oriental en 1925. Además de mostrar estos cortos en su contexto histórico, geográfico y cultural, Burlenson introduce los siguientes complejos revelados en la película y por los comentarios de la compañera de viaje Ruth Balley: el primitivismo romántico, 'volviéndose negro', La auto-consciencia elitesca, *'Furor Africanus'*, el 'aburrimiento del hombre negro', la inferioridad racial, y la 'maldición de Ham'.

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