

KING LEOPOLD'S
RULE IN AFRICA

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*Motherhood.
Bangala Woman and Child.
From the Bronze by Herbert Ward.*

KING LEOPOLD'S RULE IN AFRICA

BY
EDMUND D. MOREL
(E. D. M.)

AUTHOR OF
"AFFAIRS OF WEST AFRICA," "THE BRITISH CASE IN FRENCH CONGO"
"THE CONGO SLAVE STATE," "THE EMPIRE'S COTTON SUPPLY"
"THE SIERRA LEONE HUT-TAX INSURRECTION"
"TRADING MONOPOLIES IN WEST AFRICA," ETC. ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS



LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN

1904

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TO THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

P R E F A C E

THE struggle in England against the misrule of the Congo State really dates from September, 1896, when the Aborigines Protection Society, tired of making representations to the authorities in Brussels, appealed to the British Government. Its appeal fell on deaf ears. In the spring of the following year, Sir Charles Dilke brought the question, together with other matters connected with Africa, before the House of Commons, and suggested that the British Government should approach the Powers with a proposal for an international conference, "with a view to the adoption and enforcement of further measures for securing equitable treatment of the natives of Africa." He was generally supported by Mr. Sydney Buxton, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. John Burns, and Sir George Baden-Powell. The Congo State found an apologist in Captain Bethell, and the suggestion was declined by the Government.

The debate was followed by a public meeting, held under the auspices of the Aborigines Protection Society, at which Mr. John Morley, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Courtney spoke. From that time onwards, Mr. H. R. Fox-Bourne, the Society's secretary, stimulated by the published diary of Glave, by the disclosures of the Swedish missionary, Sjöblöm, and the Irish missionary, Murphy, and by reports from other sources, has waged a gallant fight against Congo State methods, culminating in the publication of his book, "Civilisation in Congoland," early in 1903.

Some five years ago the author of the present volume, whom circumstances some years previously had led to take an interest in West African questions generally, became convinced that the system of government carried on by the

authorities of the Congo State was a bad and wicked system, inflicting terrible wrongs upon the native races, and that the conception of tropical African development upon which it rested was one that ought to be struggled against without pause or abatement of energy in the interests of humanity, of European honour, and European statesmanship in the Dark Continent. To that conviction the author has ministered to the extent of his capacity and opportunities ever since, as an independent free lance in the columns of the *Nineteenth Century*, *Contemporary Review*, *Speaker*, *Morning Post*, *Daily News*, *Daily Chronicle*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *West African Mail*, and many other publications; in one or two foreign journals; in several pamphlets,* and in two volumes, "Affairs of West Africa" † and "The British Case in French Congo." In the course of this work the author, who was not acquainted, previous to 1901, with either Sir Charles Dilke or Mr. Fox-Bourne, who between them had borne up to that time the whole brunt of the fight, came into touch with these gentlemen, with whom he has been privileged on many occasions to co-operate.

The movement for reform thus inaugurated by the Aborigines Protection Society in 1896, made slow but appreciable progress in the education of public opinion. Towards the close of 1901 it received an impetus through the representations sent to the Foreign Office by fifteen British Chambers of Commerce, protesting against the treatment of British merchants in the French Congo. It became apparent to the Chambers more closely interested in the subject, that the hardships undergone by certain British firms in the French Congo were wholly attributable to the theoretical adoption by France of the system of State appropriation, or State-delegated appropriation of the land and the raw material yielded by the land, which is the bedrock of Congo State methods, and which France had applied to the French Congo in an evil moment. The action of the Chambers, at first confined to French Congo, not only widened, therefore, but became concentrated, as logically was bound to be the case,

* Published in 1901, 1902, 1903, and 1904.

† Since translated into French by M. Duchêne, Chief of the African Division of the French Colonial Office.

upon the Congo State, and at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in 1903 a resolution was carried to the effect that the "principles and practice introduced into the administration of the Congo Free State and other areas of the Conventional Basin of the Congo" were contrary to the Act of Berlin, and that the Government should be invited, in conjunction with the other Signatory Powers, to bring about reform.

The intervention of the Chambers of Commerce strengthened the movement in many respects. The Congo Government, however, saw therein the opportunity to represent the whole agitation as got up by "Liverpool merchants," jealous of Antwerp's growing importance as a rubber market; and its various henchmen, in Belgium and outside of it, have with somewhat monotonous persistency reiterated that amusing fiction on every possible occasion, and probably in every known European language. In point of fact, the only appreciable British material interest in the Congo State is exercised very strongly in favour of the present *régime*.

The author of this volume, who has no commercial interest of any kind whatsoever in Africa, was in 1902 invited, through his work as a writer on West African questions, to become a member of the Committee of the West African Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.* This circumstance the Congo crowd have positively revelled in, and the author has been made the butt of extravagant personal abuse. A pamphlet was even brought out in English and distributed broadcast, written by a person of the name of Demetrius C. Boulger,† in which it was stated, *inter alia*, that "Mr. Morel and his patrons want the control of the rubber trade, which, as a motive, is contemptible." ‡ Insinuations of this character have been useful in the sense that they have enabled one to insist in season and out of season upon the fundamental issue at stake.

* Which position he resigned this year.

† "The Congo State is not a Slave State," by Demetrius C. Boulger. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company. Price 6d.

‡ See also the issues of that strangely misnamed publication, "La Vérité sur le Congo," issued fortnightly from Brussels in the interests of the Congo Government.

To put the Congo State in the pillory and pelt it is comparatively easy, for elements of conviction increase every day. To make people understand that the ill treatment of the Natives does not belong—even in the superlative degree it has attained on the Congo—to that class of regrettable incidents from which the history of no Colonial Power is altogether free, has been, and is, a task of greater difficulty. To become an efficient power for good of a lasting kind, humanitarian feeling must be constructive. It is not enough to denounce a wrong; it is necessary to show how that wrong originates, and to put forward a practical remedy. In this respect the process of instructing Public Opinion still lacks in completeness, and the recently formed Congo Reform Association has a great and useful task to perform.

The wrong done to the Congo peoples originates from the substitution of commerce, which is based upon the recognition by Europe of native ownership in land and in the produce of the land (which the native alone can gather), with the consequent onus upon the European to PURCHASE that produce which modern industrialism requires; by a system based upon the right of a European State to expropriate the Native of tropical Africa from his land and from the produce of the land (which produce constitutes in tropical Africa the element of commerce), with the consequent elimination of the onus upon the European to PURCHASE produce which has ceased to belong to the gatherer of it. The only remedy lies in the reversal by civilisation of the latter system set up in the Congo territories, a system as immoral in conception as it is barbarous in execution, and disastrous to European prestige in its ultimate effects. It was worth while, and it continues to be worth while, to incur misrepresentation in the effort to make clear beyond possibility of doubt that the destruction of commercial relationship between the European and the African in tropical Africa means the enslavement of the African, and is the fundamental cause of all the abominations of Congo State control.

The alliance between humanitarian sentiment and practical knowledge of tropical African conditions was cemented at the Mansion House meeting, held under the auspices of the Aborigines Protection Society in May, 1902, with Mr. Alfred

E. Pease, M.P., in the Chair, supported by Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Alfred Lyall, and others, and, either by delegate or by letter, by the London, Liverpool, and Manchester Chambers, by the African Society, and by the Colonial Society of Germany. The resolutions passed expressed the opinion that the provisions of the Berlin Conference "as regards the protection of Native populations" had been violated "by proceedings ruinous to those Native populations," and called upon His Majesty's Government to confer with the Signatory Powers to the Act to take steps "with a view to fulfilment of their joint obligations." In December of that year "Affairs of West Africa" appeared, in which a few chapters were devoted to Congo State misrule. The publication of this volume was followed almost immediately by Mr. Fox-Bourne's far completer indictment, "Civilisation in Congoland." About this time the movement for reform received the powerful support of Mr. Alfred Emmott, M.P. for Oldham, and not long afterwards that of Mr. W. T. Stead, Dr. Clifford, and Dr. Grattan-Guinness, head of the Congo-Balolo Mission.* Resolutions of censure upon Congo State methods were passed in succession by the Associated Chambers of Commerce, by the Free Church Council, and by the London Branch of the International Union.† On March 2, 1903, Viscount Cranbourne replied negatively in the House of Commons to a question put by Sir Charles Dilke, asking "whether the Government had taken or proposed to take steps towards procuring the co-operation of the principal Signatories to the Berlin Act in efforts to restrain the abuses which had grown up under the rule of the Congo Free State in violation of the provisions of that Act." On March 12 an answer of a similar kind was made by Viscount Cranbourne to questions by Mr. Channing and Mr. Lansfield. Viscount Cranbourne admitted, however, that Consular reports had been received by the Government pointing to the existence of

* It should also be mentioned that the Aborigines Protection Society appealed directly to the Belgian Parliament.

† The warm thanks of all who are interested in this question is due to the *Morning Post* for the conspicuously able and persistent manner in which it has urged inquiry into Congo State methods. It would be difficult to over-estimate the value of the work performed by the *Morning Post*.

"acts of cruelty and oppression" in the Congo territories. On May 5, the Rev. W. M. Morrison, a missionary just home from the Congo, delivered an account of his experiences before a meeting convened by the Aborigines Protection Society, presided over by Dr. Clifford, and supported by Sir Charles Dilke, by several members of Parliament, including Messrs. Bayley, Emmott, and Samuel, and a number of other people. Sir Charles Dilke moved, and the author seconded, a resolution once more appealing to the Government to take concerted action.

These persistent efforts were destined to meet with their reward at last. Soon after the above meeting it became known that a day had been secured for a debate in the House on a motion put down by Mr. Herbert Samuel. The debate took place on May 20. After speeches by Mr. Samuel, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Alfred Emmott, Sir John Gorst, Viscount Cranbourne, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, and the Prime Minister, who admitted the existence of an "overwhelming case," the House adopted without a single dissentient voice a resolution pledging the Government to "confer with the other Powers, Signatories of the Berlin General Act, by virtue of which the Congo Free State exists, in order that measures may be adopted to abate the evils prevalent in that State." The British Note was presented to the Powers in August last.

Meanwhile Mr. Roger Casement, permanent British Consul in the Congo State, an official "of wide African experience,"* had been conducting a personal investigation in the Upper Congo. The appalling account of his experiences is now before the world, and has been followed by a further debate in Parliament, in the course of which absolute unanimity prevailed as to the essentiality of putting an end to the present horrors. So far as British action alone is concerned, a constructive policy was on that occasion placed before His Majesty's Government, which was supported by all the speakers in the debate, and which Lord Percy admitted to be "practical."

The fact that Mr. Roger Casement was investigating on the spot became known towards the end of 1903, and the

* British Note.

nature of his report was shrewdly surmised. Indeed, the verdict of any competent, and therefore impartial, British official could only have been identical with the verdict of instructed Public Opinion at home. It remains to be said that Mr. Casement, whose reputation already stood high, performed the difficult and unpleasant task entrusted to him with extraordinary ability, and that his report might have been written by a machine—a painfully eloquent machine—so judicious, and free from bias or prejudice is its tone.

The publication of the official report, prefaced by an exceedingly scathing and contemptuous appreciation by Lord Cromer touching his own experiences in the Lado enclave, infused fresh fire into the movement for Congo reform, in the shape of new helpers in the cause and a great accretion of public strength. Dr. Guinness started a series of public lectures early in the year in Scotland, drawing large audiences. Although head of a missionary organisation, Dr. Guinness dropped all sectarianism in his lectures, which were purely humanitarian in character. Early in the year, also, the first steps were privately taken to concentrate individual effort into one organisation whose sole aim and object would be the enlightenment of Public Opinion on this particular question. The work of founding that organisation devolved largely upon the author of this volume, who, with the cordial co-operation and assistance of Mr. Alfred Emmott, M.P., Mr. John Holt, and others, was placed in the position of being able, within two months of the idea taking root, to announce the creation of the Congo Reform Association at the Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool, on March 23, at a demonstration presided over by Mr. Emmott.

The aims of the Association are the restoration to the Natives of the Congo of the rights guaranteed to them by the Berlin and Brussels Acts. Otherwise stated, it has come into being to help on the work of Congo reform, in perhaps a completer and more systematised form by appealing on a simple issue to a much wider public than had been approached hitherto. The Presidency of the Association has been accepted by Earl Beauchamp, and its supporters already include ten Peers and some forty Members of Parliament,

amongst others such men as Mr. John Morley, the Earls of Aberdeen, Darnley, Listowel, and Norbury; Lords Brassey, Tweedmouth, French, Kinnaird, Denman, and Overtoun; the Bishops of Liverpool, Durham, Rochester, and St. Asaph; virtually all the prominent leaders of Nonconformity; members of Parliament of both sides, including Sir Charles Dilke, Sir John Kennaway, Sir Gilbert Parker, John Burns, Austin Taylor, Richard Bell; well known personalities like Mr. St. Loe Strachey, Professor Bosworth Smith, Rev. Stephen Gladstone, Mr. W. A. Cadbury, Dr. E. Wilmot Blyden, and many others, together with prominent foreigners, either with personal knowledge of Africa and her peoples, or with special qualifications, such as Prince Boris Czertwytynski, Count Hans Coudenhove, Herr Ludwig Deuss, Professor Poulteney Bigelow, etc.*

Such in brief is the record of British effort against an evil which is both gigantic and unique.

The clear and absolute duty of the Powers is to rid the Congo territories of the misrule which is decimating the population. They can do so, if they will, without the slightest difficulty. The condition of affairs on the Congo is an affront to humanity. Britain in taking the lead in protesting against that condition of affairs, is animated by no selfish motives. The entire movement is primarily due to the dogged determination of a few individuals who knew the facts, and were determined to do what in them lay to make the truth known to the world. It is emphatically not a movement for which official initiative openly or secretly engineered is responsible. That the support of other civilised peoples whose Governments also have their portion of moral responsibility will eventually be forthcoming is not to be doubted. But to obtain that support, unflagging effort, undeterred by disappointment, is essential.† If we organise

* It is significant of the unanimity of feeling prevailing in Great Britain that men, who in matters political and religious are strongly, even violently opposed, have found themselves able to co-operate in this cause, and it is a tribute to the belief in the unselfishness of the Association's aims, that foreigners should have allied themselves to a British organisation.

† In August last, the Executive Committee of the Congo Reform Association expressed the wish that the author of this volume should present, on their behalf, a memorial to President Roosevelt, and should participate in the Boston Peace Congress, where the Congo Question was

PREFACE

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our forces, and pursue resolutely the course which duty and honour alike order us to follow, the issue is certain. It is a struggle well worth the waging. Our forefathers smashed the over-sea slave-trade, and we shall root out the modern inland slave-trade on the Congo. The difference between the two evils is that the latter is more destructive of human life and human happiness, and more demoralising in its cumulative effects than the former was, even at the height of its power.

E. D. MOREL.

HAWARDEN,
1904.

to be discussed, as the representative alike of the Congo Reform Association, and of other Associations and Societies with which the former is on terms of cordial and sympathetic co-operation.

INTRODUCTION

THE object of this book is to place before all men who claim the epithet of civilised, the condition of the Congo territories after nearly twenty years of King Leopold's rule.

It has seemed to me that at the present stage in the struggle against an evil which has attained enormous proportions, something more was required than a recapitulation of pre-existing records. I have thought that an effort should be made to explain with some fulness the inward causes leading to those outward effects of which the Congo territories are, and have been, for a considerable period, the scene. This I have endeavoured to do by defining the radical distinction between the development of tropical Africa by trade, which involves the recognition of Native rights in land and forest produce; and the exploitation of Tropical Africa through the methods introduced, legalised, and upheld by King Leopold, *the sole arbiter of and legislator for the destinies of the Congo Natives.*

I have tried to show that a humane, common-sense and just treatment of the Native races of tropical Africa by the European Powers reposes upon certain fundamental principles, which, if set aside, must inevitably lead to the adoption of an alternate policy profoundly immoral in itself, maintainable by force alone, and bound in the long run to prove economically and politically disastrous.

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- In the Domaine Privé: Rev. J. H. Weeks.
- In the Domaine Privé: Rev. W. B. Frame.
- In the Lower Congo: A British Trader.
- In the "Equateur" District: A Missionary.
- In and around the Baringa District of the "Abir" Concession
during the First Six Months of the Present Year:
 - Mr. Herbert Frost's Diary.
 - Letter from Mr. John H. Harris.
 - Letter from Mr. E. Stannard.
- Thirteen Years of Congo State Rule in Katanga.
- Letter from the Rev. Dugald Campbell.

KING LEOPOLD'S PROMISES. MANIFESTO OF THE
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

MUTILATIONS

I

BIASIA (*grown man*).

MONGALA (*small boy*).

THESE two poor beings, whose arms, as will be seen, were terribly shattered by gun-fire at close quarters, were brought by their friends to the Mission Station at Bonginda, on September 7, 1903, during the visit of His Majesty's Consul.

These photographs were taken on that date by the Rev. W. D. Armstrong, the Chief of the Mission.

Both were natives of the Ngombe town Bosombongo, one of those which enjoy the privilege of contributing to the "obligation de l'impôt," which, with an extraordinary benevolence, the Congo Government assigns as its principal free trade perquisite to the trading company, called the La Lulanga Society. In order to carry on its trading "operations" on these generous lines, that company quartered a variety of sentries throughout the district of the lower Lulanga, who, being armed with weapons supplied to the company by the Congo Government, and ammunition, also issued from Government stores, were able to induce, by the most gentle means, the fortnightly payment of this unique form of "commercial dealing."

A sentry of the company, a man named Itela, considered that he, too, had a right to share in the "obligation de l'impôt"—and since his claims to participate in the profit of the system did not receive due recognition from the chiefs of Bosombongo, he seized four "hostages," in exact accordance with the "regulations" prescribed by the Governor-General of the Congo State, for the better civilising of the Mongalla region as exemplified in the Caudron case.*

Two of these "hostages," men named Ndekeli and Nabelengi, Itela tied up to trees and deliberately shot dead before the eyes of the villagers as "proof of his prowess," and to serve as warning of what should happen to all who refused to obey.

The horrified chiefs of the town hurried off to the factory of the company which had placed Itela in their midst, with the result that they were promptly made fast in the chain.

* See Chapter XII.

Being released on promise of "good behaviour," and under the customary bail of chickens for the white man's table, they returned to their town—only to find that, as punishment for their action in going to complain, the sentry had shot, in the way these photographs indicate, the other "hostages"—the man Biasia and child Mongala.

These trembling creatures, with shattered limbs, were still tied to the trees, bleeding and grievously wounded.

In order to obtain their release the chiefs had to pay to Itela a fine of 2000 brass rods (£4 sterling).

The report of these further proceedings of the representative of the organisation, which has opened up an account, "Central Africa in account with Civilisation," evoked no response from the employers of the sentry, other than commendation, retention at his post, and the injunction to the people of Bosombongo, that if their rubber was not promptly brought in each fortnight, "a worse thing" should happen.

Accordingly these living instances of the benefits accruing from the fatherly system of Government of the Congo State, sought His Majesty's Consul, in the hope that ocular demonstration of the infamies of that rule might move his heart, and might induce others than their benevolent regenerators to believe in the terrors of their oppression.

II

IKABO (*a native of the village of*).

BOSUNGUMA (*the same town as Epondo's*).

This boy was brought by his friends into the Mission at Bonginda, on Sunday evening, September 6, 1903, with the request that His Majesty's Consul, then in the Mission, should visit Bosunguma, to see there another mutilated boy (Epondo).

Ikabo had lost his hand, he averred, and all the men who accompanied him, by the act of one of the sentries of the La Lulanga Company.

This photograph was taken by the Rev. W. D. Armstrong, of Bonginda, on September 7, 1903.

In addition to the loss of his right hand, Ikabo was terribly wounded in the shoulder by a bullet wound. The shoulder-blade had been broken—and in setting had become distorted—so that the boy carried a veritable hump, which the photograph does not show.

The scar of the bullet was clear and plain across the flesh.

It will be observed from Mr. Faris' declaration to the Commandant at Coquilhatville,* that Epondo in his "retraction" assigned the loss of Ikabo's hand and that of another mutilated individual in his village of Bosunguma to the acts of the soldiers of the Government in the "wars."

While publishing that one of Mr. Faris' statements, which the

* See Chapter XXX.

Congo Government thought might reflect on His Majesty's Consul, this damning testimony of their prize witness is carefully withheld from that extraordinary international document they have termed the "Notes sur le Rapport de M. Casement," but which a plainer intelligence would designate by a plainer and much simpler name.

III

LOKOTA OF MPELENGI.

This child—a boy—was brought by his friends to the Mission at Bonginda, on September 7, 1903, during the visit of His Majesty's Consul.

This photograph of the mutilated child was taken by the Rev. W. D. Armstrong, on the occasion of the visit to the Mission.

The village of Mpelengi lies only some three miles away from the Mission of Bonginda. This child was only able to run at the date of his mutilation, which is stated to have occurred under the following circumstances about four and a half or five years ago, at a period when the *régime* of the rubber blessing was being worked to its utmost in the lower Lulonga :—

Mpelengi was "attacked" for its failure to bring in enough rubber in the way described in March of this year in the Caudron case.* Sentries of the trading organisation appointed to the moral and material regeneration of Mpelengi were sent against it, with the usual supply of Government-distributed guns and ammunition.

The sentries, under a leader named Mokwolo, were named Ebomi, Mokuba, and Bomolo. These four well-armed men set out from a neighbouring town named Bolondo, and attacked Mpelengi at dawn. One of the first to fall was a principal chief of the town, a man named Eliba. The people fled to the forest, and the child Lokota toddled after. Mokwolo pursued and knocked the baby down with the butt of his rifle, and cut off its hand.

The hand of Eliba was also cut off and taken away in triumph, to attest that the sentries had done their duty and had punished the "rebel" town, which dared to fail in supplying the fixed quantity of indiarubber. These methods of tax-collecting are simplicity itself, and involve no formalities, such as receipt signing.

They are now so popular that the Congo State is believed to meditate a new Coat of Arms—or Hands.

The design will closely follow that in the Shield of Ulster—where the Red-Hand shines conspicuous; but in the Congo shield, I understand, the hands will be numerous and all black—while the motto to be substituted for the existing "Travail et progress," is, I am informed, to be "HANDS OFF!" Truly an appropriate motto for this poor little State, menaced by the intrigues of perfidious Albion!

* See Chapter XII.

IV

IN THE LAKE MANTUMBA REGION: MOLA EKULITI: MOKILI:
AND EYEKA.

The correspondent * in the Congo who forwards me these photographs, accompanies them by the following explanations:—

“ March 10th, 1904.

“ DEAR MR. MOREL,

“ In sending you the accompanying photographs of three mutilated natives who have come to my notice during my stay on the Congo, I wish to give you a few particulars of these cases.

“ Reading from left to right these victims are—

“ The youth standing up, with both hands gone—Mola Ekuliti. † This boy was a native of Mokili, a town of the Lake Mantumba district.

“ His town was attacked by the soldiers of the Government post of Bikoro, in 1898, under the command of an officer whom I knew and often met.

“ Several Natives were killed, but Mola was tied up and taken away to the lake-side, where, owing to the tightness of the thongs round his wrists, the flesh had swollen. The officer directed the thongs to be beaten off, but his soldiers translated that into beating off the hands—which they did with the butt end of their rifles against a tree. The officer was standing by drinking palm wine.

“ Mola was shortly afterwards cared for by the Mission Station at Okoko. When Mr. Clark went there in 1901, he wrote to Governor-General Wahis, at Boma, a letter drawing his attention to the case of Mola, and begging that provision should be made for him by the Government. No reply was sent to this letter. Mr. Clark, on reaching Europe, wrote to the Central Administration in Brussels (this was in May or June, 1901), and sent a photograph of the boy in his helpless plight, begging that relief should be forthcoming.

“ No notice was taken of this appeal—save by a paragraph in one of the Brussels papers insulting Mr. Clark.

“ Mr. Clark returned to the Congo from America in 1903. Mola, meanwhile, having been always cared for at Okoko. He was seen there by our Consul, Mr. Casement, when he visited Lake Matumba last year, and the Consul took note of Mola's condition, and made a note of his statement as to how the mutilation occurred. Mr. Clark gave the Consul a copy of the letter he had written to

* The correspondent sent me two photographs, one of Mola Ekuliti by himself (which appears in this volume), the other of Mola Ekuliti in a group of three, a little boy (Mokili) and an old woman (Eyeke). The second photograph is not sufficiently clear for reproduction.

† See plate.

Governor-General Wahis from Boma in 1901, and the Consul spoke to some of the State officers in the Lake about the boy's condition. They pretended to be shocked, and the Commissaire-Général, with the State Attorney's deputy, hurried down from Coquilhatville to hold an inquiry into the case of mutilation reported to the British Consul. They all assured the Consul they had known nothing of the case, and after holding a Court of Inquiry, as it was termed, Mola was provided for with a house, a wife, and twenty brass rods a week, as pension, in the State post of Bikoro. This was done in reality to hoodwink the Consul, who was assured that this was an isolated case, and they thanked him for bringing it to their notice and enabling them to make 'reparation.' The Consul told Mr. Clark that he was not satisfied at all—as it was quite clear to him that for two and a half years the Congo Government had known all about Mola through Mr. Clark's letters to them, and that they had done nothing, save insult Mr. Clark through the papers until he, the Consul, appeared on the scene. Then, in response to a few words he let drop in friendly conversation, the whole district was put in motion to convince him of their sympathy! The Consul said the case struck him as painfully significant, and that it was so fully corroborated by the other things he had seen and heard in Lake Mantumba—particularly from State officials there, themselves—that he had no option but to believe that the country had been systematically raided for rubber for several years.

"The woman sitting down was an old creature named Eyeka. I knew her well. She was the aunt of one of our best girls, who is now married to —, and she often came here to visit her niece. She was the sister of —'s mother—they came from the town of Mwebi, which is on the west shore of Lake Mantumba. Mwebi was attacked by the troops from Bikoro in pursuance of the customary punitive policy for not working rubber.

"Eyeka more than once told us in the Mission how she lost her hand. When the soldiers came to Mwebi, she said, they heard a bugle blow, and she and her son and many people fled. While they ran shots were fired, and her son fell by her side. She fainted, and fell down too. Then she felt some one cutting at her wrist, and she was afraid to move, for she knew that if she moved her life would be taken.

"When all was quiet she opened her eyes. Her son was lying dead beside her. His hand was gone, and hers was gone, and she was bleeding away.

"This story of Eyeka's I have heard from many others. A small boy up in Banto had just the same experience when — led the soldiers from Wangata.

"There are still many more poor beings around the Lake without hands, and I have heard these poor men tell the present Government officer at Bikoro, in my hearing, that their hands had been hacked off against the sides of canoes to which they were clinging, by the State soldiers. No one was ever punished for all these barbarities—

that should be always remembered—and no attempt at providing for the mutilated victims of this rule of savagery, which, for nearly seven years, made Lake Mantumba a hell upon earth, has ever been attempted until the British Consul's visit last year, and his inquiry into Mola's case showed the authorities that the truth was at last likely to come out. Since the Consul's visit every effort has been made to discredit him, and to get up a case to show that he was misinformed, and we have heard of the efforts in this direction in the case of the boy Epondo, whom the Consul found mutilated up the Lulonga River and brought down to Coquilhatville.

"After Mola Ekuliti, which they could not deny, they thought the best way of dealing with Epondo's case was to deny the whole of the facts, to represent the Consul as entirely hoodwinked by the Natives, and so, if possible, discredit all he might say about the terrible wrongdoing which has gone on here for years.

"The accompanying letter* from Mr. Faris, at Bolengi, who was called in by the Authorities at Coquilhatville to testify to the retraction the poor little boy Epondo was forced to make after the Consul had gone away, is pretty clear evidence as far as it goes.

"But I am forgetting the photo of the mutilated people. The third figure—the little boy on the right, whose right hand is gone—was a poor little fellow named Mwanza.

"He was found by Mr. Clark, in 1897, over in Bikoro Station, and the Government officer there allowed Mr. Clark to bring him back to Ikoko, and to provide for him. The poor little chap was too sick to do much good, and he died about two years ago. There were three other children, all mutilated, at Ikoko, who were cared for by the Mission there at various times within my knowledge. They were—

"Ipembe—a little girl who was found lying beside the dead body of her mother, not far from the Mission Station. The mother had been shot by the State soldiers when they came over from Bikoro to raid Ikoko in 1895—in one of the punitive expeditions of that sad time. The mother's hand was cut off, and the child's also taken—but the poor little thing did not die, but lay beside its mother until some of the Mission boys heard of it and told Mr. and Mrs. Clark. A man called Moke, who was being taken back as a prisoner, told the Mission boys about Ipembe's mother being killed, and the child beside her, and so Mr. Clark sent out that evening and Ipembe was brought in to the Mission. At dinner-time that day Mr. Clark saw a soldier carrying a basket, which he laid down close to the verandah of the Mission while he went to get a canoe ready to go back to Bikoro in.

"Mr. Clark went out and looked in the basket, and found it had seventeen hands in it. Mr. Clark called Mrs. Clark to go out, and she told me she went and it made her feel sick. She stood over the

* This letter is referred to in Chapter XXX.

basket while her husband counted the hands—three of them were babies' hands.

"The soldier took the basket of hands away with him in the canoe to Bikoro, which lies in sight of Okoko across the lake.

"*The officer who was in command at Bikoro told Mr. Clark once that his dog used to eat some of the hands the men brought back from their raiding.*

"Ipembe, I know, was taken down to the State camp at Irebu by Mr. Clark to have her hand seen to, and Dr. Reussens, who was there then, dressed the stump and did what he could for her. She lived for about six months only. She was only about five or six years old.

"Then there was another small boy named Mwanza—who was brought in in the beginning of 1897, after a raid close to the Mission. He was in the school, but did not live long.

"Another boy was a little chap the late Mr. Sjöblöm got from the State officer at Bikoro. This boy was called Ingwere, and he, too, only lived a short time.

"When the British Consul was here in August last year, I know he was told by one of the State officers in the neighbourhood—I heard the officer tell him myself—that there were still a lot of mutilated people in the lake-side country, and that they often came in and told the officer how his predecessors had given orders for their mutilation.

"The officer said that one of his predecessors, of whom he was speaking by name, had killed 'thousands' of the people around the lake, and that the mutilation of those killed had gone on for a long time, until the scandal in the Belgian Parliament and the outcry in Europe stopped it.*"

"Just after the Consul had gone away, three poor men—some of those this officer had referred to—came over the lake to try to see the Consul, and tell him. They hoped that he might be able to help them, *as the State officers had not done anything for them.* Mutilation of the dead is not now permitted *openly*, to the Government soldiers; but it must be remembered that the long spell of murder and massacre and pitiless destruction of life, which went on from 1893 to 1900, *has done its work.*

"The people in the Lake *are entirely broken, and only a remnant of them remain.*

"It was not a wise policy, apart from all other considerations, for it has killed the goose that laid the golden egg, so far as this district is concerned, and it will take many years of peace and rest for the population to recover, while the native belief in the white man's truth, or justice, or decency, has gone for ever. They often say to me now, 'Will he never go home to his own country? Has not the white man got enough rubber yet?' Poor people! a strange

* In 1900. Stopped it locally, and in its intensive form, no doubt; but that mutilation of the *living* is still common—whatever may be the case as regards the dead—we know.

visitation—more dire than that which fell upon the Egyptians, for that was from above, with all its earthly plagues of loathsome nature; but who can say that what has come to the Congo people—whatever their faults may be—has been from above, or prompted by any love, but that of gain.

“ Believe me, dear Mr. Morel,

“ Yours faithfully,

“ _____ ”

OPPRESSION AT LOLANGA AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

I

LETTER OF THE REV. S. GILCHRIST TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL
OF THE CONGO STATE ON THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE
IN THE LOLANGA DISTRICT, JULY 1903.

“C. B. M., Lolanga, July, 1903.

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

“As a member of the white community of this district, I beg to address you on a matter which, I feel, needs your interference. This matter is the State impositions laid on Lolanga towns.

“The town is composed of ten small sections. Six of these are on the up-river side of our station, three on the lower side, and the remaining one is on an island near the opposite bank of the main river. This latter section was formerly the outlying one on the down-river end of the town, but moved to the island on account of the close proximity of the old site to the State wooding-post, where a soldier is stationed.

“After taking a very careful census, I find that the population of the sections on this side is 900. From my personal observation of the remaining section, I should say that a maximum estimate of the remaining section will be 50. Of these 1000 people 250 are children, 50 are working on the State steamers and elsewhere, and 150 are sick and infirm. Of the remaining 560—which is the working population—200 are men and youths, 360 are larger girls and women. The 560 of the working population is a very variable quantity, chiefly on account of the large amount of sickness due to continual exposure in getting fish, etc.

“The impositions consist of ‘chikwanga,’ dried fish, fowls, ducks, and firewood. Six of the sections supply the State post at Coquilhatville, and the Lolanga wooding-post; three sections are expected to supply us—the Mission (that is to supply chikwanga, fish, and fowls). They work the firewood for the State. The other section carries its supplies to Mampoko for the La Lulanga Company.

“In the sections which carry their supplies to the State there are, on an average, 110 men to supply 300 bunches of fish per week, and 220 women to supply—cultivate and cook—430 bunches of

chikwanga, each bunch weighing about seven pounds, or a total of one ton seven cwt. There is also a slave town behind Lolanga (four miles away), which supplies Coquilhatville with another 280 bunches of chikwanga. This village has a population of 11 men, 180 women, and 89 children. All the above sections supply 110 fowls and 12 ducks per month to Coquilhatville. They also have each to keep 15 fathoms of firewood supplied to the wooding-post.

"In considering the amount of the tax, it must not be overlooked that a large number of men are employed three days each week in conveying the various supplies to Coquilhatville, whilst very frequently canoes are sunk, and if recovered the food is lost; sometimes lives are lost also. The market value of Lolanga of one week's supplies conveyed to Coquilhatville (of chikwanga and fish) is £9 10s.; the price actually paid by the State is £2 3s. Firewood, for which Commissaire Du Baw promised the people 10 mitakus per fathom—but for which they seldom get any payment—is worth (according to prices paid by us on the French Congo) 3 francs per fathom or 90 francs per week.

"In the three sections of the town which supply the Mission there are about 67 men to supply 38 bunches of fish—these bunches are about three times larger than those taken to Coquilhatville—and 130 women to cultivate and cook 140 bunches of chikwanga. These are also supposed to bring fowls weekly. They have, moreover, each to keep 15 fathoms of firewood supplied to the State wooding-post.

"The one section which supplies the La Lulanga Company at Mampoko has 13 men to procure 50 bunches of fish, and 22 women to get 100 bunches of chikwanga. They also supply fowls, and keep 15 fathoms of firewood supplied to the wooding-post.

"With regard to the labour involved in getting these various supplies, much more is involved than might at first sight be supposed. In the procuring of the fish the modes of fishing with which these people have been familiar are adapted to rising, seceding, or extreme low water. Before the State Imposition was laid upon them they never thought of doing any fishing except at these particular seasons, and then caught sufficient to keep themselves going till the next fishing season. These modes of fishing are ill-adapted to procure the quantities demanded of them—in fact, they buy a large quantity from another tribe whose surroundings and modes of fishing are adapted to other seasons. Of course they pay very much more for it than the price they receive for it from the State.

"With regard to the chikwanga: the land suitable for cultivation is in this district confined to a very limited area, on account of the lowness and consequent swampiness of the ground. They therefore have to go back frequently upon the land which has been excessively exhausted with manioc crops, and of course get small returns in quantity for the labour expended. This fact, coupled with the enormous quantity demanded, necessitates the buying of large quantities of the raw root (at a great monetary loss), and very often

the chikwanga is short in quantity and bare in quality, the poisonous acid not being sufficiently eliminated. This is not calculated to be for the well-being of the consumer.

"Concerning the supply of fowls: besides the ordinary demand for fowls and eggs, there are extraordinarily heavy demands made, so much so that the people have no nucleus from which to rear.

"As respects the firewood: the number of steamers passing up and down the river is so great that they no sooner get their number of fathoms complete than the whole is taken away; and very frequently, although they work very hard to keep up the supply, there is not a complete store for a week at a stretch. The native implements by which the wood is cut are of such a primitive nature—little suited to cut the kind of wood required for the steamers—that the Native is badly equipped to get the quantities demanded. The expense also of these primitive knives is no small item in the amount of the tax. The time of the men is also so fully occupied in getting the fish that it is a matter of either neglecting that or the firewood.

"What with the variety of the taxes, the enormous demands, the small number of the people, and the difficulties encountered in attempting to procure the supplies, the people are continually falling short in quantities. The consequence of this is that some of the men are detained in chain at Coquilhatville until the quantities are completed. Another result is the people are exorbitantly fined. Only a few weeks ago Captain Hagstrom (acting in the name of the Commissaire of the district) imposed a fine of 5000 mitakus (45,000 in all) because their quantities of firewood had been short. They were given one night to gather the mitakus, or, failing to do so, a band of soldiers would be sent to sack the towns. During the last eighteen months fines amounting to over 100,000 mitakus have been imposed on Lolanga town, the white man's valuation of which is £200, but according to native value representing much more.

"One instance of exorbitant fines came to my notice two months ago at the slave town, Walla. Besides the (then) usual demand of fowls, a special demand was made, to be procured in a few days. These not being forthcoming, an under-officer—a white man—was sent with a band of about thirty soldiers to demand, not only the fowls, but 50,000 mitakus, and 20 people to be transported to the river wooding-posts—that is, away from the neighbourhood. When the officer and soldiers arrived, of course all the people ran away to the forest. The officer, however, took up his abode in the town, and, after a few days' waiting, was able to entice a number of the people back, amongst whom were several of the chief men. A number of these were tied to sticks in the open sun, and so kept for some day—for some time—until the majority of the people had returned. After staying in the town for a fortnight—the officer and soldiers being meantime supported by the people—the greater part of the mitakus were gathered, and the officer departed with these and most of the men demanded, but still keeping a number of people

in the chain at the wooding-post till the demand was fully met. To procure these mitakus some of the men had to sell their wives and children, and some sold themselves to the river people.

"Eight years ago there was a population in these towns of at least 5000 people, compared with the 1200 of to-day. The impositions then were not nearly so heavy as at the present time.

"In conclusion, I would draw your attention to the money value of the taxes and fines, over and above the nominal value or price they receive for these supplies. It is at the rate of £60 per month for the last eighteen months. I would also like you to know that the people themselves are literally starving to keep up these supplies. In becoming acquainted with these facts I cannot but think you will feel it your duty to take steps to remove these oppressive measures, under which the people are groaning—and dying.

(Signed) "S. GILCHRIST."

ADDITIONAL NOTE BY MR. GILCHRIST.

"P.S.—After the above letter was written to the Governor-General other fines were imposed which brought the amount up to close on 200,000 rods. One thing I omitted from that letter was to state that the women of the towns have to go down to work at the, or in the, coffee plantation three times a week. For this they get absolutely no payment; and, as Mr. Bond said in his letter, the coffee is allowed to fall on the ground and rot—it is never gathered."

II

HOW MR. GILCHRIST'S CHARGES WERE "INQUIRED" INTO. LETTER FROM MR. GILCHRIST TO DR. GUINNESS, JANUARY, 1904.

"C. B. M., Lolanga, January 14, 1904.

"DEAR SIR,

"I beg to enclose a copy of a letter for your perusal and use which I sent to the Governor of this State in July of last year. My reason for appealing to him was that I thought it just possible the state of things indicated by the facts stated in the letter might be unknown to him, and therefore existing without his sanction and approval.

"The answer of the Governor to the letter, dated August 26th, transmitted through our legal representatives, was as follows: 'The situation of things signalled in the Rev. — Gilchrist's letter will be the object of serious inquiry, and measures will be subsequently taken to put an end to them.'

"This, of course, is a translation from the French.

"The measures promised to put an end to these things have either not been taken, or else they have proved ineffective; for the same

order of things continues, practically the same as they were. The few improvements noticeable are—the fines have not been so frequent (only one or two having been levied since the letter was written), there have been no detentions in the chain since then, and now they have a book for each section of the town, in which the quantities are marked and the prices paid for them. But so far as lightening their burdens is concerned, nothing has been done.

“The only inquiry that we know of having been made scarcely merits the epithet of ‘serious.’ A day or two after our Consul, Mr. Casement, passed down, the Chef de Poste of Coquilhatville passed up on a district steamer with 25 soldiers to quell a rising among the people in the ‘La Lolanga’ territory, which had been instigated by the missionaries and the Consul! (so the report went which the Director of that Company took to the head-quarters of the district, but those living in the district never saw anything of it), and to inquire into the cases of hand cutting that had been reported. This officer called in on his way up to make some inquiries of us, the principal of which were: Where and when had we paid the taxes on the timber which we had used in the construction of our houses? How many goats and sheep had we on our stations? How many fowls did the people bring us? and how many would it take to supply all the white people on our station? and how many rations would be required to supply our workmen more than what we get from the towns or sections of the towns allotted to supply us?

“On the return of this officer from his inquiry up river he took up his abode at the wooding-post, which is about half an hour’s journey below here at the bottom end of the town. Accompanied with seven soldiers, armed with rifles and a full supply of cartridges, he took a daily excursion into the town to make ‘inquiry’ in the various sections of it.

“One thing is to be noted about the ‘inquirer.’ He is the man to whom these people take their supplies at Coquilhatville, who, of course, acting on behalf of the Commissaire, receive the fines levied on them, put them in chain when their supplies were short of the numbers demanded, and otherwise had dealings with them. *His manner of making the inquiries* was noteworthy too. He selected one or two of the older men of the villages, who know very little of the State lingo, and are most easily intimidated by the sight of the ‘Bini’ (the rifle used by the State soldiers), and who thus are easily got into a frame of mind to make statements that are more calculated to please the inquisitor than those whom he represented, than to give the facts of the case. The younger men, who know the lingo used by the State and the traders, and who are less easily intimidated, and who have practically all the dealings with the State officials about the supplies and fines, were in most cases not listened to. Then, as regards the questions asked, and the manner in which they were asked, the principal aim in them seemed, so far as we could judge from them as they were stated to us by those who heard them, as well as their own conclusions about them, to try

to find out something against the missionaries, and to lead them to make contradictory statements. In his inquiries about the number of brass rods they had been fined, some of those of whom the inquiries were made understood them to mean them as referring to their own section, some as referring to the whole district, some as referring to all the fines that had been imposed, and others as only to the later ones. Some of the questions asked were: What supplies they took to Coquilhatville; what prices they got for them; what prices they got in the towns for the same things; if any of their people had been tied up; if any had died in the chain; and such-like questions. *One man asked the officer if he was trying to make fun of him—he who had to do with the whole matter at Coquilhatville—asking them such questions.*

“That is the last we have heard of the inquiries, but it would seem, from the length of time that has elapsed, the last we are likely to hear.

“ S. G.”

III

THE CONGO STATE'S REPLY IN EUROPE TO MR. GILCHRIST. EXTRACT OF DR. GUINNESS' LETTER TO M. DE CUVELIER.

“ April 21, 1904.

“ In order to show you the kind of complaint that we make locally, I beg to send you a copy of the most recent letter we have received on this subject from the Rev. Somerville Gilchrist of Lolanga, together with the answer of the Governor-General, and a subsequent statement from Mr. Gilchrist. With regard to the latter, I need scarcely say that we should have been glad to note a substantial reduction of the taxation of the people, so that the actual pressure of taxation should correspond with the letter and spirit of the laws on this subject published in November last, by which it was arranged that forty hours a month should be the limit of labour demanded from the natives. I should be glad to hear from you as to whether or not you consider the existing conditions at Lolanga, as indicated by Mr. Gilchrist, correctly represent the forty hours' effective work that the Government considers it has a right to demand from the people. May I ask for an answer to this latter question at your earliest convenience.”

EXTRACT OF M. DE CUVELIER'S REPLY.

“ Bruxelles, Mai 21, 1904.

“ Dans une lettre au Gouverneur-Général, M. Gilchrist semble se référer à des dires d'indigènes. L'on ne saurait être assez en garde contre cette source d'informations, et c'est sous cette

réserve que je vous signale entr'autres que des indigènes des villages de Bokanza et de Bossumba ont déclaré qu'ils ne recevaient pas des missionnaires le paiement complet des vivres qu'ils leur fournissaient, et que ceux du village Bokele se sont plaints de ce que les missionnaires de Lulonga détenaient des femmes sous prétexte qu'elles étaient trop jeunes pour travailler et devaient rester à la mission pour recevoir l'enseignement. C'est ainsi encore que l'incident de Walla, dont parle M. Gilchrist, lui a été mal rapporté, cet incident ayant été provoqué par un acte de rébellion des indigènes de ce village qui avaient attaqué le représentant de l'autorité et l'avaient transporté, ligotté, à la mission anglaise."

**CONSUL CASEMENT'S LETTER TO THE CONGO STATE
AUTHORITIES IN AFRICA PROTESTING AGAINST
TREATMENT METED OUT TO MISSIONARIES,
AND DRAWING ATTENTION TO ABUSES UPON
THE PEOPLE ***

"September 4, 1903.

"M. LE VICE GOUVERNEUR-GÉNÉRAL,

"I have the honour to draw your Excellency's attention to the fact that complaints have reached me from several members of the Congo Balolo Mission as to restrictions placed upon their freedom of direct dealing, chiefly for food supplies, with the Natives dwelling around those of their stations situated in the basins of the Lopori and Maringa Rivers.

"These restrictions are represented to me as the outcome of the system of control established by the Society termed the 'A.B.I.R.' (formerly known as the Anglo-Belgian India-Rubber Company), whereby the Natives of the territory leased or conceded to it by the Government of the Congo Independent State are compelled, by armed force, to work in the exclusive interest of that Society.

"In drawing my attention to the effect upon their labours which this system of forced dealing induces, the members of the Congo Balolo Mission affected by it did not suggest or seek my intervention with the local authorities. But despite the fact that they have maintained silence on this point, doubtless from an earnest wish to cause no umbrage to the Society whose guests they are said to be, I feel it to be my duty to draw your Excellency's attention to the situation of the English Mission stations established within the A.B.I.R. Concession, since it is clear to me that the situation thus created is not only prejudicial to the prior rights secured to missionary enterprise in the Congo State by the terms of the Berlin Act, but is in direct conflict with the common law of this country.

"In making this representation I would, therefore, desire to emphasise the fact that it emanates from His Britannic Majesty's Consulate alone, and is directed not against individuals, but against a system which is, in my opinion, in conflict with the principles of an international obligation it is one of my duties as Consul to seek to see maintained in its integrity.

* A copy of this letter Consul Casement deemed necessary to send to the representative of the Mission on whose behalf he wrote. I am indebted to the head of that Mission in Europe, Dr. Guinness, for this copy.

"I take this step all the more readily, in that I have been given to understand that the personal relations of the English missionaries with the local agents of the A.B.I.R. Company are, and have been, invariably friendly, and that no one of my countrymen seeks to attribute the responsibility for the state of affairs which prevails to the failure or misconduct of an individual agent of that Society.

"On the contrary, the missionaries who have sought my advice have one and all expressed themselves in cordial terms of their neighbours, and I believe they are very sensible of the many acts of personal kindness and of the help so frequently extended to them by the local agents of this Company.

"For my own part I have observed, during my recent stay at Bongandanga, how unceasing were the efforts of M. Lejeune, the local representative of the A.B.I.R. Society, to furnish the mission station there with all necessary food supplies, and to see that the comfort and welfare of its members were, in so far as he could provide for them, in no wise diminished by reason of the compulsion he was forced to exercise upon the surrounding district.

"I had, moreover, to thank M. Lejeune for much kindness and hospitality shown to myself during my few days' stay at Bongandanga.

"It is, therefore, in no sense a personal complaint that I feel it my duty to address to your Excellency, but one directed against a system of pressure exercised on the Native inhabitants which very seriously affects the work, both moral and material, of the English Mission stations established in their midst.

"This system, as I have seen it at work, I have no hesitation in denouncing as entirely illegal.

"By being forced to owe their daily and weekly food supplies to it, the English missionaries dwelling within the A.B.I.R. Concession are made participators in a systematic breach of the laws of this country, as well as sharers in a method of dealing with the Natives, which is contrary to the dictates of humanity, and which must fatally compromise their teaching in the eyes of the community they seek to instruct and lift up.

"I am sure your Excellency would share my feelings of indignation had the unhappy spectacles I have witnessed of late come before your Excellency's own eyes.

"I cannot believe that the full extent of the illegality of the system of arbitrary impositions, followed by dire and illegal punishments, which is in force over so wide an area of the country I have recently visited, is known to or properly appreciated by your Excellency or the central administration of the Congo State Government.

"I have seen women and young children summarily arrested, taken away from their homes and families, to be kept in wholly illegal and painful detention, guarded often by armed sentries, because, as I was informed by their captors, their villages, or their male relatives, had failed to bring in antelope meat or some other commodity desired by the local European.

"I have seen recently, but not within the limits of the A.B.I.R. Concession, a number of Native women—eleven in all—with five infants at the breast, and three of them big with child, who had been taken from their homes and were tied together by the neck or ankle, guarded by two armed sentries—one of whom had a cap-gun, and the other a double-barrelled shot-gun.

"When I asked the reason of this detention, I was informed by the principal of these two guards (the man with the shot-gun) that this was but the customary measure of precaution the chief of the neighbouring European factory adopted to insure that each week's or fortnight's supply of indiarubber 'due' by the husbands of these women should be quite up to the mark.

"On the 2nd September I encountered at Bongandanga fifteen women and girls, one with a baby at the breast, being led to the prison (termed, I find, the 'maison des otages'), and guarded by three sentries of the A.B.I.R. Company; and in answer to my inquiry as to whom these women were, and why they were being thus led away, I was told by the acting representative of that Company, a M. Peters, that they were arrested and would be kept in detention until their husbands or male relatives had redeemed them in antelope or other meat which was required from their village for the use of the white man's table.

"I was further informed that a part of the meat furnished by this process of extortion would be sent over to the English Mission station, whose guest I was at the time, and that a further part would be (very kindly) sent for my own use on board my steamer when leaving.

"This method of obtaining supplies, I am informed, is in frequent operation, and I saw during my brief stay at Bongandanga several other cases of arrest and detention by the local agent of the A.B.I.R., which were, I believe, equally illegal. The effect produced on my mind from a very limited inspection of the system, revealing itself in such painful incidents as these, was that that system, and not the agents who are forced to keep it at work, was wrong in the extreme.

"I gather, too, that Bongandanga is, perhaps, noteworthy among the stations of the A.B.I.R. Concession for the forbearance and discretion shown by its agent, M. Lejeune, in his manner of imposing these exactions upon the local inhabitants, but I must confess with pain and astonishment that instead of a trading or commercial establishment, I felt I was visiting a penal settlement.

"I have no right of representation to your Excellency, save where the persons or interests of British subjects dwelling in this country are affected, and I would desire, in making this communication, to confine myself strictly to that aspect of the system, to which I now draw attention, which unduly presses upon them.

"I have a right to request, and one that I would urge with most respectful insistence, that my fellow-countrymen residing in any part of the Congo State should not be forced, in order to have food for

themselves and households, to share in measures which are repugnant to the most vulgar sentiments of civilized society.

"Were the people of the Bongandanga villages around the mission left at complete liberty to dispose freely of their foodstuffs, as they have a legal right to do, my fellow-countrymen living there would hail the change with joy, even if it meant diminished supplies and enhanced prices.

"But as things are to-day the Mission at Bongandanga, with the exception of a stray fowl or an occasional egg, which may be bought direct from a Native, is entirely dependent on the neighbouring A.B.I.R. factory for all the local necessaries of life, which are furnished it daily or weekly, as the case may be, against a signed receipt.

"This system, I find, came into force in July of last year.

"Previous to that date, by an understanding arrived at between the missionaries and the local representative of the A.B.I.R. Society, certain villages in the *secteur* of Bongandanga, namely, Lilangi, Mpami, Lipongi, Bokoti, and Limboya, were permitted to deal direct with the English Mission there.

"This liberty of direct dealing with the Natives my countrymen at Bongandanga no longer effectively possess, as I have had opportunity of observing during my stay in that neighbourhood, and I am informed that a similar state of affairs prevails at Baringa—another station of the C.B.M. situated within the A.B.I.R. Concession.

"This is a liberty that I most respectfully submit these missionaries and the Native subjects of the Congo Independent State, who would deal with them, are entitled to enjoy, in the fullest degree; and I would, therefore, beg that your Excellency will be pleased to require that no restrictions of any kind may be placed upon the legitimate intercourse of the Mission of Bongandanga, or any other station of the C.B.M., situated within the basins of the Lopori and Maringa Rivers, with the Natives of the surrounding districts.

"I have, etc.,

(Signed) "ROGER CASEMENT."

ANNEXES TO RABINEK CASE

- I. PENAL CLAUSE OF THE DECREE OF 30TH OCTOBER, 1892.
- II. TEXT OF M. LÉVÊQUE'S POWER OF ATTORNEY.
- III. LÉVÊQUE'S PUBLISHED DECLARATION.
- IV. AGREEMENT BETWEEN RABINEK AND THE KATANGA COMPANY.
- V. REPORT OF COMMANDANT HENNEBERT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL *re* RABINEK'S DEATH.

I

PENAL CLAUSE OF THE DECREE OF 30TH OCTOBER, 1892.

DÉCRET DU 30TH OCTOBRE, 1892.

(*Bulletin Officiel*, 1892, p. 307.)

“Celui qui exploitera ou fera exploiter le caoutchouc dans les terres visées aux art. 2 et 3 ou dans les biens concédés, affermés, ou vendus à des tiers, ou sans se conformer aux dispositions du présent décret ou qui achètera du caoutchouc n'ayant pas acquitté la redevance prévue à l'art. 7, sera passible d'une amende de 10 à 1,000 francs et d'une servitude pénale d'un jour à un mois, ou d'une de ces peines seulement, le tout sans préjudice de dommages-intérêts au profit des ayants droit. Le tribunal ordonnera en outre la restitution aux ayants droit du caoutchouc recueilli illégalement et pourra retirer aux auteurs de l'infraction, l'autorisation conférée par le présent décret.”

II

TEXT OF M. LÉVÊQUE'S POWER OF ATTORNEY.

“Le Conseil d'Administration de la Compagnie du Katanga dans sa séance du 11 Octobre, 1899, agissant en vertu des Articles 25 et 26 des Statuts, a délégué à Monsieur Gustave Lévêque les pouvoirs nécessaires à l'effet d'y représenter celle-ci, de prendre les mesures de gestion journalière qu'il jugera utiles, notamment de traiter les affaires courantes et transiger sur celles-ci, acheter, échanger ou vendre toutes marchandises, faire toutes opérations du

ressort de l'activité habituelle de la Compagnie en Afrique ; prendre toutes les mesures disciplinaires prévues par les contrats à l'égard des agents ; recevoir toutes sommes ou tous loyers dus à la compagnie, donner décharge pour toutes valeurs et quittances, émettre des traités en terrains concédés à la Compagnie par l'État du Congo, en réclamer les titres de propriété provisoires ou définitifs, signer tous actes, documents et pièces quelconques à ces fins ; se substituer une ou plusieurs personnes dans tout ou partie de ces présents pouvoirs ; révoquer les dites substitutions, en faire de nouvelles, passer et signer tous actes, élire domicile et *généralement faire, relativement aux pouvoirs ci-dessus conférés tout ce que le mandataire jugera convenable quoique non prévu en ces présentes.***

“ Bruxelles, le douze Octobre, 1899, nonante neuf

“ L'Administrateur	L'Administrateur
“ Le Directeur	Délegué
(Signé) “ CAMBIER.	(Signé) THYS.

“ Vu pour légalisation de la signature de M.M. Thys et Cambier, Bruxelles, le 12th Octobre, 1899. Au nom du Secrétaire d'Etat de l'État Indépendant du Congo.

“ Le Directeur
(Signé) “ ED. P.....(?)†”

“ I hereby certify that this document is a true and correct copy of a document this day produced to me.

(Signed) “ MARSHALL, Magistrate.

“ Abercorn, N.E. Rhodesia, Aug. 6, 1901.”

III

THE PUBLISHED DECLARATION OF M. LÉVÊQUE, THE DIRECTOR OF THE KATANGA COMPANY.

“ Abercorn, le 12 Août 1901.

“ Je soussigné, Gustave Lévêque, Ingénieur Civil, ex-directeur en Afrique de la Compagnie du Katanga, certifie que les faits suivants sont l'expression de l'exacte vérité :

“ Le 11 Septembre, 1900, étant à Pweto, j'ai vu pour la première fois Rabinek arrivant par le schooner. Devant les bruits qui couraient sur son compte au Congo, relativement à la fraude du caoutchouc et de l'ivoire dans les territoires du Katanga, je l'ai prié de bien vouloir m'accompagner au boma de Pweto, pour lui demander des explications à ce sujet, devant le Chef du Poste, M. Haubroe.

“ Là, M. Rabinek nous exhiba :

“ 1. une 'Licence pour le Commerce dans le Congo,' du 10 Septembre, 1899, signée Cerckell à Kilwa (10 f. à payer par an).

“ 2. le Permis No 18 du 4 Février, 1900, signé Hennebert à

* Italics mine.

† Name illegible.

Albertville, pour la licence pendant 5 ans de la chasse à l'éléphant (500 f. payés), permis imprimé, sur lequel CINQ ANNÉES a été ajouté au timbre gras.

" 3. Un permis de port d'armes pour 39 fusils (somme payée 1950 f.) du 4 Février, 1900, signé Hennebert à Albertville. M. Hennebert est le Capitaine-Commandant à Mtoa, Chef de Zone du Tanganika-Katanga en 1900.

" M. Rabinek prétendit qu'il achetait aux noirs du caoutchouc et de l'ivoire à Kazembe seulement, où il avait son store, c'est-à-dire en territoire anglais, et non au Katanga; sa présence au Katanga s'expliquait par suite de son permis de chasse.

" Le Lieutenant Haubroe lui demanda des renseignements sur les révoltés du Lualaba, d'où revenait Rabinek; cette conversation me confirma ce que je savais, que cette partie du territoire, d'où provenait beaucoup de caoutchouc vendu par les noirs au delà du Congo était inabordable à tout ce qui était officiel dans le Congo: Rabinek et des métis portugais connaissant parfaitement la langue du pays, et vivant avec les noirs, pouvaient seuls y circuler.

" Le caoutchouc du poste de Pweto provenait surtout du Luvule, à 2 ou 3 jours de marche, où pouvaient encore aller avec précautions les Européens non officiels; les environs du poste de Pweto, qui autrefois produisaient beaucoup de caoutchouc, n'en produisaient plus, par suite du manque de surveillance de l'État Indépendant sur la façon de récolter ce caoutchouc, manque de surveillance dû surtout à l'hostilité des noirs contre les Officiels de l'État Indépendant du Congo; ces mêmes Officiels n'avaient pas commencé, à la fin de 1900, de replanter 150 pieds de caoutchouc par tonne récoltée par an, ainsi que le prescrivent les lois de l'État Indépendant.

" Devant l'importance des frais faits et à faire par la Cie. du Katanga, pour la construction des stations et des Steamers, devant le manque total du caoutchouc sur le Tanganika; devant les difficultés de récolter le caoutchouc sur le lac Moero (Mweru) en quantité suffisamment grande pour payer les dépenses, je me résolus à accepter la proposition de Rabinek, c'est-à-dire: de lui donner la licence pour la récolte du caoutchouc et de l'ivoire dans les terrains de la Cie. du Katanga, *situés dans la zone des révoltés*,* moyennant le paiement de £10 par an, et de un franc par Kilo de caoutchouc ou d'ivoire récoltés et remis entre nos mains avant de quitter le Congo, et l'obligation de planter 150 pieds de caoutchouc par tonne exportée: nous assurions ainsi la conservation du caoutchouc.

" Rabinek estimait pouvoir faire par an 100 tonnes de caoutchouc, ce qui aurait fait pour la Cie. du Katanga un bénéfice de 100,000 francs par an, sans aucun risque ni débours, d'autant plus que nous n'étions suffisamment armés et en force pour aller dans le territoire des révoltés. *Après avoir fait de nouveau constater les pouvoirs que m'avait donnés † la Cie. du Katanga*, je signai au nom de la Cie. du Katanga une convention avec Rabinek le 23 Septembre, 1900; celui-ci envoya aussitôt son agent Presquier au delà du Luvule, et

* Italics mine.

† Ibid.

alla à Blantyre pour y chercher des marchandises, qui faisaient défaut sur place.

"J'ai su depuis que Rabinek avait eu beaucoup de crédit près des A. L. C. African Lakes Corporation, de M.M. T. de Mattos, Ludgwi Deuss, etc. Dès la fin d'Octobre, je reçus des plaintes des capitães de Rabinek, *maltraités et volés par les askaris de l'État Indépendant*,* et le 6 Décembre, M. Bouvier (?) successeur de M. Haubroe au poste de Pweto m'écrivit "veuillez me faire savoir si ce fusil (à piston) a été remis au capitão noir par vous ou par Rabinek.

"Un fusil entre les mains d'un capitão de Rabinek ne me sembla pas anormal, étant donné que celui-ci avait un permis de port d'armes pour 39 fusils, et qu'il était inadmissible que ce fut pour lui seul ; 39 fusils, c'est trop pour un seul homme.

"Je ne connus la nouvelle de l'amalgamation de la Cie. du Katanga avec l'État Indépendant que par la lettre du 9 Août, 1900, de la Cie., *reçue le 7 Novembre seulement à Luanja*.†

"Le 20 Avril, 1901, le steamer de la Cie. du Katanga arriva à Mvoa avec le Major Weyns et M. Rabinek qui avait été au devant du Major ; je communiquai à Rabinek, devant le Major Weyns, une lettre de la Cie. du Katanga du 12 Janvier, 1901, relative à sa licence, lettre reçu le 11 Avril à Mvoa, dans laquelle la Cie. du Katanga refusait de reconnaître cette licence, ce que celui-ci refusa d'admettre.

"*La Major Weyns envoya Rabinek, avec le steamer de la Cie. à Kasanga, pour y acheter des provisions pour ses officiers restés sans ressources à Sumbu* ; ‡ ces provisions ne sont pas encore actuellement, payées, quoiqu'elles aient été consommées à Sumbu ainsi qu'il est facile de la faire constater par les blancs résidant à cet endroit.

"Dès le retour du steamer de Sumbu, le Major Weyns partit le 23 Avril pour Mtoa,* et revint le 4 Mai à Mvoa nous annonçant qu'un mandat d'arrêt demandé quelque temps avant à Boma par le Commandant Hennebert venait d'arriver ; le Major Weyns ajouta, et cela devant M.M. Ferrier agent de la Cie. du Katanga, de Smet (secrétaire du Major), Madame Lévêque et moi que celui qu'ils allaient arrêter, ils lui feraient un si gentil petit voyage que celui-ci ne recommencerait pas et que les autres s'en souviendraient. Il parla ensuite de Rabinek, prétendant que celui-ci avait fourni des armes aux révoltés, en envoyant des capitães armés pour la chasse à l'éléphant dans cette contrée.

"Le 17 Mai, le Major Weyns quitta Sumbu pour Pweto, et le 7 Juin, M. Richards revint à Sumbu ; j'appris par ce dernier qu'il avait vu Rabinek prisonnier libre à Pweto, et qu'il avait pu lui parler.

"Le 19 Juin, 1901, le steamer allemand *von Wissmann* arriva à Sumbu nous apportant le nouvelle que Rabinek, à Mtoa était condamné à 1 an de prison et 1000 francs d'amende, et qu'on lui faisait faire le voyage de Mtoa à Boma pour passer de nouveau en jugement, les accusations portées contre lui étant très graves, *introduction illégale d'armes et de munitions dans le Congo*.§

* Italics mine.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

“Le ‘si gentil petit voyage’ dont parlait le Major Weyns était donc destiné à Rabinek ; il reste à espérer que celui-ci pourra le supporter, étant donnée la façon dont les blancs sont traités par les askaris, même quand il n’y a aucun mandat d’amener, comme pour M. Van den Bosch pour lequel des excuses officielles ont été faites. Celui-ci a été plusieurs fois mis en joue par les askaris de l’État Indépendant à Chiniama, puis maltraité par eux d’une façon honteuse, puis ceux-ci l’ont trainé jusqu’à Lukafu, le sergent noir lui enlevant son casque, sa machilla, une chèvre que celui-ci avait achetée pour manger, et ne lui donnant que de la viande pourrie, et cela après avoir volé M.M. Juber et Van den Bosch, et avoir pillé la station de Chiniama. M. Bosch en est revenu avec un coup de soleil et un état permanent de fièvre, qui ne l’avait pas quitté en juin dernier.

“Un voyage pareil de Mtoa à Boma est certainement la mort,* et le Major Weyns a été bien mal inspiré de dire que celui qui serait arrêté ‘ne recommencerait pas.’

“Je ne connais rien des marchandises introduites dans l’État du Congo par Rabinek, mais je sais qu’il en payait régulièrement les droits d’entrée d’après les quittances que j’ai vues au poste de Pweto.†

“Je ne connais rien aussi des quantités de caoutchouc et d’ivoire qu’il y avait achetées depuis la licence donnée par la Cie. du Katanga. Je sais que les marchandises qu’il avait achetées à Blantyre ont passé par Fife, Kasama et peut être sont elles toutes à son store de Kazembe ; M. Lucas, agent de Rabinek à Kazembe est arrivé à Sumbu le 14 Juin, me disant qu’il avait remis les clefs et les livres du store au Dr. Watson à Kalongwise (?) : Lucas est parti le 20 Juin pour Kasanga. Relativement aux événements-ci-dessus relaté, je ferai les réflexions suivantes :

“*Endroit où Rabinek a été arrêté.*—D’après ce que lui a appris Rabinek, M. Richards m’a dit que celui-ci avait été arrêté à bord du steamer anglais *Scotia*, dans la baie de Pweto ; le Capitaine Mils des A.L.C. étant descendu à terre, a appris à M. Bouvier que Rabinek était à son bord, et M. Bouvier est venu procéder à son arrestation.‡

“D’un autre côté, si on consulte l’Arrangement du 12 Mai, 1894, conclu entre l’Angleterre et l’État Indépendant du Congo, il est dit que : ‘La frontière entre l’État Indépendant du Congo et la sphère d’influence britannique au Nord du Zambèze (Zambesi) suivra une ligne allant directement de l’extrémité du Cap Akalunga sur le Lac Tanganika, situé au point le plus septentrional de la Baie de Cameroun, par environ 8° 15’ latitude sud, à la rive droite de la rivière Luapula, au point où cette rivière sort du Lac Mweru. La ligne sera ensuite prolongée directement jusqu’à l’embouchure de cette rivière dans le lac ; toutefois, vers le sud du lac, elle déviara

* This declaration, of course, was written in ignorance of Rabinek’s fate.

† Italics mine.

‡ Later details show that the officer who served the warrant upon Rabinek was Lieut. Saroléa.

de façon à laisser l'île de Kilwa à la Grande Bretagne. Dans ces conditions, si on examine la carte officielle de l'Etat du Congo, mise à jour par le Lieutenant Lemaire, le dessin ci-dessous provenant d'un calque qu'en a fait Van den Bosch à Lukafu, on constate que le steamer en rade de Pweto se trouve fatalement dans les eaux anglaises.

“D'un autre côté, les observations du Lieutenant Belge Lemaire ont donné comme latitudes pour Moliro 8° 14', pour Pweto 8° 29'; la ligne joignant le Cap Akalunga à la rive droite du Luapula, de l'est à l'ouest, est donc inclinée vers le sud; la méridienne tracée avec des briques et partant d'un socle en briques par le même Lieutenant Lemaire, faite (?) la boma de Pweto, fait un angle aigue avec la route y conduit du lac: on peut donc en conclure, avec toute certitude, que la plage même de Pweto est Anglaise et non Belge.

“Tout ceci permet de déclarer formellement qu'il y a eu double violation de frontière, sur les eaux du lac et sur le beach, aggravée par le fait que Rabinek a été arrêté sur un steamer Anglais.

“*Pénalité encourue.*—Rabinek ayant été condamné à un an de prison et à 1000 francs d'amende, ce ne peut être pour l'exploitation illégale du caoutchouc, car le décret du 30 Octobre, 1892, dit: ‘Art. 10. Celui qui exploitera ou fera exploiter le caoutchouc dans les terres visées aux art. 2 et 3 (terres domaniales) ou dans des biens concédés, affermés ou vendus à des tiers, ou sans se conformer aux dispositions du présent décret, ou qui achètera du caoutchouc n'ayant pas acquitté la redevance prévu à l'article 7, sera passible d'une amende de 10 à 1000 francs, et d'une servitude pénale d'un jour à un mois, ou d'une de ces peines seulement, le tout sans préjudice de dommages et intérêts au profit des ayants droit. Le tribunal ordonnera en outre la restitution aux ayants droit du caoutchouc recueilli illégalement, et pourra retirer aux auteurs de l'infraction l'autorisation conférée par le présent décret (autorisation d'exploiter le caoutchouc).’

“Relativement au trafic des armes, le Major Weyns a insinué devant moi que Rabinek avait vendu des armes aux révoltés; je n'ai jamais rien su de semblable, et ce ne peut être que pour les 39 fusils à piston qu'il était autorisé à avoir au Congo, pour sa licence relative à la chasse de l'éléphant: quelques fusils ont pu être perdus ou volés à ses capitães, l'un d'eux a été saisi par les askaris du poste de Pweto. C'est ce qui expliquerait sa condamnation, car le décret du 10 Mars, 1892, ‘Armes & Munitions,’ dit: ‘Art. 9. Quiconque commettra ou laissera commettre par ses subordonnés des infractions au présent décret, ainsi qu'aux arrêtés et règlements d'exécution, sera puni de 100 à 1000 francs d'amende, ou d'une servitude pénale n'excédant pas une année, ou de l'une de ces peines seulement. La peine de servitude pénale sera toujours prononcée, et elle pourra être portée à cinq ans lorsque le délinquant se sera livré au trafic des armes à feu ou de leurs munitions dans les régions où sévit la traite. Dans les cas prévus ci-dessus, les armes, la

poudre, les balles et les cartouches seront confisquées.' Le Major Weyns a prétendu que la licence pour la chasse à l'éléphant était pour un an; je déclare formellement avoir vu la licence avec *Cinq Années imprimées au timbre gras.*

"Quant aux permis de port d'armes, le décret du 10 Mars, 1892, dit: Art. 3. 'Les permis de port d'armes sont valables pour cinq années et peuvent être renouvelés.'

(Signé) "G. LÉVÊQUE."

IV

AGREEMENT BETWEEN RABINEK AND THE KATANGA COMPANY.

Companie du Katanga Soc. anon. Siège Social Bruxelles. "ENTRE les soussignés Gustave Maria Rabinek demeurant actuellement à Kasembe, North-Eastern Rhodesia, d'une part, et Gustave Lévêque, agissant au nom de la Cie. du Katanga dont il est le directeur en Afrique d'autre part, a été convenu ce qui suit:

"A. La Cie. du Katanga donne à M. Rabinek la concession pendant cinq années /5 ans/ de l'exploitation du caoutchouc et de l'ivoire sur les territoires de la Cie. du Katanga, actuellement sous l'influence des révoltés, c'est à dire compris entre:

"1. une ligne partant du confluent des rivières Lufira et Lungweze jusqu'au sud du Lac Kebele;

"2. la rivière Lualaba jusqu'au nord du Lac Kalomba;

"3. le parallèle 7° 50' sud depuis le Lac Kalomba jusqu'à la rivière Luvna;

"4. la rivière Luvna jusqu'à son confluent avec la rivière Luwule;

"5. la rivière Luwule jusqu'à 28 longitude est;

"6. le 28 longitude est jusqu'à la rivière Lungweze;

"7. la rivière Lungweze jusqu'à son confluent avec la rivière Lufira.

"Le plan annexé ci-joint, fait d'après les cartes de M. Wauters, publiées dans le journal le 'Mouvement Géographique' du 24 Juillet 1898 et 27 Novembre, 1898, complète la description ci-dessus.

"B. La licence annuelle à payer par M. Rabinek est fixée à dix £ Str. /£ 10/ par blanc, travaillant dans le territoire ci-dessus.

"C. La redevance que M. Rabinek devra payer à la Cie. du Katanga pour l'exploitation du caoutchouc et de l'ivoire est fixée à un franc/ fr. 1/ par kilogramme.

"D. M. Rabinek est tenu de faire apporter tout le caoutchouc et l'ivoire qu'il exploitera dans la région ci-dessus désignée, à la Station de la Cie. du Katanga près de Mubanga, où tous les trois mois, aux 1er Janvier, 1er Avril, 1er Juillet, 1er Octobre, et suivant les circonstances, il sera pesé contradictoirement devant lui pour pouvoir régler la Cie. du Katanga, règlement qui devra être fait avant la sortie du caoutchouc et de l'ivoire de la station de la Compagnie.

"E. M. Rabinek est tenu de faire faire tous ses transports par la

Cie. du Katanga sur les Lacs Moero et Tanganyika, dès que celle-ci sera en mesure de le faire, et celle-ci s'engage à ne pas dépasser les prix des Compagnies concurrentes.

"F. Si M. Rabinek cesse son contrat pour quelque cause que ce soit, la Compagnie du Katanga deviendra propriétaire de son caoutchouc et de son ivoire accumulé dans la station de Mubanga.

"G. M. Rabinek s'engage à se conformer aux lois de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo, c'est à dire : d'introduire ses marchandises par les postes de douane de Moliro, Pweto, Mulenga ; à payer les droits d'entrée de ses marchandises, à signifier à la Cie. du Katanga et aux postes de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo l'emplacement de ses stations, dès qu'elles seront construites ; de tenir ses livres conformément à la loi ;—ses livres de comptabilité pourront être vérifiés par les agents de la Cie. du Katanga à Mubanga ; à payer les droits de sortie de son caoutchouc et de son ivoire ; à planter *cent cinquante pieds* [150 *pieds*] *de caoutchouc par tonne de caoutchouc récoltée par an.*

"H. *La licence sera retirée de plein droit par la Cie. du Katanga en cas de fraude ou de tentative de fraude, ou si M. Rabinek ne se conforme pas aux clauses di-dessus.*

"I. Toutes les contestations qui pourraient surgir entre la Cie. du Katanga et Monsieur Rabinek, seront jugées par les autorités de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo.

"Fait et signé *en triple* exemplaire à Mbanga, le *vingt-trois Septembre mil neuf cents.*

"Signé le Directeur en
Afrique de la Cie. du Katanga,
G. LÉVÊQUE.

"Signé par les témoins
MAURICE GREEN,
E. R. LUCAS.

"I, C. P. Caudy, do hereby declare the above is a true copy of the original which was placed before me on the thirtieth of October, 1900.

(Signed) "C. P. CAUDY,
Acting Collector, Karonga,
North Nyassa.

Dated 30.10.1900."

V

COMMANDANT HENNEBERT'S REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH RABINEK DIED. Copy of
Extract.

"Boma, le 18 Septembre, 1901.

"MONSIEUR LE GOUVERNEUR-GÉNÉRAL,

"Le 20 Août, je m'embarquais à Bumba sur la *Hainaut*. Ce bateau venant de Stanleyville, avait à bord plusieurs passagers,

dont Rabinek. Je constatai que celui-ci avait accès sur le pont et à la salle à manger au même titre que les autres passagers. Je fis observer au Commissaire du Bord l'irrégularité de cette situation. Il me fut répondu que le substitut du Procureur d'Etat de Stanleyville, en faisant embarquer Rabinek, avait déclaré qu'il pouvait être traité comme un passager quelconque, parce qu'il désirait faire entendre sa cause par le tribunal d'appel. Je m'abstins de modifier ces instructions.

"Durant le voyage, Rabinek s'est montré insouciant d'humeur. La plupart des passagers frayaient avec lui et il se tenait généralement parmi les groupes parlant haut et gaiement.

"Je citerai parmi ses compagnons habituels, le capitaine du bateau Otto et le commissaire Pahaut, le sous-lieutenant Rosendael, l'agronome WenWaert, le premier officier Rovero, le poseur Carrey, etc.

"Rabinek s'alita le 27 ou le 28 Août. Il avait des accès de fièvre et des vomissements de bile. Le 29, le médecin attaché au camp d'Irébu examina le malade, lui reconnut une fièvre bilieuse, mais ne manifesta aucune crainte. La maladie suivit son cours jusqu'au 1^{er} Septembre. Le malade était soigné par le commissaire du bord; plusieurs passagers et particulièrement M. Carrey le visitaient fréquemment.

"Le dimanche le 1^{er} Septembre vers 8 heures du soir l'état de Rabinek, qui n'avait jamais été inquiétant, empira, et je fus averti que la température du malade était très élevée. Je reconnus en effet l'urgence de lui administrer une hypodermique de quinine.

"Ce médicament n'eut pas l'effet souhaité, la température du patient s'éleva encore, et une demiheure après il expira.

"J'ai entendu émettre l'avis général que Rabinek, par son long séjour aux tropiques et par la passion de la morphine qui le dominait, n'était pas en état de résister à un accès violent de fièvre.

"Tout ce qu'il laissait fut enfermé dans ses malles et la malle cabine qui les contenait mise sous scellés jusqu'à Léopoldville.

"Le lendemain matin Rabinek fut inhumé au poste de Black River, où le *Hainaut* avait séjourné la nuit.

"Le suivis le corps avec la presque totalité des passagers."

JUDGMENT OF THE APPEAL COURT OF BOMA IN
THE CASE OF CAUDRON AND JONES

March, 1904.

(Translation.)

" Judgment in Appeal respecting the Cases of M. Caudron and S. Jones.

"The Court of Appeal at Boma, sitting for the consideration of Criminal Cases, has pronounced the following Judgment:—

" Public hearing of March 15, 1904.

" (No. on the list 395.)

" The Public Prosecutor *versus*—

" (1) Caudron, Phillip Charles François, born at Auderlecht, Belgium, Superintendent of the Melo Commercial Zone, in the service of the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo; and

" (2) Jones, Silvanus, a native of Lagos, clerk in the service of the said Company:

"The charges against the first-named were that, at the end of 1902, and at the beginning of 1903, when he was Superintendent of the Melo Commercial Zone, in the service of the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo:

1. He caused the village of Liboké to be attacked at night by the servants of the Society, armed with Albinis rifles, thus directly bringing about the death of a certain number of Natives of the said village of Liboké;

2. That he went about the country with a force composed of sixty State soldiers and of twenty servants of the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo, armed with Albinis, and caused the Natives of the villages of Magugu, Teriba, Mandingia, Muibembetti, and Kakoré to be attacked by this force, divided into small detachments, thus directly bringing about the death of a great number of Natives of the said villages;

3. That he, at Muibembetti, deliberately wounded the woman Menniegbiré by discharging a shot-gun into her breast;

4. That he arbitrarily detained at Mimbo for nearly a month about twenty prisoners taken during his expeditions in the villages of Magugu, Teriba, Mandingia, Muibembetti, and Kakoré;

5. That at Mimbo he directly caused the death of a prisoner,

having previously given instructions to the armed sentries under his orders to kill any prisoner who might attempt to escape;

6. That at the station of Binga-État he gave an order to the sentries to kill a Mogwande Chief, an order which was executed by the soldier Kamassi;

7. That he established, or allowed to be established, at Bussu-Baya, and at Dengeseke, commercial factories where workmen were installed, armed with Albinis and cartridges, forming part of the armament of the factories of Mimbo and Binga, these arms and ammunition having been moved without authority, and having been used in committing the breaches of law, for which Silvanus Jones, chief of the factory of Bussu-Baya, and Bangi, his servant, are being prosecuted;

8. That, at the post of Mimbo, he handed over to his Headman ("Capita") Kassango 100 Albinis cartridges belonging to the State, and, at the post of Binga, handed over 200 cartridges to Houart, head of that factory; which proceedings constituted a fraudulent abstraction of cartridges, the property of the State; and, in the second place, a breach of the Regulations in regard to fire-arms, offences covered by Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 18, 19 of the Penal Code, 101 *bis*, 101 (4) of the Penal Code, Decree of 27th March, 1900; 2 and 9 of the Decree of 10th March, 1892, and the Order of 30th August, 1901, respecting fire-arms.

The charges against the second were that, at the end of 1902, he sent workmen of the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo, armed with Albinis, into the neighbourhood of the factory of Bussu-Baya, with instructions to kill the Natives, and thus directly caused the death of a woman of Bassango, who was killed by a rifle-shot by his servant Bangi—offences covered by Articles 1 and 9 of the Decree of 10th March, 1892, and by the Order of 30th April, 1901, respecting fire-arms, and 1 and 2 of the Penal Code;

In view of the terms of the indictment against the above-named persons, and the verdict of the Court of First Instance of the Lower Congo, dated the 12th January, 1904, condemning the first-named to twenty years' penal servitude and to seven-eighths of the costs of the action, and the second to ten years' penal servitude and to one-eighth of the costs of the action;

Whereas appeals against the said verdict were made by the Public Prosecutor and by the accused Caudron, according to declarations received at the office of the Registrar of Court of Appeal on the 12th February, 1904;

Whereas the said appeals were notified to the Public Prosecutor and to the accused on the same day;

Whereas a summons was served on the accused on the 22nd February, 1904;

Whereas Judge Albert Sweerts has reported on the case;

Whereas the case has been heard before the Court of Appeal;

Whereas the Procureur d'État has addressed the Court for the prosecution;

Whereas the statements and defence of the accused have been heard, being presented on behalf of Caudron by M. de Neutor, the defending Counsel accepted by the Court ;

Whereas the Court of Appeal has received the appeal of the accused Caudron, and the appeal of the Public Prosecutor relating to the latter, and to the other accused, Silvanus Jones ;

Whereas the appeal of the accused Caudron is inadmissible, the appellant not having deposited the costs in advance, in conformity with Article 78 of the Decree of the 27th April, 1889 ;

Whereas, nevertheless, the appeal of the Public Prosecutor reopens the whole case even in the interest of those served with the notice of appeal.

With regard to the accused Caudron ;

On the first and second counts :

Whereas it is proved by the evidence of the witnesses and by the documents included in the "dossier": (1) that, on the night of the 15th to 16th October, 1902, at the station of Akula in the district of the Melo, the accused Caudron, District Superintendent of the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo, with a view to punish the inhabitants of the village of Liboké for not furnishing the forced labour required of them, gave orders to five of his workmen, armed with Albinis, to go to the said village and fire on the inhabitants, orders which the workmen executed, killing the Chief and several inhabitants of the village ;

(2) That in the course of the months of January, February, and March, 1903, in order to force the Natives of the region of the Banga to furnish a greater supply of rubber, he conducted an expedition into the said region with twenty of his workmen, armed with Albinis, and accompanied by a non-commissioned officer and fifty soldiers of the State ; that in the course of this expedition he despatched the workmen, armed with Albinis, and the soldiers, in small detachments, into the localities of Magugu, Teriba, Bongu, Muibembetti, and Kakoré, with instructions to fire upon any Natives they might meet—instructions which the workmen and soldiers carried out, thereby causing the death of a large number of Natives ;

Whereas the accused acknowledges the general truth of these facts, but pleads in extenuation that he acted in accordance with the authorization, and even by the order, of the authorities, represented, in the case of the Liboké incident, by M. Nagant, and, in the case of the expedition against the Banga, by M. Jamart, both Heads of the police-station at Binga ;

Whereas, in the case of the Liboké incident, all the witnesses questioned on this point before the Court of First Instance and before the Court of Appeal denied categorically that M. Nagant was at Akula when the attack against that village took place, and that consequently he could not have authorized by his presence the order given by the accused Caudron, as the latter maintains ;

Whereas the "dossier" contains, however, certified copies of two letters addressed by M. Collet, Manager of the station of Akula,

to M. Nagant, the first dated the 12th October, 1902, asking him to take action against the village of Liboké, and the second dated the 16th October—that is, the day after the attack—thanking him for his action, and informing him that the Natives had come in in the morning to the station and had undertaken to accomplish their allotted tasks with regularity; and the authenticity of these letters is denied by the prosecution, who maintain that they were forged subsequently in the interest of the accused;

Whereas, however, the three facts: that they have been included in the “dossier” by the Magistrate in charge of the case; that they were found in the office of the police-station, and that they were admitted by M. Collet in the course of the preliminary inquiry, do not allow of their being considered as forgeries and consequently rejected;

Whereas, since a doubt exists, the version most favourable to the accused must be accepted—that is to say, that the Chief of the police-station, Nagant, was at Akula when the attack on the village of Liboké took place, and that he was aware of, and authorized that attack;

Whereas, consequently, any supplementary examination relative to the said circumstances would be absolutely useless in the interest of the defence;

Whereas, in the case of the expedition against the Banga, the presence in that expedition of the Chief of Police, Jamart, with fifty soldiers of the State, is not denied, and it is, moreover, proved that the accused acted throughout on that occasion in perfect accord with the former; whereas it remains, therefore, to be determined whether the presence and the authorization of these representatives of authority may be taken as justifying the action of the accused;

Whereas it is a principle, expressly recognized by the codes on which our legislation is based, that, in order to exclude the idea of an offence, it is not enough that the action may have been ordered by the Executive authorities, but it is necessary also that it should be prescribed by the law;

Whereas there is no doubt in the present instance that it is a case of offences against common law, that is to say, of manslaughter committed for a private purpose with the object of forcing the Natives to supply labour or produce;

Whereas, although the restoring of order has been occasionally vaguely mentioned, it is clearly shown by the evidence of all the witnesses, and even by the reports addressed by the accused to the Director of the Company, and by his letters to the officers of the district, that, in committing these acts of hostility against the Natives, he only had in view the interest of his Company's trade, and more especially the increase in the amount of rubber collected;

Whereas, even if there could be any doubt as to the nature of the previous expedition against the Gwakas, no doubt can exist in this respect in connection with the facts which are the subject of the prosecution;

Whereas, in any case, it is a well-established fact that at the time these acts took place order had in no way been disturbed, either at Liboké or among the Banga; that it does not appear that the victims of these actions had committed any other fault than that of failing to furnish the Company with the amount of labour required by it;

On the other hand, seeing that the sole fact of not having paid the taxes, even if they had been legally due (which they were not in this case, because no law had yet authorized their collection), could not justify such sanguinary measures;

In the present instance it is still less possible to speak of war-like acts, because to attack peaceable people and to fire upon single and inoffensive individuals is certainly not making war;

Whereas it is proved by the evidence of the witnesses, and by the statements of the accused himself, that on no occasion during these events did the Natives attack or commit any sort of hostile act;

Whereas there was not one killed or wounded among the soldiers or among the Company employés;

Whereas, therefore, it would be absurd to call it war; and killing under such circumstances constitutes a crime which no law or necessity authorizes, and which is punishable by the Penal Code, whether it be committed by a private person or by a representative of authority;

Whereas, on the other hand, the accused cannot plead in extenuation the principle of official subordination, in view of the fact that such a plea is only valid in the case of representatives of authority who carry out the orders of an official superior, and then only so far as the authority of that superior extends;

Whereas the accused was not a representative of authority and he did not owe official obedience to any one; it was in no way part of his duty as an agent of a Company to co-operate in measures of repression; he was, therefore, fully entitled to refuse to execute the orders which might be given him to this effect, and, if he executed them, it was at his own risk;

Whereas, moreover, it is a principle of law that even obedience to one's official superior does not constitute a valid plea when the illegality of the order is obvious;

Further, whereas there is no truth in the statement that the accused, as he affirms, only obeyed the orders of the Chiefs of the police-station;

Whereas the truth, on the contrary, is that the latter were, in point of fact, under his orders;

Whereas a mere non-commissioned officer like Nagant; a mere military assistant (corporal) like Jamart, could not have any authority over the accused, who occupied the high position of a District Superintendent of the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo, and had under his orders a large staff of white men and Natives;

Whereas all the witnesses were unanimous in stating that in

all the expeditions which he made with the Chiefs of the police-station, it was he who commanded, gave orders to, and punished, not only his own men, but even the soldiers of the State; whereas, especially in the case of the expedition against the Banga, it is evident that Corporal Jamart, quite young and but recently arrived in Africa, knowing neither the language nor the country, and, besides, so ill that he nearly always had to be carried, and remained several days' journey to the rear, was simply a lay figure made use of by the accused in the belief that by Jamart's presence he would be able to cover his own illegal actions and to involve the State in his own responsibility;

Whereas it is therefore useless for the accused to plead good faith in having acted in accord with the representatives of authority;

Whereas he knew that he ought not to kill, and that he was even less justified in so doing in the interests of trade;

He knew that it is not tolerated by the laws of the State;

He knew, also, that several of his predecessors and colleagues in the same region and belonging to the same Company had received very severe sentences from the Court for similar offences;

He thought he would be cleverer than the others in trying to cover his responsibility by making use of State employé's;

But if this precaution turns out to be ineffectual—if he realizes too late that criminal responsibility cannot be so easily eluded—he has no right to describe himself as the victim of an error;

Whereas, if he was mistaken, it was not with regard to the morality of the actions which he committed, but with regard to the value of the ruse which he made use of to cover them;

Whereas, however, the accused insists upon the request which he had already made in First Instance—to wit, that the Tribunal should order a supplementary inquiry, in order to have incorporated in the "dossier" the political reports sent by the higher administrative authorities of the region to the local government—which would show that the said authorities had known and approved of the actions of which he is accused, and even of previous and subsequent expeditions which he had made with the troops of the State; whereas the local government, questioned by the examining Magistrate, declared that, as a matter of principle, it did not think it possible to produce these documents, and, moreover, the said documents contained nothing that could refer to the facts mentioned by the accused;

Whereas the defence contests these declarations in law and in fact;

Whereas the right of the judicial authority to demand, and even to search for in any public or private place, any document which might lead to a conviction or an acquittal, cannot be denied in principle;

Whereas this right, which is given to the judicial authority by law, can only be curtailed also by law; whereas neither the Congo legislation, nor the legislation on which it is founded, fixes any limitation in favour of the Public Departments;

Whereas if an exception be made in the case of diplomatic representatives, that is on account of the fiction of the extra-territoriality of their residence; whereas there is no place of asylum;

Whereas, however, it is the duty of the judicial authority to proceed in such matters with the greatest circumspection, and only if the documents demanded are of obvious use to the prosecution or the defence;

Whereas, in the present instance, the defence thinks that it can deduce from these documents the approval, and, in any case, the toleration of the authorities in connection with these actions;

Whereas, as has been set forth above, even the definite order, and, therefore, still less the toleration of the authorities, could not be held to justify acts contrary to the law;

Whereas this principle has already, for a long time past, and on several occasions, been affirmed by the Tribunals of the State;

Whereas, in this case could the accused find in the documents, the production of which he demands, justification for the actions with which he is charged;

Whereas the utmost he could do would be to adduce the toleration of the authorities as an extenuating circumstance;

Whereas, in this connection, it may be fittingly observed that the documents of the "dossier" itself, and the evidence of witnesses, go to prove the existence of a certain toleration on the part of the authorities;

Whereas, indeed, the presence and the co-operation of the heads of the police-station of Binga, at the time of the Qiboke affair, and of the expedition against the Banga, have been admitted by the Tribunal. Whereas the evidence of the witnesses also goes to prove that the accused, accompanied by agents and soldiers of the State, had, previously and subsequently, conducted other punitive expeditions against the Natives;

Whereas this is sufficient ground at least for presuming the toleration of the higher authorities of the district, and for admitting this toleration as an extenuating circumstance in favour of the accused;

Whereas, consequently, all supplementary inquiry on this subject, even if it might serve to prove the responsibility of other persons, could be of no service to the accused;

On the third count:

Whereas it is proved by the evidence of witnesses, and admitted by the men accused, that at Muibembetti, in the course of an expedition against the Banga, the accused in question, having lost his temper owing to a delay on the part of the carriers, fired upon them with his shot-gun loaded with small shot; one of the two discharges wounded a native woman in the back; and the wound was slight and did not cause her to be incapacitated from work;

On the fourth count:

Whereas the accused admits having caused to be detained at the

factory of Mimbo some twenty Natives who had been taken prisoners in the course of the expedition against the Banga, and that their detention had no other object than to force their villages to collect rubber; whereas he alleges in his defence that these people had been arrested with the authorization and assistance of Jamart, the Chief of the police-station; whereas they were awaiting at Mimbo the instructions of the Commander of the police forces; whereas he maintains that this act was perfectly legal because the Government had, since the month of April, 1901, authorized the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo to exact rubber as a tax from the people, and had decreed the penalty of detention in the case of refusal;

Whereas, in fact, the Public Prosecutor declared in the course of a trial before the Court of First Instance that he was authorized to state that a letter was in existence from the Governor-General to the Commissioner of the district of Nouvelle-Anvers, granting to the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo the right to exact rubber as a tax; whereas this letter adds that the Commander of the police force may, in case of refusal, put in force the penalty of detention; that he may delegate that right to an agent of the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo, but that it will always rest with him to decide if the detention is to be confirmed or not;

Whereas it is quite evident that taxes could not be established, or detention in case of non-payment decreed, by a mere letter;

And whereas the right of imposing taxes on the people, and of fixing penalties can only belong to the King Sovereign, or to those to whom he has legally delegated his authority for that purpose;

And whereas the Judicature would fail in its duty and its mission if it recognized in any other authority those powers which are reserved to the sovereign authority;

And whereas a law duly decreed and published would therefore have been necessary;

And whereas such a law has only appeared quite recently, a very long time after the acts which form the subject of the prosecution, and it requires, moreover, in order to render the penalty of detention applicable, conditions which do not exist in this case;

Whereas, consequently, the letter of the Governor-General being unable to run counter to the Penal Code could not justify the violation of individual liberty;

And whereas it is quite possible that the accused may have been mistaken on this point, but the fact of acting in good faith cannot be taken as a justification for a breach of the law;

Whereas it is just, however, to take this into consideration in order to give the accused, on this head, the benefit of extenuating circumstances to the greatest extent possible;

On the fifth count :

Whereas it is established and admitted by the men accused that

one of the prisoners detained at Mimbo, having attempted to escape during the night, was killed with an Albini rifle by the sentry on guard ;

And whereas the accused maintains that he had absolutely nothing to do with this act ;

Whereas, although it is established by the evidence of the witnesses that the accused had always given his men orders to fire on prisoners who tried to escape, it is not, however, proved that the sentry who fired was one of the men placed directly under his orders ;

Whereas, on the contrary the proceedings seem to show that the man in question was a workman of the post of Mimbo, and that he had been placed as a sentry by the Manager of that factory ;

And whereas the murder, therefore, could not be imputed to the accused ;

On the sixth count :

Whereas the accused admits that upon his return from the expedition against the Banga, a native Chief was killed in the prison of the police-station of Banga by the soldiers of that station ;

Whereas he admits that on two occasions, when he was in the company of Jamart, the soldiers came to ask for instructions relating to this prisoner, who was making a disturbance ; and he also admits that he was actually present in the prison when the prisoner was killed ; whereas, however, he affirms that neither he, nor Jamart, gave any order to the soldiers, and that he went to the prison solely to induce the prisoner to remain quiet ;

Whereas all the witnesses interrogated on this point in the course of the preliminary inquiry, and at the hearing of the case, did, in a manner the most precise, and consistent in the most minute details, affirm that the accused twice gave the order to kill ; first to Sergeant Tangua, who had come for instructions ; and on the second occasion to the same sergeant and to the soldier Rixassi when they returned to get the order confirmed ; and that it was the accused himself, who, in the prison, after the sergeant had fired upon the prisoner and missed him, handed the gun to the soldier Rixassi, who killed him ;

Whereas the latter detail was also given by the witness Houart, confined in the prison at Boma, when the other witnesses were still in the Upper Congo ; and it is, therefore, impossible that it was invented ;

Whereas these two circumstances, absolutely established by other evidence as well as that of native witnesses, that the accused was in the prison and that he handed the gun to the man who fired, confirm in the most positive manner the fact that it was he who gave the order to fire, an order which the soldiers who were returning from the expedition, on which they had always looked upon the accused as their Commandant, could not hesitate to execute ;

Whereas it is, moreover, amply evident that they certainly would

not have killed without instructions, even in the presence of the accused ;

On the seventh count :

Whereas the facts cited in the prosecution are established, and admitted by the accused, and constitute breaches of the Regulations as to fire-arms ;

On the eighth count :

Whereas, as the first Judge declared, it is merely a question in this case of a simple exchange of ammunition between the troops of the State and the Company's armed men ; and whereas a simple exchange cannot constitute a fraudulent abstraction, or (when it is only a question of cartridges, and not of the weapon itself) a contravention of the Regulations as to fire-arms ;

Whereas, for the reasons given above, the accused must be declared guilty of murders with premeditation, as the moral author, through abuse of authority, of the deeds he is charged with on the first, second, and sixth counts ; of blows and wounds on the third count ; of arbitrary detention on the fourth count ; of contraventions of the Regulations as to fire-arms on the seventh count ; and he should be acquitted on the remainder of the counts ;

Whereas there are reasons for granting extenuating circumstances to the accused, not only on account of the considerations submitted on the first, second, and fourth counts, but also on account of his good previous character during his long stay in Africa, and the great difficulties under which he must have laboured, as he had to do his duty in the midst of a population entirely hostile to all idea of work, and which only respects the law of force, and knows no other argument than terror ;

Whereas it must be recognized that it must be very difficult to act within the law in a country still absolutely barbarous and savage, more especially when the laws to be obeyed in that country are the same as those which govern the most civilized peoples ;

Whereas, to conclude, it is just to bear in mind that, although the acts are in themselves very grave, they lose a part of their gravity when they are considered in connection with the surroundings, in which, according to immemorial custom, human life has no value, and pillage, murder, and cannibalism were, until the other day, of ordinary occurrence.

As regards the accused Silvanus Jones :

Whereas it is duly established by the consistent testimony of the witnesses, and even by the contradictory evidence of the accused himself, that, during the month of October, 1902, when he was Chief of the post of the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo at Bussa-Baya, he ordered the men placed under his orders to proceed to the neighbourhood of the factory, and to kill the Natives that they met, to punish them for not having furnished a sufficient quantity of rubber, an order which his servant Bongé executed by killing a woman ;

Whereas the accused maintains, as a subsidiary plea, that in any

case he acted, as in other circumstances, in accordance with the orders of his superiors, especially with those of the District Chief, M. Caudron ;

Whereas—although these orders are not well established—the methods adopted by the District Chief Caudron to obtain rubber from the Natives, and the fact that the accused had been placed at Bussa-Baya secretly, and that that post had been armed with eight Albini rifles without permission, give colour to the supposition, in favour of the accused, that, in point of fact, he did but follow the instructions of his Chiefs ;

And whereas, however, for the reasons already given, these orders could in no way justify or exculpate the accused ;

And whereas he could not even be regarded as a passive and unconscious instrument in the hands of his Chiefs, because, although a black, he possesses some mental culture and belongs to a country already partly civilised ;

And whereas he must have known perfectly well that to kill is a crime ;

And whereas he, moreover, acted in his personal interest because he was paid in proportion to the rubber he collected ;

Whereas, however, it is just to concede to him extenuating circumstances to the greatest possible extent, taking into account his surroundings and the example set by his Chief ; and whereas it must be admitted that it would have been very difficult for a black man to withstand the influence of example ;

And whereas, therefore, the Court of Appeal expresses the hope that the rigour of the penalty, which, according to law, it is compelled to confirm, may, in the case of this prisoner, be modified as soon as possible, by his conditional release ;

For these reasons, and those cited by the First Judge, which do not conflict with them ;

The Court of Appeal :

Taking into consideration Articles 78 of the Decree of the 27th April, 1889 ; 3, 4, 11, 98, 101 (*bis*), and 101 (4) of the Penal Code ; 2 and 9 of the Decree of the 10th March, 1892, and the Order of the 30th April, 1901 ;

Declares the appeal of the accused Caudron to be inadmissible ;

And, on the appeal of the Public Prosecutor—

Amends the Judgment appealed against with respect to the accused Caudron, in regard to the penalty pronounced, and condemns him on the count of murders with premeditation, of blows and wounds, of arbitrary detention, and contraventions of the Regulations as to fire-arms, with extenuating circumstances, to five years' penal servitude ;

Confirms in other respects the Judgment which was the subject of appeal, also as regards the accused Silvanus Jones ;

Ordains that the costs of the appeal shall be borne by the State.

Thus judged and pronounced in public sitting by the Tribunal,

composed of M. Giacomo Nisco, President ; MM. Albert Sweerts and Michel Cuciniello, Judges ; M. Fernand Waleffe, Public Prosecutor ; -M. Paul Hodüm, Clerk.

The President,
(Signed) G. NISCO.

The Judges,
(Signed) SWEERTS.
M. CUCINIELLO.

The Clerk,
P. HODÜM.

LETTERS* RECEIVED FROM THE CONGO THIS YEAR
SINCE THE PRESENT VOLUME WAS COMPLETED

IN THE DOMAINE DE LA COURONNE. LETTER FROM THE
REV. A. E. SCRIVENER.

MR. SCRIVENER'S appalling account of a three months' journey into the *Domaine de la Couronne*, in July, August, and September, 1903, is given in Chapter XV. In the Official Report (Africa, No. 1, 1904), Mr. Roger Casement describes the conversations he had with refugees from the district visited by Mr. Scrivener. Confirmation was thus complete. Mr. Scrivener has made another journey into a part of the country peopled by some wretched survivors of the rubber-hunting orgies in the Lake region. He sends me some of the stories he has gathered from the lips of these victims of moral and material regeneration.

"Bolobo Mission, May 27, 1904.

"MY DEAR MR. MOREL,

"You may possibly have heard of my having been invited to Leopoldville to a conference with a *Substitut* (judicial officer) there, concerning the statements which have appeared in the *West African Mail*, and other papers, from my pen. I answered all the questions he put to me with the exception of those concerning the conversation I had with Dooms at Mbongo. I demanded that he should be allowed to make a statement himself to the proper authorities, and also that I myself desired to seek advice before saying to the *Substitut* what Dooms told me. On returning from Leopoldville I was asked by the *Substitut* to seek other witnesses who could bear out my statements (I happened to have four Basengele eye-witnesses with me of atrocities committed by some of the soldiers in charge of various posts), and this I have been able to do in a recent little journey while visiting our outposts.

"Without any seeking, other than to question the visitors to my camps, I have already succeeded in obtaining the testimony of eye-witnesses of some of the deeds credited to certain white men who have gained a notoriety in these parts. I have written the

* Some of these letters were written to the author personally, others to friends, who have communicated the same to the author.

Substitut asking him to name a date when he could visit these parts, so that I may arrange to have the witnesses ready.

"While several days in from the river, I heard a rumour (it was only once removed from the man who brought it from the Lake), that Dooms has been drowned while hunting hippopotamus somewhere on the Lake. It seems too circumstantial not to be true. If it is, then a valuable witness to much that I have brought forward has been removed. His management of his district was so mild compared to that of his predecessor, although he by no means excused them the amount of rubber he thought they should bring in, that he was much liked by the people generally, and many expressions of sorrow were heard when the news was announced.

"For some time I have been trying to enter a district, which shall be nameless, where I knew a great many refugees were living.

"So great was the dread of the people that my going might mean their further persecution, that I failed, until this last trip, to obtain any guides. I have just returned from a journey of a day and a half into that part. The country appears to have been uninhabited until the arrival of these folk. There are hardly any palms, and no signs of old cultivation. The people are scattered about in the forests in small villages of from six to thirty huts, and these are often heavily barricaded. Even now the huts are for the most part of a temporary character, and not like the neat structures they generally build. The majority of my carriers were boys of sixteen or eighteen, but the fact that they were wearing clothes was sufficient to empty the villages of all the women and children as soon as we approached. I hope before very long to go again and learn something more about them.

"Here are some specimens of the stories I have heard from some of the Basengele and Bakutu—

"— went with others to the white man's station with their rubber. They were one basket short. For this basket the white man demanded that a man should be given him, and took from amongst them —, made him stand at some little distance from the others, and then shot him with a gun he brought from his house. Another day he was at the same place, and saw — shot in the same way by the white man. This was because the man had killed a goat (his own), but they were told that nothing they had was their own, but belonged to the State. Another day he was at the same place, and saw a party of people come in with their rubber. It was short of the proper amount. The white man received it and sent them home, and soon afterwards sent six soldiers with rifles to shoot them in their own village. Ten men and two women were killed.

"— said he went to the same post mentioned above, with other people, taking rubber with them. One of their number was of very light complexion, for a Native. A soldier called the white man's attention to this, when he called out angrily that one like himself should not live on the station with him, and took his gun and shot the man as he stood a little apart from his friends.

"— was going with a soldier in the direction of the rubber forest. They met a man coming from the forest.

"'Why have you no rubber?' said the soldier. 'It is coming behind with my boy.' But the soldier shot and killed the man as he stood in the road. Another day he was with the same soldier, and went with him to the gardens. They saw a man working in the cassava. 'Why are you not away cutting rubber?' 'Look at my cassava, it is all being eaten by the buffaloes, and I want to save a little of it to eat.' Then the soldier shot him.

* * * * *

"— went with forty men to the white man's post at — with their rubber, each man carrying one little basket full.

"The white man was very furious and fired blank cartridges at them at almost blank range, in some cases searing them, and killing a fowl one man was holding. A soldier tried to pacify the white man, and he eventually sent them away with many threats if they did not bring more rubber next time.

* * * * *

"— went with others to the post at —, where the same white man mentioned was then living. He grumbled at the quantity of rubber they brought, and took a man named — by the arm, led him a short distance away, and shot him. The others ran away, and heard afterwards that the soldiers had dragged the body into the grass, close to the post. At the same place he was engaged with other men thatching a roof. The white man called a soldier, told him to go into the village, and if he saw any men there to shoot them at once. He heard afterwards that a man named —, who was working at something in his hut, was seen by the soldier, and shot, although he offered to go at once and assist in the thatching. Another day he was on the station, a man named — came along with some cassava bread he had purchased close by. 'You've been stealing,' said the white man. 'No; I've just bought this over there.' But a soldier was called and told to kill the man. He led him away, tied him to a palm tree, and shot him, and dragged his body into the grass.

"The chief — told me the following as one of the reasons why he ran away. He went with a lot of his people to the post of —. They were short by several baskets. The white man took —, gave him to a soldier to tie to a tree, and then himself shot him. The others (some twenty-nine) were standing shivering with fear, when the white man told the soldiers to fire on them. This they did, and killed twenty-seven, only two poor wretches managing to get away.

"They were made to work on the roads, and men were shot at the whim of the soldiers on the slightest excuse. A man resting, or tying up an ulcer, or trying to get a light for his pipe, was shot down without hardly a word of warning.

"—, a soldier, was placed in charge of —. He had no gun, but tied up men and women, and threw them into a river close by to make the others bring more rubber.

"——, the chief of ——, one of the newest of refugees, supports this evidence, and says this same soldier on one occasion tied up four men and three women and sent them to the white man at ——. The women were put in prison, and the men were shot in front of the white man's house.

"I met some men from a district of which I had heard nothing. This is situated more to the south and is largely grass country. The usual demand was made for the rubber. The people asked that some other work should be assigned to them, as the rubber forest was far away. But no change was made, and the people had to buy what they could from their neighbours, but totally insufficient to meet the demands. Then began a series of massacres which would be incredible were it not for so much of a like character that, alas! has been proved only too well. The district is now a waste.

"These are simply a few samples of the stories one hears in going in and out amongst these poor folk. I would listen to nothing but what could be vouched for by eye-witnesses. But they are practically all eye-witnesses. The suffering and starvation they underwent at the time of their flight, and during the first months after their arrival in this neighbourhood, is in itself evidence that what they fled from must have been something very terrible. If a proper inquiry is ever instituted, there will be no lack of evidence of a most convincing nature to all who are willing to accept the truth.

"There are rumours that all the rubber posts in the regions which I passed through have been abandoned. I shall not be surprised if this is found to be true, for the paucity of the population remaining must have made it very difficult to support the posts. Here, in our immediate neighbourhood, the soldiers have been taken away from the State post, and thirty miles away a State training camp has been practically abandoned, only a few soldiers and white men being left. The relief this is to the people of the vicinity of this camp is of course very great. But there is already talk of new demands to be made upon them. The talk of these new taxes and the preparatory taking of names has already resulted in a few going over to the French side.

"If you think the publication of the foregoing likely to do good, I am perfectly willing that any or all should be published. In every case where I have put dashes I have the names, and where white men are mentioned as such, I have the native names by which they were known. I refrain from supplying these at this time, because I do not wish to endanger any of these people who have given me information. If a competent and impartial inquiry is made, I shall be able to produce the necessary evidence to more than substantiate all I have written, saving that, of course, supplied by Dooms. His reported death may lead to difficulties.

"With very kind regards and all good wishes.

"I remain,

"Yours sincerely,

(Signed) "A. E. SCRIVENER."

IN THE ABIR CONCESSION. LETTER FROM MR. JOHN H. HARRIS.

I have been favoured with a copy of the following letter, written by Mr. John H. Harris, of the Congo Balolo Mission, at Baringa, to a well-known British nobleman. The letter is dated May 1, 1904.

“MY LORD,

“We have heard with much pleasure from Mr. — of the interest you take in the deplorable condition of the Congo Natives, and as lately we have had to deal with some gross outrages, I have thought it wise to acquaint you with the facts.

“You have, of course, already seen in the ‘White Book,’ published and presented to both Houses, many similar instances to those I have to relate.

“In the reply of the Congo Government to Lord Lansdowne it is stated that atrocities are ‘exceptional,’ ‘long ago,’ or that they are ‘only asserted.’ I sincerely wish these deeds were either ‘long ago,’ or ‘exceptional;’ this they certainly are not. Under the present system they are the inevitable outcome.

“The district of Baringa would not number less than 20,000 men, who for the most part spend their time at forced labour, gathering the rubber as taxes imposed by the Company for the Company’s benefit, who seem to have bought the land, the people, and all their belongings. The people recognise that they are the slaves of the Company. Every village has an armed sentry or sentries of the Company, according to its size, and these men are little kings, who rule most despotically, helping themselves to the people’s wives and goods to an incredible extent. Any one daring to oppose their slightest wish—from the Chief to the child—is dealt with summarily.

“During the last two months the following outrages, amongst others, have been committed in the immediate vicinity of this station:—

“At the village Bolumboloko the sentry shot Bokama.

“At the village Lotoko, the sentry Jangi shot the Chief Ilumbu and two others.

“At Ekolongo the sentry Bomolo shot Isekalasumba.

“At Ekolongo the sentry Ikombi shot Bosasa.

“At Bolima, Ilangala and others shot six men and two women.

“The cases have been investigated by the judge—the first I have ever seen on the Congo—and whose district is larger than France and Germany put together. All these cases were proved beyond doubt to have been mere acts of bullying. Even the required rubber was completed! Hardly was his investigation complete before I had to call attention to some more dark deeds close at hand.

“A month or six weeks ago, my boy, Bomolo, was allowed to

visit his friends on the opposite bank of the river. When he came back, he told me of the usual stealing and blackmailing by these armed bullies, but as these things are normal, I said nothing to the officials. Three days ago I sent him to buy some nets that I required, but the poor lad arrived at his friend's house only to find that his brother-in-law had been shot by Ilanga.

"Another sentry, Bofoja, had shot the woman Boali. Ekofa, another sentry, had shot the man Nsala. Another brute of a sentry named Ifutu had demanded fish of a woman named Bongwalanga. She gave him all she had got, but because it was not sufficient, he cut off her head and that of her daughter, a young girl named Lofinda.

"Besides other witnesses, I have the sworn testimony of Ifeko, who picked up the headless corpses of his relatives and helped to bury them.

"I need not tell you the state of the people, or the sorrow of the relatives.

(Signed) "JOHN H. HARRIS."

IN THE DOMAINE PRIVÉ. LETTER FROM THE REV. J. H. WEEKS.

"Monsembe Station, Haut Congo,

"May 17, 1904.

"To E. D. Morel.

"DEAR SIR,

"I desire in this letter to lay before your readers some examples of Congo Free State justice (?) that have come to my notice during the past eight or ten months. However good laws may look on paper, however imposing in diction, and righteous in tone and aim; yet it is the application, or rather the harsh, wrong, and whimsical application of them that affects the people who, by force of circumstances, are compelled to live under them. In the following examples of the civilising methods of the State, I have confined myself to a bare statement of facts, and have not allowed my indignation to express itself.

"Libulula, on the south bank of the river, was formerly a large town, stretching for a considerable distance along the bank. The Chief, with his family, lived at the upper end of it. During the last eight or nine years the town has gradually decreased, until at last at the lower end of the town was a collection of nineteen miserable huts. At the other end Ngwa, the Chief, lived with his wives and family, and for hundreds of yards in between, where formerly people had lived, there was nothing but grass. Last year the *commissaire* of the district ordered Ngwa to remove his houses to the lower end and live with the people. Ngwa did not wish to leave the place where his fathers had lived before him; he paid his share of the taxes, and could not see any reason for the order to move lower down the

river. As the *commissaire* insisted, Ngwa had to comply, but being undesirous to leave he was naturally slow to obey, so he was taken a prisoner, put in chains, and made to carry bricks. His treatment was such that before his time had expired he died on August 16, 1903.

"The crime: slowness to obey a whimsical and unreasonable order of the *commissaire*. Punishment: chains and treatment resulting in death. Ngwa's share of the taxes was divided among the rest of the people, so the State lost nothing by his death, but the burden of the people was increased. When I was visiting that part a few weeks ago, I asked an intelligent Native where all the people were. He said, 'Some have died of sleep-sickness, some have run away, but plenty have died from worry and grief of the heart because of oppression.'

"Mangumbe, a headman of Monsembe, was appointed a Chief by the State, and given a medal certificate to that effect. He received no remuneration, but was made responsible for the fortnightly tax due from this section of the district. Mangumbe was appointed a medal chief in the early part of 1902, and things went along fairly well until June and July of last year. Sometimes he went up with the tax, at other times he sent a responsible headman with it. During the above months the State officials began to worry him to go up with every fortnightly tax himself, a most unreasonable demand to make of a headman, who had affairs of his own to occasionally attend to; but then, of course, he should have no affairs of his own. It is two days' hard paddling to Bangala—one day to deliver the tax, and one day paddling down, leaving ten days to procure his own share of the next tax and gather the rest from the people."

"Last July Mangumbe sent the tax up by a headman, and he himself went twenty to twenty-five miles down river to buy a goat ready for the next tax. Down came a messenger calling him to Bangala (Nouvelle Anvers), but not finding him there, the messenger had to go down to Malele, where Mangumbe was bargaining for a goat. Mangumbe returned at once, collected the next tax, and went with it to Bangala. No fault was found with the tax, but because he did not take up the previous tax himself, he was sentenced by the commandant in charge (the *commissaire* was up the Mongala River) to eight days carrying bricks in the chains. Mangumbe said, 'I did not come with the tax because I went to buy a goat for the next tax.' That made no difference; soldiers were called, and he was taken away to the chains.

"Just before his eight days were up the *commissaire* (who in the mean time had received my letter of June 13) returned, and increased the sentence to twenty-two days. We cannot help putting the increase of sentence down to the *commissaire's* irritation at receiving our communication from the same town to which Mangumbe belonged. Did he suspect that Mangumbe had given me the information about Mabata's irregular fine of 57,000 rods, and to punish him for it increased his sentence to twenty-two days?"

"Mangumbe was chained next to Ngwa, and between them they had to carry a heavy box of bricks. A soldier always accompanied them, and there are witnesses to prove that the butt end of the gun was used often on Mangumbe's back and side. Their treatment of him was such that he died within twenty-four hours of Ngwa, and his corpse was brought here on August 18. Mangumbe's share of the tax was divided among the people, so their burden became heavier, but the State lost nothing.

"The crime: not going up personally every fortnight with the tax. Punishment: chains and ill-treatment resulting in death.

"Bokunji is a small town on the north bank of the river, about fifteen miles above Bangala. The folk there have to take every fortnight to Bangala a bush pig as a part of their tax. Through constantly hunting them the pigs have become not only scarcer, but more wary, and consequently more difficult to trap and kill. I would challenge any State officer, with his weapons of precision, to kill, year in and year out, a wild bush pig every fortnight.

"In March last, Makake, the chief of Bokunji, failed to trap and send to Bangala one of the pigs due for that month. My colleague was itinerating in that part of the district last April, and happened to be staying in Bokunji on the very day that Makake returned from Bangala, where he had done a fortnight in the chains. Nor was that the only punishment: for when he was set free he was given forty-eight hours to paddle up to his town, collect 3000 brass rods, and take down to the *commissaire* as a fine.

"Crime: failing one fortnight to trap and kill a wild bush pig. Punishment: a fortnight in the chains, and a fine of 3000 rods, worth up here £9 15s. He receives for the pigs taken 100 rods each—equal to 6s. 6d.

"These, sir, are a few instances of justice (?) that have come under our notice without any seeking on our part. Is there any need for comment?

"On November 30 last I wrote to M. Mardelier, the then *commissaire* of this district, a letter bringing to his notice the killing of twenty-two men and women in the lower part of his district by soldiers alleged to have been under the orders of Commandant Mazy (native name Mabata). A copy of the same I sent to the Governor-General on December 12. Thinking it was on public service, I did not stamp the letter, so on its arrival at Boma it was opened by the postal authorities to ascertain the address of the writer, and was sent back to me because it had no stamp on it. It reached me on January 12, and on the 19th it was on its way down again, this time duly stamped.

"Early in February—7th or 8th—M. Mazy (Mabata) and his superior officer, M. Mardelier, the *Commissaire-Général*, left Bangala for Europe. Although my letter containing so grave a charge against the former arrived at Boma on January 30, some three weeks before him, yet he was allowed to proceed to Belgium, where I hear on very good authority that he cannot be arrested without

much trouble and expense. It is all the more astonishing that he was allowed to proceed, as I have heard that both he and M. Mardelier were interrogated at Boma, and that their replies were unsatisfactory. Is there any need to point out the difference between the justice (?) meted out to Natives and that meted out to a white officer of the State?

"Early in April, four months after the charge is made, and several weeks after the accused is allowed to quit the country, the judge for this district called upon us on his way to officially investigate the charge against M. Mazy. He spent four or five days in the towns where the people had been killed. On his return he again called on us. He told us many people had been killed, and that others had died of starvation in the bush and on the islands, as they were afraid to return while the white man and the soldiers were in occupation of their towns.

The following conversation took place in the presence of my colleague—*

"Question by myself: 'Did you find the names I gave in my letter of November 30 tally with the names you got down there?'

"Answer by the judge: 'Yes, all except two; but I got one name that you had not written down in your list. A man named Mowandi was killed at Bokumela.'

"'Yes,' I said, 'I have the name and place in my notes. Here it is (showing him my notes), but I did not put it down because I did not receive the information from the Chief himself.'

"Judge: 'I can tell you another thing. When M. Mazy arrived at the town of Bomunga the soldiers rushed up the bank, and seeing a woman running away, they fired at her and killed her at about 100 metres from the beach.'

"Is it necessary to comment on the above facts? I think not; they speak for themselves.

"Believe me to be,

"Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) "JOHN H. WEEKS."

IN THE DOMAINE PRIVÉ. THE YANDJALI MASSACRE. LETTER
FROM THE REV. W. B. FRAME

"B.M.S. Wathen, Tumba, Congo Free State, S.W. Africa,

"March 10, 1904.

"E. D. Morel, Esq., Liverpool.

"DEAR SIR,

"In recent issues of your paper I have seen my name mentioned as an eye-witness of the shocking outrage at Yandjali, on

* I have before me a joint declaration signed by Mr. Weeks and Mr. Kirkland, giving the conversation between them and Judge Grenade in ample detail.

the Upper Congo. Allow me to state that the account given in the *West African Mail* is substantially correct, although I do not remember that any of the witnesses swore to the person shot in the canoe being a woman.* One need not repeat the details of the barbarous scene, but time can never wipe it from our memory.

"The mutilated dead, the mad rushing and firing of the soldiers let loose, and the hasty flight of the poor people hunted from their homes like wild beasts, made us sick at heart, and when we looked into the faces of our black crew we were ashamed; for were not these things done in the name of the State, and under the eyes of its white officers?"

"I do not know the running of the Congo State Courts of Justice, but it is only fair to state that, in obedience to a summons from the Procurator Fiscal, I appeared before him at Matadi on February 5, and in answer to questions similar to those put to us by the *Commissaire* at Basoko on October 30, 1903, gave evidence on what I saw at Yandjali on October 29, 1903. I have been resident in this district † since 1896, and until my recent visit to the Upper Congo, made in the interests of health, my impression of the Congo State was very favourable. Coming just when the days of transport by road were ending, my experience had been that of seeing the State at its best, and did the order of things obtain elsewhere that obtains in the Tumba district, we should have heard no cry of oppressive taxation, slavery, and murder.

"*It does not obtain,* ‡ and I am convinced that, with the exception of this very limited district, and perhaps that of Stanley Falls, the title of "Slave State" is very fitting to the *régime* that exists.

"For example, it fits it in the Stanley Pool district. As I traversed the old caravan route to the Pool, my eyes were opened. Crowds of people passed me every now and then, bearing heavy loads of *kwanga* (cassava puddings), and all were for the State. §

"Some were little girls of twelve years of age carrying eight and ten; some were women converted into sweating beasts of burden, for besides the twelve *kwanga* on the head, they often had a baby on the back; some were men, and some were little boys. No one will accuse me of exaggeration if I say each *kwanga* weighs 3½ to 4 lbs., so that the women often had loads varying from 42 to 50 lbs.

"It is quite true that the State does not fix the loads that the women should carry. What it does demand is, that such and such a town shall bring in, say, 250 *kwanga* every fourth, eighth, or twelfth day, according to distance; and if the people fail to do it, then punishment follows. What it means to the people is nothing to the State, and the cry of the poor women who have to grind from morning till night to provide, and often to carry, is not heard by the

* One of the accounts published mentioned the incident referred to.

† That is the Tumba district (Lower Congo).

‡ W. B. Frame's italics.

§ Part of the forced tax in food-stuffs. See specially *Africa*, No. 1, 1904 (White Book).

State officer. *The labour is forced.** If in reply it be said that the people are paid for it, let it be understood that the payment is very small compared with local rates, and, as a matter of fact, if a man pays another to carry his load of *kwanga*, he has to pay all he gets from the State, and something on top. Some have to carry three days' journey. These have to bring in every twelfth day. That means they spend five days on the road and seven in their towns, which have to be spent in planting and cooking for the State. They have time for nothing else. *They are slaves.†*

"All up the river it is the same thing, and on a single trip one sees enough and hears enough to convince him that the lot of the Natives in the town is that of the harassed and crushed slave. Messrs. Weeks, Bond, and others have told us the system in force in the Bangala and Coquilhatville districts, and its effects on the Natives. The sad state of things about Monsembe is becoming true of other places.

"At one place, where crowds of people ought to have been on the beach, we found the whole town had all fled. Young and old, male and female, were hiding in the bush because the fish-tax was not complete. By sad experience they had learned what it would mean. Under similar circumstances they had often had their women tied up, even to the number of fifty, and the chain and lash are well known in the camp. I was told by one who knows, that in order to make up the tax the men would have to begin work on Monday, and do nothing else all the week. Surely, *this is slavery? ‡*

"In a town some distance from the big State camp we saw it in another form. A hundred youths and boys were marched past us in one gang, carrying firewood to the State post. They were accompanied by a soldier. As there is no forced labour, I suppose he was simply there to keep them in step!

"Some exception has been taken to Mr. Scrivener's remarks, but it is only too true that the cruel rule of the whites in the interior has become unbearable to many, and the remnant seek for refuge in other parts.

"We visited a town near to Lisali, where the people had recently come from inland to escape the cruelties attached to rubber collecting.

"I have written thus because of the attempts made to discredit the story of oppression and wrong. Yandjali is fact. The slavery of the people on this side of Stanley Pool to the Nkissi river is fairly complete, WITH NO HOPE OF IMPROVEMENT. The whole truth about Congo will never be known, but enough is known to fill us with pity for those unfortunate Africans placed at the mercy of unscrupulous men.

"Yours sincerely,

"W. B. FRAME."

* W. B. Frame's italics.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

IN THE LOWER CONGO. LETTER FROM AN ENGLISH TRADER.

I have received the following letter from an English trader in Matadi, dated May, and it shows that the Congo Government, in its determined violation of every clause and principle of the Berlin Act, is now extending the worst features of its methods to the reaches of the lower river.

"The Consul's report has got the State's back up. They say they'll end this matter their way by getting rid of us all. From all I hear, things up country are worse than ever. In the Mayumbe country, behind Boma even, the State has begun collecting rubber by force from the Natives. We were supposed to have 'free trade' below Stanley Pool, but even that narrow belt is now to be invaded by the 'tax-collector.' What do we pay our trade-taxes, licences, and customs duties for, I wonder? The oil and kernel trade has almost died out at Boma as a consequence of these Mayumbe *prestations*. The State are founding a camp of 1000 soldiers, independent of the one already at Luki, seventeen miles inland of Boma, where Mrs. Meyer and the Sierra Leone men were arrested, and so many of them done to death. This new camp is at Boma-Sundi, or, rather, between that place and the Lukula river, about thirty-five or forty miles from Boma, in the heart of the Mayumbe country, where the people have brought oil and kernels from time immemorial to the Boma factories. This invasion of these ancient trading rights will damage considerably the old-established trade in the Chilango district, and the exports there, through the Portuguese province, will also fall over. Everything in the country is for the Government. We traders, who are not concession holders, but who made such trade as exists, are only to be taxed and thwarted, and the poor Natives are to pay the piper. Of course, as soon as this camp is established, the State will begin to force the people in the usual way to bring in food, etc., for the soldiers.

"I see no possible future for the country and the poor people unless something is done by the Powers. Nearly all the shops at Matadi have commenced to liquidate, or will do so in a month or less. They cannot continue at this rate long; they are all losing money. I don't know what will be the end of it."

IN THE "EQUATEUR" DISTRICT.*

I have received from a gentleman residing in this country a long letter, dated December 26, 1903, to hand from a relative, who is a missionary in the Upper Congo. This communication has been kindly placed at my disposal on the understanding that the name of

* The district is not further specified—at least the writer desires that it shall not be specified.

the writer shall not be given, a request made by the writer himself on the grounds of apprehension of personal illtreatment, which I at first believed to be exaggerated, but no longer believe so. The writer dates his communication from a town in the Equateurville district. In the covering letter to his relative accompanying the communication, the writer says: "I am almost certain that unless England and other signatory Powers intervene, a great calamity must soon come upon the Congo. I should not be surprised at anything happening."

The writer describes as follows the "normal state of affairs" in the district in which he resides—

"How is the rubber obtained by the monopolists? It is not bought. . . . The Company has bought from the State the absolute right to tax the people, and this they do. . . . The agents of the Companies are too often drawn from the most ignorant and unscrupulous classes. . . . They are sent in twos and threes to districts, one being *Chef de Factorerie*. The aim of the *Chef* is to get more rubber from the district than the agent whom he has superseded, and he therefore sets to work to find out which villages in his district can bear a heavier imposition. . . . Each man must bring a basket of rubber *every fortnight* ($2\frac{1}{2}$ kilos), and armed sentries are placed in each village to see that the right amount is forthcoming *every fortnight*. These sentries are generally the worst characters, and stop at nothing. Of course, the Chief must supply them to the full with the very best of food, and such women as they may demand. No man's wife is safe from them. Beyond a shadow of doubt, large numbers of Natives are done to death by these abominable bullies. When the rubber is brought to the factory the Natives line up and present their baskets, and woe betide the boy who brings $2\frac{1}{2}$ kilos. It must be a 'measure pressed down and running over.' Generally, such an individual is *chicotted*, or put in prison. If the quantity is correct, four men's baskets are weighed together, *i.e.* 10 kilos. For this they are given a something—sometimes one yard of cheap cloth, but with my own eyes I have seen twenty spoonfuls of salt given, value 10d. (?) per kilo! Of course the payment is a mere farce. Now, supposing the rubber does not come up to the right quantity. The sentries will report that the people surpass in wickedness, and forthwith a number of other sentries are added, who proceed to the village, catch a number of men and women—the latter often big with child, or with babies at the breast—they are tied neck by neck in long files, and imprisoned at the factory until 'redeemed' by a large quantity of rubber. Then they are set at liberty to return to their ruined homes, for the sentries always leave their mark. Sometimes people say, 'Come and kill us; we cannot find more rubber.' This happens fairly often. A number of Natives are then killed and villages burnt, and the people are 'subdued and willing to bring in an increased toll of rubber.' . . . Sometimes the Government troops are asked to co-operate. These perform the work much better (1) and strike terror far and wide. No one can contradict these

statements. Of course a few people round Boma and Matadi know nothing of these things except by hearsay. . . . The system is practically a traffic in human beings.

"You may wonder whether I have anything to say about atrocities. Yes, a great deal; but this is a difficult subject, because the State now refuses to accept native evidence. But the recent books by Fox Bourne and E. D. Morel are certainly most fair representations of the truth. They are by no means exaggerated. In fact, Mr. Morel, in several places, seems to me to have minimised several generally accepted facts."

The writer then goes on to give samples of conversations he has had with Natives.

Q. "Where is your father?"

A. "Shot by X."

Q. "Under what circumstances?"

A. "My brother was his servant, and, owing to cruelty, ran away. X. came with the sentry, and asked my father where my brother was. He said he did not know. 'Shoot him,' said X., which was immediately done."

Q. "Where's your mother?"

A. "Shot, with the baby at the breast; also my brother at the same time, because the rubber was incomplete."

The writer describes the following incident. The name of the town, the name of the chief, and the name of the Europeans responsible are given in full in the "Notes" accompanying the communication. I am precluded from quoting them, but as I understand that the communication is to be placed in the hands of a member of the House of Commons, it is to be hoped that they may transpire eventually—not, after all, that it is of much importance, such incidents being common, as witness, for example, the Yandjali massacre and cannibalistic orgie, which took place last autumn, actually on the main river, while the incident narrated above occurred in a much more remote district—and are the direct outcome of the entire system prevailing. . . .

"The town of C—— and surrounding villages had been for some time bringing short toll of rubber. A sentry was sent to 'arrest' the chief. The 'arrest' led to the killing of the Chief I—— Four of his wives were also killed, and the best portions of the bodies carried away to the sentry's town and eaten. Naturally the villages were enraged at this, and stopped bringing rubber at all. Thereupon they were reported as in open revolt. M. M—— and another white man collected a considerable force of the fiercest cannibals for a set-to fight. The white men accompanied the sentries and native warriors. About sixty men, women, and children were killed. These were cut up and eaten, and the houses of the defaulting chiefs decorated with the intestines of the killed. The chiefs who remained sent in to say that they would bring in the required amount of rubber, and are doing it to-day. The people employed in this cannibalistic raid still openly gloat over the grand feast of human flesh they enjoyed when the Chief I—— was fought against."

APPENDIX

The above incident is somewhat similar to the confessions of an agent of the *Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo* some time ago, as given in Chapter XI., which occurred, of course, in a different part of the Congo.

The writer summarises the condition of affairs prevailing in the district as follows—

“(1) White men fighting against native towns is a normal condition out here.

“(2) All concessions have their ‘prisons.’* ”

“(3) The monopolist is the absolute administrator.

“(4) I have been nearly six years on the Congo, and have never seen a State ‘judge.’ ”

“(5) In the ‘prisons’ † can always be seen men and children, and women in all stages of pregnancy, all herded together.

“(6) Rubber is not bought. It is brought in as an ‘imposition.’ ”

“(7) Unless some steps are soon taken to alter the present state of affairs, the white man will be swept from the Upper Congo. A prominent white man here told me the other day he expected a revolution within two years.

“(8) The missionaries are at the mercy of those in authority here—the monopolists. This explains why missionaries are silent on so many atrocities; and why others, when they do say anything, require that their names should be kept strictly secret. In almost any State, missionaries keeping silence, as they do here, could be prosecuted for connivance. But here they *simply dare not speak out*. Reporting law-breakers is received here as a hostile act, and generally followed by further restrictions.”

IN AND AROUND THE BARINGA DISTRICT OF THE “ABIR” CONCESSION DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE PRESENT YEAR.

In the three following accounts, (1) that by Mr. Herbert Frost, (2) Mr. J. H. Harris, (3) Mr. Edgar Stannard, we have a complete and consecutive picture of the inconceivable condition of affairs in a small part of the Abir concession from January to June, 1904. Wholesale murders, mutilations, and open cannibalism by the soldiers of this so-called “Company,” in which the Congo Government holds 50 per cent. of the shares; their European masters, the only representatives of authority in the district, callous and brutalised by their task, which is to obtain rubber to enrich the “Company” and themselves, entirely indifferent to the means, and only anxious that their ill-deeds shall be concealed from the resident British missionaries, whom they hate, and are beginning to threaten;

* *Maisons des otages.*

† For similar instances of a common practice, see official White Book, Africa, No. 1, 1904.

the cannibal soldiers laughingly stating that they are merely carrying out instructions, and in effect masters of the country; a perambulating "judge," with no powers other than those of "investigation," who can only "report," who is bound to be the guest of the very people whose infamies he is supposed to denounce, and who is the one Government official in a country as large as a European State. The other side shows us the miserable inhabitants of the territory, "hunted animals," tortured, mutilated, killed, and food for their cannibal oppressors. No opium-haunted brain could conjure a more terrible picture of criminality *in excelsis*, of unbridled lust, of unchecked wickedness, or of human misery, degradation, and despair.

MR. HERBERT FROST'S DIARY.*

"February 13, 1904.

"Whilst at work in the carpenter's shed this morning, the town of Lotoko passed along the palm avenue close to me, accompanied by their armed soldiers. By the town of Lotoko I mean a company of boys from about eight years old to men, who have been seized to keep up the stock of hostages. They were heavily laden with baskets of rubber, soon to be deposited at the doors of the rubber-shed.

"This afternoon we learned that the soldiers had killed four men, they themselves making no secret of the matter, it being to them apparently quite an ordinary occurrence. I inquired somewhat into the details, and find that the soldiers—

"(Wunju) killed a man named Bokama, of Bolombo.

"(Basumbelo) killed a man named Eyamba, of Ksongo.

"(Likio) killed a man named Isekofo, of Lotoko.

"(Jange) killed a man named Elumbu, of Lotoko.

"February 14, 1904. Sunday.

"After service this morning Mr. X—— and I walked across to the Abir factory, and saw the second agent (the chief agent—*chef de poste*—being away up the river). When I referred to the above report, he said that he had heard something about some men being killed, but did not know the details; he would inquire.

"February 17, 1904.

"Happening to be in conversation with some of the Natives this evening, I was told that Mr. —— has given orders to his capita, Ilangala, to the effect that he and the sentries under him may kill, and there will be 'no palaver'—that is to say, no trouble will ensue from their outrages. Also, in reference to the matter of my walk in Baringa with my wife and child, when I photographed the rubber hostages at work, I am told that Iyema, the soldier guarding the

* Communicated to the author by Mr. Frost.

hostages, was straightway charged by his master, the rubber agent, that if I appeared again with my camera, and he did not drive me away, he should be chicotted. The same threats, they say, are held out to the soldiers if they do not kill.

"The same men assure me that if I could go out to the towns where the men were shot last Friday, the people would certainly give me all particulars, and would even disinter the bodies, they are so angry. Though still weak from fever, I feel impelled to go. Will see my colleague about it to-morrow."

"February 18, 1904.

"After talking over recent matters with my wife and colleague, I have decided to go to Lotoko to-morrow morning, and return on Saturday."

"February 19, 1904. Friday.

"Left this morning at 7.15 for the town of Lotoko. My aim was to reach the home of Elumbu, the blacksmith (an elderly man, and much esteemed by his townfolk), and then return. As we passed on through Baringa I inquired more carefully as to the distance, and the men asserted that it was not possible to reach his place and return the following day. I therefore sent back a messenger saying that I should not be able to return until Sunday evening, or even Monday morning. Passing through Baringa and Boeringa, we struck the forest, and after about an hour's walk, reached the town of Bolomboloko. Here I had the opportunity to inquire into the circumstances of the shooting of the man Bokama by the sentry Wunju on the previous Friday, the 12th instant. The Chief —* showed me the place where he was threatened, how he ran away, was chased and caught, and, being brought back, was tied to a small tree; the rifle barrel being placed at the back of the neck, was discharged in an upward direction, blowing the head to pieces. I asked the reason why Bokama was shot, and, in dismay, the Chief held out his hands, saying, 'I do not know. The rubber was complete; we cannot understand.' We then proceeded to the place where he was buried, the people being prepared to disinter the body, so that I might see it. Three men dug away the soil with pointed sticks, and I took a snap of them as they worked; but when they had partly unearthed the body, I found it had so far decomposed that I told them to desist. The people were greatly distressed, and complained bitterly of the treatment received at the hands of the soldiers.

"In this same village, and about the same time, a most abominable and bestial outrage was committed by the same soldier upon a brother and sister. The soldiers use the most abusive language, heaping the greatest insults upon those who have natural authority among their fellows. They thrash the old men, abuse and rob the women, set fire to their houses, are intolerant and high-

* See footnote at end of diary.

handed in their demands for the best food. Upon the rumour of their approach, the inhabitants flee into the bush, or cower when they find themselves within range of the soldier's rifle.

"At twelve o'clock we were in the forest, I sitting on my bag of bedding, the men squatting around, the boy heating some soup for me, when suddenly an armed soldier made his appearance in our midst. I was not surprised, for although I had never before in all my journeys through the Abir Concessions been followed by a soldier, I rather expected it this time, for, in my judgment, the new agent (*chef de factorie*) is a man of extreme measures. He greeted me with the native salutation, and I then asked what his business was, and he said his white man had sent him to follow me. I knew this, and that he was also to warn the resident soldiers, and set them to intimidate the people, so that I might not gain the information I was seeking. He sat down, and journeyed with us.

"We reached Lokoto to-day at 1.15, and after a cup of tea, proceeded on our way. About two o'clock we passed the sentries' settlement, when one of the boys came up to me and said, 'Bondele, we have passed the place where Iyambu was shot.' I said, 'All right, we will go back,' and telling some of the men to sit down and wait, I and the other returned. Reaching the bush that divided the native compounds of Nembu and Bolondo, the spot was pointed out to me where the soldier Basumbelo shot Iyambu, from whence they had dragged the body into the bush. Following up the track made by the soldiers as they dragged the body, we presently came upon the corpse. There was a terrible stench and swarms of flies, but the body seemed in fairly good preservation. With some difficulty I secured a photograph, my boys and the soldier standing behind me at some distance.

"At 3.45 I reached the compound of Isekalongoi. It was here that Isekefofo was shot by the sentry Lokio, the body being carried away by his relatives and buried in the forest. Being tired, and expecting to pass this way to-morrow, I did not go to see the grave. This afternoon a young man named —, who had as a boy been taken down river, had worked at Bassankusu, Wangata, Irebo, and Leopoldville, told me that he had stood by when Isekefofo was shot. There was abundant testimony from his near male relatives, and the evidences of mourning bore silent proof. In this town, as in most others, the resident sentries have their own houses, an effort to imitate the white man in size and style, built by the Natives in whose town the soldier dwells. In the vicinity of the soldiers' houses the native huts are deserted, the owners being unable to bear their intolerance, preferring to spend their time in the bush or build houses elsewhere.

"In conversation this evening, I learned that Ilangala, otherwise Ilinhiofe, the head captain of the soldiers, gave them orders to the effect that if they did not kill the people, they themselves would be thrashed and imprisoned. Also that many have been killed in

Bolima.* Such distressing tales of bloodshed, torture, and robbery have I listened to this evening that I feel bound to continue my journey through the whole district.

"The power of an armed soldier amongst these enslaved people is absolutely paramount. By chief or child, every command, wish, or whim of the soldier must be obeyed or gratified. At his command, with rifle ready, a man will eat his own dung, outrage his own sister, give to his persecutor the wife he loves most of all—say or do anything, indeed, to save his life. The woes and sorrows of the race whom King Leopold has enslaved have not decreased, for his commissaires, officers, and agents have introduced and maintain a system of devilry hitherto undreamed of by his victims.

"Whilst they strive to satisfy the demands of the white man for rubber, he allows soldiers a free hand to worry and wear them out by perpetual robbery, torture, and violence. No wonder that the cry breaks from them, 'What shall we do?' No wonder if they sink their own petty differences to combine against a common foe! No wonder that the king's own emissaries anticipate rebellion!

"February 20, 1904.

"Six o'clock.—The owner of the hut in which I have slept, being threatened by the soldiers, is not to be found this morning.

"9.15.—In Elumbu's smithing-shed. Whilst having a cup of tea, I learned the following facts from eye-witnesses: That Elumbu was shot by the sentry Jange behind the houses at mid-day on Friday, the 19th. Binding his victim to a small tree, the sentry placed the rifle near the mouth, discharging it down Elumbu's throat, the shot passing out behind, between the shoulders. This was witnessed by his younger brother E E and his son L L, as also by Jange's boys. Afterwards I took a photograph of the spot where he was buried, his son C C, who buried him, standing in the foreground. (In each case, planned, deliberate, cold-blooded murders—not the results of fights or quarrels.)

"Left Lotoko at 10.15. For two hours we descended, until we reached a swamp. The soil was of a light brown colour, full of iron-stone pebbles. I also saw some very large boulders. Reached Ekolongo at 4.15. This appears to be a populous town, though much smaller in area than Lotoko.

"Soon after my arrival, whilst talking to the people who gathered around, the two soldiers Ikombe and Basunbulu came and saluted me. Ikombe and Bomolo are the two sentries resident in the town, and the presence of Basumbelo is accounted for by the fact that it is a common thing for the soldiers to go about in bands to other villages than those to which they are appointed, for the purpose of more effective pillaging.

"Each soldier has a following of from one to eight or ten boys

* See notes at end.

and men, their business being to aid him in all his plunderings or seizures, and to carry the stuff.

"I learned here this evening that two men were shot in this town in the same day, and about the same time as the previous cases, the soldier Bomolo shooting his man, named Bosasa, and Ikombe the other man, named Isekalasumba. Both these were shot at the same time and in the same place.

"I give here the names and number of soldiers appointed to and resident in each village, and also the number of baskets of rubber produced fortnightly in each village.

Village.	Resident sentries.	Baskets per fortnight.
Bolomnoloko ...	Wunju ...	30
Lotoko ...	{ Jange Lokomba Basumbelo Mboyo }	127
Ekolongo ...	{ Bomolo Ikombe }	40
Bolima ...	{ Boyo Ilangala Nsala Efanza Bosefe Iyele Likio }	200

The required quantity for each basket is four kilos.*

"February 21, 1904. Sunday.

"Ekolongo.—Left my lodgings at eight o'clock for a walk through the town. Found the people very quiet and uncommunicative, having, no doubt, been threatened by the soldiers. After an hour's walk, I reached the soldiers' settlement, that of Bomolo. I had heard that Bomolo was ill, but, upon asking him, found it was merely a headache. Ikombe and Basumbelo were with him, and also some of their boys.

"I asked them and the people to gather in the large house, as I had something to say to them. This they did, the soldiers placing themselves in a conspicuous position, and a stool for me in the centre. The people, both men and women, came, and also my own carriers. Just as I was about to speak, I noticed a man named Bofundu, a big, stout fellow, whose acquaintance I had made, sitting under the eaves of another hut some distance away. He was one of the local capitas, and I had found him out to be both liar and coward. I therefore called him, twitted him as to his size and

* Thus these four villages alone would supply over 1½ tons of rubber every fortnight, or, say, 41 tons annually (41,288 kilos). The value of the labour of these people to their taskmasters would therefore be £11,150 per annum in rubber.

cowardice, and shamed him to come in with the others. My theme was the difference between beast and man, both in practical life and ultimate end—the annihilation of the one, and continued existence of the other. How that a man might kill his dog for food without fear of a palaver, but should he kill a man, the palaver was by no means finished. The people well understood the difference, and assented. I then turned to Bomolo and said, 'Did you kill Bosasa?' And before all the people he answered, 'Yes, I did.' And to Ikombe I said, 'Did you not kill Isekalasumba?' And before all he gave the same answer.

"As I was speaking, about fifteen men and women passed by, hostages released from the Baringa factory's prison (Abir) by the agent on the previous day—a silent, half-starved line, wending their weary way to their distant homes, a demonstration of the fact that these unfortunate people are not only subjected to all kinds of abuse in their own villages, but are always liable to be caught and carried away to the factory prison as so-called rubber hostages. They have done no wrong, and the rubber may be complete, but the agent must keep down the expenses of his factory, and must have this kind of unpaid labour. These men, women, and children are bound and borne off by these brutal soldiers, and committed to an indefinite term of imprisonment without knowing the reason why. Whilst there they are often ill-used, ill-fed, and hard-worked, which means disease and death, and the homes they have been forced to forsake run to ruin.

"After I had finished speaking, I took a snap of the large hut in which we had gathered. Returning to the hut where I had slept, I had a slight meal, and came on to Bolima town.

"Ilafa, the soldier who was sent to follow me, was not present whilst I was speaking to the people, he having remained in the house of Ikombe, some three miles' distance away.

"12.30.—Resting in the bush on our way to Bolima—indeed, the men say we are nearly there. Two parties have just passed us, one of three, and another of four, men and boys of the head capita Ilangalla, loaded with spears, shields, knives, food, dogs, and riches of every kind, the spoil of pillage. I hear that twenty persons at least were killed the last time the rubber was brought in, but can get no details.

"Arriving at the first house in Bolima, we found it occupied by about thirty boys with their rubber. Being small boys, I asked them why they were carrying rubber to the factory instead of those who collected it. 'Oh,' they replied, 'we collect it ourselves.' Upon further inquiry, I found that these little fellows of nine to fourteen years of age, actually did collect rubber.

"They told me the place where they went to gather it. They had to be at the Baringa factory the next day, and were then waiting for the contingents of workers now on their way from the more distant parts of Bolima town. Here I met the soldier Boyo, to whose settlement I presently went to await the later rubber contingents.

"2.45.—Whilst speaking to a large crowd just now in the soldiers' house, I noticed a bit of a stir amongst them, and heard the word 'bónyóló' (prisoners) mentioned. Picking up my camera and getting free from the crowd, I saw passing by about a dozen men and women tied together neck by neck. They were from the Ngombe town of Bongwonga, having been hunted and caught in the bush, and in charge of the two sentries Likio and Iela, with two guns. The soldiers hurried them along, and I took a snap of them from behind; but as the sun was shining right into the lens of my camera, the picture produced proved to be very dim.

"About fifteen minutes after the above went by, the soldier Bofasa appeared on the scene, and upon inquiry I learned from him that the renowned tyrant Ilangalla was close behind, bringing up the final contingent of rubber workers. Listening to the conversation, I heard Ilafa telling the other soldiers that I had come to find out about the men who had been killed. Bofasa's boy, Ngidima, carried his rifle, and slung by his side was a bundle of small arrows, the kind used for shooting at monkeys. His master carried the small stiff bow in his hand, and I needed no telling that he used these upon the naked bodies of his unfortunate fellows.

"After a few minutes, Ilangalla arrived, and I invited him and the other soldiers, with the people, to rest awhile, as I wished to speak to them. We then gathered in the house close by, and after much fuss, the great Ilangalla (Ilingiofe) was seated in his travelling chair, and we became quiet. My address was brief and pointed. Ilangalla sat close to me and listened in stolid silence, broken once only when he admitted boastfully that they had killed many people in Bolima. He wore a long black coat; his frightful features exhibited a character of exceptional and unrelenting brutality. Having finished, there was a quick exit. I also went out, and sat under the eaves of another hut. The sentries gathered in the open street, and some discussion followed, during which I took a picture of them.

"Then all went off, intending to sleep at Ekolongo that night, and get to the Abir factory next midday.

"My men were anxious to get on, so getting into my hammock, we went along at a trot for two hours, reaching the soldier Nsala's house about 5.30. I was very tired, but sat down outside and chatted to the people, it not requiring much exertion to interest them. I took my supper of bottled soup and bread in the centre of a thick ring of natives. They considered it a proof of great strength that I should eat my meal amid such a crowd of eyes. Having finished my supper, the children begged for a little salt and volunteered to sing one of their native songs. I assented, and they went through a most amusing performance, after which they received some salt to divide between them. I slept in a house close to Nsala's, but did not fall asleep until about eleven o'clock. At midnight I was awakened by a heavy thunderstorm. The rain fell in torrents, and ran through the house under my bed. About two o'clock I fell asleep again.

"February 22, 1904.

"Packed up at 8.30. At midday we reached the settlement of Ilangalla. The two soldiers Efanza and Bosefe were here. A large house was being built, and a sleeping apartment had been erected on the top of an ant-hill, with wooden steps leading up to it.

"Whilst travelling through the town this morning, and before reaching the settlement of Ilangalla, I met parties of men and boys, amounting to quite a dozen, heavily laden with the spoils of robbery and extortion. I saw also many houses which had been destroyed, the walls and roofs being scattered about. I asked the reason, and was informed that the adult owners had been killed and their children driven away to find homes where they could. I also met not a few mourners covered with charcoal dust, but when these were interrogated they were afraid to tell me by what means their relatives had met their death. When any questions were put, or recent matters referred to, the frightened tell-tale glances, the peculiar denials that any one had been killed, were in themselves an evidence of something seriously wrong. Bolima has long been the happy hunting-ground of soldiers and their followers.

NOTES.

"(1) The names which are omitted in the above diary I have in my original notes.

"(2) It has subsequently come to light that Ilangalla—the capita of the soldiers—and others, killed six men and two women in Bolima on the same occasion.

"(3) It was not an insignificant fact to all who were acquainted with the affair, that the chief Agent of the Abir factory at Baringa passed through these villages the previous week, ending February 6, as the outrages were committed on the following Friday.

"(4) A reason for the occurrence was furnished us by one of the Abir Agents, viz. That when the director of the Company brought the Agent to the factory in December, 1903, he promised him the post only on the condition that he increased the quantity of rubber by half a ton per month, than the previous Agent.

"(5) On Sunday, April 18, the director of the Abir visited Baringa factory, accompanied by the judge. The matter was investigated, and the cases proved, but up to June 1, no arrests had been made, the judge having power only to make inquiries.

HERBERT FROST.

LETTER FROM MR. JOHN H. HARRIS.*

Baringa, May 30, 1904.

"This letter you may do as you like with. It is useless to expect anything better from the Congo Free State in the way of

* To a relative in England.

administration. From the *Times* issue of March 18, just received, we learn that the British Consul was the victim of a hoax, that his report is founded upon native evidence; and from another source we learn that these atrocities are the outcome of "morbid imagination of missionaries." We also learn that Congo pigs have a rare fancy for human hands! Suppose it were admitted for a moment, for the sake of argument, that the British Consul is the ignorant fool the Congo State depicts him, and that a pig took Epondo's hand, what about all the other handless people on the Congo? What about the little lad I saw a few weeks ago, not more than four years old, with his hand off? Again, what about the chief I know who has only one hand, and another whose now useless arm, mutilated by 'sentries,' mutely appeals to-day for justice. Perhaps these things also are due to 'pigs'!

"We know a few things about the investigation of Epondo's case, but let this pass for the moment.

"So much for the 'morbid imagination of the missionaries.' Who is most likely to know the truth—the resident missionary, and the missionary of years' experience, or the occasionally passing State official, who does not know the native language, and does everything through an interpreter?

"Another question I should like to ask is, why, when an agent of a rubber 'company' enters a town, do all the women and children run helter-skelter into the forest to hide, carrying with them all their possessions?

"Another most interesting question is, why, if the Congo State is anxious to put down these atrocities, do they treat those who report gross breaches of the law as little better than enemies to the State? I think I can state, without fear of contradiction, that every time we have called attention to outrages our positions have been rendered more difficult. In fact, a late Commissaire of Equator District told two of our missionaries at Basankusu, that if I made any trouble at Baringa he would put a chain round my neck and put me in prison. The 'trouble' refers, of course, to speaking about atrocities.

"The state of affairs is the natural outcome of the system. The Congo officials want rubber. The State says that the collection of rubber is a collection of taxes; but how can this be, considering that so-called private 'companies' fix the quantity of rubber to be brought in, and the rubber brought to them is for these companies' benefit? Surely taxes ought not to be used to benefit private individuals, but for the development of the State.*

"Again, we are told that 'the taxes are fixed between the officials and the native chiefs.' This a wicked and barefaced untruth; the chiefs are never *consulted*,† they are *ordered* † to bring in so much rubber every fortnight, and sentries with their retinue are

* And for the benefit of the people who pay the taxes.

† Italics, Mr. Harris's.

quartered upon them and force the rubber out of the people. The relative position of the 'sentries' and the chiefs is that of master and slave. No respect whatever is shown to the chiefs. How often, for instance, have the chiefs of this district, at one time or another, suffered the greatest degradations. Have I not seen them again and again with chains round their necks, carrying soil and other rubbish with the commonest slaves, and left in this position for weeks, absolutely without trial? Again, a number of them have, to my certain knowledge, been publicly flogged. These chiefs may be inferior to the white man, but amongst their own people they are greatly respected.

"I see a great deal is being made in Europe about the new regulations—that Natives are only to work in future forty hours per month!*" A great deal is also being made of this on the Congo—a great deal of ridicule—by State officials, rubber agents and missionaries! Every one realises that it is only a 'blind.' If it were carried out, not a single kilo of rubber could reach Europe. I have not yet heard a single person speak seriously of that law. It is like many other 'State' laws, only made to be broken.

"I want now to tell you how this rubber is collected. By some secret process, a company of magnates in Europe apparently buy a tract of country out here, including the people. (I understand what are called the 'Abir people' number about two millions.) These magnates choose a director and agents in Africa.† The Agents have districts assigned to them to rule, and to get in all the rubber they can.

"The agent is supplied with guns and ammunition; these he gives to a number of men whom he 'calls' for the purpose. These men are named 'sentries,' and are placed in the towns in the numbers of two to ten according to the size of the town.

"These sentries in their turn, quarter themselves upon the chiefs—in itself a considerable hardship when it is remembered that the sentries are little despots, and have a considerable retinue of 'boys' and wives, all living upon the chief. For the use of the sentries, women, food, and sundries must be supplied; the women must be of the finest type and the food of the best quality. Added to this there are constant acts of blackmailing. In fact, the sentries are simply 'terrors' to the poor people, who know that their refusal to supply them, or even one of their 'boys,' with what they ask, will probably mean death. A case in point is that of Bongwalanga and her daughter Lofinda, both of whose heads were cut off for refusing

* The writer has evidently heard of this for the first time. It is noteworthy to see what he says on the subject, in view of the fact that this utterly ridiculous statement about "forty hours' work" has figured for at least twelve months among the varied assortment of official plausibilities.

† This, of course, is how it appears to the man on the spot. We, in Europe, know that the principal "magnate" is the so-called "Government" of the Congo itself, which holds the fact part of the shares, and otherwise benefits by these "commercial" operations.

to give Ifuta all the fish he asked for.* Every fortnight these sentries collect the rubber and accompany a number of people to the nearest post, and carefully watch the people lest they tell tales to the white man, who, I may say from experience, is never very anxious to listen, and if he does so has to hear a palaver through an interpreter, who is probably 'in' with the sentries.

"Occasionally one comes across a more humane agent, but, generally speaking, they are the kind who get the Irishman's rise, because they do not increase the toll of rubber.

"It has been sometimes argued that the State official sanctions the quantity of rubber. He may do so in his half-yearly visits, which are of only a few hours' duration, but he knows nothing of the ability of the people to bring in the rubber beyond what the 'Company's' Agent likes to tell him, and, moreover, every agent, when sent to the 'post,' is ordered to increase the quantity. In a word, the poor people are absolutely under the control of the so-called 'trading' companies, who can do just as they like with them. Law is not operative here, and if we sometimes quote law to prove some action illegal, we are laughed at, as I was on April 23 last, and told, 'What is State law to me? I am sent to get plenty of rubber, not to carry out law.' Can you wonder that, under these circumstances, the wretched sentries take the cue from their masters, and rule the country according to their standard of right, which is to become despots, to enrich themselves by tyranny and blackmail, and at the same time to live in unparalleled luxury, whilst at their very names even the chief of a town trembles.

"In what does the Congo State 'Government' differ from slavery? Honestly, I confess I do not know.

"Think for a few minutes what a harrowing time the people have been through lately, and but for us I am confident worse would have been still the order of the day.

"Close to us are the towns of Balumboloko, Lotoko, Ekelongo, and Bolima. The last few months these brutes of sentries have cruelly murdered in these towns at least twelve people, including a chief and two women.

"The worst part appears to be that these were mere acts of brutality committed with the sole object of terrorising people. At Esanga, a district of small villages on the opposite bank, these 'sentries' murdered at least five people, including two women and one girl. It was necessary for me to go down to Jikau on business a few days ago, and whilst I was away a terrible affair was enacted close here at the Nsongo towns, which, for sickening brutality, surpasses all I have heard of lately. On Sunday morning, May 15, the man Noala brought the foot and hand of his child in to prove to the Agent that the sentry Lifumba and others had cut up this child and eaten her, also his wife Bogindangoa; also that they had

* This particular act occurred last March, and was reported by Mr. Harris.

killed Esanga, a boy of about ten; Esekolumbo, a chief, was mortally wounded, and since dead; also Elisi, another chief, was wounded, but will probably recover.

“One girl child, killed and eaten.

“One woman, mother, killed and eaten.

“One boy, killed and eaten.

“One chief, killed, not eaten.

“One chief wounded.

“I arrived here Thursday, May 19, and on Friday afternoon three Nsongo men brought in the hands of Bolenga and Lingomo, who had been killed at their town, two days before, by the sentries Loteri, Bomolo, and others. Also they had killed, cooked, and eaten the woman Balengolo.

“Two men killed.

“One woman killed and eaten.

“On May 22, Bolima suffered once more.

“One of the sentry's retinue—a ‘boy’—demanded more meat from the people, and on their refusal became abusive, and threatened them. The sentry loaded his gun and shot a man and a woman, killing the man and probably mortally wounding the woman; there seems very little hope of her recovery.

“One man killed.

“One woman wounded.

“Thus, you see, during the last few months twenty-five persons have lost their lives, and two badly wounded. Amongst these were several women and children; quite a number of these were cooked and eaten.

“The evidence is not disputed—in fact, up to the present the sentries admit it and blame the agent, saying that it was by his orders. Moreover, we have names and details beyond dispute, and yet—can you believe it?—such a state of things exists here, that the sentries are as free as you or I.

“If these things go on close to the Mission Station, what goes on further afield? If half the gruesome stories we hear are true (and I have good reason to believe most of them are), such a story could be written as would shock the civilised world.

“Some time ago a chief, 200 miles away, sent a message begging us to establish a Mission Station near him, ‘or,’ said he, ‘we shall soon all be killed.’ In the light of this, is it any wonder that the State refuses to grant us any new sites?

“Two months ago a chief near here was offered a native fortune if he could influence us to go to a certain district on a visit, because it was hoped that our visit might put an end to the devilry that was in progress; needless to say, we discountenanced such a proceeding.

“You may find some difficulty in getting people at home to believe this, but I can assure you every word is true to fact.

“May God rouse the hearts of the people in Europe to demand a new system for this poor country.”

LETTER FROM MR. E. STANNARD.*

" C.B.M., Baringa, Upper Congo,
 " Congo Independent State,
 " May 21, 1904.

" I regret to say that during the last few months, instead of there being any signs of improvement in this district, the condition of things is becoming infinitely worse, and we are forced to believe that, under present conditions, this will be increasingly so. The treatment to which these poor people are subjected is simply atrocious—no less strong word than that describes it.

" The State authorities appear to resent the word 'atrocities.' I wish they were equally concerned about the atrocities themselves. It is a marvel to us that the people can submit to such treatment. They are getting desperate, and one wonders what the end of it all will be. They seem so hopeless and helpless, and there is no remedy provided for them by the State—in fact, it is the State that is oppressing them.

" Quite recently Judge Bosco was here making inquires regarding the murders that were committed by sentries in the towns at the back of us just before Mr. Frost left for England, and which he personally investigated. The murders were proved up to the hilt—in fact, a larger number than we at first had known of definitely. Relatives of the murdered people, and witnesses from the towns, came and testified before the judge, and the sentries confessed to having killed the people. The judge said it was certain that the murders had taken place, and the only question in dispute was as to upon whom the responsibility rested. All the sentries, without exception, affirmed that they were instructed by M. Van Calcken, the agent, to kill people, and that those who did not were censured. The agent, on the other hand, denied that he had done so.

" The power and authority of the judge seemed to be very limited, and it appeared that he could do no more than make an investigation. He said that, as a white man was involved, all he could do was to report the facts to Boma, and he would probably have a reply on the subject in about three months' time. We pointed out that these sentries admitted having committed the murders, and that being so, asked him what he was going to do with them; but he confessed his inability to do more in the matter, as the responsibility was not established, and it was connected with rubber. So that, in the face of these confessed murders, nobody has been arrested or punished, and the same kind of things are being repeated. One would have thought that the very least that would have been done would have been to put the sentries under arrest. Do you wonder that the people say it is useless to report these things? They come

* To Dr. Guinness.

and tell us of these things, often at great risk, but with no better result than the above, and often not as much. The judge did arrest Ilangala, the capita, or head sentry; but he explained to us that he did so solely because he had killed a woman, and he said it was illegal for a woman to be punished on account of rubber. These particular men have ceased to be sentries, but they are in their towns and quite free, and it is probable that if they are wanted in three months' time they may have disappeared, and then their charge against the agent will be unsubstantiated, and the whole thing will fall through and nothing more be heard of it.

"That is the usual way with these palavers in which people are murdered. The sentries invariably affirm that they are told to kill people, whilst when murders come to light the agents discredit them, and disclaim responsibility. It is significant, however, that scarcely ever, if ever, do they take action, except in cases we report to them. My own distinct impression is that they are acquainted with the actions of their sentries, and largely responsible for them. They are compelled to get their full demand of rubber, and good rubber, if it is possible to be got, and will use any means to that end. Of course, they prefer not to do the horrible work actually themselves, and the sentries are only too willing to use the gun. The agents should know the kind of men they arm and send out with guns and rifles, and should know what is done with the cartridges and powder that have been used. Is it right that it should be possible to shirk responsibility in the easy fashion these men seem to be able to do it?

"The way in which some of these men regard the seriousness of these charges is illustrated by the following. Whilst the judge was here, another series of murders came to light through one of our station lads visiting the Esanga District. One woman was decapitated by a sentry, and one of the murdered men was a relative of our lad. The judge, Mr. Harris, and I were sitting talking in Mr. Harris's house, when the two agents came across to get particulars about the affair. After the lad had enumerated the four people who were killed and the sentries implicated, Mr. —* said, with half a laugh and affected surprise, 'Is that all? I thought there were a lot killed.' He then added, 'I can't be everywhere, and I am not a policeman.' And we are told by the State that these men have the entire surveillance of the district. We are put under their jurisdiction, and have to recognise them as the representatives of the State; in any kind of difficulty we are told we must apply to them. Mr. —† says he has since made inquiries, and admits that the allegations are true, but says the murders were committed in the time of his predecessor, who went to Europe last January. He evidently does not mind admitting the facts, as long as he is cleared of the responsibility.

"The judge remarked to us that the work given to him to do

* The name is given in the letter.

† Ibid.

is not serious, *i.e.* it is impossible. In this Equator District, as large as a great European State, he is the only judicial officer, and he can scarcely visit the whole of his district during his term of service. When he goes to investigate a charge it is possibly a year old, and it is impossible to get witnesses. Then whilst he is travelling he knows there is a tremendous lot of work accumulating for him at Coquilhatville, and that there is no proper administration of justice.

"Mr. Harris has already intimated to you in a letter of his that while he was down at Jikau, attending a committee meeting, a horrible case of murder and cannibalism on the part of rubber sentries occurred in this district. It was of a shocking nature, and has greatly distressed us. On Sunday morning, May 15, just after eight o'clock, I had gone across to Mr. Harris's house, and we were just going to commence morning worship when two boys rushed breathlessly in, and said that some sentries had killed a number of people, and that two men had gone by to tell the rubber white men, and that they also had some hands to show him, in case he did not believe them. It greatly upset us, and we told them to watch for the men as they came back, and to tell us, so that we could see them. Shortly afterwards the two men came along the path, and we heard the boys calling to them to come and show us; but they seemed afraid, and so we went out quickly and overtook them, and asked them where the hands were. Thereupon one of them opened a parcel of leaves, and showed us the hand and foot of a small child, who could not have been more than five years old. They were fresh and clean cut. It was an awful sight, and even now, as I write, I can feel the shudder and feeling of horror that came over me as we looked at them, and saw the agonised look of the poor fellow, who seemed dazed with grief, and said they were the hand and foot of his little girl. I can never forget the sight of that horror-stricken father. We asked them to come into the house and tell us about the affair, which they did, and the following is the story they told us—

"The father of the little girl said his name was Nsala, and he was a native of Wala, which is a section of the Nsongo District and connected with Lifinda, the outpost of Baringa. On the previous day, although it was three days before they were due to take in the rubber, fifteen sentries came from Lifinda, all except two being armed with Albin rifles, and they were accompanied by followers. They began making prisoners and shooting, and killed Bongingangoa, his wife; Boali, his little daughter of about five years of age; and Esanga, a boy of about ten years. These they at once cut up, and afterwards cooked in pots, putting in salt which they had brought with them, and then ate them.

"They also shot three other people who, although wounded, managed to run into the forest. They were:

"Eikitunga, a woman who, although wounded, ran as far as a stream, named the Loali, where she fell in and was drowned.

"Isekolumbo, a chief. Shot with an Albin, and the bullet

passed through right arm, and then through his body and out at back. They say he will not live.

"Elisi, a chief. Shot with an Albin in the thigh; he will probably live, as the bone was not broken.

"The chiefs, they say, are not supposed to go out and get rubber, and, I might add, neither are the women and innocent children. The sentries took ten prisoners, of whom nine were women. The people, however, afterwards redeemed four women for a thousand rods, and later, another four for a large basketful of rods and a dog. The other two prisoners were taken to the rubber posts at Lifinda. They were Isekolanganga, a man, and Bokombi, a woman, who was the wife of Elisi, the chief who was shot in the thigh. She had brass anklets on when taken, but these the sentries stole.

"Nsala said that when the sentries were not looking, he snatched up the foot and hand of his little girl, to bring and show to the white man, in case he should disbelieve what he said. We asked him whether he had cut off the hand and foot, but he looked horrified, and protested that he had not done so. He added that when they came away the sentries were still hunting the people, and that they were then going to hide in the bush, as they were afraid to go back.'

"Mrs. Harris then took a photo of the sorrowing man and all that was left to him of his wife and little daughter. We were sickened as we looked, and thought of the innocent little child, and pictured her running about but a short time before. We tried to enter a little into the feelings of the unhappy father, and involuntarily there arose from our hearts a prayer that God himself would intervene on behalf of these people.

"They say the natives are 'adequately paid.' This is the price paid for rubber on the Congo!

"When Judge Bosco was here, he said it was absolutely illegal to imprison women on account of rubber. This is the way the law is observed on the Congo. Could things be much worse if there were no law?

"Later in the morning a note was sent to M. Van Calcken, the agent, informing him of what we had seen and been told, and saying we expected him to report the matter. He afterwards came across and said the men had been across to him in the morning, but that he had not seen the hand and foot. This is certainly strange, because we met them coming straight from the rubber factory, and asked them whether they had shown the white man, and what he said. They replied that they had done so, and that he said he would talk the palaver with the other white man, who was coming next day. If they did not show the hand and foot, it illustrates the fear with which people go and report any matter to the rubber agents.

"On the next morning (Monday) we heard the canoe of M. Y——*

* The name is given in the letter.

had arrived from Lifinda, and on Tuesday afternoon, about 3.30, two men came up to me whilst I was superintending some brick-making on the station, and said they wanted to tell me some more about how the sentries had been killing and eating their people. Poor fellows, they looked like hunted animals, and terror was stamped on their features. Their names were Bompenu and Lofiko. Bompenu said he was the elder brother of Lofiko and Nsala, who came to us on Sunday. They had just come from the forest, where they had been hiding. Their account was substantially the same as that given to us on Sunday, but somewhat amplified. Fourteen days, they said, were allowed to them in which to get their rubber, of which they spent ten days in the forest collecting it. On the previous Saturday, Bompenu was still in the jamba (swamp) gathering his, and Lofiko was in his house, as he had his rubber, and was sitting down for three days before they had to take it in. Although they were not due with their rubber for three days, fifteen sentries with their followers appeared, two of whom had cap-guns, whilst the rest were armed with Albinis rifles, and commenced shooting. They also affirmed that previously they had sentries who were natives of the Nsongo district, but that the white man recalled them and took away their guns, because he said they did not kill their own people. He then sent them others from places where the people are known to be notorious cannibals, with the above result. Whilst we were interrogating the man, Mrs. Harris mentioned that M. Van Calcken said he had not seen the hand and foot on Sunday, whereupon Botondo, one of our workmen, exclaimed, 'That is falsehood itself, because I was returning from the river at the time, and saw Nsala show him the hand and foot.' Bokalo, a house boy, also spoke up and said, 'Yes, and when I saw them coming along the path, and told them to come and show the English, they said they were afraid, because the rubber white man had told them not to do so.'

"We were also informed that M. X—, * on his way down by canoe, put on shore at a landing near the Nsongo district five sentries, with instructions that they were to go and kill some more people. When, however, he got to Baringa, M. X—, † told him that the missionaries knew about the affair, and two sentries, named Lote and Lolenga, were sent overland to tell the other sentries not to kill any more, and they had returned to Baringa to-day, with a lot of women prisoners. At 6.45 that evening, Longombo, a workman of the Mission, came and told me that he had just been told by Ikala, a sentry, that the prisoners brought in from Nsongo that day numbered ten—eight women and two men, and that one woman and one man had been released, leaving seven women and one man in prison. Lianza, a station lad, told me later that Inumga, a boy who previously worked for Mr. Frost, but who now works at the factory, had told him that a number of women prisoners had been

* The name is given in the letter.

† Ibid.

brought in, but he had not counted them. I was further told next morning by Botondo, Basombo, and Ifomi, three station lads, that they had been over at the sentries' houses the previous night, and had seen the women prisoners, who are in charge of the sentries. Lomboto, the headman, is responsible for them, and they are not put in the prison itself. The reason given for this procedure is that M. X——* does not want the English to know that he has women prisoners. And all this has taken place immediately after the judge had emphasised, in our presence and his, that women must not be made prisoners by Abir agents on account of rubber.

"With the present strained relations we were in a very difficult position. If I had personally gone looking round his sentries' houses and asking questions, he would have got very angry; on the other hand, had I gone and asked him about it, he would have taken care that the women were kept out of the way.

"On Thursday, May 19, at midday, Mr. Harris returned from Jikau, and we hoped that these horrors were at an end, anyway for a time. Unfortunately such was not the case, for on Friday afternoon, about 4.30, whilst I was with Mr. Harris, three men came up to us with a small bundle, and opening it said, 'Look! this is the hand of Lingomo, and this is the hand of Bolengo. We couldn't bring the hand of Balengola, as they have eaten the whole of her body.' I recognised two of the men as Bompenju and Lofiko, who had come to us on the previous Tuesday. We said, 'What, have they killed some more?' 'Yes,' they replied; 'three more; one of whom they have eaten.' 'White men,' they went on, 'what *are* we to do? They are finishing us all off. Whilst we came here three days ago they killed a man, a boy, and a woman.' Mrs. Harris took a photo of the men with the hands, and Mr. Harris and I stood in the group, as we thought it would be additional testimony. Mr. Harris then went across with the men to the agent. I had had a very unpleasant interview with him some time ago in connection with some other murderous outrages. Just after, I noticed a number of people at the end of the station path, and found that they were people who had come from Wala with rubber, and were waiting for the other three men. Mrs. Harris and I walked along, and had a talk with them. They told us that the sentries had killed a man, woman, and lad, and had also eaten the woman. In answer to our question as to when it took place, they said it was three days ago, and that the sentries, who were armed with Albini rifles, had also taken five prisoners, of whom two were women with their children. We asked whether Isekolumbo and Elisi, the two wounded chiefs, were still alive, and they said they were.

"I am afraid Mr. Harris and I look rather angry in the photo, but I confess that I felt angry. It made my blood boil to think of these things—horror upon horror—which are being perpetrated upon these persecuted people."

* The name is given in the letter.

"Thursday, May 26, 1904.

"This afternoon I returned from a visit to Wala in the Nsongo district. I left here last Tuesday morning and reached there about 4 p.m. On passing through Boeringa we met two natives of Wala, who accompanied us. Just before reaching Wala they said to me, 'Come in here and we will show you where they killed the little girl Boali.' So I turned aside into a small side-path in the forest, and there, a short way in, I saw a large number of leaves covered with old blood-stains. They told me she had run into the forest and was overtaken, killed, and cut up. The parts were then carried into the town, cooked, and eaten.

"On reaching Wala itself, I met Mpombo the chief, a man of considerable influence amongst the natives, and widely known throughout the surrounding districts. I was informed that Isekolumbo, the man who had been seriously wounded, had died on the morning of that day. They said that his compound was some distance away, and that they might have buried him. However, as I said I should like to see his body, they sent off for it at once, and also sent a message on the 'lokoli' telling the people there not to bury it. It arrived just before dark. I examined the body, and the wounds showed clearly that he had been shot with a rifle. The bullet had passed through the right arm, and then through the side of the body and out at the back. The arm bone was also broken. The wound could only have been caused by a bullet. He was a big man and seems to have been of good standing and much respected in the district.

"The next morning, while I was having breakfast, they brought me in Elisi, the other man who had been wounded in the thigh. I examined him and found the bullet-wound through the fleshy part of the thigh. It was of such a nature that it could only have been caused by a bullet. I dressed the wound and he promised to come to the station to be treated. He said he was shot by an Albini rifle by Lifumba, the capita of the Lifinda sentries. When the sentries first arrived they commenced making a number of prisoners, and Elisi asked Lifumba why they were doing that, as the rubber was not due for three days, whereupon he lifted up his rifle and shot him, saying at the same time, 'take that.'

"I was told by Mpombo and a number of others that after Elisi had been shot, the sentries came through to Mpombo's part, and killed, cooked, and ate, Bongindango, Boali, and the boy Esanga.

Bongindango was shot with an Albini by Mboyo.

Boali	"	"	"	Likilo.
Esanga	"	"	"	Lomboto.

Mpombo said that had he remained in his house they would have shot him. After their cannibal feast the sentries slept in the same house, and started back next morning for Lifinda. On their way through the town they met Isekolumbo, and he said to them, 'Why

are you killing us? The rubber is not due for three days.' The sentry, Bokuungu, then lifted up his rifle and shot him, also saying, 'take that.' He managed to run into the bush. The above refers to the first killing palaver.

"Three days later (on Monday) five sentries came to Mpombo's part from the river, armed with Albini rifles. They were Bompasu, Bopambo, Lomboto, Mboyo, and Isekombali. They did not kill or wound, but made a number of prisoners, some of whom were women. Later on two sentries, Loto and Lolenga, arrived from Baringa, and told them that they were not to kill any people. They slept there that night and left next morning with the prisoners.

"That same morning (Tuesday), Lifumba and some other sentries, including Lomboto, Loteri, Bokungu, Lokilo, and Efomo, came again from Lifunda to the other end of Wala, but did not reach Mpombo's part. On this occasion they killed three people, one of whom was a woman, whom they ate. The people killed were Lingongo, a man; Bolengo (also named Lofembe), a lad; and Balengola, a woman. The woman was speared by Lontulu, a 'boy' of one of the sentries, after which they cut her up and ate her.

"The house that I slept in was next to the open house in which the first cannibal feast of the sentries had taken place, and my food was actually cooked in the same house. I asked Mpombo if it would not be possible to find me some of the bones of the people who had been eaten, but he said it was then about ten days since the first took place, and that the sentries burnt most of the bones or else threw what remained right away. However, he said he would send a man at once to the place where the last woman had been eaten, at the other end of Wala (nearly a day's journey further on), to see if he could find any. Later in the day they brought me a piece of bone charred at one end, which they had found in the house where the feast had taken place, and which they said belonged to Boali. They thought it was part of one of the bones of the forearm.

"Just before I left, the man returned from the other place, bringing a piece of bone which he said belonged to the woman Balengola, and which he found outside the house where she was eaten. He said that was all he was able to find of her, and that had been lying outside, and the white ants had started eating one end. That was so, because even after my return to the station I found two white ants still on it. They thought it was a part of the leg bone. These I am sending on to you just as they were given to me, tied on to the ends of pieces of stick. For superstitious reasons the people would not handle the bones themselves, as they were parts of the remains of their relatives.

"I left them, saying I would do what I could for them, and hoped that those who had done such awful things to them would be severely punished. These things have been reported to the judge, and we are anxiously awaiting another visit from him.

"According to the present written law of the State, these people

are only required to work forty hours a month, but so far as those for whom it is intended are concerned, it might as well never have been written. It is merely a blind, for I do not suppose it is acted upon anywhere in the State. The rubber agents here openly ridiculed it in the presence of the judge, and said it was only written for European consumption. They are constantly receiving circulars instructing them to increase the amount of rubber. The people's work is not reckoned by time, but by the amount of rubber they must bring in. They are practically always working for the State or rubber companies. The agents sometimes complain to us that a number of people have gone away from their towns, as though they had committed a great crime which demands severe measures. And yet can the people be blamed for running away from such treatment? They can hardly be expected to do less than that. Can they be expected to remain quietly and receive such treatment as the Nsongo people have lately had meted out to them? However, it is seldom that they get far, and usually only out of one rubber district into another. These rubber agents have but one thought and apparently but one interest, viz. rubber. And one would almost imagine that their hearts must be made of rubber, or something harder, else they could not but feel some pity for the unfortunate people who are at their mercy, and whom they seem to be willing to do to death with so little compunction.

"You will be able to understand our feelings of indignation and disgust when we read of the defenders of the State in Europe denying the charges that are made against it, and asserting that the people are happy and receive just treatment, whilst we are living in the midst of these horrors which are being perpetrated upon the people at the *present* time.

"Whilst Judge Bosco was here, he said that he had received instructions to investigate the British Consul's statement to the Governor-General that he had seen at Bongandanga fifteen women prisoners tied by the neck. I told him that I was at Bongandanga during the Consul's visit, and had seen those women being marched to the factory by sentries, and I also said that I had seen very many others besides. I added that whilst I was at Bongandanga, it was by no means exceptional for women to be put in prison, but on the other hand, that it was an ordinary everyday occurrence. I signed a statement to that effect. At that time he had not seen a copy of the Consul's report, and we showed him ours. If he is the Marquis Bosco referred to in the papers, as having investigated the charges made by the British Consul in his report, and proved them unfounded, it is a false statement. When he was here in April, he told us he had not yet seen a copy of the report, and what he saw here went to confirm the Consul's charges.

"We very much need the prayers of God's people to know always how to act for the best under most trying circumstances. The work is certainly beset with great difficulties and there is much that might discourage us, but, in spite of all, God is giving us signs of his blessing

and evidences of His working. We take courage and press forward. One thing is certain, and never was the Gospel message of love, peace, and goodwill more needed than it is at the present time in this land of oppression and darkness."

"June 5, 1904.

"Yesterday afternoon Judge Bosco arrived by the Abir steamer. He came along to the Mission, and we spoke to him about these fresh acts of murder and cannibalism by rubber sentries. He seemed to think things were very bad, and said he would report the matter to Boma. That was all he could do, and if these things still continued afterwards it would not be his fault.

"This morning he came and interrogated Mr. Harris and myself. I gave him a full account of the whole affair, and signed a declaration embodying the main features of the case. The judge appears to be a very fair man, and desirous of doing what is just; but his hands seem to be tied, and all he can do is to investigate. He is virtually a judge only in name, for he seems to lack the authority and power attaching to that office. I sincerely wish we could feel some confidence in the desire of the State to mete out justice, not only to those who actually commit these crimes, but to those who are really responsible for them.

"It is difficult for people at home to understand how extremely hard it is for these natives to give any kind of evidence against the rubber agents. Try and put yourself in their position. For all practical purposes, the rubber company is supreme in this part of the country. It is the rubber agent with whom these people have to do and whom they fear. A judge may come along and ask them a few questions, but he then passes on, and they are left with the rubber agent. They know that if they have said anything against him they will have to suffer for it pretty severely afterwards. They have repeatedly expressed themselves to us in this way. They argue that if they say anything about the agent, nothing comes of it—no change for the better is made, and they are afterwards punished for saying it. Fear, therefore, closes their mouths. The men implicated know all this only too well.

"From Mr. Harris's letter you will be able to appreciate our position here now, which is not a very enviable one. We cannot say what developments may take place, but we shall keep you informed. The attitude of the rubber Company is openly and actively hostile. They have made it clear that the only way in which we can receive anything like proper treatment is by closing our eyes, ears, and mouths with reference to their atrocious doings. But that is impossible.

"Since last Christmas, in the districts surrounding Baringa, to our knowledge about twenty-five people, including men, women, and children, have been brutally murdered, some of whom have been cooked and eaten by rubber sentries. Can we, in the face of these things, remain silent? Is not our duty as Christian missionaries

perfectly clear, regardless of consequences? We must speak or our conscience will condemn us!

“EDGAR STANNARD.”

THIRTEEN YEARS OF CONGO STATE RULE IN KATANGA. EXTRACTS
FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY THE REV. DUGALD CAMPBELL.*

“The Mission, Johnstone Falls,
“N. E. Rhodesia, May 14, 1904.

“DEAR SIR,

“I have just returned from a three weeks' journey in the Congo State, having paid a visit to our Mission Station at Koni Hill, on the Lufre River, and to the Belgian post, Lufaku, as also to Msiri's Town, where I spent four days with chiefs and old friends. Old Msiri's son, Kitanika, and Kalama, one of the principal *capitas* † in Katanga, have been here on a week's visit, and have just left. The afore-mentioned *capita*, Kalama, has served the State faithfully since the appearance of the first yellow flag star, brought by Paul Le Marinel, whom he accompanied on his return journey to Lulua-burg. With these two loyal Congolese I went over the principal events of State history in Katanga, since the advent of Congo Government, and particularly since my own arrival about eleven years ago. To be sure of being accurate, I thus refreshed my memory as to facts, names of places, people, etc., relating thereto, and much else, and I beg to send you the following observations and narrative of experiences in the hope that they may prove useful and help to put an end to the abuses prevailing in poor oppressed Congoland.

Ivory Régime.—“Shortly prior to my arrival at Lufoi^o (Katanga) from Bihe, on the West Coast, Lieutenant, afterwards Captain Legat, left, and was replaced by Lientenant, afterwards Captain X——, † who welcomed me to the country. The Mission Station was fifteen minutes' walk from the State post. Just a month or so before I arrived, Lieutenant X—— had set out with a large party to avenge a supposed insult to two of his messengers—Dioko, the State interpreter (a Loanda black left at Msiri's by the Portuguese travellers Capello and Ivens), and Magabe, a local native. He attacked the large village of Mutwila, a Sanga chief. There was great slaughter, including women and little children. Heads were brought back for a war-dance. Gangs of slaves, men and women, were taken—some of whom are still in slavery. The village was burnt and everything destroyed. The women were given mostly to the soldiers. Lots of ivory was taken.

“Kafwimbi, a big chief with a large village on the Luapula

* To Mr. H. R. Fox-Bourne, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society.

† Chief of State Soldiers.

‡ The name is given in the letter.

River (he is now in British territory and visited me a few days ago), was also known to have much ivory, and consequently attacked. The chief escaped across the river under a hail of bullets, but M. Y——* told me many were shot and sunk while trying to reach the British side. Others were killed in the village, and all the women and children roped together. The women became soldiers' property, and some were, as they say here, "married" to the whites. The village was burnt and pillaged, and everything destroyed, including a parting kick at any undamaged pots—the usual thing even in time of quiet.

"A journey from Lufoi post to Mtoa (Tanganyika Zone) by Sub-Lieutenant P——,† was the occasion of further burning, pillaging, and killing. The officer in question was conducting a large gang of prisoners in chains, and on his return journey, he burnt out our local chief Chipungu, ten minutes' distance from whose village was our second Mission Station on Lake Mweru, also the villages of chiefs Nswioa and Kafungo. These burnings were accompanied with the usual plunder and devastation—carrying off stock and destroying food, much to our chagrin, as the missionaries were more or less dependent on them for fowls, eggs, and native produce. Leaving there, Sub-Lieutenant P—— crossed the Bukongolo Mountains, murdered old chief Mbogo and chief Lukona, with further burning, destroying, and fighting *en route* back—that is, if you call shooting down helpless natives by such a dignified appellation as fighting. To the west of Lufoi post, among the mountains which in parts are honeycombed with caves, live the Bena Mitumba, or people of the hills, a branch of the Va-Sanga tribe, who have been an inèssant thorn in the State's side, as they have been almost inaccessible, and are splendid elephant-hunters, with, of course, heaps of ivory. Between this tribe—the aborigines of the country—and the Va-Yeke, Msiri's people, there has been a perpetual feud. Really a stranger from the north of Tanganyika, Msiri was considered an unwelcome intruder. To strengthen himself, therefore, he killed and oppressed the Va-Sanga, and cropped off the ears of one of their principal chiefs, Mulowanyama. This chief was afterwards burnt alive in a cave with about seventy or eighty of his people, including women and children, by a State force under Captain Z——.‡ The State took sides with Msiri's people against the Va-Sanga, whom they (Msiri's people) hated and persecuted under State flags and with State guns, caps, and powder. Result, the Va-Sanga resented and refused to bring in the ivory. (N.B.—Verbal guarantees had been given by Captain Stairs,§ on the Va-Sanga submitting to the State and taking the flag, that no Yeke chief would again dominate them. Hence the bitterness was due to

* The name is given in the letter.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Captain Stairs, an Englishman, was one of the earliest exploring pioneers in Katanga.

this violation of a promise solemnly given.) Kalela, one of the strongest of these chiefs, from a mountaineer's point of view, was next chosen for punishment. A war-party was got together, and, with Captain X——* set out to attack him. The people, being forewarned, rushed to their canoes, and in the attack killed two and wounded two of the State forces. The mouth of their cave was filled with firewood and straw, and an attempt made to burn them out; but they escaped, as we were told, by an exit some distance off. The usual destruction and pillage followed, *plus* the burning of another village on the way back. In the attack Captain X——† shot two of his own local natives for 'disobeying orders,' and one of these, by name Chonobaruti, brother of the State *capita* who left here yesterday, had two fingers shot off; the other, Mukolokolo, was shot in the leg. Both are still alive.

"One of the biggest and most bloody journeys was that undertaken by Captain X——‡ and Lieut. Y——§ to Lubaland, extending over a period of about two months. After about a ten days' journey from Lufoi post, through a semi-subjugated people, the very populous district of Chivanda was reached in Lubaland. The principal chief, Munongo, fled, but leaving a fat goat tied up in the middle of the village, and a big basket of native flour, as a propitiatory present to the white man. As he did not show himself, having learnt lessons by bitter previous experience, his town was forthwith pillaged and burnt, goats, fowls, pigeons, and all stock taken, and all else destroyed. No prisoners were taken, though the adjacent country was scoured; the people having got timely warning. The village of another big chief, Chikomo, was similarly treated, but as the news had spread of the State's approach, and the treatment meted out at Chivanda, the people got well away. Next Kaluifa, a very large chief, hearing of the former burning and pillaging, fled. A number of women were caught in the fields and roped together, and the village was plundered and burnt to the ground. Kayombo was the next large Luban chief dealt with. Having taken refuge among reeds, *in a marsh, he was caught and hung up by the feet to a palm tree; then a fire was kindled underneath, over which he was slowly roasted to death. Several more women were added to the rope-gang, and the village was pillaged and burnt.*

"After that, Katoro, another very large chief, living near the apex of Western and Eastern Lualaba, was attacked. The crowds were fired into promiscuously, and fifteen were killed, including four women and a baby on its mother's breast. The heads were cut off and brought to the officer in charge, who then sent the men to cut off the hands also, and these were pierced, strung, and dried over the camp fire. The heads, with many others, I saw myself. The town, prosperous once, was burnt, and what they could not carry off was destroyed. Crowds of people were caught, mostly old women and

* The name is given in the letter.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

young women, and three fresh rope-gangs were added. One died shortly after, from being driven by the butts of soldiers' guns. These poor 'prisoner' gangs were mere skeletons of skin and bone, and their bodies cut up frightfully with *la chicotte*, when I saw them. I have travelled with Bihean slave-caravans, and lived among them, and seen the Portuguese Angola slave-trade in full swing, but I think the Congo soldiery far more brutal than either the Bihean or the Arab. Of course the Arab and Bihean slavers are kind to their slaves from a commercial point of view.

"Chiyombo's very large town, which Captain X——* told me it took him four days to devastate and burn, was next attacked. A lot of people were killed, and heads and hands cut off, and taken back to the officers.

"The wanton destruction of live stock was enormous.

"These towns were prosperous, and the centre of a healthy native trade in grass-cloths, iron, beads, and palm oil. This was their introduction to the yellow star flag and the State, and the same people suffered the bitter fruits of State misrule shortly afterwards, as the Batetla revolted,† pressed hard from the north, entrenched themselves hereby and razed the country to the ground. When they left for Lake Kisale the place was a howling wilderness, and the few remaining people had to eke out a precarious existence in the bush. Shortly after the State caravans, with flags flying and bugles blowing, entered the mission village at Luanza, on Lake Mweru, where I was then alone, and I shall not soon forget the sickening sight of deep baskets of human heads. These baskets of 'war trophies' were used by Msiri's people for a big 'kutomboka,' or war-dance, to which was added the State quota of powder and percussion caps to celebrate their 'victories.'

"Another journey was made to the Lamba country, as far south as Ntenke's and Katanga's, and still another to the Luapala, with the customary plunderings and devastation. I made a journey myself to the copper hills in the west, to the caves, to Ntenke's, Katanga's, Makaka's, and Katete's all in South Lamba, and found the sentries everywhere living like kings, plundering, killing and burning villages, in the name of the State. I append a list of the villages and Chiefs at 'sentry posts' known to me, and each manned by two black soldiers.

"Kazembe's: on the West Lualaba.

"Nguba: three days east of the West Lualaba.

"Kalungumi: principal Va-Sanga chief, a few hours from Kambone copper mines.

"Ntenke: a big Lamba Chief, South Lamba.

"Katanga: owner of some copper mines.

"Katete: a big Lamba Chief.

"Nwachia: Chief of Lufira salt pans.

* The name is given in the letter.

† Rebels. See Chapter XVIII.

- " Molenga : Chief of other salt pans.
- " Kipazila : near Luapula.
- " Kiwele : near Chinama.
- " Kashobwe : Yeke Chief, Luapula.
- " Mukove : two days south-east of Lake Mweru.
- " Kasongo : Luapula.
- " Kalanombe : in the Chivanda direction.
- " Muvanga : Lake Mweru Chief.
- " Kalonga : Valomotwa Chief.
- " Kipwayila : near Luapula.
- " Muyofia : near Lake Mweru.
- " Kiaka : on the mountain near Lake Mweru.
- " Kayumba : Luaba Chief near Kisale.

" Each of the posts was manned, as stated, by two black soldiers—dare-devils they—to look after State interests, chiefs, and ivory.

" During the incipient stages of State administration, and under Captain Legat, the first resident official in Katanga after Msiri's downfall, quiet and peace reigned, and the initiatory *régime* augured well for future relations with the natives. Upon Captain Legat's replacement by Captain X——* (then Lieutenant) the pacific *régime* changed with a vengeance, and there being no State demand then for rubber,† the collection of ivory on which I was told the officers received a large premium, to give impetus to their efforts, was pushed to murder point, and the death penalty was verbally threatened on all Katanga Chiefs who hid or smuggled ivory. No stone was left unturned and no means untried that might make the Natives disgorge ivory, and armed soldiers and Natives were let loose over the country, with results that are obvious to-day.

Mukandu-Bantu, as Msiri II. was called, and whom Captain X——‡ termed his 'commander-in-chief' was sent off by him at the head of a large war-party of armed natives—armed at State expense—on an ivory and head-hunting expedition in the Chivanda direction. Mukandu-Bantu received strict secret instructions to punish old Kasangula, a Bona-Mitumba chief, who was known, or reputed to have ivory, on pretence of having insulted his soldiers with poor food, and the net result was twenty-one heads and the same number of tusks of ivory. I saw the heads and war-dance, and heard the story of the deceitful and bloody business. One of the male prisoners, I was told by eye-witnesses, was sacrificed at the grave of old Msiri unknown to the State.

" Perhaps you will say, 'Why did you not speak out and report all this?' My first experience in Katanga was Captain X——'s § threat to imprison my colleague for denouncing these doings. Every time I made representations, these were declared impossible, or the answer was, 'I will ask my *capita* to make inquiries'—his *capita*

* The name is given in the letter.

† Previous to the inauguration of the rubber *régime*.

‡ The name is given in the letter.

§ Ibid.

being one of the worst blackguards in the country. Nothing was ever proved. He would not believe his soldiers would be guilty of such misconduct or, 'Well, they must have *carte blanche*, or the Natives would not respect the State.' Sometimes, 'might is right,' would be the curt reply. What could one say? There were no judges or courts of appeal, and the officer, often at his wits' end, would say, 'What can I do? I must get ivory. I have no law or regulation book. I am the only law and only god in Katanga.'

"For several years, owing to the Batetla revolt, these officers received no European supplies *Absolutem rein*, and had to live entirely on the produce of the country. All labour, roads, buildings, cultivations, caravans, etc., were unpaid for or rewarded by plunder and slaves, and as a rule, the soldiers and employees were paid from the loot taken from Bihean slave caravans or raided villages, on the plea of having brought no ivory as tribute.

"Two fruitless trips to the Arab town of Chivala, on the Luapula, ended in loss of prestige, tents, papers, and almost the lives of the two officers. Shortly after this Captain Verdick arrived, with an artillery officer and a small cannon, and arrangements were made for a final fight and break-up of Chivala's town. He had lots of ivory, and traded with the Portuguese on the Zambesi, and had two small cannon. Of course, he did lots of raiding in Arab fashion, and was a small State within a State. Captain X——'s * term of service had fully expired, and he was quite elated at the thought of furlough. One evening he said to me, 'Monsieur Campbell, je vais retourner en Europe mais je voudrais bien prendre part dans une bataille sanglante avant de partir.' A few weeks later they set out for the Arabs' Chivala, and Captain X——, † who was so keen on his 'bloody battle' before leaving, was the first man to be shot, and died four days after. It was his successor who fired the cave near the Western Lualuba, where about eighty people perished.

"*Inauguration of rubber régime.*—Here, on the arrival of Captain Y——, the rubber régime was inaugurated, and a large, new-burnt, brick fort store, mess-room, officers' quarters, etc., were built at Lukafu by forced labour. That was one hour distant from Moena Mission Station, where I then lived.

"After Captain Y——, ‡ during whose term I had a change home and returned, Captain O—— § assumed command. Through him I sent a report of a big slave caravan of about 3000 slaves, met in the Congo State near Lake Dilolo. These had been purchased principally from the Batetla revolters then entrenched at Lake Kisale. (I may say here that the revolters, computed at 1000 warriors, consisted of two camps—Batetla and Swahili, the former preponderating. The latter, though they joined issue when fighting against the State forces, hated the former for their cannibalism, being Mosleme. These revolters took to themselves the name of 'Va

* The name is given in the letter.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

Huni,' a term of the utmost reproach, which means 'the despisers of all Europeans,' and it will take the fair Luba country long years to recuperate from their killing, looting, and devastation.) This report on the slave caravan, though signed by myself and my wife, never received a reply, though it would have given them the key to the situation from an anti-slavery point of view, and enabled them, by means of a post on the Lutemlewe River, near Lake Dilolo, and others on the Kasia, to have for ever closed the State western door against Bihean and Portuguese slavers. I have crossed the continent between Benguela and Mozambique several times, and I do not hesitate to say that the only regular slave trade that goes on to a large extent is in the southern and south-western corners of the Congo State. From the West Lualaba to beyond Lake Dilolo there is not a single State post, and the slave trade through that door is brisker than ever. The revolters, who were supposed to have been defeated by Major Malfeyt, in March, 1901, are to-day, May, 1904, as lively and as busy as ever in the districts around the Lubidi River. Not only so, but they are well supplied with guns, rifles, and ammunition, and regularly supply the Bihe and Benguela slave markets through Bihean and Ovimbunda traders.

"Under Captain O——'s* *régime* the whole country, from the Lufira River to the Luapula River, was looted of almost all sheep, goats, fowls, and pigeons—friendly and disloyal Natives sharing alike. The disorder in the country and amongst the soldiers, brought about a small revolt, which was only nipped in the bud by timely concessions to the soldiers, who absolutely ruled the Katanga. I complained then, as before, about the abuses of the soldiers, but to no purpose, Congo State soldiers were immaculate, and could not be punished.

"A new officer replaced Captain O——; but did that bring a change of *régime* and better treatment to the Natives? During the whole of his term the brutal and inconsiderate treatment of the Natives all over his *secteur* was just a continuation of State policy. Close to the post at Lukafu, during the making of a wide road from there to the Kambone copper mines, which road passed by our mission at Koni Hill, on the Lufira, practically everything of market value was cleared, even up to our mission door. The Natives were kicked and abused (to put it mildly), and being afraid to appeal to the judge then come to Lukafu, for fear of being intercepted by soldiers and treated worse for daring to complain, the pillaging and flogging continued. Meanwhile, on the Luapula, similar abuses existed, and women were raped and made to serve both white and black, until many of the best and biggest villages crossed into British territory, where they live in peace and are to-day settled contentedly under the protection of the British flag.

"The following are a few of the villages hereabouts whose chiefs have crossed over: 1, Chipungu; 2, Muyofia; 3, Chiva; 4, Kaf-

* The name is given in the letter.

wimbi; 5, Chilongoshi; 6, Kashiva; 7, Makungu; 8, Kasongo; 9, Kasandala; 10, Munene; 11, Kanyemba; 12, Muyamunsenga; 13, Chalwe; 14, Chikungu; 15, Mutipula; 16, Chitungu; 17, Nkango; 18, Mboti; 19, Chisompola; 20, Chitwambi. Up to the south bend of the Luapula, the country on the Belgian side is empty, the people having literally rushed to this side for safety and protection, where they live to-day a law-abiding people, and give no trouble to the Government here. The wholesale exodus is due to Belgian raiding, the sentry system, and the maltreatment of the natives.

"Kasongo,* whom I put among the twenty villages, has just come out from hiding in the bush, and a few days ago got permission from the Civil Commissioner to build here. The ultimate reason of his fleeing was because the Belgian officer took his wives. He says he first gave him (M—†) his niece, a young girl, whom, after living with, the officer sent back, taking instead one of the Chief's own wives. Then, after living with her, he sent her back, and took by force the Chief's other wife, whereupon the chief, not daring to refuse, determined to flee. This is only one story out of thousands, for the women in these parts, like the men, have no redress.

"In conclusion, permit me to make the following observations:

"*Treatment of Natives.*—This is, and ever has been, shocking, and the cause of revolts, troubles, and, when possible, exodus into the territories of other Powers. The treatment of the down-trodden Congolese, since State occupation, has brought about a moral and material degeneration. Through the gross and wholesale immorality, and forcing of women and girls into lives of shame, African family life and its sanctities have been violated, and the seeds of disease, sown broadcast over the Congo State, are producing their harvest already. Formerly Native conditions put restrictions on the spread of disease, and localised it to small areas. But the 17,000 black Congo soldiers, moved hither and thither to districts removed from their wives and relations to suit Congo policy, must have women wherever they go, and these must be provided from the district Natives. . . . Native institutions, rights, and customs, which one would think ought to be the basis of permanent good government, are ignored. . . . Much of the evil in this respect is due to complete ignorance of the Native customs and Native language. There are very few *chefs de poste* who are not at the mercy of black interpreters, who are, as a rule, the greatest ruffians, and frequently the most wealthy and influential men in the land—or rather, become so after a few years in this office. For example, Mukevo, the State interpreter now at Lukafu, who was formerly a miserable slave, has now a large village, women, and slaves.

"*Forced Labour.*—There is no such thing as freedom in the

* The name of the chief as well as of his village; villages often take their name from their chiefs.

† Name not given in letter.

'Congo Free State,' that is freedom as we understand it. ALL labour is forced, and 'voluntary engagements' or 're-enlistments,' as suggested in the Congo Government's reply to the British Note, are a most rare occurrence, and only due to some special circumstance. The mode of getting police I once saw working. Captain O——* sent to Msiri and other villages for workmen. A large crowd came reluctantly with their Chiefs. Then they were told they were now soldiers. A guard was put over them, and drill commenced. Great dissatisfaction was expressed, and threats were muttered all over. As the revolt was then but seven or eight days' distant, at Kisale, it only wanted a spark to ignite the whole, a leader to rally the people against the State, and every officer's throat would have been cut, and the scenes of revolt and bloodshed enacted elsewhere would have been reproduced in Katanga. Thanks to the influence of the missionaries the Chiefs remained loyal. Carriers were sent for in the same manner, and if the prescribed number were not forthcoming, the Chiefs and women were usually tied up, when men would offer themselves to ransom their Chiefs. Women, too, were impressed into service, and it was a common sight to see women working with babies pickaback. . . . Formerly we reckoned fully 3000 people in Msiri's town, and I should say a fifth of these were men. To-day, the Chief tells me, there are only thirty men left. Many of his people, he says, have been called up and despatched to other parts of the State for work, mainly road-making. These latter have been away over a year, and do not know when they may be permitted to return to their homes.

"*The Mayanga or Sentry System.*—This is the greatest curse which has befallen the once prosperous country of Katanga. Old Msiri was undoubtedly a tyrant, and ruled the Katanga or Garengonze kingdom with a rod of iron. But I do not think there was anything in his rule a thousandth part so execrable or so oppressive as the Congo State sentry system is. After all, with a Native despot, it was Native dealing with Native on Native lines and according to established African law. But what did the sentry system represent? It was inaugurated to serve one end, and that was to collect all the ivory in the country, and see that the Chiefs and the hunters sold none elsewhere. Ivory had to be brought, the alternative being villages burned and pillaged, and people taken to serve as State prisoners—that is, to build State buildings, plant State gardens, cut State roads, and all to the tune of the State *chicotte*.

"When two black soldiers were deputed to a sentry post, how did they proceed to fulfil their duty? The Chief's wives were paraded, and village women, and several of the best looking were picked out to become sentries' wives. The remainder, and the men, were then paraded and told off to build (a) a large house for the white men, and camp for the carriers in the event of their visiting;

* The name is given in the letter.

(b) two large houses for the sentries. They had to plant gardens and do whatever other work was required. Beer also had to be brewed regularly and brought; goats, fowls, and other food had to be produced. These sentries sometimes lived eight or ten days from any European officer. I have known them tie up Chiefs for a week in ropes and keep them tied until a sufficient ransom was brought. Ordinary Natives, especially women, were being continually caught and held up to ransom, and the soldiers used to tell me it was the only means they had of obtaining calico to clothe their women. I have met them on the road on plundering expeditions, travelling in hammocks with from twenty to thirty carriers—these, of course, impressed into the work—besides other carriers who carried their pots, cloth, provisions, and guns wherever they went, and helped them in their raiding, sometimes sharing the spoils. I say emphatically and solemnly, from what I have seen, that these sentries exercise more power over the Natives than their masters, and lived like little kings. I have complained of this and told the *chef de poste*, who would say he would inquire or send the interpreter to inquire; consequently no charge was ever proved. . . . These sentries had to appear with the chiefs before the white officers each new moon, and, if the tale of tribute fell short, they were always in terror of punishment. It was a common practice to remove the sentries who were unsuccessful in securing sufficient ivory, and to replace them by others more ruffianly disposed, whose ivory-extorting powers had been previously tested. Thus the State made the sentry system produce what should have been the outcome of honest trade.

“*Free Trade, so-called.*—In all Katanga there is not a single trader outside the *Comité Spécial du Katanga*,* whose monopoly is thereby ensured. The only man who did succeed in getting a trading licence from M. Lévêque, the then representative of the *Compagnie du Katanga*, was Herr Rabinek, whose licence, etc., were signed and sealed in the Mission premises of Luanza; and what befel him, his licence, goods, and rubber, is now well known. A Mr. Carson, and a German trader, Herr Frerk, living on the British side, tried to obtain trading licences, but their applications, which I forwarded, to ensure their reaching Mr. N——,† the present representative of the *Comité Spécial*, must have been ignored, for up till now they have received no reply. On speaking recently with Judge Jenniges at Lukafu, I mentioned these matters to him, and he said, ‘Of course, legally and according to State laws they must, if they force matters, receive a licence for trade, but I don’t think they will receive it. The State will not cede a licence where the monopoly of trade is in the hands of a big Company.‡ It is against all precedent.’ There are many other traders here who would gladly pay all licence, costs, and import and export dues, could permission to

* The State under another name, as previously explained.

† Name given in letter.

‡ Not a “Company,” at all, but the Government itself.

trade in Katanga be obtained. But the door of Katanga is unquestionably fast shut to all the legitimate trade, and will be until the State's hand is forced, and the State becomes free in more than name.

"You may form an idea of the condition of things in Katanga when I tell you that M. Binard, the officer in Kasenga post (one hour from here across the Luapula), sends his large quota of fowls, etc., to supply the officers' mess at Lukafu and Lukonzolwa, the two largest posts in Katanga. These are bought in British territory this side of the Luapula, by Natives sent by him, which the British official good-naturedly permits. . . .

"A great farce is the Sunday market, so-called, to which the Natives are compelled to bring food to supply the soldiers and their families and Europeans. Each Chief has to attend with his people, his flour, manioc, potatoes, fish, or whatever it be. An officer is supposed to be present to prevent stealing and cheating. The baskets are emptied out, a few beads are thrown into the empty basket, and the Natives have to smile and march back home contentedly. 'We do it to save our heads,' is the Native explanation.

"I hope that these details may help in the campaign against this legalised State iniquity. If I get home this year I shall be pleased to give what further information I can or reply to questions arising out of the subjects on which I have written."

KING LEOPOLD'S PROMISES. MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION *

(WHICH AFTERWARDS BECAME THE "CONGO INDEPENDENT STATE")

THE Association have declared to the Government of the United States that the Congo States have resolved to levy no customs duties whatever upon goods imported into their territories, whether by land or water, *the sole object being to enable commerce to follow the Association's advance into inner equatorial Africa*; that a guarantee is given to foreigners settling in their territories of the right to purchase, sell, or lease lands and buildings situated therein, to establish houses, and trade upon the sole condition of obedience to the laws of the State. The Association pledge themselves also not to grant to the citizens of one nation any advantage without extending the same to the citizens of all other nations, and to *do all in their power to prevent the slave trade.*

The Secretary of State of the Government of the United States acknowledged the receipt of the foregoing notification, and declared that the Government of the United States announced its sympathy with, and approval of, the humane and benevolent purposes of the Association, administering, as it does, the interests of the *Free States there established*, and will order the officers of the United States both on land and sea to recognise the flag of the Association as the flag of a friendly Government.

From the date of these reciprocal declarations the Congo territory became *open to free commerce*, and the forces at the disposal of the Association *were able to ensure order and tranquillity in the country.*

The head-quarters of the Association are established in Brussels, because from thence flow the financial resources which have sustained the enterprise for the last six years. Liberia was upheld financially for thirty-nine years by the American Colonisation Society. When the new State shall have been recognised by Europe, the fountain-head will continue to furnish supplies which are a substitute for the customs dues which have been publicly

* Communicated by Stanley to the members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce at the special meeting held at the Town Hall on October 21, 1884.

renounced.* It is reasonably hoped that *commerce will be attracted by the exceptional advantages to be found in the new State, and that a considerable impulse will be given to trade*, this enhancing the hitherto undeveloped natural resources of the country, and creating public wealth. The European traders on the Congo are unanimous in their desire that the present condition of things shall not be disturbed, by which all can *freely enter into commercial negotiations with the Natives*. Full satisfaction to this desire is given by the Association; *absolute freedom of trade is ensured*, with the advantage of a civilised Power to assist them in case of necessity. However it may be, the Association does not press England to recognise their sovereignty. They simply say, "Examine this work impartially, and judge of its merits, and until you are satisfied, make no engagements which shall close for ever the commercial liberty in the Congo valley for which we are striving."

With regard to the question how it is proposed to govern the Congo States,† the legislation of the Congo territory, subject to the supervision and control of the Association, shall be based upon the principles of law recognised by civilised nations, and upon the philanthropic principles set forth in the well-known plan of the Association, whose aim is to *civilise Africa by encouragement given to legitimate trade*. At first, account will be taken of the actual state of the Native population; administration and judicial organisation will march in a parallel line with the *progress of these populations*. Meanwhile the country will be governed as it is at present by an Administrator-General, who will have at his disposal the necessary means for the maintenance of public order. It may be asked, How do you propose to support the Government without customs duties? Far from constituting the only resources of a State, the customs duties only represent a part of its revenue, and the least important part of it. Eminent economists condemn customs from a fiscal point of view. They admit their usefulness only as a temporary means for the protection of some new-born trade with a future before it. In any other case they regard customs in the light of a tax that is more costly than productive, because by thwarting commercial liberty it burdens the production of wealth. This doctrine is also that of Richard Cobden and John Bright, and has been adopted by the Association. They consider, like these two illustrious representatives of the Manchester school, that when two nations freely exchange the produce of their countries they both increase respectively their capital and derive benefit from the transaction. The exchange of produce between two nations is generally followed by interchange of ideas, and it will then be seen how judicious was the decision taken by the Association not to

* Five years later leave was given for these to be imposed (Brussels Act), despite the protests of the Mercantile community.

† The fiction of Free "States" was dropped as soon as the end had been obtained. As Consul Pickersgill has subsequently remarked, "Nothing is free on the Congo State except fevers."

establish customs of their frontiers, and it will then be understood how deserving is the Association of the congratulations of those who take an interest in the *moral and material progress of the African races*. By granting entire freedom to trade, and by abolishing custom-house vexations, the Association wish to attract to their territories commerce and capital. The Congo region abounds in produce of various kinds now lost to the world, although industry might turn it to such marvellous account. Thanks to trade, all this produce will enter into circulation; the *counterpart of its value will return to Africa*, for which it will prove a source of prosperity. The Congo State will then be in the same circumstances as all civilised countries we know, and will then be able to bear the expenses of its public services by and through the wealth obtained by its natural resources.

The Association possess a capital at their disposal of which the interest has sufficed hitherto to cover the expenses of their work. As soon as the State shall have been recognised by the civilised nations, and its political existence assured, this capital will be employed to endow the new State which will then have been founded. The interest derived from this endowment fund will be equal to the revenue which might be obtained by a system of custom-house duties. It will suffice to defray all expenses of the new State until such time as the increase of public wealth, the natural increase in the white population, will allow of its fulfilling all its engagements, as has just been explained.

Thus the future of the new State has been secured, and the death of its founders would no more imperil its existence than that of King Leopold I. imperilled the existence of Belgium, or the death of George Peabody imperilled the endowment fund that bears his name.

When a large number of white men shall have permanently settled in the country, will they, it may also be asked, have any part in the government? The legislation given to the new State will decide after what manner the divers interests are to be represented in the government. It is impossible to give more precise information as to what will be the legislation of the future, just as it is impossible to predict the changes that will be introduced into the constitution of the different nations of the world. The first laws given will be nearly similar to those adopted for the colonies of the British Crown. The central power will reside in Belgium so long as the revenues emanate from the head-quarters of the Association. By that power shall be chosen the functionaries for the different posts in Europe or in Africa. The selection will be made without references to nationality, competency being the principal requirement.

When the new State is definitely established, the direction in Africa shall consist of a Governor-General, assisted by a legislative council and an executive committee. The judicial organisation is to comprise commercial courts of justice, inferior courts for civil causes, a superior court, and a court of appeal. The cases which

may be referred to the central power are fully determined by law. The Natives are admitted on an equality with the Europeans before the law, provided they fulfil the obligations prescribed by law. Every sensible and practical man will understand that the authorities will have to show some consideration for the habits and ideas of the Natives in matters of administration and justice. Before laying down new laws and regulations applicable to them, a period of transition must be allowed to pass, during which they may continue to follow their own customs as long as these are not atrocious and inhuman.

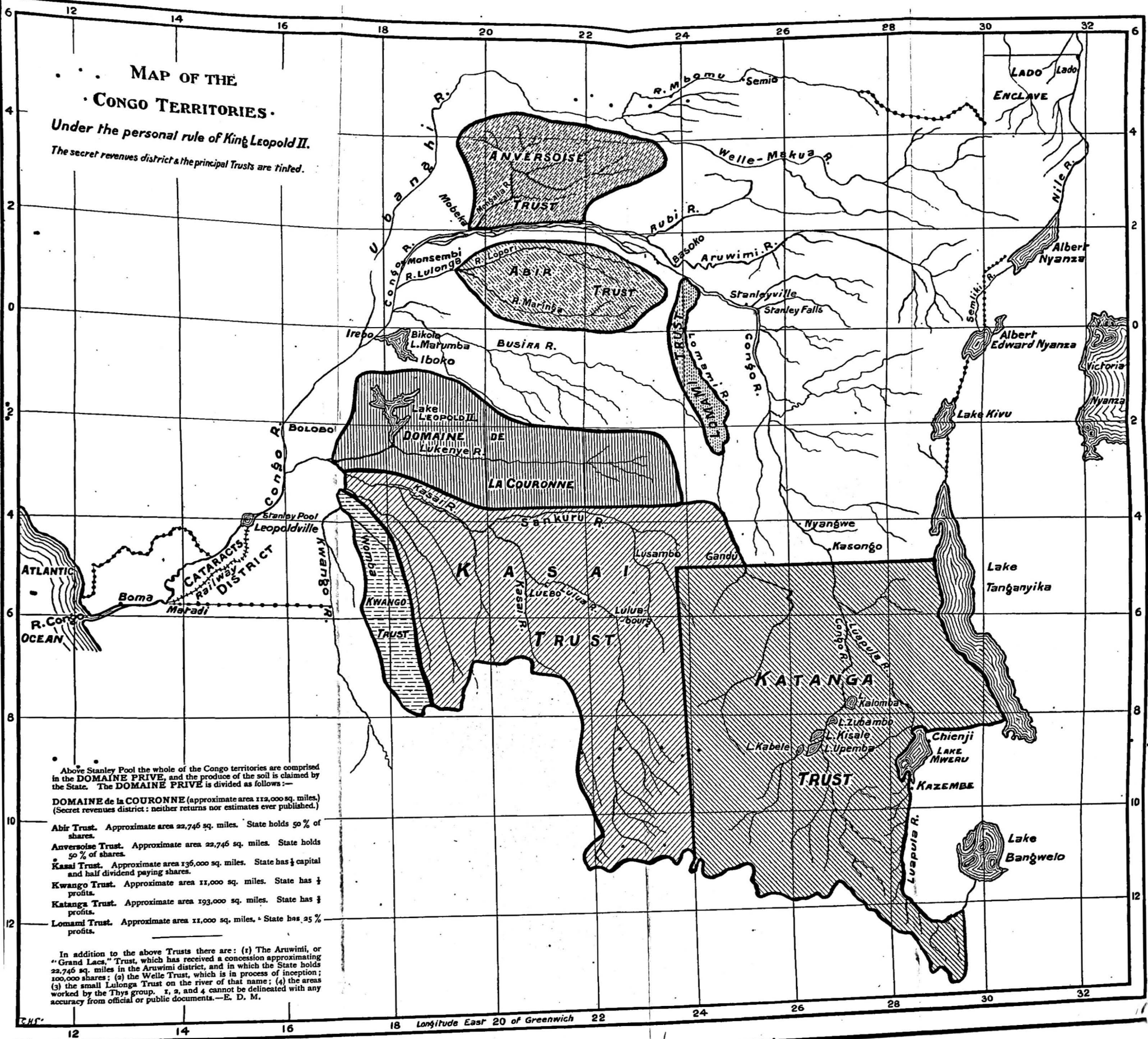
The new State has formally declared that there shall be no customs duties established. The revenue derived from the endowment fund will be in lieu of the funds which the customs dues would have furnished. To obtain the complementary resources which will be necessary to ensure the regular working of the public services, the new State will have recourse to the same expedients, when necessary, as those employed by other civilised Governments, though for the present such considerations are altogether premature. The right to settle, purchase, or sell or lease lands and buildings, establish houses, and trade freely, has been formally granted in the declaration to the United States Government. Provisionally, differences between Natives will be settled according to existing local customs. Quarrels and disputes between Europeans and Natives are to belong to the jurisdiction of the law courts that will be established.

The despatch addressed on the 29th of September last by the French Ambassador, M. de Courcel, to Prince Bismarck, states that in case of any cession of territory to France by the Association, the French Government promises to maintain in that territory the absolute freedom of commerce established by the Association. The Association will never part with any of its possessions without stipulating that the buyer shall maintain the *absolute freedom of trade and the complete individual liberty which it has established*. So much for the principle, for, in practice, far from seeking to sell its possessions, the Association is engrossed by the wish to develop their prosperity.

THE END

MAP OF THE CONGO TERRITORIES.

Under the personal rule of King Leopold II.
The secret revenues district & the principal Trusts are tinted.



Above Stanley Pool the whole of the Congo territories are comprised in the **DOMAINE PRIVE**, and the produce of the soil is claimed by the State. The **DOMAINE PRIVE** is divided as follows:—

- DOMAINE de la COURONNE** (approximate area 112,000 sq. miles.) (Secret revenues district: neither returns nor estimates ever published.)
- Abir Trust.** Approximate area 22,746 sq. miles. State holds 50% of shares.
- Anversoise Trust.** Approximate area 22,746 sq. miles. State holds 50% of shares.
- Kasai Trust.** Approximate area 136,000 sq. miles. State has $\frac{1}{2}$ capital and half dividend paying shares.
- Kwango Trust.** Approximate area 11,000 sq. miles. State has $\frac{1}{2}$ profits.
- Katanga Trust.** Approximate area 193,000 sq. miles. State has $\frac{1}{2}$ profits.
- Lomami Trust.** Approximate area 11,000 sq. miles. State has 25% profits.

In addition to the above Trusts there are: (1) The Aruwimi, or "Grand Lacs," Trust, which has received a concession approximating 22,746 sq. miles in the Aruwimi district, and in which the State holds 100,000 shares; (2) the Welle Trust, which is in process of inception; (3) the small Lulonga Trust on the river of that name; (4) the areas worked by the Thys group. 1, 2, and 4 cannot be delineated with any accuracy from official or public documents.—E. D. M.