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Survey of the World

The Tariff in Iowa

Owing to differences of opinion in the Republican party of Iowa concerning the tariff, and the frequently expressed desire of Governor Cummins for a revision of those duties which affect Trust products, the recent Republican convention at Des Moines excited much interest throughout the country. Governor Cummins, Lieutenant-Governor Herriot and several other officers were renominated by acclamation, but the tariff and Trust paragraphs in the platform—the result of repeated conferences between the representatives of the Governor and those who oppose his radical views—differ very perceptibly from the platform of the preceding campaign, which permitted the inference that certain duties were a “shelter for monopoly.” These paragraphs, however, had been accepted by Governor Cummins, and he declared that they supported his position. They are as follows and are preceded by an emphatic defense of the protective policy:

“Tariff rates enacted to carry this policy into effect should be just, fair and impartial, equally opposed to a foreign control and to domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and to individual favoritism; and must from time to time be changed to meet the varying conditions incident to the progress of our industries and their changing relations to our foreign and domestic commerce. Duties that are too low should be increased, and duties that are too high should be reduced.

“We believe that the large corporations commonly called Trusts should be so regulated and supervised, both in their organization and in their operation, that their evil tendencies may be checked and their evil practices prevented. In many instances they are efficient industrial instruments and the natural outcome of an inevitable process of economic evolution. We do

not desire their destruction, but insist that they shall be so regulated and controlled as to prevent monopoly and promote competition, and in the fullest sense subserve and advance the public good.”

Reciprocity was approved “as the natural complement of protection.” The platform opposes “all legislation designed to accomplish the disfranchisement of citizens upon lines of race, color or station in life,” and calls for the unanimous nomination of Mr. Roosevelt in 1904. In accepting his renomination Governor Cummins said that in the future he should maintain the tariff views which he had expressed during the past two years. He found in the platform (which he praised) a recognition of them and a warrant for his course. Representatives Lacey and Cousins defended the present tariff law, the former saying that he was a “stand-patter from Standpattersville,” and the latter commending the courage of the President and Mr. Hanna, who “in the face of cheap blustering sectionalism” advocated the policy of “holding fast to that which you know is good until you are sure of something better.”—It is understood that Mr. Cannon, of Illinois, who is to be Speaker of the House, opposes any currency legislation on the lines of the Aldrich bill.—Mr. John Barrett, formerly Minister to Siam, and now Commissioner of the St. Louis Exposition for Asia and Australasia, has been appointed Minister to the Argentine Republic.

Independence Day

The old town of Huntington, on the north shore of Long Island, celebrated its 250th birthday on the Fourth, and President Roosevelt was

The Misgovernment of the Congo Free State

By W. M. Morrison, D.D.

[Dr. Morrison has just returned to this country from his mission station in the Congo Free State, and his subjoined observations and experiences will be interesting, we feel sure, to all our readers.—EDITOR.]

MY claim for venturing to write on this subject is based on the fact that I have been a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in the Congo Free State for the past six and a half years. I have been stationed at Luebo, a large native settlement and trading center at the head of navigation on the Lulua River, which is a tributary of the Kasai, and this latter is in turn the largest Southern tributary of the great Congo River. Since Luebo is thus in the interior about twelve hundred miles, almost due east from the mouth of the Congo River, I have thus enjoyed exceptional advantages in observing the operations of the State Government in the various parts of its vast domain,

which is nearly half that of the United States, and comprises a native population variously estimated at from fifteen to forty millions.

As a matter of history it will be remembered that the Congo Free State came into existence as an independent Government as a result of the Berlin Conference, which convened at the capital of Germany in 1884. Leopold II, King of the Belgians, had for several years prior to the meeting of that Conference been much interested in the exploration of Central Africa. As early as 1876 he had called a conference in Brussels composed of representatives from several different nations to consult regarding the sending of a large expedition into Africa, which was

to establish posts at various points for the professed purpose of assisting missionaries, travelers, traders and others in their efforts to bring European civilization in touch with the Dark Continent. The King, being one of the shrewdest diplomats in Europe, knew that Belgium, being a Neutral Power, could not well enter upon a declared colonial policy beyond the seas without impairing her neutrality, so it was necessary to cover up his real intentions under the cloak of philanthropy, and it is remarkable to observe how long and how successfully this cloak, so persistently displayed, has managed to conceal the real ruth of his intentions from the eyes of the world. Money was raised; Henry M. Stanley was secured and put at the head of the so-called "International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Central Africa;" a prominent American citizen and Minister to Belgium, Hon.



A Victim of a Rubber Raid. The boy shown in the illustration is now cared for by a British missionary in the Upper Congo

Henry S. Sanford, was enlisted in the enterprise for reasons which we shall see later. The association, under Stanley's masterly, if not humane, leadership, succeeded in establishing a number of posts, extending from Vivi on the West Coast to Stanley Falls, far in the interior. The secrecy and the domineering energy of the leader of the enterprise in Africa soon aroused the suspicion of the Powers having interests or wishing to acquire interests in that part of Africa, and trouble between the Powers was brewing. The King at this juncture made his *coup* and used the Hon. Henry S. Sanford to arouse American interest in the enterprise, with the result that on the 22d of April, 1884, the United States Government, from its sympathy with the humane and benevolent professions of the International Association of the Congo, "recognized the flag of the International African Association as the flag of a friendly Government." The result was that when the Berlin Conference met in the fall of the same year, for the honest purpose of arranging in an amicable way the African land grabbing muddle, the Conference was met at the outset by the International Association, which wanted recognition as an independent and sovereign Power with a domain to include nearly all of the Congo River Basin. Seeing that jealousies were likely to arise, the association was recognized and thus was created a great "buffer" State between the territories of France, of England, of Germany and of Portugal. Leopold II, being the ruling genius of the old association, was made absolute and sole sovereign of the new State, with no parliament or congress to limit, if necessary, his power to do wrong. It is indeed an anachronism, as the London *Spectator* recently said, that the closing years of our enlightened nineteenth century should have witnessed the deliberate establishment in Africa of a despotism more cruel than that of Turkey and more relentless and overbearing toward native and foreigner than that of the Czar of Russia. These are not idle words; I make them calmly and deliberately in the light of history and the facts, and I sincerely believe them to be true.

The Berlin Conference, however, sought to reduce the dangers of the despotism by drawing up certain stipulations embodied in a Treaty, and this Treaty was intended as the Constitution of the new State. It was most clearly and forcibly stipulated that there should be freedom of commerce and trade for all nations, that missions and philanthropic enterprises of every kind should be permitted to carry on their work without "any restriction or impediment whatsoever," and, most important of all, the trading in slaves with all its attendant horrors was to be suppressed. With the rights of natives and traders and missionaries thus carefully guarded by an international treaty, it remains to be seen how faithfully King Leopold has performed the trust committed to him.

We shall speak first of the question of freedom of trade and commerce. Scarcely had the new Government come into existence before the King passed decrees giving over to the State all the lands of the natives, except perhaps the very small part actually under cultivation. The natives at one stroke of the pen were thus deprived of the right to their own tribal territories. It is true that Henry M. Stanley had patched up several scores of bogus treaties with independent chiefs, by which, as he claims, they agreed to give over their lands and their persons into the control of the old Association of the Congo, but those of us who know, often from bitter experience, the adeptness of the native African at driving a trade and his cleverness in diplomacy can only laugh at Stanley for trying to be serious about his native treaties. I have no doubt, however, that this very deception laid the foundation for the wholesale robbery of the native lands which was one of the first acts of the newly formed State. The next step in the land grabbing enterprise was for the King by decree to set apart great areas of the territory for his own personal exploitation. This is known as the *domaine privé*. From these regions all traders and missionaries were excluded. The next step was the partitioning out of large sections of the State to Belgian monopolist companies having exclusive rights of trade, with the State owning a

controlling share of the stock of the companies. Up to about a year ago the section in the vicinity of my station had been left open to free trade, there being five independent companies at Luebo, but the beginning of last year saw all these companies forced into a big monopoly with the State Government as chief stockholder. Now there is only one trading post at Luebo and this is the new monopolist company. An English trader came to Luebo just about the time the new company was organizing and tried to secure only a few square yards of land on which to engage in legitimate trade. He waited many months in vain and at last had to go away. All of this means that now perhaps four-fifths of the entire export and import trade of the country has been forced into the hands of the Belgians, and the Congo State has become the largest ivory and rubber dealer in the world.

But not only has the King closed up the country to the freedom of commerce which was guaranteed under the Treaty, but he has at the same time closed it up to the progress of missions—at least to Protestant missions. During the first ten or twelve years of the State's history we were able to buy land grants, but within the past four years we have been unable to buy land, the State utterly refusing to sell it under any conditions. Our own Mission has within that time asked for several land grants, all to be refused; other missions are in the same fix. The latest case is that of the Baptist Missionary Society of England, which is desirous of opening up a line of new stations from the region of Stanley Falls east toward Uganda. The policy of this society heretofore has been to defend the State in its system of treaty breaking, evidently hoping thereby to secure favors. The great Baptist Union has, however, recently condemned this policy, and it remains to be seen now what the society will do next.

Some of the missions have taken short term leases simply in order to be able to go on with the enlargement of their work, but the giving of leases evidently means trickery and the chances are that the labor and expense of years will be lost. When I was in Brussels only a few weeks ago to consult with the State au-

thorities there regarding the matter of land grants for the enlargement of our work I was told that if I accepted a lease they would promise not to interfere with the work at the expiration of the lease. When I asked the State official to put this promise in writing for me, he refused. I read in a New York paper a few days ago the account of an interview with the King in which he is reported as saying that the "open door" prevails in the Congo State. If he really said such a thing it only shows the utter disregard he has for the truth, and it means that he is willing to descend to any depth in order to keep the world blinded as to the fact that he has been in these eighteen years metamorphosed from a philanthropist into a money-monger and task-master.

We shall now consider the question of slavery, which the Treaty of Berlin clearly stipulated that the new State should use every legitimate effort to suppress. Between the years 1885 and 1889 the King noticed the gradual encroachment of the Arabs in the eastern part of his domain, and during these years he also discovered the value of the ivory and especially of the rubber, which was found almost everywhere in the forests. Putting these two ideas together in his mind, with the former, however, only publicly expressed, he called a Conference of the Powers in Brussels in 1889 and secured from them the right to organize and equip a native army for the ostensible purpose of suppressing the Arab slave trade. He also at the same time got permission to levy duties for the support of this army and the necessary governmental machinery. I say here in all candor that the collecting of this army of natives, now numbering 18,000, cannibals for the most part; the arming of them with repeating rifles; the posting of them throughout the confines of the State; the tyranny and bloodshed and reign of terror which it has produced throughout the confines of the State, mark without doubt one of the darkest and most shameful pages in modern history—and all done under the cloak of philanthropy. True, the Arab slave raiding has been suppressed for the most part, but the Arabs were angels of mercy as compared to the armed cannibals of King Leopold

and his numerous "friendlies," who go about plundering and burning villages, seizing slaves, cutting off hands and committing the most diabolical crimes when the tribute demanded by the King is not forthcoming. The natives now have no rights left which the King deigns to respect. Forced labor and military laws have been in operation for some years. I have seen soldiers at Luebo who were caught in the Bangala district, far away up the Congo River; on the other hand, I have seen soldiers in service at Boma, on the West Coast, who were brought down from the region near Luebo; I saw last August a white officer with soldiers come to Luebo and seize in the forests, whence they had fled for refuge, about a dozen and a half of men, and they were taken away under guard with ropes around their necks in true Arab slave raiding style; only last March I came down on the Congo Railway from Stanley Pool to Matadi on the same train with three trucks loaded with slaves who had been caught at or near Lusambo, which is the seat of the chief white officer in our district. I gave them some food and they begged me to tell them where the State was taking them. I have seen at least 50,000 people hiding for weeks in the forests without food or shelter, seeking refuge from the white Belgian officers and their native soldiers. When it is announced at Luebo that soldiers or a State officer are coming many helpless women and children customarily flee to our Mission premises for refuge. I have deeply felt for the poor people in their anxiety and distress and I have wondered how much longer the enlightened civilized Powers of the world would permit this blasting curse to remain upon Africa as an open sore on the good name of philanthropy and civilization.

Not only does the State use its regular soldiery in the terrorizing of the natives and in the perpetrating of all sorts of barbarities, but the State systematically—at least in my district—makes friends with some strong chiefs or tribes, and these become, if possible, a greater terror than the regular soldiers. An illustration of this may be found in the Zappo Zapps, a strong, warlike cannibalistic people who were brought to Luluaburg, a State post near Luebo, about twelve

years ago. Ever since then they have been the recognized slave raiders and slave dealers of our region, showing conclusively that the State not only permits but tacitly instructs them to make raids from time to time. As a result of this slave raiding, going on more or less all the time in some part of the district, I can buy slaves at Luebo almost any day at from \$10 to \$15 apiece. About three years ago a company of these Zappo Zapps, under instructions, as I believe, from the white State officer at Luluaburg, made a raid near to one of our Mission stations. This raid was in progress for some weeks and the whole region was thrown into a state of terror. One of our missionaries, Rev. W. H. Sheppard, F.R.G.S., went to the stockade where the Zappo Zapps had intrenched themselves. He was received kindly by the chief of the expedition; he saw and counted eighty-one human hands slowly drying over a fire, and the chief said they were to be taken back to the white State officer; he saw about forty-five dead bodies piled up in a heap outside the stockade. Upon asking why the flesh was carved off from some of the bodies he was told by the chief that his people had eaten the flesh.

And so I might go on almost indefinitely enumerating case after case of outrages done toward the natives, but why consume space by telling more of these harrowing scenes which are daily occurring in the Congo State? I am asked if these things have been brought to the attention of the State authorities, since the King and his agents are constantly assuring the world that justice will be done and punishment will be meted out to offending soldiers and officers if only the facts are known. Time and time again I have reported these injustices to the Government, but they always resent my interference in these matters. "Investigations" are conducted *in secret*, and everything is done to free the officers from blame. In fact, they are really not to blame very often, for they must put into execution the forced military and labor laws which the King has decreed. What is a subordinate officer to do when he has received instructions from a superior to furnish by a set time a certain number of soldiers, a certain number of

workmen for the posts and plantations and a certain amount of rubber and ivory? He always has a squad of soldiers placed at his disposition, and the demands of his superior are therefore generally met, even if it is at the cost of bloodshed and the devastation of villages and plantations.

About seven years ago the King put another blind before the eyes of the world by the appointment of a Native Protection Commission, composed of Protestant and Catholic missionaries, which was to see to it that the natives were protected in their rights. The Protestant members of this Commission—I do not know about the Catholics—had been previously to their appointment decorated by the King with the medal of the Legion of Honor. So far as I know this Commission, as was expected at the time, has done nothing. I have at least twice reported outrages to them. With reference to the slave raiding in our section last summer they simply reply that the State has forced labor and military laws and that nothing can be done. One of these Commissioners, who lives at Matadi, saw the three trucks of slaves to which I referred a while ago, but that was the end of it. He talked very bravely to me in private about the State injustices, but he never says anything in public.

Everything is done by King Leopold to prevent the world from knowing the facts of the case. He has his agents in almost every country, men who have been or are now in the employ of the State, and they are expected to deny *in toto*, without any knowledge of the facts, the statements made by eye-witnesses. Even some missionaries are lending themselves as tools of the King, chiefly, I think, because they fear his absolute power. Even Henry M. Stanley, who has not been on the Congo for perhaps ten years, is always ready boldly to deny facts of which he knows nothing. Short

extracts are culled from letters written years ago by missionaries and others and the authors are made to say things which they now repudiate or never meant to say. I saw only the other day a letter from a former missionary publicly condemning the State for using statements of his which he had made years ago when the same conditions did not prevail. Some years ago I read in THE INDEPENDENT an article by Henry M. Stanley, and among other things, varying more or less from the truth, he said that the State had established large schools where it placed "abandoned children" for education. It may be interesting to know that these "abandoned children" are the small boys and girls who are caught in the numerous raids and are turned over for the most part to the Catholic Missions, where the boys are to be trained as soldiers. Only a few weeks ago I saw a large company of these boys at Boma marching in line with the soldiers.

I state here that I am more than willing for an impartial court to examine fully all the charges I have made, and the same kind of charges are now being made by many others. But I am not willing for the matter to be submitted to the Congo State courts, for, as the London *Post* recently said, the Congo State "cannot be permitted to judge in its own case." America is greatly responsible for the existence of the Congo State. An important committee will in a few days meet in Washington to lay the whole matter before the authorities there, and it is to be sincerely hoped that America and all the other civilized Powers will quickly join hands in suppressing this curse which they have placed upon Africa. The facts are beyond dispute, the responsibility is undeniable, and the enlightened and outraged public opinion of Europe and America, I believe, will demand in the name of humanity and Christianity that this open sore be healed.

LEXINGTON, VA.

