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Congo Protestant Missions and European Powers before 1885

UNTIL the second half of the nineteenth century there was little interest, either secular or religious, in the penetration of the central belt of Africa. The coastal regions were occupied at many points by traders, missionaries, and governments, but it was only a few explorers who had tentatively pushed inland. The great factor which changed this state of affairs was the life and death of David Livingstone, whose eagerness to provide a way by which Christianity and commerce could advance together into the interior led him to undertake his incessant journeyings.

Once the opening-up of the continent had begun, however, there was no lack of interest in Europe. The death of Livingstone was the signal for a surge of enthusiasm from missionary supporters in England for the continuation of his work in Africa, which, together with the public agitation against the slave-trade, led in several parts of East Africa to the planting of British consuls and the supremacy of the British flag. The secular interest in Africa found its focus in the International Geographical Conference called to Brussels in September, 1876, by Leopold II. At this date the chief interest of the king was in the opening-up of East Africa, but here he was forestalled by British missionaries and British influence.

With Stanley's descent of the Congo, however, Leopold realised the importance of the West coast route into the heart of Africa, and gradually began to concentrate his attention on this field. It seemed that he might find scope for his energies in the Congo, for the British Government appeared to have no territorial ambitions there, having refused to take seriously Cameron's action in annexing the Congo basin in 1875,[1] and again displaying no interest when in 1878 Stanley tried to arouse English enthusiasm.

The fact that there were English missionaries in the Congo, however, was bound to attract the attention of Leopold, who could see how the presence of British missionaries in East Africa gave their country a considerable political interest in the region. The impetus to missionary zeal provided by the work of Livingstone had not been confined to East Africa, but, due chiefly to the foresight of one Englishman, eager for the evangelisation of the whole central belt of the continent, an attempt had already been made to enter from the west coast by way of the Congo river.

If the vision and imagination capable of realising the importance of the Congo as a highway into Central Africa, and of inspiring the provision of resources for the practical work of opening up the river, came on the secular side from the King of the Belgians, it was matched on the missionary side by that of Robert Arthington, the miser of Leeds,[2] a man deeply concerned for the evangelisation of the world, and above all of Central Africa. He knew, from correspondence with Lieutenant Grandy,[3] leader of the Royal Geographical Society's West coast Livingstone relief expedition, which had in 1873 tried unsuccessfully to pass the cataracts of the lower Congo, that the latter was convinced of the possibility of taking the Gospel to the upper river, and that the so-called King of Congo, residing at San Salvador, and to a certain extent under Portuguese and Catholic influence, was very ready to receive English missionaries. He knew also of Cameron's surmise that the Luabala was the Congo,[4] and firmly believing that had Cameron passed on down the river from Nyangwe, he would have reached the rapids beyond which Grandy had not penetrated, he approached the Baptist Missionary Society in May, 1877 with an offer of a thousand pounds if they would undertake mission work in the Congo (which was not far from their existing field in the Cameroons). It was the interior, not the coastal regions, that he hoped would be evangelised by way of the Congo river.[5] After consideration of this offer and a subsequent one of fifty pounds for a preliminary exploratory journey, the B.M.S. Committee decided to accept, and in September the *Missionary Herald* announced the new venture, appealing for men and money, the importance of the step taken being shown when on September 17th the *Daily Telegraph* gave the news of Stanley's arrival at the mouth of the Congo.

PIONEERS

In January, 1878 George Grenfell and Thomas Comber of the Cameroons Mission accepted the Committee's commission to undertake a pioneer survey of the lower Congo,[6] and immediately set sail on a journey which took them to the Congo mouth, and eighty-five miles up the river as far as Musuku. They established friendly relations with the chief agent of the Dutch house at Banana, and sent a letter to the king of Congo, informing him that they hoped to pay him an early visit.

The B.M.S. was not the only society interested in the Congo, for in 1877 Henry and Fanny Grattan Guinness called together a small committee to form the Livingstone Inland Mission, as a branch of the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions, its object being to enter Africa by the Congo. Hardly had Grenfell and Comber left when in February, 1878 Ström and Craven arrived at Boma as the advance guard of this mission, to be joined after a few

months by Telford and Johnson. In July Grenfell and Comber returned to Banana, sailed up to Musuku, and thence travelled overland to San Salvador, where they were received by the king. From this point they expected to be able to push on to the interior and reach the river above the rapids, and with this idea travelled northeastwards into the Makutu country, reaching Tungwa before being turned back.[7] Without waiting at San Salvador, although pressed by the king to stay, Comber hastened to England for reinforcements.

In July, 1879 he returned with a larger party—John Hartland, Henry Crudgington and Holman Bentley—their aim being to reach the upper river near Stanley Pool. Although cordially welcomed by the king, they decided to press on beyond San Salvador, but were constantly hindered by the suspicious natives of the Makutu country, middlemen who feared that white penetration would hinder their profitable ivory trade between the Pool and San Salvador. In one attempt in the late autumn of 1880 Comber was struck by a bullet and he and Hartland barely escaped with their lives.[8] But while Comber was still hopeful about the southern route, Bentley and Crudgington decided to make an attempt on the Pool along the north bank, since Stanley had opened up the road past the cataracts, to Isangila, and de Brazza, working nominally on behalf of the French Committee of the African International Association created by the Brussels Conference in 1876, was reported to have descended from the Pool by the north bank. In February, 1881 they reached their goal, after a journey of twenty-one days from Vivi. Thus the first object of the mission had been secured.

In their attempt on the Pool the missionaries had of necessity come into contact with the representatives of those European powers whose attention had been drawn to the Congo after Stanley's descent of the river. In January, 1878 King Leopold's emissaries met Stanley at Marseilles, and failed to draw him to Brussels,[10] since he wanted English interest in his scheme for the opening up of the Congo. This was what Leopold feared, for although his designs in the Congo were not yet clarified, he knew that he wanted to be the leader of whatever enterprise was undertaken in the region. Just as the early part of Stanley's journey led to an increase of British missions in East Africa, and where the missionary went the flag so often followed, he feared the same would happen in Congo. He was aware of the B.M.S. enterprise, for at the suggestion of Arthur Kinnaird, Liberal M.P. for Perth, philanthropist and supporter of foreign missions,[11] the secretary, Alfred Henry Baynes, had approached the Belgian minister in London, Baron Solvyns, to tell him of what the Society hoped to do in Congo. Leopold responded with immediate interest,[12] and expressed his desire of becoming a subscriber to the *Missionary Herald*. The October copy of this magazine was perused with considerable attention by Greindle and

Banning, and when the king's interest seemed to have slackened a little after a few months, they were still eager to see the following numbers.[9] Since the A.I.A., under the presidency of Leopold, had promised its help to all religious missions, irrespective of denomination, the B.M.S. was very ready to welcome the interest of the king, particularly as it already anticipated trouble from the claims of the Portuguese to sovereignty over the Congo river, on the ground that this would mean an extension of the slave-trade.[13]

Stanley's campaign to interest England in the Congo, which had been begun by suggestions in his letters to the *Daily Telegraph*, was continued by his propaganda throughout 1878, by articles, public meetings and lectures, especially in the north, where he hoped to arouse a sense of the commercial value of the Congo. The missionary societies seem to have been quite unmoved by the idea of Great Britain taking over the Congo, probably because they were among those who thought that " he put commerce before religion,"[14] and held themselves aloof from Stanley and his methods, not yet realising how much they were to profit by the results of his work.[15] Stanley's use of force was contrasted with the behaviour of Livingstone,[16] his ruthlessness strongly criticised, and while ready to welcome the benevolent interest of the King of the Belgians, missionary enterprise had no desire to support Stanley's campaign to arouse enthusiasm for his plan for Great Britain to take over the Congo and open a road to the Pool.[17]

In an area where politics were to play so important a part, however, the missionaries were to find an attitude of aloofness impossible to maintain, although they were always careful to avoid giving the impression that they were in Congo in the interests of the British Government.[18] Their first visit to San Salvador in the summer of 1878 showed that the king, Pedro V, was under Portuguese influence, for he had been placed on the throne by Portuguese force in 1858, and for seven years after this the Portuguese had occupied a fort near San Salvador.[19] For the Baptist Mission Portuguese influence was synonymous with Catholic influence,[20] although the French Holy Ghost Fathers, established at Ambriz, Mossamedes, and Loanda in 1865, had been obliged by Portuguese hostility to move northwards to settle at Landana in 1873. It was not to Protestant, so much as to foreign, influence that the Portuguese objected. The enthusiasm of Pedro V, however, for the English missionaries to settle with him, led to a decision to make San Salvador the base of the mission, although all the time the real goal was the upper river.

The second expedition thought it wise to study Portuguese on the way out, for since Portuguese was the trade language on the Congo, it would be the first means of communication with the Africans.[21] Pedro V was ready to welcome this expedition, but warned them

that if they wished to "live always" at his capital, they should get leave from the Portuguese Governor at Loanda, or the king might find himself in trouble.[22] Comber accordingly wrote to Loanda, thus giving indirect recognition to the claims of the Portuguese to the Congo region, an act to which the British consul objected.[23] He made unofficial representations, however, to the Governor, on behalf of the Baptist Mission, but the latter, while only too anxious to adopt a tone of protection towards the Congo region, gave religious reasons for affording no assistance to the mission.

It was not long before the Portuguese attempted to strengthen their position in the Congo by means of a missionary expedition to San Salvador. The Holy Ghost Fathers had made an attempt from Landana late in 1879, and the Portuguese authorities were anxious to occupy the field before French influence could strengthen. The British consul was clear about the political aims of the expedition,[24] and feared it might "compel the protestant mission to abandon its labours, hitherto so successfully and peacefully carried on." The three priests who arrived in Loanda in January, 1881 were accompanied by a military and a naval officer, while they brought presents and a letter from the king of Portugal to Pedro V. Grenfell indeed counselled withdrawal from San Salvador on the arrival of the Portuguese, competition being "waste of energy . . . with so much open ground . . ."[25] Such a welcome was received by the others, however, when they returned to San Salvador, that it was decided not to abandon the station, although Pedro V, feeling himself in a delicate position, for some weeks attended neither of the services held in San Salvador.[26]

The French, as well as the Portuguese, were showing interest in the Congo. The expedition of Count Savorgnan de Brazza, undertaken nominally on behalf of the French committee of the A.I.A., was in reality a rival to Stanley's in an attempt to be the first at the Pool. At first Stanley hardly recognised him as a serious rival,[27] but Comber had a shrewd idea of his aims,[28] although neither as yet knew of de Brazza's action in October, 1880 in annexing for France the right shore of Stanley Pool by treaties with Makoko, chief of the Bateke.[29]

It was news of de Brazza's descent of the north bank which confirmed the Baptist missionaries in their resolve to try this route to the Pool, since so many attempts through Makutu had failed.[30] Bentley and Crudgington, successful at last in reaching their goal (February, 1881) discovered what de Brazza had been doing, for on the south bank they met with a hostile reception from Africans brandishing spears and knives. This, they discovered, was the result of de Brazza's visit. One of the coloured soldiers whom he had left to guard the French flag explained that the people had been told that they were Frenchmen now, and if others (meaning Stanley)

came to take away their country these were to be driven away. He apologised for the mistake of the people in thinking that the missionaries were the forerunners of Stanley's expedition.[31] When news of these events reached Europe, it proved embarrassing for the French government to explain them,[32] while Leopold II could point to the good record of all his emissaries in Congo in their contacts with missionaries. Bentley and Crudgington were the first to bring to Stanley the unwelcome news of the planting of the French flag at the Pool, as they returned down the north bank, and as soon as they reached Musuku sent to inform the British consul.[33] When the news of the missionaries' discovery reached Brussels, it caused considerable attention to be paid to French ambitions in Congo,[34] and this check to Leopold's plans led him to define more closely his own territorial ambitions.[35]

For the B.M.S., French influence, like Portuguese, was connected with the Catholic question. As early as November, 1879 the superior of the Holy Ghost mission at Landana had written to Pedro V to warn him against his Protestant visitors.[36] De Brazza had secured the co-operation of the Holy Ghost Fathers for the furtherance of his patriotic ambitions,[37] and in the spring of 1881 Father Augouard was planning to plant a mission at the Pool,[38] an enterprise in which he and de Brazza hoped to be of mutual assistance. The Baptist mission was anxious that, having been successful in penetrating to the Pool, it should not be forestalled in planting a station.

In any case, they had consistently urged that the Congo should be placed under international control, and were no more anxious for the French to obtain exclusive control than for the Portuguese. When Crudgington returned home to confer with the committee in the summer of 1881, to discuss policy after the Pool had been reached, he urged the importance of calling the immediate attention of the Government to the action of the French in Congo, and this was done.[39] It was pointed out that the French had monopolised commerce, and that they would close the region to all others, which would "render useless the work of Stanley for the King of the Belgians and the International Association, for establishing open communication between east and west Africa," and stressing B.M.S. interest that the whole of the Congo river should be open *to all nations*. The F.O. reply was non-committal,[40] for it was not until later that it became seriously alarmed about the intentions of France.

For Leopold, the part played by religious missions in Africa was a factor impossible to ignore. The dispatches of Sir John Kirk, British consul at Zanzibar, sent by the F.O. for his perusal in 1879, 1880 and 1881, because of his known interest in Africa, were alone sufficient to demonstrate to him, had he needed such proof, the

importance of their attitude for the secular power. The A.I.A. stressed from the beginning its readiness to give assistance to all missions, without distinction of denomination, and Leopold was most anxious to uphold his reputation for philanthropic aims by adhering strictly to this programme. Although he might have preferred Catholic missions, he found that he was better able to use English Protestant missions in the Congo than French Catholic ones working in their national interests. Cardinal Lavigerie, whose interest lay in entering Africa from the east, distrusted the A.I.A. as a Protestant and free-thinking enterprise, and memorialised the Propaganda to this effect in January, 1878,[41] offering his Algerian Fathers for the evangelisation of Central Africa. These Leopold knew would be the spearhead of France, as well as of Catholicism, but by April, 1878 Lavigerie had agreed to assist in furthering the king's aims and recruiting Belgian missionaries for the Society of Algiers.[42] In Congo, however, Leopold was not so successful. Stanley, visited in 1879 by Père Carrie, assured him of the sympathy of the A.I.A., but soon discovered that he, like Père Augouard, also of the Holy Ghost Fathers, was in close co-operation with de Brazza,[43] and strongly desired to extend French influence in Congo.

Although very desirous of replacing the French Catholic missionaries in Congo by Belgians—a desire which led eventually to the foundation of the African Seminary at Louvain—Leopold was well aware of the value of a body of religious opinion in England favourable to himself, and provided the missionaries did not oppose the policy of Stanley (with whom they had themselves already found it politic to be on good terms) he was prepared to do his best for them,[44] and showed his interest by presenting a grant of scientific apparatus to the L.I.M. expedition which went out to Congo early in 1880 under McCall, just as he had given a chasuble to the Holy Ghost Fathers at Zanzibar, in an effort to win the favour of the French missionaries for the A.I.A. The L.I.M. were enthusiastic on the subject of the philanthropic society, which, with the king at its head, had commissioned Stanley to open up the Congo.[45]

The B.M.S. had felt some apprehension in case the Catholics might be given prior rights on the road Stanley was constructing to pass the cataracts,[46] but this was unfounded. When Crudgington and Bentley made their attempt on the Pool by the north bank, they kept to Stanley's road as far as Isangila, finding native paths where he took to the river, and were received with great cordiality by Stanley on their return, although Grenfell thought he was rather unwilling for them to make such early use of the route.[47] When Comber and Hartland, having again failed with the Makutu way, tried to overtake the others, however, they were well received by Stanley, whom they came upon dragging his sectional barges along the road, and were given food and advice.[48] Crudgington and

Bentley were impressed with the enthusiasm of Stanley for the work of the civilisation of the Congo region, when they met him on their return from the Pool, with his kindness in taking them down to Isangila in his steamer, and with the good reception they received from the Bateke people, which they attributed in large part to the treatment these had received from Stanley.[49] They found him willing to discuss with them the establishment of the mission at Stanley Pool, urging upon them their need of a small sectional steam sailing launch like his own.[50] It was no wonder that, faced with the prospect of Portuguese and French ambitions, they turned with relief to the promising Association, supposedly international in character, headed by the King of the Belgians, whose motives appeared above suspicion, and whose representative in Congo was so ready to be of assistance to their plans.

THE UPPER RIVER

Throughout this period, both the B.M.S. and the L.I.M. had been far more eager to find a way into the interior than to settle down to evangelistic work near the coast. For both the upper river was the real objective—the goal of what Stanley regarded as a "well-contested dual" between them,[51] and the planting of stations below the Pool was subsidiary work. When Crudgington returned home to confer with the B.M.S. Committee in the summer of 1881, the latter regarded it as "absolutely necessary" to move forward to the Pool. Thanks to the work of Stanley, this now seemed a practical possibility. They decided that his route by the north bank was to be used, intermediate stations at Isangila and Mbw were to be planted, and also a base station on the north-west shore of the Pool at Ibiu. Grenfell was to come to England to superintend the building of a steam launch for use on the upper river, and six new men were to be sent out. Already a Plymouth subscriber had provided the money for a steel sectional boat like that supplied to Stanley, and money came pouring in, for the successful journey to the Pool aroused great enthusiasm among the Society's supporters at home.

It seemed that at last they were ready to advance to the upper river. Their stores could go by Stanley's road to Isangila, and thence, in the *Plymouth,* be taken to Manyanga. Stanley was pushing on from Manyanga to the Pool, and might be expected to keep open that part of the road. It was obvious that they would need some kind of European secular authority over the lower Congo and the Stanley Pool district, or the missionaries could neither penetrate to the interior nor live in peace. There had already been difficulties from the Portuguese at San Salvador and the French at the Pool, and what could be more natural than that, in memorialising Lord Granville on the subject of de Brazza's claims, they should use as an

argument against them that they would "render useless the work of Stanley for the King of the Belgians and the International Association."[52] They had in fact already identified themselves with the work of this Association. Like Livingstone, they had discovered that the pioneer missionary must be geographer, explorer, and philanthropist, and counted themselves fortunate in having found a secular organisation which seemed as though it would take some of this burden from them, and hasten on "the spiritual stage of missionary work" which "has not yet been reached in Congoland."[53]

Throughout 1881 good relations in the field continued between the B.M.S. and the representatives of the King. The missionaries were anxious to establish themselves at the Pool, but travel was slow, and they were glad to receive help from Stanley's agent at Vivi in transporting some of their loads.[54] Another intermediate station was necessary, and by agreement with the local chiefs, a building site was secured at Manyanga, opposite Stanley's depot, where Lieut. Harou had been left in charge. For several months Bentley stayed here alone to build the station. When Crudgington returned from England with the *Plymouth*, the value of Stanley's road was proved, for dragging the sections over it was "a comparatively simple matter."[55]

The L.I.M. proved themselves desirous of being more independent, however. In January, 1882 they paid a flying visit to the Pool, and as a result of comparing the routes by the north and south banks, decided to use the latter.[56] In pointing out that the B.M.S. was willing to use Stanley's road and the protection of his Zanzibaris, Mrs. Guinness explained that the L.I.M. preferred the south route because the mission had no desire to be mixed with armed parties, even though its progress might thus be slower.[57] Stanley had inevitably in the pursuance of his task come up against African resistance, and the old suspicion of him had reappeared. They felt the need of a recognised government, to combat the evils of slavery, and objected to Stanley's work since it was felt to be in the interests of a *commercial* company.[58] The L.I.M. now seemed inclined to support de Brazza, who had promised the Society all the help in his power at the Pool, on the condition that French jurisdiction should be recognised. In actual fact, reliance on French power at the Pool was futile, as Père Augouard found later.[59]

The B.M.S., however, disliking de Brazza's claims on behalf of France, was anxious that they should not be overlooked, and in March, 1882 the acting-secretary sent Lord Granville a copy of the treaty with Makoko, procured by Grenfell, with the remark that this supported the representations made in the preceding June.[60] Thus stirred to interest, the F.O. asked Lord Lyons, Minister at Paris, to find out whether the treaty were genuine, and if so, whether it were

recognised by the French government. A tardy reply came in October to inform the Foreign Secretary that the treaty was indeed genuine, and that the French government intended to examine its clauses with care.[61]

Comber, who had spent several hours with Stanley at Manyanga before the latter's return to Europe, was impressed by his desire to help the mission, and with the fact that he had managed to plant a station at Stanley Pool without a fight, although the people were not yet reconciled to the advent of Europeans, and would burn it if they dared. Stanley had taken a large piece of ground for the A.I.A., but offered the mission the choice of a plot from this land, on which they were to be as free to build as though it had been sold to them, in return for a recognition of the rights of the Association. He wrote in this sense to Braconnier, the lieutenant he had left in charge at Stanley Pool, and Comber knew that if the B.M.S.—whose station at Manyanga would already have been burned had not Lieut. Harou intervened[62]—rejected this offer, the missionaries would be in constant danger. It was a serious matter, however, to identify themselves thus far with the A.I.A.[63]

The risk was taken, for Comber felt that the mission could not lose this chance of securing land at the Pool, thus perhaps allowing the Catholics to precede it there.[64] He and Bentley travelled up to the Pool with a caravan of Stanley's Zanzibaris, finding the people friendly except at one point, for the Zanzibaris, constantly passing by this route, quieted those who were turbulent. The two missionaries were well received by Lieut. Braconnier, to whom they presented Stanley's letter, and on 18 July made a contract with him for the lease of one hectare of ground, to be ratified in Europe.[65]

This contract—the first of its kind—for previously the B.M.S. had made agreements only with native chiefs—naturally attracted careful attention in Brussels and in London, where both Leopold and the B.M.S. Committee preferred to decide themselves the important question of the terms on which the land was to be conceded.[66] The finance sub-committee had many objections to the terms of Comber's contract with the Comité d'Etudes, and dealt with them in a meeting early in November. The annual rent of £150 was accepted, but they wanted the option of the renewal of the contract at the end of the three-year period to rest with the Society alone, for they feared "priestly influences from Belgium" which "might insure our receiving notices to quit." There was a strong objection to article VI,[67] for it was felt wrong to give the Comité d'Etudes exclusive favour, and that missionaries should hold themselves free to give help to all "respectable parties."[68] They objected, too, to the limitation of their freedom of movement by article VIII,[69] for we "must know nothing of rivalry with, nor must we cultivate association with, any secular bodies whatever."

It was therefore resolved to send the Secretary to Brussels to seek the good offices of Stanley in the hope of his influence in the modification of the draft contract. Stanley had left for Spain, but Baynes visited Brussels to meet Strauch, while since Leopold himself had expressed a desire to meet him,[70] he had also an interview with the king, who consented to accept the contract in the form proposed by the B.M.S. secretary. The formal ratification took place on November 24 when Strauch visited London, and the *Missionary Herald* of December, 1882 commented on the graciousness of the King, and the kindness received from all the state officials whom Baynes had met.

Leopold II was glad of the goodwill of the Society, for he was anxious to build up a body of opinion in England favourable to his plans for Congo. The Belgian consul in Manchester, J. F. Hutton, an influential business man, was working hard for this end, and found ready support in the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, which for trade reasons was not anxious to see either France or Portugal strengthened in the Congo region, since both imposed high tariffs. Leopold had good reason to fear that Portuguese claims to the sovereignty of the Congo basin might be recognised by Great Britain. Several years before, Sir Robert Morier, British minister at Lisbon, had suggested that Great Britain should recognise Portuguese claims to the south bank of the Congo, the north bank becoming British, and the river itself being subject to international control. The British government had shown little interest in the suggestion, but discussions on the subject continued intermittently between Great Britain and Portugal. At the end of 1882 Portugal again revived her ancient claims, and suggested that these should be recognised by Great Britain, who seemed likely to agree, urged on by fear of French intentions in west Africa.[71] Difficulties with the Portuguese at San Salvador had already been sufficient to make the missionaries hostile to the negotations which were set on foot, but while the B.M.S. was no more anxious to support France than Portugal, thinking of the difficult position of the American Protestant missionaries in the Gaboon under the French authorities there, the L.I.M. was not of the same opinion.

In November Hutton approached both societies, to inform them that the Manchester Chamber of Commerce had memorialised the F.O. against the de Brazza treaty and the pretentions of Portugal, and had urged the government to take the initiative in trying to get the powers of Europe to leave the territories of the Congo basin neutral—or, in other words, to support Leopold's "international" association. Sir Charles Dilke's reply had been that the Government would be favourable to neutrality, but would take no initiative—England did not want the Congo herself and would not go to war to prevent others getting it, and because of the attitude of France,

England was encouraging Portugal to put forward her claims. Hutton expressed his belief that France and Portugal would come to an understanding that all the territory north of lat. 5°12 should go to France, and that to the south to Portugal. Thus Portugal would hold the lower river; France the upper river and Stanley Pool, and he pointed out how prejudicial to Protestant missionary work this situation would be, remarking that "no doubt your society would take immediate action."[72]

Mrs. Guinness approached the B.M.S. on the matter, wondering whether the two societies should send a joint deputation to Dilke, or whether it would be preferable to leave the matter alone. Characterising the present state of affairs as "practically anarchy" she gave her opinion that "French annexation would be better than no government, *by far*. As H.M.G. do not mean to do anything themselves, it seems the best we can hope for."[73]

The B.M.S. had a closer connection with King Leopold's enterprise, however, and had no wish to work for French annexation. The *Peace,* the B.M.S. steam launch destined for the upper river, whose construction Grenfell had returned to England to supervise, had been inspected by Hutton's brother on behalf of the King of the Belgians, and Hutton, Leopold's consul, had sent some bales of cloth from his mill to help in the expense of carrying the steamer up river. Thus they would have nothing but approval for the way in which the *Times* supported Stanley against de Brazza, using as one of its arguments to encourage the goodwill of Englishmen towards Stanley and the Sovereign he represented in Congo, the fact that English missionaries were taking advantage of the facilities afforded by Stanley's pioneering work.[74] Joseph Tritton, treasurer of the Society, was eager to lay the case against France before the London Chamber of Commerce,[75] and likewise the B.M.S. was ready to use its influence to support Jacob Bright on the questions relating to British commercial interests in Congo, which he asked in the Commons on 27 and 28 November.[76] The agitation was successful, in spite of Baron Solvyn's scepticism.[77]

RUTH SLADE

(To be Concluded)

NOTES

[1] Cornet, R. J., *Katanga,* Bruxelles, 1946, pp. 16-17.
[2] Chirgwin, A. M., *Arthington's Million,* London, 1935.
[3] Cornet, R. J., *Maniema,* Bruxelles, 1952, p. 48.
[4] Cameron, V. L., *Across Africa,* London, 1876.
[5] The text of his letter appears in Bentley, W. H., *Pioneering on the Congo,* London, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 58-9.
[6] Fullerton, W. Y., *The Christ of the Congo River,* London, 1928, p. 27.
[7] Fullerton, *op. cit.,* p. 32.

[8] Johnston, Sir H. H., *George Grenfell and the Congo*, London, 1908, pp. 94-5.

[9] Greindle to Banning, 28 Dec. 1877 and 26 Jan. 1878, Banning papers, 36. Archives Générales du Royaume.

[10] Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[11] A. Kinnaird to Dr. Underhill, 10 Nov. 1877. B.M.S. Archives.

[12] "His Majesty wants to know all about Mr. Grenfell's mission. He thanks the society for the first instalment of the documents, which he has perused with the greatest interest." Solvyns to Baynes, 7 Dec. 1877. B.M.S.

[13] *Missionary Herald*, Dec. 1877. This followed the lead of *The Freeman*, the official organ of the Baptist denomination, which expressed anxiety over the Portuguese claims, fearing Catholic influence, and welcoming the decision of the British Government to send a gunboat to the river. 2 Nov. 1877.

[14] Dorothy Stanley, *Autobiography of H. M. Stanley*, London, 1909, p. 334.

[15] "We have not been among the blind admirers of Mr. Stanley's policy." *Freeman*, 26 April, 1878.

[16] *Freeman*, 2 Nov. 1877.

[17] "One thing the Continentals, especially the Germans, have determined on—that England shall not be allowed to annex the newly discovered region. And they are right. The Congo should not be annexed to any nation, but should be free to all." *Freeman*, 26 April, 1878.

[18] "The other white man, M. de Brazza, had given him (a chief living near Stanley Pool) a flag before leaving; he hoped that we should do the same. We could not be rash in the distribution of English flags, so we gave him a square of red cloth." Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 342.

[19] Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 142.

[20] "The Portuguese officials . . . under the influence of the Catholic authorities of St. Paul de Loanda . . . will do their best to stop the expedition." *Freeman*, 2 Nov. 1877.

[21] *Bentley*, op. cit., I, p. 136.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[23] It is "certainly irregular, taking into consideration the geographical position of the Congo, trying to place himself under the protection of the Governor-General of Angola, and only addressing H.M. Consul incidentally." Hunt to Salisbury, 20 Aug. 1879. F.O. 63/1087.

[24] ". . . it will probably be the means of obtaining the consent of the king and people to a military occupation by the Portuguese." Cohen to Granville, 10 Dec. 1880. F.O. 84/1566.

[25] Grenfell to Baynes, 23 Jan. 1881. B.M.S.

[26] Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 379.

[27] Stanley, H. M., *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*, London, 1885, pp. 231-4.

[28] Comber to Baynes, 21 Feb. 1881. B.M.S.

[29] Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[30] Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 298.

[31] Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 355.

[32] "Sanford . . . a vu de Lesseps . . . il lui a parlé avec regret de l'affaire du renvoi du missionnaire anglais du Stanley Pool et du drapeau. M. de Lesseps paraissait assez monté, il a déclaré que les francais respectaient les stations, que l'on n'avait pas renvoyé le missionnaire . . ." Leopold to Strauch, 21 Aug. 1881. Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Strauch papers.

[33] Crudgington to Cohen, 14 April, 1881. F.O. 84/1801.

[34] J. S. Lumley to Granville, 7 May, 1881. F.O. 84/1508.

[35] Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-9.

[36] Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 160-1.

[37] Storme, M. B., "Leopold II, les missions du Congo et la fondation du seminaire africain de Louvain," in *Zaire*, Jan. 1952, p. 14.

[38] Grenfell to Baynes, 30 April, 1881. B.M.S.

[39] Baynes to Granville, 25 June, 1881. F.O. 84/1801.

[40] "Lord Granville has not sufficient information to allow him to pronounce definitely on Count de Brazza's proceedings." 11 Aug. 1881. F.O. 84/1801.

[41] Storme, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Oliver, R., *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, London, 1952, p. 47.

[42] Storme, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

[44] "Les missionnaires qui vont au Congo sont venus me prier de chercher a établir de bons rapports entre Stanley et eux et .. . je me suis montré disposé à l'essayer dans le cas oú les missionnaires de leur côté voudraient à titre de réciprocité se montrer déférents pour ce que Stanley pourrait leur demander." Leopold to Strauch, 17 Aug. 1879.

[45] "What an unspeakable cause of gratitude! . . . without any expense or trouble to the missionary societies, this expedition, it may be hoped, will open the road up which the missionaries may follow with comparative ease." *Regions Beyond*, Nov. 1879.

[46] Baynes to the Committee, March, 1880. B.M.S.

[47] "Mr. Sparhawk (left in charge of Vivi station by Stanley) seemed vexed at the idea of the route being traversed before it was 'thrown open' —he seemed to echo the sentiments of his chief. I said our society's movements could not possibly interfere with the projects of the expedition: he said the first party to get up would secure the best ground for a station, very sharply." Grenfell to Baynes, 7 Feb. 1881. B.M.S.

[48] Comber to Baynes, 21 Feb. 1881. B.M.S.

[49] Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 365.

[50] *B.M.S. Minutes*, 21 June, 1881.

[51] Stanley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496.

[52] Baynes to Granville, 25 June, 1881. F.O. 84/1801.

[53] *Regions Beyond*, Feb. 1881.

[54] Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 385.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 410.

[56] *Regions Beyond*, May, 1882.

[57] Mrs. H. G. Guinness, *Toiling On*, 1881-82. London, 1882, p. 202.

[58] The Comité d'etudes, du Haut-Congo, created in December, 1878, was indeed a company which aimed at the future commercial exploitation of Congo. Although dissolved at the end of 1879, to allow Leopold to take full control of the Congo enterprise, and to pursue his political ends, he continued to use the name until the end of 1882, when the term "Association Internationale du Congo" took its place. The missionaries continued to refer to the A.I.A., or use the names indiscriminately.

[59] Storme, M. B., *Evangelisatiepogingen in de Binnerlanden van Afrika gerunde de XIX^e eeuw.* Bruxelles, 1951, p. 573, n.1.

[60] E. B. Underhill to Granville, 23 March, 1882. F.O. 84/1802.

[61] Lord Lyons to Granville, 25 Oct. 1882. F.O. 84/1804.

[62] Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 429.

[63] "Are we to be protected by the 'fort' and perhaps partly identified with the A.I.A.? Or are we to run the risk of settling among the people who, for some long time, will not understand us or our mission?" Comber to Baynes, 4 July, 1882. B.M.S.

The matter was soon decided. On 7 July he wrote: "Bentley and I go up tomorrow to Stanley Pool to secure our ground."

[64] Comber to Baynes, 24 July, 1882. B.M.S.

[65] A copy of this contract is found in the *B.M.S. Minutes*, 21 Nov. 1882.

[66] " Vous ferez bien d'écrire a celui de nos agents que la chose concerne peut-être et à Londres et à Hanssens, qu'à moins qu'un accord soit intervenu avec les missionnaires anglais, on tâchera d'y arriver ici et de fixer ici les conditions auxquelles nous pourrons leur laisser le terrain." P.S. I, 118 Leopold to Strauch, 16 Aug. 1882. Min. des Aff. Et. Strauch papers.

[67] " They engage not to give any intelligence, help, or assistance in their trading projects to other parties or expeditions, which would come into the country for trading purposes."

[68] In a notebook copy of this contract, Comber added that Braconnier had declared that this clause did not prevent the missionaries showing hospitality. Tervueren, 50, 47, 175.

[69] In consideration of the facilities granted . . . the missionaries engage not to get ahead of our party on the upper Congo. If in the future they follow our expedition up the river, they shall not be allowed without the consent of the gentlemen of the expedition to settle in any part of the river or interior, whether belonging to the Comité or not, the longitude of which shall be above our last established station."

[70] Leopold II to Strauch, 16 Nov. 1882. Strauch papers. Min. des Aff. Et.

[71] Crowe, S. E., *The Berlin West Africa Conference,* London, 1942, pp. 16-17.

[72] Hutton to Baynes, 18 Nov. 1882. B.M.S.

[73] Fanny Guinness to Baynes, 20 Nov. 1882. B.M.S.

[74] *Times,* 21 Oct. 1882.

[75] Tritton was interested in the Congo both as treasurer of the society, and from the point of view of a trader. In April, 1884 he led a deputation to the F.O. protesting against the ratification of the Portuguese treaty on account of the high tariffs imposed in Portuguese colonies. This double interest in the Congo helps to explain why so many missionary enthusiasts in England were so eager to support Leopold's two-sided philanthropy—he aimed at suppressing the slave-trade, but also at opening the Congo to the trade of all nations. v. J. Stengers, " La place de Leopold II dans l'histoire de la colonisation." *La Nouvelle Clio,* IX, Oct. 1950, p. 528. B.M.S. Tritton to Baynes, 27 Nov. 1882.

[76] Hutton to Baynes, 27 Nov. 1882. B.M.S.

[77] " On aurait tort de faire le moindre fond sur des sympathies et des influences qui se sont agitées ici, à Manchester et ailleurs, en vue de placer sous l'egide anglaise les interêts de l'enterprise. Les influences sont absolument inefficaces, et l'agitation qu'elles ont cherché a produire n'a eu d'autre resultat que celui d'agacer et d'irriter . . . il est inutile d'invoquer une protection qui ne nous sera pas accordée." Solvyns to Lambermont, 2 Dec. 1882. A.I.C., I, 71. Min. des. Aff. Et.