

## NOTES

Sources are given for direct quotations, which are identified by their closing words, for most numbers and statistics, and for many other points of information. I have not identified sources when the facts involved are not in dispute and can easily be found in one — or usually several — of the key books acknowledged at the beginning of the Bibliography.

Some works cited only once or twice are referred to in the source notes but are not listed in the Bibliography.

For abbreviated references to one of several books by the same author — as in Morel 5, Stengers 2, Marchal 3 — consult the Bibliography.

### INTRODUCTION

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- 1 *Morel in Antwerp*: Morel 5, chapters 4 and 5.
- 2 *nearly three hundred a year*: in 1907, for example. *Official Organ* . . . April 1908, p. 24.
- 2 *letter of protest to the Times*: 23 Dec. 1908, Morel 5, p. 208.
- 2 "*so strongly and so vehemently*": Morel 5, p. xiv.
- 4 "*history of human conscience*": "Geography and Some Explorers," *Last Essays*, ed. Richard Curle (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1926), p. 17, excerpted in Conrad, p. 187.

### PROLOGUE: "THE TRADERS ARE KIDNAPPING OUR PEOPLE"

- 6 *early European maps and images of Africa*: See Klemp.
- 7 "*edge of the world*": Forbath, p. 41.
- 8 "*without resistance*": Forbath, p. 73.
- 8 "*in his household*": Forbath, p. 73.
- 8 *Mbanza Kongo*: Balandier, p. 30 ff.
- 8 *ManiKongo*: Vansina I, pp. 41-45.

- 9 *sophisticated and well-developed state*: see Balandier; Cuvelier; Hilton, chapters 1–3; and Vansina 1, chapter 2.
- 10 “*of their faith*”: *Relations sur le Congo du père Laurent de Lucques (1700–1717)*, ed. Jean Cuvelier (Brussels: Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1953), p. 338, quoted in Balandier, p. 81.
- 11 *fifteen thousand slaves a year*: Vansina 1, p. 149.
- 11 “*she is dying*”: Miller, p. xiii. This list of slaves is from 1736.
- 11 *Atlantic slave trade and the Kongo kingdom*: Miller is the best source, although he concentrates on a later period.
- 12 “*that of Affonso*”: quoted in Davidson 1, p. 138.
- 12 “*speaking of our Savior*”: Rui de Aguiar to King Manuel I, 25 May 1516, quoted in Affonso, p. 117.
- 12 *selective modernizer*: Vansina 1, pp. 45–58.
- 12 *first known documents*: Albert S. Gérard, *African Language Literature: An Introduction to the Literary History of Sub-Saharan Africa* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1981), p. 287.
- 13 “*transport of slaves*”: Affonso to João III, 6 July 1526, Affonso, p. 156.
- 13 “*red-hot iron*”: Affonso I to João III, 18 Oct. 1526, Affonso, p. 167.
- 13 “*selling them as captives*”: Affonso I to João III, 25 Aug. 1526, Affonso, p. 159.
- 14 “*obedient to us and content*”: Affonso I to João III, 6 July 1526, Affonso, pp. 155–156.
- 14 “*no slave has ever left*”: João III to Affonso, 1529 (n. d.), Affonso, p. 175.
- 14 “*He is again crucified*”: Affonso to Manuel I, 31 May 1515, Affonso, p. 103.
- 14 “*their fathers and mothers*”: Affonso I to João III, 25 Mar. 1539, Affonso, p. 210.
- 15 *ancestral ghosts*: see, for instance, Harms 2, p. 210.
- 16 “*wars and miseries*”: Haveaux, p. 47.
- 16 *deadly transformations began*: Miller, pp. 4–5.
- 16 “*sold them to the white men*”: Weeks, pp. 294–295.
- 17 “*of this animal*”: Instructions to Mr. Tudor, 7 Feb. 1816, quoted in Anstey 1, p. 5.
- 18 “*masses of quartz*”: Forbath, p. 177.
- 18 “*of the Thames*”: *Narrative of the Expedition to explore the River Zaire, usually called the Congo . . .* (London: 1818), p. 342, quoted in Anstey 1, p. 9.

#### I. “I SHALL NOT GIVE UP THE CHASE”

- 21 *John Rowlands/Henry Morton Stanley*: The best sources on Stanley’s life are the careful, thorough biographies, Bierman and McLynn 1 and 2. Hall was a pioneer biographical debunker but does not give specific sources. Stanley 5, Stanley’s own autobiography, the only source for much of his youth, omits and embellishes a great deal, often revealingly so.
- 21 “*sound whipping*”: Stanley 5, p. 8.
- 22 “*utter desolateness*”: Stanley 5, p. 10.
- 22 “*things they should not*”: Bierman, p. 8.
- 22 “*as with a snap*”: Stanley 5, p. 29.
- 23 “*to sail in this ship?*”: Stanley 5, p. 67.
- 23 “*want a boy, sir?*”: Stanley 5, p. 87.
- 23 “*big talk and telling stories*”: *New Orleans Daily States*, 16 Apr. 1891, quoted in Bierman, p. 29.
- 24 “*almost broke my spine*”: Stanley 5, p. 33.

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- 291 "the result of insufficient food": Russell to Murray, 27 Mar. 1918, in *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, vol. 2 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), p. 108.  
 291 as he left for London: "E. D. Morel" by F. Seymour Cocks, in *Foreign Affairs: A Journal of International Understanding*, vol. VI no. 6, Dec. 1924, p. 118.  
 291 "as the years pass": Morel Papers F 1, 7, quoted in Marchal 3, p. 10.

19. THE GREAT FORGETTING

- 294 "the sepulchral city": Conrad, p. 27.  
 294 "no right to know what I did there": Stinglhamber and Dresse, pp. 52-53.  
 294 "for considerations of a higher order": Strauch to Wauters, 1911, quoted in Stanley 6, p. xi.  
 295 "in the years that have passed since that night": De Premorel, p. 97.  
 296 footnote: Émile Verhaeren. "La Belgique sanglante," quoted in Read, p. 35.  
 296 to be false: Read, pp. 78-96.  
 296 Jules Marchal: interviewed September 1995.  
 298 idealistic young colonial officers: such as Lefranc (pp. 120-121) or Gréban de Saint-Germain (p. 231).  
 299 "exploited peoples of this part of Africa": État Major de la Force Publique, *L'Afrique et le Congo jusqu'à la création de l'État Indépendant du Congo* (Leopoldville: 1 June 1959), pp. 10-11, quoted in Stengers 5, p. 165.  
 299 "to amount to nothing": État Major de la Force Publique, *L'Etat Indépendant du Congo (1885-1908)* (Leopoldville: 1 Oct. 1959), p. 145, quoted in Stengers 5, p. 165.  
 300 dedicated anthropologists: The pioneering work of two Belgian priests, Fathers Edmond Boelaert and Gustave Hulstaert, deserves special mention. See also Vangroenweghe and Anstey 3.  
 300 "the overwhelming": Nelson, p. 104.  
 300 an idiom meaning "to tyrannize": Vangroenweghe, p. 234.  
 300 "to commit this to official memory": Vansina 2, p. 230.  
 300 a curious legend: Fabian, pp. 27-28, 55, 60, 261.  
 301 only three were filled by Africans: Stengers 7, p. 271.  
 301 "worthy of our confidence": Bremen 2, p. 145.  
 302 authorized his assassination: Kelly, pp. 57-60. Kelly's careful account is based on both interviews and documents, particularly the landmark report of November 20, 1975, from the U.S. Senate investigation headed by Senator Frank Church: *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders: An Interim Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities*.  
 302 "the problem dealt with": John Ranelagh, *The Agency: The Rise and Decline of the CIA* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986), p. 342, quoted in Kelly, p. 59.  
 302 find a place to dispose of it: John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), p. 105, cited by Kelly, p. 71.  
 302 was being planned: Young, p. 325; Kelly, pp. 52, 170.  
 303 several attempts to overthrow him: Kelly, p. 178.  
 303 "voice of good sense and good will": Winternitz, p. 270.  
 303 "during my presidency": George Bush, on 29 June 1989, quoted in Kelly, p. 1.

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- 303 estimated at \$4 billion: *The Guardian*, 13 May 1997.
- 304 sheep to his ranch at Gbadolite: *Africa: Dispatches from a Fragile Continent* (New York: Norton, 1990), by Blaine Harden, p. 38.
- 304 "his distinctive traits and customs": Pascal Bruckner, *The Tears of the White Man: Compassion as Contempt* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), p. 84.