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Harbingers of Change: Casement and Morel in the Congo

For over twenty eight years, King Leopold II of Belgium almost single-handedly controlled the Congo Free State. During this time, extreme violence was used in order to oppress and economically exploit the land for Leopold's personal gain. The governmental structure put into place was corrupt and inefficient, with virtually no control over its officials and African army, called the Force Publique. Though exact figures have not been found, it is believed that between eight million and ten million people were either killed or died as a direct result of Leopold's rule.¹ Starting in the late eighteen eighties and early eighteen nineties, several visitors to the Congo, particularly missionaries and journalists, started to expose and describe the horrors and atrocities found in the Congo. However, a full-fledged movement failed to develop until 1904, with the publication of E.D. Morel's anti-Congo pamphlets and Roger Casement's Congo Report, which documented the atrocities through interviews with victims and Casement's own personal observations. From these works, and Morel's later *Red Rubber*, a large international humanitarian effort was formed, led by the Congo Reform Association, of which Morel and Casement were the architects and administrators of.² Morel and Casement's works allowed for them to have a strong international influence, as represented by their large presence in the media and public eye during the reform movement. They, in turn, used this influence to expedite the call for reform and cause real political action to occur. Without Morel's and Casement's drive

¹ Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, New York: First Mariner Books, 1998. Print.

² Dean Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement, 1896-1913*, New York: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2015. Google Books edition.

and influence within the movement, the movement would not have reached its ultimate strength, size, and success, emphasizing both men's importance in the global movement. However, oftentimes scholars choose to focus on one over the other, resulting in a marginalization of a founding member of the movement. Instead, this essay will argue that Roger Casement and E.D. Morel were equal partners in their endeavors to incite change in the Congo Free State during the Congo Reform Movement. Their partnership was an integral force and influence within the humanitarian effort, and this joint impact must be expounded upon.

Most, if not all, of the scholarship on Casement and Morel in the Congo Reform Movement places precedence and focus on one over the other. In works focused on Casement, he is lauded as the ultimate humanitarian, with Andrew Porter describing him as a “compulsive activist” who forged an “intersection of governments, business, humanitarian campaigners, and missions.”³ William Roger Louis even goes so far as to suggest that “it was Roger Casement who inspired E.D. Morel to found the Congo Reform Movement”⁴ and treats Morel's role as more of a minor protégé than as an actual authority and force in his own right. Louis' assertion that Morel “stood alone, holding the sword that Casement forged for him,”⁵ though it acknowledges that Morel administered and influenced the movement, undercuts Morel's influence in the movement as his own entity, let alone the effectiveness of his partnership with Casement. Instead, it is inferred that Morel merely acted as a standard bearer for Casement, undertaking the actions Casement's position barred him from being able to do publically. Many works focusing on Casement, such as B.L. Reid's “A Good Man-Has Had Fever: Roger

³ Andrew Porter, “Sir Roger Casement and the International Humanitarian Movement.” *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History* 29, no. 2 (May 2001): 71-72.

⁴ William Roger Louis. “Roger Casement and the Congo.” *Journal of African History* 5, no. 1 (March 1964): 99.

⁵ Louis, “Roger Casement,” 117.

Casement in the Congo,” do not even discuss Morel’s importance in the movement at all, with barely any mention of his acquaintance or work with Casement on the Congo question.

Much of the same is found in works focusing on Morel, wherein Casement’s actions and influence are trivialized in order to highlight Morel’s influence. For example, in Catherine Ann Cline’s “E.D. Morel and the Crusade Against the Foreign Office,” Casement is never mentioned in the main body of the article, and is instead relegated to a single footnote on the first page. Bernard Porter, in his *Critics of Empire*, maintains Casement’s involvement, mentioning that his report “did most to arouse public feeling”⁶ and even “first conceived the idea of a Congo Reform Association.”⁷ In spite of this admission, he also downplays Casement’s involvement with the movement as a whole, and delegates a majority of the work and influence on Morel. Even when the other man’s role and influence is mentioned within the context of a paper, most researchers will downplay this in favor of focusing and emphasizing the other’s importance.

It is important to note that even works that discuss both men and their partnership rarely go into detail into the actual partnership developed, let alone its influence and effectiveness. Dean Pavlakis’ *British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement, 1896-1913* provides an overview of the entire movement, from the initial accusations of atrocities to the disbandment of the Congo Reform Association (CRA). In the book, Pavlakis discusses both men’s parts in the founding and implementation of the movement, particularly in regards to the CRA, and admits that “the Congo Reform Association was Casement’s brainchild.”⁸ However, he pays a majority of the book’s attention on Morel and his “overall direction”⁹ for both the association and the

⁶ Bernard Porter, “Liverpool and Africa,” *Critics of Empire: British Radical Attitudes to Colonialism in Africa, 1895-1914*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1968, 239-290. Online Edition. 266.

⁷ Porter, “Liverpool and Africa,” 267

⁸ Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 59.

⁹ Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 69.

movement, diluting much of Casement's work and influence. Perhaps the most inclusive work on the Congo Free State and its associated humanitarian effort is Adam Hochschild's *King Leopold's Ghost*, which effectively highlights both Morel and Casement's contributions to the effort. However, Hochschild never touches upon the greater importance or influence of their partnership, and instead goes into great detail on their individual efforts in regards to the Congo Reform Movement. In order to give a more complete view of the origins, expansion, and success of the movement, and to widen and improve the scholarship on Casement and Morel's partnership, this paper will endeavor to remedy this dearth and focus upon and emphasize their shared effort and partnership within the movement.

Much of E.D. Morel's influence is derived from his written works on imperialism in Africa and the savage results of the European occupation of the continent. He started his career as a clerk for Elder Dempster, a shipping firm, where "he became aware of the atrocities perpetrated¹⁰" in the Congo Free State, inciting his involvement in the fledgling humanitarian effort. Morel's earliest work on Africa, *Affairs of West Africa*, chronicles the contemporary European involvement in the continent, in which he dedicates a whole chapter to the "legend" of Leopold's "philanthropic motive"¹¹ in the Congo, marking Morel's first wave of accusations at the regime. He followed this work with his lauded and influential *Red Rubber*, allowing him to earn his place in the international movement. In this work, Morel goes into greater detail on the atrocities associated with the Congo and calls for the British public to "put our hands to the

¹⁰ Catherine Ann Cline, "E. D. Morel and the Crusade Against the Foreign Office." *Journal of Modern History* 39, no. 2 (January 1967): 126.

¹¹ Edmund Dene Morel, *Affairs of West Africa*. Vol. no. 62. Cass Library of African Studies. General Studies. Cass, 1968. 312. Print.

plough”¹² and do their duty for the Congolese people. With the success of *Red Rubber*, Morel became an important figure with the Congo Reform Movement, and eventually established his place as a leader and driving force through his work in the Congo Reform Association.

Roger Casement became involved in the movement through his work with the Foreign Office, where he was tasked with traveling through the Congo and writing a report on what he found there. In this report, Casement used his decades of experience in Africa to “contrast its present day state with the condition in which I had known it,”¹³ allowing for his readers to quantify the degradation the Congo had experienced under Leopold’s reign. Upon international publication, the Congo Report proved to be extremely influential, with Casement and his account of the atrocities being mentioned in over one hundred forty-eight American newspapers within a year of its publication, and his consular work earned him a mention in Morel’s *Red Rubber* as a whistleblower.¹⁴ Casement’s professional “involvement”¹⁵ with several international humanitarian efforts allowed for him to bridge the gap between government and humanitarian work, using his clout in the Foreign Office to advocate for reform. Pavlakis describes the “sensation” that Casement’s report had in Britain, inciting the “flames of indignation”¹⁶ that keep humanitarian efforts alive.

In October of 1903, shortly after Casement’s Congo findings were made public, he and Morel had their first instance of direct communication¹⁷, marking the beginning of their

¹² Edmund Dene Morel, “What Britain Can Do,” *Red Rubber*, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969, 177-213. 181. Print.

¹³ Roger Casement, *Correspondence and Report from His Majesty’s Consul at Boma Respecting the Administration of the Independent State of the Congo*, London: Harrison and Sons, 1904. Archive.org edition. 21.

¹⁴ Morel, *Red Rubber*, 191.

¹⁵ Porter, “Sir Roger Casement,” 64.

¹⁶ Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 68.

¹⁷ Roger Casement, Séamas Ó Síocháin and Michael O’Sullivan, *The Eyes of Another Race: Roger Casement’s Congo Report and 1903 Diary*, Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2003. 279. Print.

humanitarian partnership. Morel, as an early activist in the movement, repeatedly submitted “humanitarian pleas”¹⁸ to the House of Commons regarding the atrocities, eventually leading to the Foreign Office commission that sent Casement to the Congo. In turn, Casement’s report turned public scrutiny against the “horrible cruelties and incredible tyranny in the Congo,” increasing the volume and relevancy of Morel’s call for the British “powers to end them.”¹⁹ In this way, the partnership that was developing between Casement and Morel allowed the movement to reach new heights, as it gained increased national attention and encouragement. The Congo Reform Movement had been present in small pockets for several decades, but the development of a partnership between Casement and Morel, and their founding of the Congo Reform Association (CRA), enabled the movement to gain steam and garner incredible power within the British humanitarian community.

As previously stated, the Congo Reform Association was “Casement’s brainchild,”²⁰ and it was formed as a partnership between Casement and Morel in order to “use the press, public meetings, and personal influence”²¹ to incite change in the Congo; however, many sources²² falsely mark Morel as the sole founder, partially due to Casement’s inability to act as a full member due to his position as a government official. The CRA quickly gained national attention, and Casement’s public association²³ with it allowed for increased media attention to its activities, as he was already well known as a Congo expert following the release of the Congo Report. The reformers thought of themselves “as the representative of a popular wave” in favor of Congo

¹⁸ Louis, “Roger Casement,” 101.

¹⁹ “A Curse of Africa.” *The Sun*. “The Sun. March 6, 1904.

²⁰ Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 59.

²¹ Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 75.

²² “C.R.A. History.” *Welcome to the Congo Reform Association*. Accessed November 2, 2016.

²³ “The Congo Free State: A Protest Meeting in Manchester.” *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*. March 30, 1904.

reform, and they were largely in the right, as their media onslaught through governmental appeals, media presence, and propaganda created a demand for “Congo articles and editorials” and “thousands of copies of each of Morel’s books.”²⁴ Morel used his newfound public popularity to stage an “energetic and successful action”²⁵ on the government to appeal for official action to be taken against Leopold II, while Casement supplemented this with his connections in the Foreign Office, encouraging members to unofficially support the CRA “behind the scenes.”²⁶ As previously stated, Casement’s position in the Foreign Office prevented him from publically speaking on and supporting the CRA; however, Casement would use “his personal influence” in the government to direct attention to the Association and the movement it represented, hoping to use “British diplomacy” to enact the change he and Morel wished for.²⁷ The Congo Reform Association acted as the face for the rising tide of dissent against king Leopold and his rule in the Congo Free States. This “widespread and sustained humanitarian criticism”²⁸ of the Congo Free State created an intense public campaign in Great Britain for an official censure of Leopold, largely engineered by Morel through Casement’s connections with “prominent and influential”²⁹ figures. The CRA’s foundation and successful grassroots campaign in Great Britain would never have been possible without the professional partnership developed between Casement and Morel, wherein Morel handled the public perception and persona of the association while Casement unofficially influenced government officials and figures.

²⁴ Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 99.

²⁵ “Congo Reform Association.” *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*. October 16, 1906.

²⁶ Porter, “Sir Roger Casement,” 60.

²⁷ E.D. Morel, William Roger Louis and Jean Stengers, *E.D. Morel’s History of the Congo Reform Movement*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968. Print. 167-168.

²⁸ Porter, “Sir Roger Casement,” 60.

²⁹ Porter, “Liverpool and Africa,” 266.

Following the formation of the Congo Reform Association in Great Britain, there was an almost immediate push for the movement to expand into the United States. Casement's report helped to lay down the groundwork for this expansion, as news of his findings reached American newspapers in December of 1906, drawing national attention to "the slavery and barbarism"³⁰ exhibited by the Congo Free State. The "gross abuses"³¹ Casement described incited national outrage, opening a door for Morel and the CRA to exploit and build the "strongest" humanitarian effort aside from Britain's, largely due to a "philanthropic tradition" shared by the two nations.³² In September of 1904, Morel traveled to the United States to promote the Congo Reform Association and "spread the message of Congo reform."³³ Morel felt that the atrocities in the Congo were a "world question"³⁴ rather than a strictly European one, and appealed to the American people, along with the "co-operation of the American government,"³⁵ to create a concerted movement against Leopold. Morel and the CRA's most important achievement in the United States at this time was his meeting with President Theodore Roosevelt "within twenty-hours of landing" in America, an important symbolic gesture conveying the importance of Morel and his movement.³⁶ Morel called for Roosevelt to "take the lead"³⁷ in the humanitarian effort, and develop a strong anti-Leopold II stance, especially as the U.S. was "responsible for the recognition of the Congo as a sovereign state," being the first to acknowledge Leopold's control

³⁰ "The News This Morning" *The New York Tribune*. December 6, 1903.

³¹ "Gross Abuses in the Congo State." *The San Francisco Call*. December 6, 1903.

³² Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 151.

³³ Dean Clay. "Transatlantic Dimensions of the Congo Reform Movement, 1904–1908." *English Studies in Africa* 59, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 18–28. 19.

³⁴ "Hopes the President Will Aid Congo Reform: Morel Denies That He Was Turned Down in Washington." *New York Times*. October 17, 1904.

³⁵ "Warning to Belgium: Mr. Morel Talks of Anglo-American Intervention in Congo." *New York Times*. April 14, 1908.

³⁶ "Hopes the President will Aid Congo Reform."

³⁷ "Congo Reform Plea on Way to the President: He May Be Asked to Lead in Checking King Leopold." *New York Times*. September 30, 1904.

there.³⁸ Morel hoped to appeal to both the United States' sense of pathos, by talking on the horrors Casement described in his report, and its sense of guilt, as it was the first nation to acknowledge the Congo Free State.

As part of his bid for American support, Morel laid the groundwork for an organization “built on lines similar to those of the Congo Reform Association,” essentially an American branch of the CRA.³⁹ With the support of local American humanitarians, such as Thomas Barbour and Booker T. Washington⁴⁰, the American Congo Reform Association was formed. The American CRA experienced a marked increase of membership following Morel's visit;⁴¹ Casement's report initially incited interest and partial support for the movement, and Morel's supplementary visit allowed for a direct American focus on the humanitarian effort, aided by a “transatlantic network of activists”⁴² within the campaign. Despite this, the American government was initially apprehensive to officially act in favor of Congo reform, as there were strong imperialist sentiments within the public sphere and the government itself, and President Roosevelt initially refusing to aid Morel in his quest. Morel's correspondence with the American activists⁴³, along with the continued impact of the Congo Report, allowed for the fledgling American CRA to stay afloat until there was a huge policy shift within the government itself. Following the exposure of lobbying and bribery within Congress and the executive branch in favor of Leopold II and the Congo Free State, the government became much more open to the

³⁸ Macharia G. Munene. “The United States, Pressure Groups, and Africa: 1885-1918.” *Transafrican Journal of History* 23 (1994): 1–8.

³⁹ “Hopes the President will Aid Congo Reform.”

⁴⁰ Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 151.

⁴¹ M. Patrick Cullinane “Transatlantic Dimensions of the American Anti-Imperialist Movement, 1899–1909.” *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 8, no. 4 (2010): 301–314. 309.

⁴² Clay, “Transatlantic Dimensions,” 26.

⁴³ Clay, “Transatlantic Dimensions,” 20.

CRA and its message⁴⁴. Along with this, in 1907, an appeal put forth by the Foreign Missions Board of the United States and Canada claiming to “speak for 20,000,000 Americans” calling for “definitive action” in the Congo was sent to both President Roosevelt and King Edward VII of England, inciting further public support for intervention in the Congo Free State.⁴⁵ After this incident, it became “easy and popular for the government to act”⁴⁶ in opposition of the Belgian ruler and officially censure his influence and actions there. Morel and Casement were able to successfully use their works and public persona’s to attract attention to the atrocities in the Congo and spread their movement and influence into the United States, whose support allowed for a measure of real change to be taken

Following the success of Casement’s and Morel’s initial push in the movement, support for the CRA in both Europe and America grew, especially with the help of propaganda from authors and celebrities, such as Mark Twain, who were inspired by the atrocities in the Congo and the movement created to end them. Casement and Morel built connections with noted humanitarians and utilized their previous relationships in order to construct a strong propaganda force and draw public attention toward their cause. The most prominent of their supporters was the American author Mark Twain, who channeled his voracious anti-imperialism into public works and appearances, particularly his pamphlet *King Leopold’s Soliloquy*. Morel met with Twain during his American tour in October of 1904 and quickly enlisted him among the CRA’s supporters.⁴⁷ Twain became deeply invested in the movement for sixteen months, during which he wrote on behalf of the reform, acted as the vice-president of the American Congo Reform

⁴⁴ Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 151.

⁴⁵ “Appeal to President for Congo Sufferers.” *New York Times*. January 14, 1907.

⁴⁶ Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 152.

⁴⁷ Hunt Hawkins, “Mark Twain’s Involvement with the Congo Reform Movement: ‘A Fury of Generous Indignation.’” *The New England Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (1978): 147–75.

Association, and met “with Roosevelt and State Department Officials” on behalf of the Congo,⁴⁸ making sure to reiterate Morel’s assertion that the United States was the “first of the nations to recognize the Congo flag”⁴⁹ and adding that Leopold “sits at home and drinks blood”⁵⁰ while the Congolese suffer. Due to Twain’s celebrity as a writer and satirist, his public presence in support of the CRA attracted many to the movement, though he was hardly the only notable addition to the cause. Soon after finishing his report, Casement sought out his friend Joseph Conrad, the author of *Heart of Darkness*. Conrad despised Leopold’s control in the Congo, referring to it as “ruthless, systematic cruelty,” though he was hesitant to become active in the movement due to his Polish ancestry.⁵¹ As such, he refrained from becoming publically involved and preferred to refer others to the CRA, such as journalist R.B. Cunninghame Grahame, who “donated annually” and used his public position to support the humanitarian effort in the public sphere.⁵² Both authors attempted to draw interest and support to the movement they had been recruited into by Morel and Casement respectively, though neither were as active as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the creator of Sherlock Holmes. After the initial humanitarian fervor had died down, the CFA worked to prevent the loss of their public support, and “enlisted Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in the cause”⁵³ to continue to stream of information and propaganda to the public; Doyle joined the cause wholeheartedly, writing an open letter to an international audience denouncing the “wholesale expropriation and wholesale massacre” and extolling the hard work and virtues of

⁴⁸ Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 151.

⁴⁹ “Mark Twain is Greatly Stirred: Tells of the Atrocities in the Congo State and Demands That They Be Ended.” *Boston Daily Globe (1872-1922)*. December 3, 1905.

⁵⁰ “In Genial Mood: Mark Twain Talks to Newspaper Men. Has Much of Interest to Say on Various Topics. Humorist Reads Some of His Latest Aphorisms. A Newspaper Man Himself. Interested in Copyright Question. Congo Free State Horrors. No Confidence in Russia’s Word.” *Boston Daily Globe (1872-1922)*. November 6, 1905.

⁵¹ Hunt Hawkins, “Joseph Conrad, Roger Casement, and the Congo Reform Movement.” *Journal of Modern Literature* 9, no. 1 (1981): 65–80.

⁵² Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism*, 117.

⁵³ “The Congo Free State.” *The Irish Standard*. November 20, 1909.

Morel, Casement, and other humanitarians.⁵⁴ Doyle's largest contribution was *The Crime of the Congo*, in which he gave an overview of the atrocities, the evidence for them, and a brief overview of the CRA and its movement up until that date. In the introduction, Doyle called for his readers to "join the Congo Reform Association," create local branches of the organization, and "purchase other copies of the book" to help to support the crusade for public opinion and support;⁵⁵ Doyle's brazen solicitation conveys just how invested in the movement he was, as few would call upon their readers to take monetary action so directly. As Casement and Morel augmented their list of celebrity supporters, they were able to draw continued attention to the atrocities in the Congo and the CRA's attempts at ending them, attracting a wave of public opinion in their favor.

As the Congo Reform Association gained traction in the public sphere, it continued to solicit the British and American governments in order to introduce definitive change in the Congo Free State. As discussed previously, twenty million missionaries and citizens petitioned President Roosevelt and King Edward VI for "'definite action" against Leopold "in the name of humanity."⁵⁶ Following this and similar public pushes, a "Belgian Solution" was introduced, which involved a transfer of power that would make the Congo "a colony of Belgium" rather than of Leopold. By doing so, it was assumed that under Belgian control the atrocities in the Congo would end without opposing the Berlin Conference or disturbing any other colonial holdings in Africa.⁵⁷ The governments of countries with CRA quickly jumped upon this solution, despite worries by reformers, including Morel, that the conversion to Belgian control would

⁵⁴ "Appeals to America." *Evening Star*. September 10, 1909.

⁵⁵ Doyle, A. Conan, *The Crime of the Congo*, New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1909. Web.

⁵⁶ "Appeal to President for Congo Sufferers."

⁵⁷ John Daniels, "The Congo Question and the 'Belgian Solution.'" *The North American Review* 188, no. 637 (1908): 891-902.

prevent real change, as “the rights of monopolist concessionaires” and the “present system” would remain completely “unimpaired” under the rules of the Berlin Conference.⁵⁸ In August of 1908, the Congo Free State was annexed by Belgium in the hopes to “end atrocities there,” even though the administrative needed to do so would contradict “the Colonial Bill” established by the Berlin Conference.⁵⁹ In spite of this apparent success, the Congo Reform Association and its associates continued “to express resentment at the action and the inaction of the Belgian Government”⁶⁰ so as to completely eradicate the atrocities Leopold instituted there; Morel proposed a memorandum on the Belgian Congo that would allow the British government to have a greater influence on the “present state of affairs in the Congo,”⁶¹ though it never came to fruition. Eventually, the reformers felt they had done as many administrative changes as they could in the Congo, and the Congo Reform Association officially disbanded in 1913.

Though the Congo Reform Movement had existed in small pockets previously, it became an international tour-de-force with the founding of the Congo Reform Association in 1904. Its founders, E.D. Morel and Roger Casement, had both previously been involved with the early stages of the movement; Morel as a journalist, and Casement as a consul. Both men’s writings and public personas attracted a large volume of attention and support to the burgeoning reform movement, and they developed an extremely effective partnership to utilize this attention and end the atrocities perpetrated by King Leopold II’s government in the Congo Free State. They were permitted to develop and implement a large scale governmental and public propaganda campaign through the founding of the Congo Reform Association. Morel acted as the secretary and public face of the Association, and the proceeds from his books on the Congo, especially

⁵⁸ E.D. Morel, “The Congo ‘Settlement.’” *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*. March 11, 1908.

⁵⁹ “Congo Treaty is Now Adopted.” *Boston Daily Globe (1872-1922)*. August 21, 1909.

⁶⁰ “Congo Reform: Present Position of the Movement.” *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*. February 17, 1910.

⁶¹ “The Congo Question.” *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*. January 4, 1912.

Red Rubber, helped to finance the CRA and its actions. As a government official, Casement was prevented from actively participating in the bureaucratic sectors of the humanitarian effort, though he circumnavigated this by promoting and supporting involvement within the Foreign Office, which had the most influence on Great Britain's involvement in colonial affairs. The Congo Reform Association, and its international branches, sought to abolish the systematic atrocities in the Congo and promote the "separation of the administrative from the commercial element," freeing the Congo and the Congolese people from the bonds of European economic control.⁶² Through the public and governmental effort of both men, and their intense campaign to court public opinion, power was transferred from Leopold II to the Belgian Government in 1908, marking the end of the intense campaign for reform. Though many of the pre-existing problems still wreaked havoc on the Congo, the partnership formed between E.D. Morel and Roger Casement spawned one of the largest and most effective humanitarian efforts of the twentieth century.

⁶² "Congo Ills Ended, Association to Die." *New York Times* (1857-1922). June 15, 1913.

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