

they were afraid to make war themselves, they had persuaded a Bantu clan to attack the fort.

This information proved correct, for shortly afterwards a horde of savage warriors appeared, and tried to take the place by storm. They filled up the moat on one side, and then attempted to scale the wall, all the time pouring in a shower of arrows and assagais. Fever had laid most of the Portuguese low, and at this time there were only thirty-five men capable of bearing arms, but Yakote came to their aid with a hundred of his people, and they had two powerful dogs, to which animals next to divine providence they afterwards mainly attributed their preservation. The storming party was beaten off with heavy loss. During three days, however, the blacks continued their attacks occasionally, but then, suddenly imagining that the Arabs had incited them to this contest purposely to destroy them, they turned upon Sofala, plundered the town, and marched homeward with their booty.

Da Nhaya now sallied out with some of his men, and proceeded to the residence of Yusuf, where in a skirmish he received a slight wound in the throat. Immediately afterwards the blind chief's head was struck off by a soldier, and the Arabs then fled in dismay. On the following morning they attacked the fort, but were beaten off, and as they began to contend among themselves concerning a leader, nothing more was to be feared from them. One of Yusuf's sons, Soleiman by name, offered to become a Portuguese vassal, and as he was a friend of Yakote, who warmly recommended him, Da Nhaya appointed him ruler of the Arab com-

munity. He proved faithful to his engagement, and thereafter did good service for the Europeans.

On the 19th of November 1505 two ships sailed from Lisbon, commanded by Cyde Barbudo and Pedro Quaresma, who had orders from King Manuel to endeavour to ascertain the fate of Pedro de Mendoza and his crew, to search along the South African coast for traces of the missing ship in which Francisco d'Albuquerque had left India, and to take supplies to Sofala. They put into the Watering Place of Saldanha, where they obtained refreshment, and then continued their course until they arrived off the part of the coast where Mendoza's ship was wrecked. The weather was fine, so they cast anchor, and sent two convicts on shore to make a search. The convicts were away seven days. Then they returned, and reported that they had seen traces of the wreck, which had been set on fire by the natives to get the iron, but they had learned nothing of the lost crew. They had encountered a band of Hottentots, who had robbed them of their clothing, but had not otherwise harmed them.

The missing ship of Francisco d'Albuquerque was not seen, nor was she ever afterwards heard of. Upon arriving at Sofala, Barbudo and Quaresma found the remnant of the garrison in the last stage of distress. Pedro da Nhaya and the greater number of his people had died of fever, and Manuel Fernandes, who had taken command of the few sick men who were left, was dependent for existence upon the friendship of Yakote and the good faith of Soleiman. As many men as could be spared were therefore landed, supplies of food and munitions of war were conveyed to the fort,

and Pedro Quaresma with his ship remained for further security.

In July 1506 Barbudo proceeded from Sofala to Kilwa. There he found that Mohamed Ankoni had been murdered by a nephew of Ibrahim, and that the Arabs were besieging the Portuguese fort. Fogaza, the commander, managed to convey intelligence to him that the garrison could hold out for a good while, so, as he could render no assistance, he hastened to India, and reported the condition of affairs to the viceroy.

D'Almeida immediately sent a sufficiently strong force under Nuno Vas Pereira to suppress the revolt at Kilwa and to relieve Sofala. Upon the arrival of this officer at the first-named place, he found the Arabs divided into parties quarrelling with each other, so he had no difficulty in restoring Portuguese supremacy and in setting up a puppet ruler over the Mohamedan community. Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos was placed in command of the fort. Kilwa, not being in the territory treated of in this history, need not be referred to again. It will be sufficient to say here that its civil wars broke out afresh, that the town—once the best built and most wealthy on the coast—was completely destroyed, and that the Portuguese, after severe losses from fever, abandoned it in 1512 as being no longer of importance for either military or commercial purposes.

In September 1507, shortly after Pereira's arrival at Sofala, a fleet of four ships commanded by Vasco Gomes d'Abreu appeared there. D'Abreu was commissioned by the king to cruise against the Arabs on the East African coast, and also to act as commander-in-chief of

Sofala. At Cape Verde on the passage out he had lost one of the five ships with which he left Portugal. As soon as he made his commission known, Pereira transferred the government to him and left for Mozambique.

D'Abreu provisioned the fort, placed a strong garrison in it, put everything in order, and then sailed with his four ships on a cruise. Not one of them was ever heard of again. When all hope of the safety of the fleet was lost, Ruy de Brito Patalim took command at Sofala until the pleasure of the king could be ascertained. In 1509 Duarte Teixeira arrived as factor, or chief trader, and thereafter vessels were sent yearly from India with coarse calico, beads, and other articles for sale. Antonio de Saldanha, who was appointed captain of Sofala by the king when it was known that D'Abreu had perished at sea, arrived in September 1509, and remained there three years. In 1512 he was relieved by Simão de Miranda de Azevedo, to whom Christovão de Tavora succeeded in 1515.

Sofala, however well adapted for a trading station, was of no use as a port of refreshment for ships passing to or from India. Sometimes fleets were detained on the African coast for months together, waiting for the change of the monsoon, and often ships damaged in storms were abandoned or destroyed because there was no place where they could be repaired. The king therefore, acting on information supplied to him by the most experienced seamen, selected Mozambique as a suitable place for a naval station, and sent out a strong force to occupy it. Mozambique is a low flat coral island lying in the centre of a deep bay, and has an excellent harbour easy of access. The locality is

subject to violent hurricanes, but their devastating effects are only experienced at distant intervals, often of many years.

In September 1507 the expedition, which was commanded by Duarte de Mello, arrived, and at once set about the construction of a fortress on the site now occupied by the governor's residence. This was completed in March 1508, and though it was of no great strength, it answered its purpose for more than half a century. As soon as it was finished, a church, dedicated to S. Gabriel, and a commodious hospital were built. The position was an excellent one, but it had the great disadvantage of being so unhealthy that after a few years it was said to be the principal graveyard of the Europeans in the East.

In 1506 the Arabs suffered some crushing defeats from the Portuguese on the eastern coast of Africa. There was a feud between Oja and Melinda, and Tristão da Cunha, who was on his way to India with a fleet of fourteen ships, to please the friend of Portugal took Oja by storm, plundered it, and burnt it. The people of Brava, who were in arrear with their tribute, fortified their town anew, and bade the Christians defiance. Da Cunha attacked them, and after a desperate resistance, in which forty-two Portuguese were killed and over sixty wounded, Brava was taken. The spoil was immense. The plunder of the houses had not ceased when the town was set on fire, and several of the Christians perished in the flames. At that time the rules of war permitted a general massacre after a town was taken by storm, but did not allow the mutilation of female prisoners. In this instance the

commander was unable to restrain his men from acts of the most barbarous cruelty, and they even cut off the hands of the Arab women to get the silver arm-rings which those unfortunate females wore. The pious journalist who recorded the events of the conquest, and who regarded the butchery of defenceless Mohamedans as meritorious, did not doubt that the loss of a boatload of goods and the drowning of a number of soldiers was a manifestation of God's wrath upon the evil doers for their excesses in mutilating the females.

Fortunately for the Portuguese, the great Mohamedan powers of the day—Turkey, Egypt, and Persia—were at variance with each other, and were therefore unable to give effectual assistance to the Arab communities on the shores of Africa and Hindostan. The sultan of Egypt, however, made an effort to recover the trade through his dominions which the Christians were destroying. He fitted out a great war fleet, which he placed under command of an able naval officer, the emir Husein, who sailed down the Red sea, and thence to the Indian coast. The viceroy instructed his son Lourenço d'Almeida, who was in command of a Portuguese squadron, to prevent the junction of Husein's fleet with the fleet belonging to the Mohamedan ruler of Diu, but this could not be done.

Lourenço d'Almeida then attacked the combined force, which proved too strong for him, and his squadron was defeated and captured. The young commander—he was not twenty-one years of age—was killed in the battle. At the commencement of the action one of his legs was badly hurt by a cannon ball, but he caused it to be hastily bandaged, and then took

a seat by the main mast of his ship and continued to issue orders until he was struck in the breast by another ball, when he fell back dead.

For a short time the Egyptian flag was supreme, but the viceroy collected all his ships of war, and with a much stronger force than his gallant son had commanded, he sailed against his foe. On the 2nd of February 1509 a great naval battle was fought off Diu, which ended in the complete destruction of the Mohamedan fleet. Thereafter the supremacy of the Portuguese in the Indian ocean was assured, for until the appearance of other Europeans there they never again had an enemy so powerful at sea to contend with, though in 1538 the sultan of Turkey sent a strong fleet against them.

Affonso d'Albuquerque, who succeeded D'Almeida as viceroy, in 1510 made Goa the capital of Portuguese India, in which the eastern coast of Africa was included. And now for nearly a century the commerce of the East was as much a monopoly of the monarchs of Portugal as it had previously been of the Arabs. It was carried on by the state, and private individuals were not permitted to take part in it. Lisbon became the centre from which spices and silks, cotton cloths and ivory, with many other articles of value were distributed over Europe, and into the treasury there was poured all the gold collected in South-Eastern Africa.

In returning homeward with the fleet which left India towards the close of the year 1509, the retired viceroy D'Almeida put into the Watering Place of Saldanha for the purpose of refreshing his people.

When the ships came to anchor some natives appeared on the beach, and a party of Portuguese was sent ashore to endeavour to barter cattle from them. The traffic was successful, bits of iron and pieces of calico being employed in trade, and it was carried on in such a friendly manner that several of the Portuguese did not fear to accompany the natives to a kraal at no great distance. But unfortunately a quarrel arose between the parties, and two of the white men were severely beaten. As soon as this was known by the officers of the fleet there was a clamour for vengeance, in order to insure respect for Europeans thereafter, and D'Almeida was persuaded to attempt to punish the savages.

At daybreak next morning, 1st of March 1510, he landed with one hundred and fifty of his people, armed with swords and lances. They marched to the kraal and seized the cattle in the fold, which they were driving away when the Hottentots, supposed to be about one hundred and seventy in number, attacked them. The weapons of the Portuguese were found to be useless against the fleet-footed natives, who poured upon the invaders a shower of missiles. A panic followed. Most fled towards the boats as the only means of safety; a few, who were too proud to retreat before savages, attempted in vain to defend themselves. D'Almeida committed the ensign to Jorge de Mello, with orders to save it if possible, and immediately afterwards was struck down with knobbed sticks and stabbed in the throat with an assagai. Not far from him fell Antonio do Campo, the first European that entered Delagoa Bay. Sixty-five of the best men in the fleet, including twelve

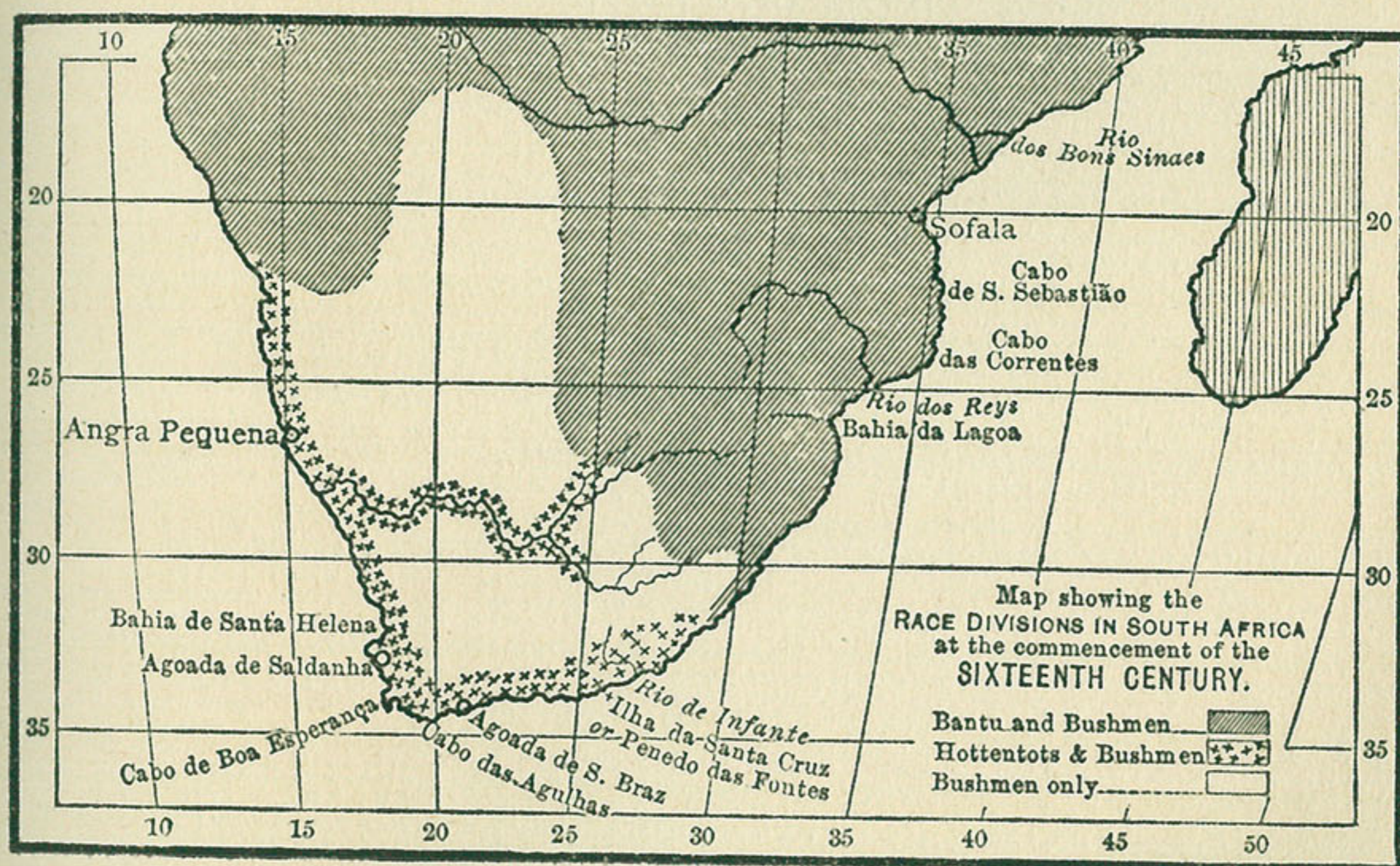
captains and several of noble blood, perished on that disastrous day, and hardly any of those who reached the boats escaped without wounds.

Jorge de Mello succeeded D'Almeida in the command of the fleet. When the natives retired he landed and buried the slain, whom he found stripped of clothing, and as soon as this duty was performed he set sail.

In 1512 Christovão de Brito, when returning homeward, put into the Watering Place of Saldanha to visit the grave of his brother, who had fallen with D'Almeida. An officer who had witnessed the disaster was with him, and pointed out the place where the bodies were buried. De Brito raised a mound of earth and stones over it, and placed a wooden cross at the top, the only monument that it was in his power to erect. It would be interesting to know the exact site, but the description of the locality given by the Portuguese writers is so defective that it cannot be identified. It was probably somewhere between the sloping ground at the foot of the Devil's peak and the sandy beach near the mouth of Salt River.

By this time all the prominent capes and many of the bays on the coast had been named by Portuguese captains, but these cannot all be identified now. There were then no means known for determining longitudes, and the instrument commonly used for measuring vertical angles required to be firmly fixed on shore, so that the latitudes given by seamen who did not land to take observations were usually very incorrect. On this account it cannot be stated with certainty, for instance, whether the river Infante was the present Kowie or the Fish, for its inland course as laid down

on the maps was purely imaginary. And so with many other names. Still a considerable number can be determined with exactitude, and remain in use to the present day, though generally in an English form. Such are the following: Cape Cross, Angra Pequena, St Helena Bay, Cape St Martin, Table Mountain, Cape of Good Hope, False Bay, Cape Agulhas, St Sebastian's Bay, Cape St Francis, Cape Recife, Natal, St Lucia Bay, Cabo das Correntes, and Cape St Sebastian. Besides these, a good many corrupted Portuguese words are found on most modern maps of South Africa, but they do not always represent names given by the Portuguese to the places indicated.





CHAPTER IV.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE SOUTH
OF THE ZAMBESI FROM THE DEATH OF
FRANCISCO D'ALMEIDA TO THE FAILURE
OF FRANCISCO BARRETO'S EXPEDITION.

CHAPTER IV.—*Contents.*

Commerce of Sofala—Condition of the Mohamedans at Sofala—Description of the Kalanga tribe of Bantu—Explanation of the title Monomotapa—Cause of errors in early maps of South-Eastern Africa—Knowledge of the ruins now termed Zimbabwe—Collection of gold by the Makalanga—Exploration of the lower course of the Limpopo river and of Delagoa Bay by Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira—Change of names of places—Commerce between Mozambique and the bay of Lourenço Marques—Commerce with Inhambane—Establishment of forts and trading stations at Sena and Tete on the southern bank of the Zambesi—Rapid degeneration of the Portuguese in South-Eastern Africa—Separation of the East African coast from the viceroyalty of India—Appointment of Francisco Barreto as captain-general of the East African coast—Establishment of Mozambique as the centre of the Portuguese government in Eastern Africa—Belief of the Portuguese in the richness of the South African gold-fields—Resolution of the king to take possession of the gold-fields—Enthusiasm in Lisbon on this becoming known—Account of the force sent out until its arrival at Sena—Barbarous treatment of the Mohamedans at Sena—Disastrous expedition of Francisco Barreto in the Zambesi valley—Death of Francisco Barreto—Assumption of the government by Vasco Fernandes Homem—Division of the Kalanga people into four independent tribes—Expedition of Vasco Fernandes Homem to Manika—Arrangements with the Tshikanga and Kiteve chiefs concerning trade.

CHAPTER IV.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI FROM THE DEATH OF FRANCISCO D'ALMEIDA TO THE FAILURE OF FRANCISCO BARRETO'S EXPEDITION.

FOR a long time the only place occupied by the Portuguese south of the Zambesi was the fort and trading station at Sofala. They had no inducement to make a settlement anywhere on the coasts of the present British and German possessions, because nothing was to be obtained in commerce there, and the Hottentots, after the slaughter of D'Almeida and his people, were regarded as the most ferocious of savages, with whom it was well to have as little intercourse as possible. The wealth of India was theirs to gather, and on it all their thoughts were bent. They had no surplus population with which to form colonies in South Africa, and so it was only accident, or stress of weather, or want of water, that brought their ships to any of the curves in the coast below Delagoa Bay after the refreshment station at Mozambique was established.

Sofala was a very unhealthy post, for the country about it was low and swampy and the air was hot and close,

so that fever carried off a large proportion of the garrison every year; but the profits in trade were great. To it were brought all the ivory collected over a vast territory west, south, and north, all the gold gathered by the Bantu in the same region, a few slaves made prisoners in intertribal wars, and all the pearls found in the oyster beds at the Bazaruto islands and along the coast north of Cape St Sebastian. The Arabs did the retail trading still, they went inland and bartered the ivory and gold and slaves for Indian calico and glass beads and other wares, they directed the pearl fishing and searched the coast for ambergris, which was much more plentiful then than now, but their Portuguese lords required everything that had value to be brought to the king's warehouse, for the factor there was the only wholesale merchant in the land. He it was who fixed the price of everything, under instructions from his government, and it was so fixed as to leave an enormous profit on his side. Sometimes the Asiatic blood would show its pride and give trouble for a season, but it was so diluted as to be very weak, and the Portuguese power in comparison was enormously strong.

The fort was governed by an officer appointed by the king, but who usually received his instructions from the viceroy of India. His direct authority, however, extended only over the Christians. The Mohamedans who lived in the houses and huts close by paid tribute, and were permitted to take only a subordinate part in trade, but in most matters they were ruled according to their own laws by an individual whose appointment was confirmed by the Portuguese authorities. When

they did anything to offend the Europeans, however, they were summarily tried and punished by the captain of the fort. The Bantu were absolutely independent, and the Portuguese, in order to keep on friendly terms with them, found it necessary to make yearly presents to the chiefs, as with their good will that of their followers also was secured. These presents usually consisted of beads, bangles, squares of coarse calico, and other inexpensive articles, so that the value of the whole was trifling. In return, the chiefs sent a tusk or two of ivory, which was often worth as much as what they received.

The predominant people in the country between the rivers Sabi and Zambesi were at that time the Mocaranga as termed by the Portuguese, or Makalanga as pronounced by themselves, a word which means the people of the sun. This tribe occupied territory extending far to the west, but just how far it is impossible to say. Along the southern bank of the Zambesi and scattered here and there on the sea coast were clans who were not Makalanga by blood, and who were independent of each other. South of the Sabi river lived a tribe named the Batonga, whose outposts extended beyond the cape das Correntes.

There are people of this name in various parts of South Africa still, but it does not follow that they are descended from the Batonga of the sixteenth century. The country has often been swept by war since that time, and of the ancient communities many have been absolutely destroyed, while others have been dispersed and reorganised quite differently. There is not a single tribe in South Africa to-day

that bears the same title, has the same relative power, and occupies the same ground, as its ancestors three hundred years ago. The people we call Mashona are indeed descended from the Makalanga of the early Portuguese days, and they preserve their old name and part of their old country, but the contrast between their condition and that of the tribe in the period of its greatness is striking. Internal dissension, subjection, and merciless treatment from conquerors have destroyed most of what was good in their forefathers.

This tribe—the Makalanga—was the one with which the Portuguese had most to do. Its paramount chief was called by them the monomotapa, which word, their writers state, meant emperor, but in reality it was only one of the hereditary titles originally given by the official praisers to the great chief, and meant either master of the mountain or master of the mines. The Portuguese were not very careful in the orthography of Bantu names, and in those early days they had not discovered the rules which govern the construction of the language, so that probably monomotapa does not represent the exact sound as spoken by the natives, though most likely it approximates closely to it. About the first part of the word there is no uncertainty. In one of the existing dialects *mong* means master or chief, in another *omuhona* has the same meaning. The plural of *mong* is *beng*, and one of the Portuguese writers gives the word as *benomotapa*, evidently from having heard it used by natives in a plural form. Another Portuguese writer, in relating the exploits of a chief named Munhamonge, says that word meant master of the world, and his statement is perfectly correct.

Thus monomotapa meant chief of something, but what that something was is not so certain.

It seems on analysing it to be chief of the mountain, and there are other reasons for believing that to be its correct signification. The great place, or residence of the monomotapa, was close to the mountain Fura, which he would never permit a Portuguese to ascend, probably from some superstition connected with it, though they believed it was because he did not wish them to have a view over as much of his country as could be seen from its top. The natives, when going to the great place, most likely used the expression going to the mountain, for the Portuguese soon began to employ the words *à serra* in that sense, without specially defining what mountain was meant. In our own times one of the titles given by the official praisers to the Basuto chief Moshesh was chief of the mountain, owing to his possession of Thaba Bosigo, and the Kalanga chief probably had his title of monomotapa from his possession of Fura.

But there is another possible explanation of the word, which would give it a much more romantic origin. It may have meant chief of the mines, for the termination, slightly altered in form, in one of the Bantu dialects signifies a large hole in the ground. In this case the title may have come down from a very remote period, and may have originated with the ancient gold-workers who mixed their blood with the ancestors of the Kalanga people. This is just possible, but it is so unlikely that it is almost safe to translate the word *monomotapa*, *manamotapa*, or *manomotapa*,—as different Portuguese writers spelt it,—chief of the mountain. In

any case it signified the paramount or great chief of the Kalanga tribe, and was applied to all who in succession held that office.

Some interest is attached to this word *Monomotapa*, inasmuch as it was placed on maps of the day as if it was the name of a territory, not the title of a ruler, and soon it was applied to the entire region from the Zambesi to the mouth of the Fish river. Geographers, who knew nothing of the country, wrote the word upon their charts, and one copied another until the belief became general that a people far advanced in civilisation, and governed by a mighty emperor, occupied the whole of South-Eastern Africa.

Then towns were marked on the chart, and rivers were traced upon it, and men of the highest standing in science lent their names to the fraud, believing it to be true, until a standard map of the middle of the seventeenth century was as misleading as it was possible to make it. Readers of Portuguese histories must have known this, but no one rectified the error, because no one could substitute what was really correct.

And even in recent years educated men have asked what has become of the mysterious empire of Monomotapa, a question that can be so easily answered by reading the books of De Barros, De Couto, and Dos Santos, and analysing the Kalanga words which they repeat. Such an empire never existed. The foundation upon which imagination constructed it was nothing more than a Bantu tribe. The error arose mainly from the use of the words emperor, king, and prince to represent African chiefs, a mistake, however, which was not confined to the Portuguese, for it pervades a good

deal of English literature of the nineteenth century, where it has done infinitely more to mislead readers than those expressions ever did in times gone by.

The Kalanga tribe was larger and occupied a much greater extent of territory than any now existing in South Africa. It was held together by the same means as the others, that is principally by the religious awe with which the paramount chief was regarded, as representing in his person the mighty spirits that were feared and worshipped. There was always the danger of a disputed succession, however, when it might not be certain which of two or more individuals was nearest to the line of descent and therefore the one to whom fealty was due. How long the tribe had existed before the Portuguese became acquainted with it, and whether it had attained its greatness by growth or by conquest, cannot be ascertained, but very shortly afterwards it was broken into several independent communities.

The tribe belonged to that section of the Bantu family which in general occupies the interior of the country. It was divided into a great number of clans, each under its own chief, and though all of these acknowledged the monomotapa as their superior in rank, the distant clans, even with the religious bond of union in full force, were very loosely connected with the central government. There was one peculiar custom however, that prevented them from forgetting it: a custom that most likely had a foreign origin. Every year at a certain stage of the crops a command was sent throughout the country that when the next new moon appeared all the fires were to be put out, and they could only be lit again

from the spreading of one kindled by the Monomotapa himself.

The chiefs of the principal branches married their near relatives, even their nieces, and when they died these women were obliged to accompany them to the spirit world. The custom of slaughtering great numbers of people at the death of a powerful chief, in order to provide him with a suitable retinue, was not altogether unknown among the tribes south of the Sabi, but was rarely practised there, though north of that river it was generally carried out. It showed that the religion common to all was more developed in the north, and there were other circumstances that proved this as well. Thus there was a yearly sacrifice to the shades of the dead, performed with much ceremony at the burial places of the chiefs, instead of an occasional sacrifice in time of trouble, as was the practice in the south.

The form of trial by ordeal in criminal cases was common among the Makalanga, where the accused were required to prove their innocence by licking hot iron or swallowing poison, the supposition being that if they were free of guilt they would suffer no harm. This also indicates an advance beyond the southern tribes.

Another proof of a slightly higher degree of progress was shown in their manufacture of a coarse kind of cloth. In the south the fibre of bark was used to make cords to fasten the reeds of mats together, but the Makalanga converted the same material into clothing, though of a very rough kind.

With these exceptions, their customs, mode of living, and religious observances, as described by the early

Portuguese writers, were the same as those mentioned in the second chapter of this book.

Of the various Bantu tribes south of the Zambesi they appeared to have a larger proportion of Asiatic blood in their veins than any of the others, which will account for their mental and mechanical superiority. Almost at first sight the Europeans observed that they were in every respect more intelligent than the blacker tribes along the Mozambique coast. But they were neither so robust nor so courageous as many of their neighbours. Like their near kindred the Basuto and Bapedi of to-day, they were capable of making a vigorous defence in mountain strongholds, but were disinclined to carry on aggressive warfare, and could not stand against an equal number of men of a coast tribe in the open field. Their language was regarded by the Christians as being pleasanter than Arabic to the ear. The residence of each important chief was called his zimbabwe, which the Portuguese writers say meant the place where the court was held, though the buildings were merely thatched huts with wattled walls covered with clay. The word was equivalent to "the great place" as now used, though the roots from which it was derived are not absolutely certain.

The ruins now called Zimbabwe were known to the Makalanga, who had no traditions, however, of their origin. Some Arabs, too, had seen them in their trading journeys inland, and there was a report among these people that above a gateway certain characters—evidently of the nature of writing—were traced, but which could not be deciphered. They believed the ruins to be the place where the workmen of either

Solomon the king or the queen of Sheba lived, and they knew that gold was found not far off. But their accounts were either incorrectly given, or incorrectly written down by the Portuguese, for the largest building was described by them as square, and the tower and numerous small buildings were mentioned separately.

When the Portuguese in 1505 first came in close contact with the Makalanga, the tribe had been engaged in civil war for twelve or thirteen years, and was in a very unsettled condition. A monomotapa, Mokomba by name, had made a favourite of the chief Tshikanga, one of his distant relatives, who was hereditary head of the powerful clan which occupied the district of Manika. Some other chiefs became jealous of the privileges conferred upon this man, and took advantage of his absence on one occasion to instil in the monomotapa's mind that he was a sorcerer and was compassing the death of his benefactor. Thereupon the monomotapa sent him some poison to drink, but instead of obeying, he made an offer of a large number of cattle for his life. The offer was declined, and then in despair he collected his followers, made a quick march to the great place, surprised Mokomba, and killed him.

Tshikanga then assumed the government of the tribe. He endeavoured to exterminate the family of his predecessor, and actually put twenty-one of Mokomba's children to death. Only one young man escaped. After four years' exile, this one, whose name is variously given as Kesarinuto or Kesarimyo, returned and collected a force which defeated the usurping monomotapa's army. Tshikanga then took the field

himself, adherents gathered on both sides, and a battle was fought which continued for three days and a half. On the fourth day Tshikanga was killed, when his army dispersed, and Kesarimyo became monomotapa.

But Tolwa, Tshikanga's son, would not submit, and with his ancestral clan kept possession of the Manika district, and carried on the war. To this circumstance the Portuguese attributed the small quantity of gold that was brought to Sofala for sale. In course of time the war was reduced to a permanent feud, Tolwa's clan became an independent tribe, and Manika was lost to the monomotapa for ever.¹

Throughout the greater part of the territory occupied by the Makalanga gold was found, and particularly in the district of Manika. No other mode of obtaining it was known—at least as far as the Portuguese and the Arabs could ascertain—than by washing ground either in the rivers or in certain localities after heavy rains. Extracting quartz from reefs and crushing it was not heard of by the traders, and if practised at all could only have been carried on in remote localities and to a very limited extent. The gold, unless it was in nuggets of some size, was not wrought by the finders, as they were without sufficient skill to make any except the roughest ornaments of it. For a very long time, however, its value in trade had been known. It was

¹The particulars of Tshikanga's revolt are not given by Barros, but are contained in a long report from Diogo de Alcaçova to the king, dated 20th of November 1506. Alcaçova went to Sofala with the expedition under Pedro da Nhaya, and obtained his information there.

kept in quills, and served as a convenient medium of exchange until the Arabs got possession of it.

Copper and iron were also to be had from the Makalanga. The iron was regarded as of superior quality, so much so that a quantity was once sent to India to make firelocks of. Though the smelting furnaces were of the crudest description, this metal was obtainable in the greatest abundance, just as it is to-day among the Bapedi farther south.

Before the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese had effected their principal conquests in the East, and the valour which distinguished them when they first appeared in the Indian sea was rapidly giving place to a boundless greed for wealth. They were extending their commerce into regions unfrequented by traders before, but unfortunately corruption was becoming rife in all their forts and factories. On the eastern coast of Africa they were particularly active.

In 1544 the factory of Quilimane was founded on the northern bank of the river of Good Tokens, about fifteen miles from the sea. In the same year the captain of Mozambique sent two men named Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira on an exploring voyage to the southward in a pangaio, that is a vessel of which the woodwork was sewed together, such as the Arabs commonly used. They inspected the lower course of the Limpopo river, and ascertained that copper in considerable quantities was to be obtained there from the natives. Then they sailed to the Espirito Santo, and examined that stream. On the banks of the Umbelosi, which flows into the Espirito Santo, they

saw a great number of elephants, and purchased tusks of ivory from the natives at the rate of a few glass beads for each.

In the neighbourhood of the Maputa river, which they next visited, elephants were also seen, and ivory was plentiful. The chief of the tribe that occupied the country between this river and the sea was very friendly to his European visitors. Though quite black, he was a fine looking old man, with a white beard, and as Marques and Caldeira fancied his features bore some resemblance to those of the governor Garcia de Sá, they gave him that official's name. We shall meet him again in the course of this narrative, and shall find that his friendship for white people was not a mere passing whim.

The inspection of the country around the bay of the Lake was followed by a change of names. The Umbelosi river was thereafter termed by the Portuguese Rio de Lourenço Marques, though geographers of other nations continued to term it the river da Lagoa, until the restoration in recent years of its Bantu name. The bay—previously Bahia da Lagoa—now took the name among the Portuguese of Bahia de Lourenço Marques, though to all other Europeans it remained known as Delagoa Bay, and it is still so called. The old name was transferred to the curve in the coast now called Algoa Bay, but the exact date of the transfer, by what individual it was made, and the cause that prompted it, cannot be ascertained.¹

¹ In the *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, of Duarte Pacheco, written before the death of King Manuel, a bay named Alagoa is mentioned, which

From this time forward a small vessel was sent every year from Mozambique to the bay of Lourenço Marques to obtain ivory. During their stay the traders usually resided on the island of Inhaka, on the eastern side of the bay, where some rough huts were built for their accommodation, and as soon as all the tusks that had been collected by the natives were purchased, they returned to Mozambique. No permanent factory or fort was built at this place until a much later date.

At Inhambane, or Nyimbana as termed by the natives, which is about two hundred and thirty miles farther up the coast, a similar trade was carried on. This is one of the best ports on the Indian seaboard for all but very large ships. There is good anchorage in the bay or estuary, but the Portuguese were accustomed to sail ten or twelve miles up the river, which has always for that distance a deep channel, though there are many sandbanks bordering it. Where the village of Inhambane now stands, on the right bank of the stream, they built a hut for a temporary trading station, and bartered beads and trinkets and coarse calico for ivory. This place has always been regarded as the healthiest station in the Portuguese possessions in Eastern Africa, but the country around it is not very productive.

is said to have been so called on account of a lake which was there in a marsh. It is described as having a small island in it, covered with seals and seabirds, but its position is given as fifteen leagues east of the Watering Place of S. Braz, that is the locality of the Knysna inlet. This designation for that particular sheet of water was probably lost soon afterwards, as no other trace of it is to be found, and it does not appear to have had any connection with the naming of the present Algoa Bay.

At this time also two permanent trading stations were established on the southern bank of the Zambesi river, at each of which a small fort was built and garrisoned by a few soldiers for the protection of the factor. The first of these, named Sena, was about one hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the river, but the site was low and unhealthy. The second, Tete, was over three hundred miles from the sea, and was on much higher ground, though it could be reached by small vessels from Mozambique. At both Sena and Tete gold and ivory, which might not have been taken to Sofala, were obtained from the natives.¹

The Portuguese, whether soldiers or traders, were in South Africa so circumstanced that they degenerated rapidly. A European female was very rarely seen, and nearly every white man consorted with native women. Fever, when it did not kill them outright, deprived them of energy, and there was nothing to stimulate them to exertion. Cut off from all society but that of barbarians, often until towards the close of the sixteenth century without the ministrations of the church, sunk in sloth, and suffering from excessive heat and deadly

¹ The exact date of the foundation of Tete and Sena is unknown, though it is likely that records of the event are in existence in Mozambique. Bordalo sought in vain for papers on the subject in the archives at Lisbon. In De Couto's great work the first mention of these places represents them in 1569 as established posts, and in the life of Gonçalo da Silveira they appear in 1560 as factories well known in the Indian trade. In 1531 Viçente Pegado, captain of Sofala, made regulations for holding fairs on the southern bank of the Zambesi, so that Tete and Sena were not then in existence. In all probability they originated in the fairs, but it does not do to make sure where there is no positive proof.

malaria, no lives led by Europeans anywhere could be more miserable than theirs.

The natives termed them Bazunga, — singular, Mozunga, — and were generally well disposed towards them. Individual white men often gained the confidence of chiefs, and exercised great influence over them. Instances were not wanting of such persons abandoning their former associates, and going to residé permanently either on tracts of land presented to them, where they became petty rulers, or at native kraals, where they held authority of some kind under the chiefs. Thereafter they were regarded as renegades, though their mode of living was little worse than that of many of their countrymen at the forts and trading stations.

For upwards of half a century nothing of any consequence occurred, except what has been related. A list of the successive captains of Sofala might be made, but it would be of no interest to anyone now. And of the changes that took place in the native tribes, which might be of some importance to know, the writers of the time made no mention.

In 1569 King Sebastião cut off two great tracts of territory from the viceroyalty of India. Complaints were unceasing that in places distant from Goa it was almost impossible to carry on business properly, owing to the length of time required to obtain orders and instructions. Under the new system, all the settlements and trading stations from Pegu to China were placed under a governor independent of the viceroy, and the whole East African coast from the cape das Correntes to the cape Guardafui was similarly placed under another.

The officer selected by the king to be the head of the East African stations was Francisco Barreto, who had been governor general of India from 1555 to 1558. He had the title of governor and captain general, and was instructed to make Mozambique his headquarters. The object of the king in selecting for this post a man who had once held higher rank was that Barreto should have the command and guidance of an expedition then regarded as of the first importance.

Ever since the establishment of the trading station at Sofala a quantity of gold had been obtained yearly in commerce, but that quantity was so small as to be disappointing. Compared with the wealth which flowed into Spain from Mexico and Peru it was almost as nothing. Yet the belief was general in Portugal that the mines of South Africa were as rich as those of America, and that if possession of them was taken, boundless wealth would be obtained.

Were not these the mines from which the queen of Sheba got the gold which she presented to King Solomon? said the Portuguese enthusiasts. Was not Masapa the ancient Ophir? Why even then the Kalanga Kaffirs called the mountain close to the residence of their great chief Fura, and the Arabs called it Aufur, what was that but a corruption of Ophir? There, at Abasia, close to Masapa and to the mountain Fura, was a mine so rich that there were seldom years in which nuggets worth four thousand cruzados (£550) were not taken from it. Then there were the mines of Manika and far distant Butua, worked only by Bantu, who neither knew how to dig nor had the necessary tools. Only by washing river sand and soil in pools

after heavy rains, these barbarians obtained all the gold that was purchased at Sofala and the smaller stations: what would not be got if civilised Europeans owned the territory? For it was to be borne in mind that the Bantu were extremely indolent, that when any one of them obtained sufficient gold to supply his immediate wants, he troubled himself about washing the soil no longer.

All this and more of the same nature was exciting the minds of the people of Portugal, and was reflected in the glowing pages of their writers. And now the young and enthusiastic king Sebastião had resolved that the mines should be his, and selected the experienced administrator Francisco Barreto to lead the expedition which was to take possession of them.

Barreto was instructed to enrol a thousand soldiers, and was supplied with a hundred thousand cruzados (£13,750) in ready money, with a promise of an equal sum in gold and a reinforcement of five hundred men every year until the conquest should be completed. All Lisbon was in a state of excitement when this became known, and so great was the enthusiasm with which the project was regarded that from every side cadets of the best families pressed forward and offered their services. The recruiting offices were so crowded that only the very best men were selected, and those who were rejected would have sufficed for another expedition.

Three ships were engaged to take the troops to Mozambique. One of these—the *Rainha*—was a famous Indiaman, and the largest in the king's service. In addition to the crew, six hundred soldiers, of whom more than half were of noble blood, and two hundred were

court attendants, embarked with Barreto in this ship. The other vessels were of two hundred and fifty tons burden, and in each of them two hundred soldiers embarked. One was commanded by Vasco Fernandes Homem, the other by Lourenço Carvalho.

The viceroy at Goa was instructed to forward supplies of food to Mozambique, and to procure horses and other animals at Ormuz for the use of the expedition. A hundred negroes were sent out to take care of the animals when they arrived.

Towards the close of April 1569 the expedition, that was supposed to have a brilliant career before it, sailed from the Tagus. Almost immediately the first trouble was encountered, in the form of a gale which separated the ships, and caused so much damage to the one under Lourenço Carvalho that she was obliged to return to Lisbon, where she was condemned. The *Rainha* put into the bay of All Saints, on the coast of Brazil, and was detained there some months effecting repairs. The other ship arrived safely at Mozambique in August.

Pedro Barreto, who was then captain of Mozambique, no sooner heard of the new order of things than in a fit of jealousy he threw up his appointment and embarked for Europe. Consequently when the *Rainha* arrived some time later, everything was found in confusion, and the supplies of provisions were short.

The governor appointed Lourenço Godinho provisional captain of Mozambique, and then proceeded up the coast as far as Melinda, purchasing food at the various stations and collecting the tribute due to the king. Upon his return, he found a ship, commanded by

Manuel de Mesquita, which had been sent from Portugal to survey the coast onward from the Cape of Good Hope, and to convey men and material of war for his assistance. Some ships which the viceroy had sent from India with munitions of war, stores of different kinds, horses, and other animals for the use of the expedition had also arrived. With these, however, Barreto received information that Chaul was being besieged by a very strong force, so he called a council of his officers and put the question to them whether it would not be more advantageous to the king's service to defer the African conquest for a time, and proceed to the relief of that fortress. The council was of opinion that they should first force the enemy to raise the siege of Chaul, and then return and take possession of the gold mines, so preparations for that purpose were at once commenced.

Before Barreto could sail for Chaul, Antonio de Noronha, the newly appointed viceroy of India, arrived at Mozambique with a strong force. His appearance put a different aspect upon affairs, and in a general council, which was attended by all the officers and more than twenty Dominican friars, it was unanimously resolved that the African expedition should at once be proceeded with. With one exception, the members of the council were of opinion that Sofala should be made the base of operations, the friar Francisco de Monclaros alone holding that the route should be up the Zambesi to a certain point, and then straight to the mountain where the paramount chief of the Kalanga tribe resided.

Barreto accepted the decision of the majority of the council, and commenced to send his stores to Sofala in

coasting vessels, but after a time his mind misgave him. He had been specially commanded by the king to consult the father De Monclaros, who was a prelate of the Dominican order and a man held in very high esteem. After another conversation with this friar, the governor suddenly abandoned the Sofala route, and in November 1569 sent his whole force—which had been strengthened by the viceroy De Noronha—to Sena by way of the Kilimane and Zambesi rivers.

On the right bank of the Zambesi, close to the fort at Sena, a camp was formed. There a thousand European soldiers were mustered, with many slaves, and a contingent of Arab mixed breeds who knew the country and could act as interpreters. Their supplies of provisions were ample. They had horses to draw the artillery and mount a respectable company, a number of asses to carry skin water-bags, and some camels for heavy transport. As far as war material was concerned, the expedition was as well equipped as it could be. But this first campaign of Europeans against Bantu in Southern Africa was opened under exceptional difficulties, for the locality was the sickly Zambesi valley, and the time was the hottest of the year.

The first trouble encountered arose from bad water. The river, owing to heavy falls of rain, was so muddy and dirty that its water could not be used without first letting it settle, and the only vessels available for this purpose were a few calabashes. Sickness broke out, and men and horses began to die, owing, as was supposed, to the impurities which they drank. Barreto caused a well to be dug in front of the camp, and stones were brought for building the wall, when a man named

Manhoesa, an Arab mixed breed, came to him privately and told him that there was a plot to put poison in it.

The Mohamedan settlement in which Manhoesa lived was only a cannon shot from the camp. The people who resided in it were traders and dependents of the Portuguese at Sena, but were governed by their own sheikh. Most of them could speak the Portuguese language sufficiently well to be understood, and after the expedition arrived professed to entertain friendship for the members of it, though at heart it was impossible for the two races at that time to be really well disposed towards each other. Apart from the wide gulf which religion caused, the Christians had come to destroy the commerce with the Bantu by which these mongrel Arabs lived, how could there then be friendship between them?

Barreto believed Manhoesa's statement, and caused the well to be filled up. The horses were now dying off at an alarming rate, and upon the bodies being opened, the appearance of the lungs convinced the Portuguese that they had been poisoned. The grooms were arrested, and as they declared that they were innocent, the general commanded them to be put to the torture. Under this ordeal some of them admitted that they had been bribed by the sheikh of the Arab village to kill the horses, and that he had supplied them with poison for the purpose.

Upon this evidence the captain general caused the village to be surrounded, and directed his soldiers to rush in and put all but the principal men to the sword. There was even a search for Mohamedans along the lower course of the river, and a wealthy individual who

lived at a distance in the other direction was also arrested. The prisoners were tried, and were sentenced to death. They were exhorted to embrace Christianity, in order to save their souls, but all rejected the proposal except one, who was baptized with the name Lourenço, and was accompanied to the scaffold by a priest carrying a crucifix. This one was hanged, some were blown from the mouths of cannons, and the others were put to death with exquisite torture. Only Manhoesa was left living of all the men that were captured.

From Sena Barreto sent one of the Portuguese residents to the monomotapa to propose an alliance. A messenger went in advance to ascertain whether he would be received in a manner becoming the representative of the king of Portugal, because in that capacity he would not be at liberty to lay aside his arms, to prostrate himself upon the ground, and to kneel when addressing the chief, as was the ordinary custom when natives or strangers presented themselves. Some Mohamedans were at the great place when the messenger arrived, and they tried to induce the monomotapa not to see the envoy except in the usual manner. They informed him that the Portuguese were powerful sorcerers, who, if permitted to have their own way, might bewitch and even kill him by their glances and their words. The chief therefore hesitated for some days, but in the end he promised that the envoy might present himself in the Portuguese manner, and would be received with friendship.

Barreto's agent then proceeded to the monomotapa's kraal. He had several attendants with him, and before him went servants carrying a chair and a carpet. The

carpet was spread on the ground in front of the place where the monomotapa was reclining with his councillors and great men half surrounding him, the chair was placed upon it, and the Portuguese official, richly dressed and armed, took his seat in it, his attendants, also armed, standing on each side and at his back. The European subordinate and the greatest of all the South African chiefs were there in conference, and the European, by virtue of his blood, assumed and was conceded the higher position of the two.

After some complimentary remarks from each, the envoy, through his interpreter, introduced the subject of his mission, which he said was to obtain the grant of a right of way to the gold mines of Manika and Butua, and to form an alliance against the chief Mongasi—(variously written by the Portuguese Omigos, Mongas, and Monge),—the hereditary enemy of the Makalanga. The real object of Barreto's expedition, the seizure of the gold mines in the Kalanga country itself, was kept concealed. The monomotapa, as a matter of course, was charmed with the proposal of assistance against his enemy. The tribe of which Mongasi was the head occupied the right bank of the Zambesi from above Tete nearly down to Sena, but did not reach quite to the river through all that distance. Its territory was small compared with that over which the Kalanga clans were spread, but its men were brave and fond of war, and to the Portuguese it was not certain which of the two was really the more powerful, Mongasi or the monomotapa himself. The condition of things indeed was somewhat similar to that in the same country three centuries later, except that Mongasi and his fighting

men were in power far below Lobengule and the Matabele bands.

The monomotapa was therefore ready to agree to everything that the envoy proposed. He promised to put a great army in the field against Mongasi, and he said that a way through his territory to the mines beyond would be open to the Portuguese at all times.

Upon the return of the envoy, Barreto proceeded up the river from Sena. He had lost by fever at that place a great many of those who had come from Portugal with such high hope less than a year before, among them his own son, and of the men with him some were barely able to walk. When he reached the point where he was to turn towards the mountain of the monomotapa, he found himself obliged to form a camp on an island in the river, and to leave there his sick and all the superfluous baggage and stores, for there was no possibility of proceeding farther with a heavily encumbered column. An officer named Ruy de Mello was placed in charge of this camp.

With his force now reduced to five hundred and sixty infantry, twenty-three horsemen, and a few gunners with five or six pieces of artillery, Barreto turned away from the river. His baggage was borne by camels and asses. The column marched onward for ten days, the men and animals suffering greatly at times from want of water. The soldiers lived chiefly on beef, which they grilled on embers or by holding it on rods before a fire, but often they were so exhausted with the heat and fatigue that they were unable to eat anything at all. Their spirits, however, revived when on the eleventh day

they came in sight of Mongasi's army, which was so large that the hillsides and valleys looked black with men.

Barreto immediately arranged his soldiers in a strong position resting on a hill, and awaited an attack, but none was made that day. All night the troops were under arms, getting what sleep they could without moving from their places, but that was little, for the natives at no great distance were shouting continuously and making a great noise with their war drums. At dawn the sergeant-major, Pedro de Castro, was sent out with eighty picked men to try and draw the enemy on. This manœuvre succeeded. The natives rushed forward in a dense mass, led by an old female witchfinder with a calabash full of charms, which she threw into the air in the belief that they would cause the Portuguese to become blind and palsied. So implicitly did the warriors of Mongasi rely upon these charms, that they carried riems to bind the Europeans who should not be killed. Barreto ordered one of his best shots to try to pick the old sorceress off, and she fell dead under his fire. The natives, who believed that she was immortal, were checked for an instant, but presently brandishing their weapons with great shouts, they came charging on.

Then, with a cry of Sant Iago from the Portuguese, a storm of balls from cannons and arquebuses and unwieldy firelocks was poured into the dense mass, which was shattered and broken. Barreto now in his turn charged, when the enemy took to flight, but in the pursuit several Portuguese were wounded with arrows. Fearing that his men might get scattered, the general caused the recall to be sounded almost at once, so that

within a few minutes from its commencement the action was over.

The horsemen were then sent out to inspect the country in front. They returned presently with intelligence that there was a large kraal close by, so the general resolved to occupy it as soon as the men were a little rested and had broken their fast. About ten o'clock the expedition reached the kraal, which was nearly surrounded by patches of forest, but possession was hardly taken when the natives in great numbers were seen approaching. There was just time to tear out some stakes and bushes from the cattle fold and form a kind of breastwork at the sides of the field guns, when Mongasi's army, arranged in the form of a crescent with its horns extended to surround the position, was upon the little European band. It was received as before with a heavy fire, which was kept back until the leading rank was within a few feet, and which struck down the files far towards the rear. The smoke which rolled over the Europeans and hid them from sight was regarded by the Bantu with superstitious fear, it seemed to them as if their opponents were under supernatural protection, and so they fled once more. They were followed some distance, and a great many were killed, but the Portuguese also suffered severely in the pursuit, for when Barreto's force came together again it was found that more than sixty men were wounded and two were dead. Of the enemy it was believed that over six thousand had perished since dawn that morning, though very probably this estimate was much in excess of the actual number.

The progress of the expedition was now delayed by

the necessity of establishing a hospital. Fortunately the site of the captured kraal was a good one, and water was plentiful close by. But at daylight on the sixth day after their arrival the natives attacked them again. On this occasion the Europeans were protected with palisades, which the Bantu were unable to pass, though they continued their efforts to force an entrance until an hour after noon. Their losses under these circumstances must have been very heavy, and they were so disheartened that they accepted their defeat as decisive and sent a messenger to beg for peace.

Barreto's position at this time was one of great difficulty. He was encumbered with sick and wounded men, the objective point of his expedition was far away, his supply of ammunition was small, and his slaughter cattle were reduced to a very limited number. Yet he spoke to Mongasi's messenger in a haughty tone, and replied that he would think over the matter: the chief might send again after a couple of days, and he would then decide.

In less than a week from this time a council of war was held, when there was but one opinion, that the only hope of safety was in retreating without delay. The expedition therefore turned back towards the Zambesi, and so great were the sufferings of the men for want of food on the way that they searched for roots and wild plants to keep them alive. At length the bank of the river was reached, and a canoe was obtained, with which a letter was sent to Ruy de Mello, who was in command of the camp on the island. That officer immediately despatched six boat loads of millet and

other provisions, and thus the exhausted soldiers and camp attendants were saved.

While Barreto was in the field the monomotapa had given no assistance, but as soon as Mongasi's power was broken by the Portuguese, the Makalanga fell upon their prostrate enemy, and completed his destruction. The jurisdiction over eleven little kraals in the immediate neighbourhood of Tete was then ceded by the Kalanga chief to the captain of that fort, and this was the sole recompense for all the lives that had been lost and the treasure that had been expended in the attempt to get possession of the gold mines of the interior.

Barreto saw but one slight chance of recovery from his disasters. It was believed that silver was found somewhere on the northern bank of the Zambesi above Tete,—the exact locality was uncertain,—and as the native tribes in that direction were too weak to offer much resistance, he resolved to go in search of the place. Accordingly he crossed the river, and for several days marched upward. At first there was no difficulty in obtaining food, as the natives brought abundance for sale. A week after he set out, however, he reached people who were less friendly, but he easily overcame the opposition which they offered, and burned a couple of kraals. A despatch now reached him from Mozambique, in which he was informed that his presence there was urgently needed, as the captain Antonio Pereira Brandão, whom he had left in command of that station during his absence, was acting treacherously towards him. He therefore appointed Vasco Fernandes Homem temporary leader of the

expedition, and proceeded in haste to the head quarters of his government.

Homem marched some distance farther, and then, finding that as he advanced the natives abandoned their kraals and fled, he built a fort of wood and earth, in which he stationed a garrison of two hundred men under the captain Antonio Cordoso d'Almeida, and with the remainder of the force he returned to Sena.

The natives now went back to their kraals, but kept away from the fort. After a time provisions began to fail, so D'Almeida sent out a raiding party that secured a quantity of millet and a few cattle. Some of the natives after this asked for peace, and terms were agreed upon, but when a band of soldiers left the fort to explore the country, it was attacked, and only a few men got back again. The place was then surrounded, and the siege was maintained until the provisions were exhausted, when the Portuguese tried to cut their way out, but were all killed.

After putting matters right at Mozambique, and appointing Fernando de Monroy provisional captain of that station, Barreto returned to Sena with re-inforcements of men and supplies. The evil tidings that awaited him there greatly affected him, though for six or seven days he busied himself in making arrangements for a renewal of the campaign. Then, after an angry meeting with Father De Monclaros, in which he told the friar that God would bring him to account for all the lives lost through his counsel as to the route, the captain general took to his bed, and without any sign of disease died in great distress of mind. In India and in his native country he was regarded as

a man of high ability, but South Africa destroyed his reputation, as it has destroyed that of many others since. He was buried beside his son, Ruy Nunes Barreto, in the little church¹ of S. Marçal at Sena, but the remains of both were subsequently removed to Portugal.

Upon opening the sealed instructions issued by the king to provide for such an occurrence, it was found that Vasco Fernandes Homem was named as his successor, with full power and authority as governor and captain general over all the coast from Cape Guardafui to Cape das Correntes. By the advice of Father De Monclaros, Homem gave up the project in hand, and with all the men and stores of every kind proceeded to Mozambique.

Shortly after he reached that place, an officer named Francisco Pinto Pimentel arrived there from India on his way home. This officer expressed the utmost astonishment at his having abandoned an enterprise which the king had resolved should be carried out, and for which reinforcements were constantly being sent from Portugal. The advice of Father De Monclaros, he said, would not serve as an excuse, because the friar was not supposed to be acquainted with military matters.

¹ I use the word church, though there was no proper building for the purpose of public worship in Sena in 1570. The Portuguese word *ermida* was then used to signify not only a hermitage, but a little temporary structure with a shrine, where people went to say their prayers. *Igreja*, properly a church, was often used in the same sense. In a structure of this kind Barreto was buried. When a place was provided with a resident clergyman, a proper building was erected, but this of course took time.

Homem then resolved to resume the effort to get possession of the gold mines, and to make his base of operations the point that had been recommended by the council of officers in 1569. A fleet of coasting vessels was therefore collected, in which he transported his men and materials of war to Sofala.

Previous to this time the Kalanga tribe had split into four sections, independent of each other. The way in which the Tshikanga section, occupying the district of Manika, broke asunder from the main body has already been related. A further separation took place in the following manner. Two sons of the paramount chief during their father's lifetime were entrusted with the government of clans, and upon his death refused to acknowledge as their superior their half brother who claimed to be the great heir, but about whose legitimate right there must have been some uncertainty, or otherwise he must have been a weakling. One of the seceders, Sedanda by name, governed the clan living on the coast between the Sabi and Sofala rivers, and the other, named Kiteve, was the head of the clan living along the Sofala and occupying the territory as far north as the Tendankulu river. The great heir retained the title of monomotapa and the government of the remainder of the Kalanga people, but the sections here named were for ever lost to him and his successors. Thereafter war was frequent between the newly formed tribes, and when Homem arrived at Sofala he found the Kiteve and Tshikanga chiefs at variance with each other.

Having mustered his force, which consisted of five hundred fighting men, the Portuguese captain general

sent presents to the Kiteve chief, and requested a free passage to the Tshikanga territory, but met with a refusal. The Bantu rulers always objected to intercourse between white people and the tribes beyond their own, because they feared to lose their toll on the commerce which passed through their territories, and they were also apprehensive of strangers forming an alliance with their enemies.

Homem made no scruple in marching forward without the chief's permission, and when the Kiteves attempted to oppose him with arms, a discharge of his artillery and arquebuses immediately scattered them. They had not the mettle of the gallant warriors of Mongasi. Without attempting to make a second stand, the whole tribe fled into a rugged tract of country, taking their cattle with them, and leaving no grain that the invaders could find. Homem marched on to their zimbabwe, which consisted of thatched huts, to which he set fire. Two days later he reached the Tshikanga territory. There he was met by men bringing a present from the chief, who was delighted at the overthrow of his enemy, and who gave him a warm welcome.

The Portuguese force went on to the great place, where a camp was formed, the utmost good feeling being shown on both sides. After a short rest Homem and some of his principal men visited the mines, but were greatly disappointed. They had expected to find the precious metal in such abundance that they could take away loads of it, instead of which a number of naked blacks carrying baskets of earth from a deep cavity were seen, with some others washing the earth

in wooden troughs and after long and patient toil extracting a few grains of gold. They at once concluded that it could be of no advantage for them to hold the country. An agreement was therefore made with the Tshikanga chief that he should do everything in his power to facilitate commerce with his people, and for that purpose should allow Portuguese traders or their agents to enter his country at any time, in return for which the captain of the fort at Sofala was to make him a yearly present of two hundred squares of cotton cloth.

The expedition went no farther. As soon as his people were refreshed, Homem set out again for the coast, without attempting to penetrate to the territory of the monomotapa. On the way messengers from the Kiteve chief met him, and begged for peace, so an agreement was made with them similar in terms to the one concluded with the owner of Manika. The value of the two hundred squares of cloth which each of the chiefs was to receive yearly was estimated at £5 12s. 6d. of our money.

There was no other return for the large expenditure that had been incurred. Homem retired to Mozambique with his force considerably reduced by fever, and the survivors in a state of despondency. Nothing more disastrous had yet happened to the Portuguese in the East than these unsuccessful attempts to get possession of the South African gold fields.

CHAPTER V.

EVENTS IN SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA FROM
THE FAILURE OF BARRETO'S EXPEDITION
TO THE APPEARANCE OF THE DUTCH IN
THE EASTERN SEAS.

CHAPTER V.—*Contents.*

First mission to natives of South Africa—Retirement of the missionaries from the Tonga country—Re-establishment of the mission—Baptism of the monomotapa—Murder of the father Gonçalo da Silveira—Arrival of friars of the Dominican order—Occupation of various stations by the Dominicans—Establishment of hospitals by the order of St John of God—Small impression made on the Bantu by missionary teaching—Loss of the galleon *S. João*—Terrible sufferings of the shipwrecked people—Death of Dona Leonor de Sepulveda—Loss of the ship *S. Thomé*—Devotion to duty of the friar Nicolau do Rosario—Wreck of the ship *Santo Alberto* in Algoa Bay—Friendly conduct of a Hottentot chief—Overland journey of the shipwrecked people to Delagoa Bay—Account of the native tribes along the southeastern coast of Africa—Condition of the Portuguese factories at the close of the sixteenth century—Trading stations in the Kalanga country—Devastations by savage hordes north of the Zambesi—Destruction of Tete and Sena by the Mazimba—Murder of the friar Nicolau do Rosario—Defeat of a Portuguese army under Pedro de Sousa—Conclusion of peace with the Mazimba—Condition of Portugal at the close of the sixteenth century—Effect of the introduction of slaves—General corruption in the eastern governments—Construction of Fort S. Sebastião at Mozambique.

CHAPTER V.

EVENTS IN SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA FROM THE FAILURE OF BARRETO'S EXPEDITION TO THE APPEARANCE OF THE DUTCH IN THE EASTERN SEAS.

THE Portuguese occupation of South-Eastern Africa during the sixteenth century might be arranged under three headings: the period of conquest, the period of expansion of commerce, and the period of missionary enterprise, as these events were successively the leading features for a time. The state carried on wars after the close of the first of these periods, and we shall yet see a few individuals of the nation engaged in a conflict as venturesome as any of former days, but the famous exploits of the fleets and armies were ended when the century was still young. The commerce, too, of the Portuguese nation had passed its zenith before that fatal day in August 1578 when their young and gallant king Sebastião was killed in battle with the Moors. And now a time of intense religious zeal had set in, and the enterprise of missionaries surpassed that of either soldiers or traders.

It is true that the conversion of the heathen to Christianity was from the very beginning of the Portuguese conquests kept in view by the authorities of the Roman catholic church, but India offered a larger and more

promising field to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and other long-established orders, and there were no men to spare for the enlightenment of the barbarous tribes between the Zambesi and the bay of Lourenço Marques. Even the garrison of Sofala was very irregularly provided with a chaplain, and Sena and Tete were left altogether without one.

At this time, however, the Society of Jesus, the greatest and most zealous of all the missionary orders of the Roman catholic church, was rapidly rising in importance. In 1541 its first agents—the celebrated Francisco Xavier, the father Micer Paulo, and the lay brother Francisco de Monsilhas—proceeded to India, and very shortly they were followed by many others.

In the Jesuit college at Coimbra in 1543 a young man of noble parentage, named Gonçalvo da Silveira, a native of Almeirim on the Tagus, sought admission for the purpose of completing his education. Shortly afterwards he entered the order, and in 1556 was sent to Goa. There he became conspicuous for his zeal and general ability, and it was mainly owing to his exertions that the magnificent church of S. Thomé was built in the capital of Portuguese India.

On one of the voyages of the little vessel that went yearly from Mozambique to Inhambane to purchase ivory, a son of the Tonga chief was induced to visit the principal settlement of the Europeans in Eastern Africa. It was the custom to treat such persons with much attention, in order to secure their friendship, and the young chief was greatly pleased with the favours that he received. In course of time he professed his belief in Christianity, and was baptized with all the pomp that

was possible in the church of S. Gabriel, the captain of Mozambique being one of his godfathers. When the vessel made her next voyage he returned to Inhambane, and induced his father to send a request to the Portuguese authorities that he might be supplied with missionaries. This request was forwarded to Goa, which since 1538 had been provided with a bishop, in whose spiritual jurisdiction Mozambique was included until January 1612, when by a bull of Pope Paul V it was created a separate see.

The matter was referred to the Provincial of the Jesuits at Goa, with the result that the fathers Gonçalvo da Silveira and André Fernandes, with the lay brother Costa, were directed to proceed to South-Eastern Africa, and attempt to convert the natives there to Christianity. Da Silveira was the head of the party, and was intrusted by the viceroy with friendly messages and presents for the Tonga chief and the monomotapa. On the 13th of January 1560 the missionaries sailed from Chaul.

They reached Mozambique safely, and just as the yearly vessel was about to leave for Inhambane. Two interpreters were secured, who went on with them. They had hardly landed at Inhambane when Silveira had a severe attack of fever, which compelled him to remain with the trading party for a time, but he sent his companions on to the Tonga chief's great place, which was near the mouth of a river about thirty leagues to the northward. As soon as he was able to travel he followed.

Upon their arrival, the mission party—the first in South Africa—witnessed a striking instance of the nature of the heathenism they had come to destroy.

A son of the chief had just died, and the witchfinder had pointed out an individual as guilty of having caused his death by treading in his footprints, whereupon the man accused was tortured and killed. They found, too, people in the last stages of sickness abandoned by every one, even their nearest relatives, who feared that death—the invisible destroyer—might seize them as well as the decrepit, if they were close at hand when he came.

Having delivered the complimentary message of the viceroy and his present, the missionaries were very well treated. Huts were given to them to live in, and they were supplied with abundance of food. They commenced therefore without delay to exhort the people to become Christians. There is a custom of the Bantu, with which they were of course unacquainted, not to dispute with honoured guests, but to profess agreement with whatever is stated. This is regarded by those people as politeness, and it is carried to such an absurd extent that it is often difficult to obtain correct information from them. Thus if one asks a man, is it far to such a place? politeness requires him to reply it is far, though it may be close by. The questioner, by using the word far, is supposed to be under the impression that it is at a distance, and it would be rudeness to correct him. They express their thanks for whatever is told to them, whether the intelligence is pleasing or not, and whether they believe it or not. Then, too, no one of them ever denies the existence of a Supreme Being, but admits it without hesitation as soon as he is told of it, though he may not once have thought of the subject before.

The missionaries must have been deceived by these habits of the people, for they were convinced that their words had taken deep root, and within a very short time they baptized the whole of the residents of the kraal. The chief received the name Constantino, his principal wife Catherina, and his sons and councillors the names of leading Portuguese nobles. It is not easy to analyse the thoughts of those uncultured barbarians, but certainly what they understood by this ceremony must have been something very different from what the missionaries understood by it.

After a sojourn of only seven weeks at the Tonga chief's kraal, Silveira returned to Inhambane, leaving behind him the other members of the mission and what he believed to be an infant Christian community. From Inhambane he proceeded to Mozambique in the trading vessel, preparatory to visiting the monomotapa.

Soon after his departure, however, Father Fernandes and the lay brother Costa came to learn that the converts were altogether indisposed to lay aside their old customs. They would not abandon polygamy, and were greatly offended with the preaching of the missionaries against it. They had a custom also—which still exists—that when a man died leaving childless wives, his brothers should take those women and raise up a family for him, and this the missionaries denounced to their great annoyance. At length matters reached a climax. There was a drought in the country, and the chief Constantino, who was the rainmaker of the tribe, went through the ordinary ceremonies to obtain a downpour. For doing this Father Fernandes openly and fearlessly rebuked him before his people, with the

result that an order was issued for no one to have any further communication with the white men. From that moment they were utterly isolated. People would talk at them, but not to them, they heard themselves spoken of as sorcerers and their prayer-books termed bewitching matter, but none would listen to them, or answer questions, or sell them food.

Under these circumstances the only thing to be done was to retire. They made their way as best they could to Inhambane, and thence to Mozambique, where they took passage to India. And thus, in less than two years from its commencement, the first mission to natives in South Africa was broken up. It was resumed a few years later by other members of the Society of Jesus, but no permanent conquests for Christianity were made by it.

On the 18th of September 1560 Gonçalo da Silveira left Mozambique for the Kalanga country. He was accompanied by six Portuguese, one of whom, Antonio Dias by name, was a competent interpreter. The vessel in which he was a passenger touched at the mouth of the Kilimane, and then proceeded to the southern branch of the Zambesi, up which she sailed to Sena. The Portuguese and Indian Christians at this place were without a resident clergyman, so the missionary stayed some weeks to minister to them. Here an additional interpreter was engaged, and was sent in advance to the monomotapa to ask permission for the party to visit the great place. Upon his return with a favourable reply, they embarked in boats going up the river, for they wished to touch at Tete on the way. Here also, as there was no resident clergy-

man, Father Silveira ministered to the Christian residents.

Tete was the real point of departure for the Kalanga chief's kraal. Native carriers were engaged here, and the party then proceeded onward, all on foot, but forming quite a little caravan. The road was long, and food became so scarce that they were glad to get any kind of edible wild plants, but on the 26th of December they reached their destination in safety.

At the kraal of the great chief there was living at this time a Portuguese adventurer named Antonio Coiado, one of a class of men met with then as now, who, while retaining affection for the country of their birth, were perfectly at home among barbarians. Coiado had ingratiated himself with the monomotapa, and was a councillor of rank and principal military authority in the tribe. He was deputed by the chief to wait upon the guests, to bid them welcome as messengers from the viceroy of India, and to offer their leader a present of gold dust, cattle, and female slaves, as a token of friendship. Silveira declined the present, but in such a way as not to give offence, and shortly afterwards the great chief admitted him to an interview.

He was received with all possible honour as an ambassador from the viceroy of India, who, from accounts of the Portuguese that had previously visited the great place, was believed to be a potentate of enormous wealth and power. The message of friendship and the present which he brought gave great satisfaction. Food and huts for himself and his retinue were offered and accepted with thanks, but the African

chief was surprised when the missionary, so unlike all other white men he had met, courteously declined to receive the gold and female companions pressed upon him.

The same mistake was made here as at the Tonga kraal, the missionary addressed the people, they professed to believe what he said, and forthwith he baptized them. Within one month from the date of his arrival all this happened. The monomotapa received the name Sebastião, and his principal wife Maria. Some three hundred of his councillors, attendants, and followers were baptized at the same time.

The chief evidently thought his visitors would not make a long stay, and he was very willing to entertain them for a few weeks and please them to the best of his ability, but shortly after his baptism he began to get weary of their presence. Some Mohamedan refugees from Mozambique, who were staying with him, took advantage of his growing coldness towards the white people to persuade him that Silveira was a mighty sorcerer. They reminded him of the loss of the presents which the Arab sheikh of Sofala had made to his predecessors before the arrival of Da Nhaya, and they told him exaggerated tales of the ill treatment which the blacks on the Mozambique coast had sustained from the Portuguese. In the end they so worked upon his credulity and his fear that he sent an order to Silveira to leave the country.

But this the missionary refused to do, though he must have realised that by remaining there his life would be in danger, for he gave some articles that he

regarded as sacred to Coiado, with an injunction to preserve them from injury. In the belief that he was making converts he was willing to face death, and presently he baptized fifty individuals who expressed a desire to become Christians. This was regarded by the monomotapa as a defiance of his authority, and in his wrath he issued orders to a party of men who strangled Silveira and the whole of the newly baptized, 16th of March 1561. The dead body of the missionary was cast into a river.

A drought of some duration occurred not long afterwards, and was followed by a great plague of locusts. Coiado and other Portuguese now persuaded the chief that these evils were consequences of the murder of Silveira, so he caused the Mohamedans who had poisoned his mind towards the missionary to be put to death.

The Jesuits were not the men to be disheartened by the ill success of their first effort to convert the barbarians of South-Eastern Africa. They did not attempt to re-occupy the Kalanga country for many years after this date, because the Dominicans established missions there, but farther north and south they were very active. From their college in the old fort at Mozambique they went forth, and in course of time visited every kraal from the Sabi river to St Lucia Bay. They did not build stone churches, which would have been of little service among clans who seldom occupied any locality longer than a few years, but structures that could easily be removed, like the huts of the people among whom they were labouring. That they endured hardships and privations of every kind,

hunger, thirst, exposure to heat, fatigue, and fever, need hardly be said: it was the initial part of their duty, as they understood it, to suffer without complaint. But the condition of the southern Bantu tribes was such that anything like improvement was well nigh impossible. Wars and raids were constant, for an individual to abandon the faith and customs of his forefathers was regarded as treason to his chief, and sensuality had attractions too strong to be set aside.

Some friars of the Dominican order entered the country south of the Zambesi with Barreto's expedition. They found the Europeans and mixed breeds at the factories without the ministrations of chaplains, and sadly ignorant in matters spiritual. In the little building at Sena which the inhabitants had put up to be used as a place for prayer, the friars were shocked to see a picture of the Roman matron Lucretia, which had been hung over the shrine in the belief that it was a portrait of St Catherine, and they observed with much surprise that no one made any distinction between fast and feast days.

The failure of Barreto's attempt to get possession of the gold mines threw missionary enterprise, as well as everything else, back for a time in the country along the Zambesi. But the Dominican order, which was doing a large work in India, now resolved to add South Africa to its field of labour. In 1577 two of its members—Jeronymo do Couto and Pedro Usus Maris—came from Goa to Mozambique, and founded a convent, in which six or seven of the brethren afterwards usually resided. This was the centre from which their missions were gradually established along

the East African coast. South of the Zambesi the stations of Sofala, Sena, and Tete were occupied.

The friars turned their attention first to the nominal Christians, and succeeded in effecting some improvement in the condition of that class of the inhabitants, most of whom, however, continued to live in a way that ministers of religion could not approve of. They next applied themselves to the conversion of the Bantu, but did not meet with the success which they hoped for, though they baptized a good many individuals. It was hardly possible for them to make converts except among those who lived about the forts as dependents of the white people, and who were certainly not the best specimens of their race. The work of the Dominicans was thereafter so bound up with the political history of the country that we shall presently meet with them again.

These two orders—the Jesuits and the Dominicans—continued their labours in Southern Africa throughout the seventeenth and during the first half of the eighteenth century. Towards the close of this period they had the assistance of other workers. In 1540 St John of God, a Spaniard, established in Granada an order for attending upon the sick. In 1682 this order took upon itself the care of the hospital at Mozambique, and half a century later founded several establishments of its own along the Zambesi. It provided the best medical attendance and the most careful nursing for the sick, combined with religious instruction and consolation.

But notwithstanding all these efforts, and instances—as we shall hereafter see—of individuals being raised

from barbarism to a level with Europeans, little or no impression was made on the great mass of the people. With the decay of the missionary orders they were left without pastors to look after them even before 1773, when by a papal brief the Jesuits were suppressed, and then it was proved that the most advanced of the Bantu were not able to stand alone. In the terribly destructive wars which swept over the country, a great many professing Christians must have perished, and those that remained alive fell back to the belief of their remote ancestors. In the middle of the present century a traveller came to a kraal on one of the streams that flow into the Zambesi, and was informed by the occupants that they were Christians. But excepting a few perverted ceremonies which they observed, there was nothing to show that they differed in any way from others of their race, and they were absolutely ignorant of the doctrines of Christianity. Within a hundred years from the time when European teachers left them, they had lost all knowledge of what their ancestors had acquired during nearly two centuries of training.

Of the southern Bantu tribes a good deal of knowledge was obtained during the sixteenth century by persons whose vessels were lost on the coast, some of whom underwent almost incredible suffering before their restoration to the society of civilised men. The most notable shipwrecks south of Sofala were those of the *S. João*, the *S. Thomé*, and the *S. Alberto*, and in all the records of naval disasters none will be found to surpass the first of these in the hardships endured by the unfortunate people.

The *S. João* was a great galleon laden with a very valuable cargo, which left India early in 1552 to return to Portugal. She had nearly five hundred souls on board, exclusive of her crew, and, as was usual at that time, an officer of high rank who was going home was in command. The master of the ship directed the working, and the pilot pointed out the course, but the captain—in this instance Manuel de Sousa de Sepulveda—gave instructions in such matters as what ports they were to put into and when they were to sail, and he preserved discipline and exercised general control. The captain De Sepulveda was accompanied by his wife, Dona Leonor, a young and amiable lady of noble blood, two little sons, and a large train of attendants and slaves, male and female.

On the 12th of March, when only seventy-five miles from the Cape of Good Hope, the galleon encountered a furious gale, and soon a very heavy sea was running, as is usually the case when the wind and the Agulhas current oppose each other. All sail was taken in, and as the ship would not lie to, she was put before the wind under bare poles. The upper pintles of the rudder now broke, so that she would not steer, but broached to, and rolled her masts overboard. For many days the gale continued, and those on board every moment expected death. At last the wind moderated, the sea became calmer, and a spare yard was set up as a jury mast. The intention of the captain was to try to reach Sofala or Mozambique.

Before long, however, another gale came on, the rudder, which had been repaired, was lost altogether, and great waves broke over the galleon, that lay in the

trough of the sea like a helpless log of wood. She was drifting towards the coast, from which there were no means of keeping her. On the 18th of June she was close to the land somewhere near the mouth of the Umtamvuna river, when an anchor, which was let go, held her from striking.

The officers now resolved to get all the people and as much food as possible to land, to save the cargo, and break from the ship materials for building a large boat, which could be sent to Mozambique for aid. Only two little skiffs were left on board the galleon. These were got out, and during three days some people and provisions were conveyed to the shore in them. But on the third day they were swamped and lost, when the people in the wreck, in utter despair, cut the cable, and let her drift till she struck. In less than an hour the *S. João* broke into fragments. Over a hundred men and women were lost in the surf, and many of those who reached the land alive were badly bruised.

All hope of getting timber and tools to build a boat was now lost, and only a small quantity of food was secured. As soon therefore as the bruised people were sufficiently recovered to travel, the whole party set out to try to walk along the shore to the river of Lourenço Marques. To that place a small vessel was sent every year from Mozambique to barter ivory, and the only faint chance of preserving their lives that remained to the shipwrecked people was to reach the river and find the trading party. They had seen some Kaffirs on the hills before they set out on that terrible journey, and had heard those barbarians shouting to each other,