

In one of the ships of this fleet Sir Thomas Roe, English envoy to the Great Mogul, was a passenger. A pillar bearing an inscription of his embassy was set up in Table Valley, and thirty or forty pounds weight of stone which he believed to contain quicksilver and vermilion were taken away to be assayed in England, but of particulars that would be much more interesting now no information whatever is to be had from the records of his journey.

Again, in June 1616, three condemned men were set ashore in Table Valley, and a letter signed by them is extant, in which they acknowledge the clemency of King James in granting them their forfeited lives, and promise to do his Majesty good and acceptable service.

There may have been other instances of the kind, of which no record is in existence now. How the criminals lived, what effect their residence had upon the native clans, and how they died, must be left to conjecture. The fate of only a very few of them is known. These made their way back to England, and were there executed for fresh offences.

No further effort was made by the English at this time to form a connection with the natives of South Africa, though their ships continued to call at Table Bay for the purpose of taking in water and getting such other refreshment as was obtainable. They did not attempt to explore the country or to correct the charts of its coasts, nor did they frequent any of its ports except Table Bay, and very rarely Mossel Bay, until a much later date. A few remarks in ships' journals, and a few pages of observations and opinions

in a book of travels such as that of Sir Thomas Herbert, from none of which can any reliable information be obtained that is not also to be drawn from earlier Portuguese writers, are all the contributions to a knowledge of South Africa made by Englishmen during the early years of the seventeenth century.



CHAPTER VII.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN PORTUGUESE SOUTH
AFRICA FROM THE EARLY YEARS OF THE
SEVENTEENTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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CHAPTER VII.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN PORTUGUESE SOUTH AFRICA FROM
THE EARLY YEARS OF THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE
MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE power of the Portuguese in the East was irrecoverably broken, and their possessions were falling one after another into stronger hands, but the individual who was most affected by the change could not, or did not, realise the extent of his loss. That individual was Philippe, the third of Spain, the second of Portugal, who among his numerous titles still retained that of Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India. Perhaps he did not even know of all the disasters that had overtaken his subjects, for he heard nothing except through the ears of the duke of Lerma, and that all-powerful favourite was not the man to point out that his empire was crumbling away, or to suggest any efficient means of preserving what still remained of it.

Accordingly in the royal orders to the viceroys of India, which commenced with the phrase "I, the king," instructions were given in as lofty language as if Philippe was still really lord of the East and in receipt of an ample revenue. With regard to the coast of Africa, Mombasa was to be strongly garrisoned, three

hundred soldiers were to be stationed at Mozambique, Sofala was to be properly fortified and supplied with troops, Tete and Sena were to be made secure, and a fleet of armed vessels was to be kept cruising up and down, so as to make the whole line impregnable. But where were the men and the ships and the money to come from? That was left for the viceroy to say, and as the viceroy was of necessity dumb on these matters, of the orders here enumerated, all that could be carried into effect was that twenty-five men were sent to Mozambique.

The ordinary expenses of the different stations were supposed to be met in a way that made good government impossible. The captains contracted to defray them, and in addition to pay a small sum yearly into the royal revenue, in return for which they had a monopoly of the commerce of a prescribed area, every article of trade, however, being subject to import and export duties. The captains of Mozambique paid in this way about £2500 sterling a year for the trade of the territory south of the Zambesi, and undertook to keep up all the establishments.¹ These officers were

¹ The following are the principal clauses of the contract entered into between the government at Lisbon and Ruy de Mello de Sampaio, captain of Mozambique, dated 17th of March 1614. The three years were to commence on the day that he took formal possession of the fortress. He was to pay annually 40,000 serafins of 300 reis each. All the expenses of the forts constructed for the defence of the trade, including the pay of the troops necessary for that purpose, were to be defrayed by him. The ordinary expenses of the fortress of Mozambique and of the hospital at that place were to be defrayed by him, but were to be deducted from the 40,000 serafins, and the balance was to be sent to Goa. He was not to be present, personally or by representa-

said to be appointed on account of meritorious services, but in fact purchased their posts from the king's favourites. Reversions were secured in advance, often several in succession, and there were even instances of individuals obtaining the reversion of captaincies for their unnamed nominees. The term was three years. Under this system the sole object of the head of a station was to make all the money possible, and to lay out nothing that could by any means be spared. Improvement or progress for Sofala, or Tete, or Sena was out of the question.

Affairs were in this wretched condition when the attention of the Portuguese government was directed to South-Eastern Africa by some specimens of ore which were sent to Europe by Sebastião de Macedo and Estevão de Ataide, successively governors of Mozambique, and which were found upon being assayed to contain sixty-six per cent of silver. The exact locality where this ore was obtained was unknown, but it was believed to be in the so-called kingdom of Chicova, the same tract of land along the northern bank of the Zambesi which Francisco Barreto had in vain tried to make himself master of.

The time seemed opportune for securing this imagin-

ative, when the duty of one per cent was being levied on his merchandise. All the usual presents to the chiefs of the interior were to be sent by him, at the proper times, at his own cost. He was to take over his predecessor's stock of goods. He was to have the sole right to trade upon the banks of the rivers Zambesi and Sofala (the whole country southward being included). He was authorised to seize and appropriate any merchandise taken into the country without his permission.

ary source of wealth. The Kalanga tribe was engaged in civil war, and one of the two individuals who claimed to be the legitimate monomotapa, having been defeated, fled to the neighbourhood of Tete and offered the Portuguese the mines in the Chicova territory if they would assist him against his rival, a chief whom the Europeans called the usurper Natuziane. Under any circumstances, nothing in the territory north of the Zambesi was a Kalanga ruler's to dispose of, but this was not taken into consideration, except that as a reasonable consequence it was believed the one assisted would be willing to cede the gold mines in his own country also.

On the 21st of March 1608 royal instructions upon this subject were issued to Francisco Aleixo de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, who was then acting as governor-general of what was left of Portuguese India. Five hundred soldiers were to be sent to the aid of the petitioning chief, and to take possession of the mines. Four forts, which Estevão de Ataide had pointed out as necessary, were to be built and garrisoned, namely one on the bank of the Zambesi at the rapids which impeded the navigation of boats about ninety miles above Tete, one at Masapa, one at Bukoto, and one at Luanze. No ground except the actual mines was to be taken from the natives, nor was the government of the chiefs over their people to be in any way interfered with. The monomotapa was to be conciliated, and induced by means of presents to give his consent to the occupation of the mines in his country. The general in command of the expedition was to be at the same time captain of Mozambique,

so as to have a suitable base for his operations and a depôt for his supplies.

These instructions could not be carried out in their entirety. The archbishop did what he could, however, and sent a hundred men under command of Nuno Alvares Pereira to East Africa, with whose aid the fugitive chief was able to drive away his opponent and get possession of the great place. Before anything further was effected, Pereira was superseded by Estevão de Ataide, who had been appointed general of the expedition by the new viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, with promises of high titles and honours if he succeeded in the undertaking. Early in 1610 two hundred soldiers were sent out from Portugal, but Ataide, instead of carrying out the king's instructions, took up his quarters at Tete, and busied himself solely with trading speculations for his own benefit. In 1612 he was recalled, and underwent a trial for mismanagement of his trust, which resulted in confiscation of his property.

Diogo Simões Madeira now became general of the expedition. This officer had already acquired great influence with the monomotapa, who had ceded to him personally a large tract of land. It seemed as if everything would at last end favourably for the Portuguese. The monomotapa professed to be their friend, and gave them permission to build forts wherever they chose. New trading stations—fairs they were termed—were established at places named Chipiriviri, Dambarare, and Ongwe. The chief placed two of his children under the care of Dominican friars, he was believed to be seriously inclined towards

a profession of Christianity, already a number of his adherents had been baptized, and his satisfaction was warmly expressed when he was provided with a body-guard of ten European soldiers. Intelligence of these good prospects reached the ears of the friar João dos Santos, who was then in India, and he begged his Provincial to send him back to Africa, where, from his experience, he might be useful in the conversion of the monomotapa. The Provincial consented, and the king, on the matter being reported to him, agreed to defray the expense from the royal revenue.

All these prospects, however, were darkened by the fraud and folly of the commander Madeira, who sent to Lisbon a small quantity of silver which he falsely stated came from the mine at Chicova, at the same time representing that his means were not adequate to continue the enterprise, and asking for a supply of money and men. Assistance was given him, but as the silver was not followed by more, an investigation took place, and the fraud was discovered. Madeira was deprived of his command and was ordered to be tried, but instead of appearing before the court, he fled from European society and took refuge among the Makalanga.

In 1619 Nuno Alvares Pereira, who had succeeded as captain of Mozambique and general of the Zambesi expedition, visited the Chicova district, and searched fruitlessly for a silver mine or any traces of one. The expense of these protracted operations had been very heavy, and the royal treasury was ill able to afford it. In 1622 therefore orders were sent out that the project was to be abandoned, and all the men employed in it were withdrawn.

From this date onward until our own times the Portuguese power in South Africa was almost as unsubstantial as a shadow, and that it existed at all was due to the perpetual feuds of the Bantu clans, in which the aid of a few Europeans was usually sufficient to turn the scale of victory in favour of any chief whose cause they espoused.

Some Jesuit missionaries had been sent from India by the archbishop De Menezes when the first expedition under Nuno Alvares Pereira was despatched to the Kalanga country, but the Dominicans, who occupied that field, objected to their rivalry. By order of the king, dated 23rd of January 1610, the Provincial of the Jesuits therefore recalled the missionaries of that order, and sent them to districts much farther north.

Kapranzine, the successor of the monomotapa who had been aided by the Portuguese, showed himself unfriendly to the Europeans. One of his uncles, whose name is given by different writers as Manuza and Mavura, was possessed of much more intellect, and had incurred his extreme jealousy. This man, under the instruction of the Dominican friar Manoel Sardinha, made a profession of Christianity, and was baptized with as much pomp as possible by the vicar general of the order, the friar Luiz de Espirito Santo, who was then resident at Tete. He received the name Philippe, and from that time was made much of by the Portuguese.

Shortly after this event Jeronymo de Barros, an agent of Nuno Alvares Pereira, who was then governor of Mozambique, arrived at the great place, bringing with him the annual present which was made to the

monomotapa in return for the privilege of trading in his territory. Whether Kapranzine was dissatisfied with this present or not is uncertain, at any rate immediately after receiving it he sent messengers through the country with orders that upon a certain day all the Portuguese and their friends were to be put to death. André Ferreira, the capitão das Portas, who was at the great place when this order was issued, was informed of it by some faithful servants, and that night with De Barros and the Bantu who were threatened he managed to get away to Masapa, where a small wooden fort was hastily constructed.¹ Messengers were immediately sent to the other trading stations, and in a very short time all the Christians and their adherents—including the chief Manuza or Filippe—were collected either at Masapa or at Luanze, where another rude fort was built.

The monomotapa despatched a great force against these places, but as the defenders fought desperately for their lives, the assailants were beaten back. Several Europeans fell, however, and among them De Barros. Meantime the Portuguese at Tete and Sena, having received intelligence of what was transpiring, raised an army of Batonga, and marched to Luanze to assist their countrymen. The defenders of the fort were relieved, and by advice of the friars in the camp a very decisive step was taken. Manuza was proclaimed monomotapa,

¹ In some Portuguese books it is asserted that in compliance with the order of the king Estevão de Ataíde built a fort at Masapa and stationed a garrison there. This can hardly have been the case, as if it were so, the fort would still have been in existence, though the garrison would have been withdrawn when the search for the silver mines was abandoned.

the banner of the cross was raised, and under its protection the army, with Manuel Gomes Serrão as commander-in-chief, marched against Kapranzine. The two forces met, and Kapranzine was defeated.

The baffled monomotapa retired deeper into the country, and raised a still larger army, with which he returned and twice attacked the Christian camp, but on each occasion was beaten back. Then Manuza took possession of the zimbabwe, or great place, and was acknowledged as paramount chief by most of the surrounding clans. On the 24th of May 1629 a document was drawn up, in which the new head of the Kalanga tribe took upon himself the responsibility for Kapranzine's misdeeds, and atoned for them by declaring himself a vassal of Portugal, and ceding a slip of territory to Tete. He further gave permission to the friars to go wherever they chose in his country, and build churches at any places that suited them. He undertook to receive white men without obliging them to go through the ordinary ceremonies, declared that commerce was free, and that traders should be protected, renounced all claim to the yearly presents made to his predecessors, engaged to drive Mohamedans out of his country, and threw open his mines of every kind for exploitation by Portuguese. The whole army was assembled, and the document having been read, Manuza was asked by Serrão if he agreed to these conditions. Naturally he replied that he did. The friar Luiz do Espirito Santo then drew the letters of his name, to which he affixed a cross with his own hand. The Portuguese who were present, nineteen in number, also signed the paper.

Manuza, feeling himself tolerably secure, after this neglected to watch Kapranzine closely, and the result was a sudden surprise, in which several Portuguese and a great number of Bantu were killed, and the friars Luiz do Espirito Santo and João da Trindade were made prisoners. The latter was badly wounded, but the barbarians subjected him to torture, and finally before he was quite dead threw him over a precipice where he was dashed to pieces. Luiz do Espirito Santo, who was a native of Mozambique, was taken into Kapranzine's presence, and was ordered to make the usual obeisance. This he refused to do, as he said that to such homage God alone was entitled. He was then bound to the trunk of a tree, and stabbed with assagais till life was extinct. All the Bantu who were made prisoners were likewise put to death.

Kapranzine appeared now to be master of the situation. But the friar Manoel Sardinha, a man of great force of character, raised an army of twenty thousand warriors from the tribes along the Zambesi who were at feud with the Makalanga, and who were willing therefore to espouse the cause of Manuza. The friar who was the chronicler of these occurrences relates that while this army was marching towards the Kalanga great place, Philippe—as Manuza was called—looked up and saw a resplendent cross in the sky.¹ Thereupon he sent for the father Manoel Sardinha, who was not with him at the time, but who also saw the cross on joining him. It was similar to that which appeared before the emperor Constantine, except that there were no words beneath it.

¹ See *Historia de S. Domingos*, por Fr. Lucas de Santa Catherina.

It may have been that some fleecy white clouds drifting across the deep blue African sky appeared to the heated imaginations of the friar and the Kalanga chief to assume the form of a cross, for it is not likely that a deliberate untruth was placed on record by the Dominican missionary who reported this event. Be that as it may, the apparition is said to have given such courage to the whole body of warriors, all of whom saw it, that they marched on with confidence and won a great victory in the battle that followed, no fewer than thirty-five thousand of the enemy being slain. It will not do to be certain about the number of the killed, but the defeat of Kapranzine and his flight are assured facts.

The hostile monomotapa, however, was not utterly overthrown. He still had the support of a very able chief named Makamoasha and many others of less note, and he gave a great deal of trouble before the war was ended. Let it be remembered that no force representing the Portuguese government was in the field. It was a contest between two members of the ruling family of the Kalanga tribe for the paramount chieftainship, and the weaker of the two was aided by a little band of Portuguese missionaries and other residents in the country. But these few white men and half-castes were able to turn the scale in favour of the chief whose cause they adopted, because they could obtain the service of warriors of other and braver tribes who would follow them out of a desire to wash their assagais in Kalanga blood, and because they could procure firelocks and gunpowder. In the final battle, which ended in complete victory for

Manuza, as many as two hundred men on his side were armed with Portuguese weapons.

The Dominican friars regarded the contest as a holy war, for it was certain that if Kapranzine was successful their work in the Kalanga country would cease. The part taken by Manoel Sardinha has been related. Another friar, Damião do Espirito Santo, was equally active in raising men, and it was by a force of six thousand robust warriors brought into the field by him that Filippe—or Manuza—was at length firmly secured in the position of monomotapa. The Portuguese laymen and the mixed breeds served their own interests when aiding him, because by that means alone was it possible for them to continue there as traders.

This account of the Kalanga civil war may be taken as representative of all the contests in which the Portuguese south of the Zambesi engaged thereafter until recent times. The government at Lisbon had little or nothing to do with matters affecting the natives, for it was powerless to supply either money or soldiers to enable it to have a really controlling voice in the affairs of the country.

Manuza remained attached to the Europeans as long as he lived. A commencement was made with the erection of a church at his great place in recognition of the help which he had received from the Almighty against his opponent, and he himself laid the foundation stone in presence of a great assembly of people. The friar Aleixo dos Martyres took up his residence there, and nine others of the same order came from Goa and were stationed in different parts of the country. The vicar general, Manoel da Cruz, removed from Tete to Matuka

in the district of Manika, in order to be nearer the others. The trading stations at Masapa, Luanze, Dambarare, and Chipiriviri were also occupied, as were Tete, Sena, and Sofala, as well as Umba and Chipangura in Manika. At Luanze a handsome church was built, but at the other new stations it was only possible to construct wicker-work buildings and cover them with clay.

The Dominicans were naturally greatly affected by the prostration of the power and wealth of Portugal, but they had a reserve force which supported them for a time. The most intelligent individuals in the kingdom, looking with despair upon the apathy and feebleness that had taken hold of the great mass of their countrymen, sought refuge in convents, where a life of activity and usefulness was still open to them. General poverty alone prevented these institutions being more generally resorted to. At a little later date considerable numbers of Asiatics and Africans were admitted into the Dominican order, under the mistaken idea that they would be able to exert more influence in their respective countries than Europeans could, and then a failure of energy set in; but during the first half of the seventeenth century most of the missionaries south of the Zambesi were white men.

There were complaints against some of them that they were practically traders, but as a whole they worked zealously for the conversion of the Bantu, though at times they suffered even from want of food. Their observations upon the people among whom they were living are highly interesting. They state, for instance, that the Makalanga did not object to a pro-

fession of Christianity, but could not be induced to follow its precepts, especially in the matter of not taking more wives than one. The slight regard in which chastity of females was held surprised them, and they were particularly astonished that the men seemed so indifferent to the misconduct of their wives that they often openly countenanced it. They noticed too that in war the men did not scruple to shield themselves behind their women, just as the Basuto often did in our own times in their conflicts with the Orange Free State. Seeing these things, they set their hopes chiefly upon the children, whom they took great pains to instruct.

In 1644 there was a war between the Kiteve chief and another named Sakandemo, in which the Portuguese took part on the side of the first named. The result was the defeat of Sakandemo, the baptism of the Kiteve chief with the name Sebastião, and his promise to regard himself as a vassal of Portugal. But conversions of this kind, however gratifying to the vanity of the Europeans, were of no real value, and such promises of vassalage were not carried into practice.

The monomotapa Manuza remained a professing Christian until his death, but his successor adhered to the old Bantu faith. He was, however, induced to declare himself a convert to the white man's creed by some Jesuit missionaries who visited the country in neglect of the arrangement with the Dominicans, and was baptized in 1643 with the name Pedro. He was promised a body-guard of thirty Portuguese soldiers, but his death very shortly afterwards gave a decent

pretence for not carrying out the arrangement. His heir was apparently a determined opponent of the religion of the white people, and in consequence the Dominicans were in much distress, as their work seemed likely to be thrown back seriously. Great was the pleasure therefore which they felt when the new chief, under the teaching of the friar Aleixo do Rosario, announced his conversion, and requested to be baptized. His example was followed by a multitude of the sub-chiefs and others. On the 4th of August 1652 these were all received into the church, the monomotapa taking the name Domingos, his great wife Luiza, and his great son Miguel.

The intelligence of this event created a joyful sensation in Europe. At Rome the master-general of the order caused special services to be held, and had an account of the baptism engraved on a bronze plate in the Latin language. At the Dominican convent in Lisbon there was a grand thanksgiving service, which was attended in state by the king João IV and all the court, for Portugal was again independent of Spain, and in August 1641 the duke of Braganza had ascended the throne.

The young chief Miguel gave the most complete proof that his conversion was really sincere. He entered the Dominican order, and applied himself most assiduously to study, so that, according to the chronicler, he was by his example the most powerful preacher in the country. In 1670 the general of the order sent him the diploma of Master in Theology, equivalent to Doctor of Divinity. And this man, born a barbarian, heir to the most important chieftainship

in Southern Africa, absolutely renounced his worldly position, and died as vicar of the convent of Santa Barbara in Goa. Fiction surely has no stranger story than his. At a later date two sons of the monomotapa Pedro entered the same order, and proceeded to Goa, where one of them, known as the friar Constantino do Rosario, remained until his return to his native country at an advanced age with the captain João Fernandes d'Almeida in 1702.

Not long after the conversion of the monomotapa Domingos, troubles sprang up in the mission field. In their time of prosperity the friars did not display the great qualities which characterised them during the period of trial. Some of them fell into habits of indolence, and others into a spirit of indifference. Clearly the introduction of foreign blood and the condition of the mother country were producing their natural effects. The bishop of Mozambique,¹ who was ecclesiastical administrator of the whole eastern coast and adjoining territories, threatened to introduce some other order, and actually proceeded to Goa with that object. There, however, he was induced by the Provincial of the Dominicans to desist from his purpose, on condition that a commissary and visitor should be sent at once to the country south of the Zambesi, and that some active missionaries should accompany him.

¹ His official title was not bishop of Mozambique, but bishop of some ancient and long destroyed see, and ecclesiastical administrator of Mozambique, *i.e.* of the whole sphere of Portuguese influence in Eastern Africa. To avoid confusion, I have used in the text the title ordinarily given to him.

Friar Francisco da Trindade was appointed commissary, and brought five associates with him. One of these, the father João de Santo Thomás, he stationed at Sofala, another, the father Damaso de Santa Rosa, he stationed with the monomotapa, the third, the father Diogo de Santa Rosa, he directed to renew the work that had been abandoned at Masapa, the fourth, the father Joseph de Santo Thomás, he directed to do the same at Ongwe, and the fifth, the father Miguel dos Archanjos, he sent to the Kiteve country to establish a mission.

The commissary Francisco da Trindade was a man of great activity, and during the time that he had the oversight of the mission everything went on well. He resided principally at Tete, and made himself master of the Bantu dialect spoken there, in which he prepared a catechism and another religious book termed a confessionario. He then proceeded to Sena, studied the dialect used by the clans in that part of the country, and translated his catechism into it.¹ It was by him that the young chief, who afterwards became the friar Constantino do Rosario, was baptized and trained.

This period of activity, however, did not last long. There were energetic men of the Dominican order in South Africa after that date, but the spirit of languor in which Portugal and her foreign possessions were steeped embraced the great body of the friars also. Henceforth there is nothing in the history of their missions that is

¹ I have been unable as yet to obtain copies of these books, which would be of the greatest value for philological and historical purposes. Any one who can procure them for the Grey Library in Capetown would be entitled to the gratitude of South African students.

worth relating. The interminable wars among the clans in course of time destroyed the stations—in 1692, for instance, Ongwe and Dambarare were swept out of existence,—and during the eighteenth century they dwindled away until only Inhambane, Sofala, Sena, and Tete were left. Even these were regarded, not as mission centres, but as parishes where services were maintained for the benefit of resident Christians.

In 1759 the marquis of Pombal, prime minister of Portugal and a bitter enemy of the Jesuits, caused all the property of that order in Eastern Africa to be confiscated, and the missionaries themselves were expelled from the country. Their quarters at Mozambique were changed into a residence for the governor-general. Their usefulness as evangelists among the heathen was no longer recognised, and on the 21st of July 1773 a papal brief was issued which suppressed the once renowned Society. Two years later—in 1775—the Dominicans were ordered to Goa, and were replaced by secular clergy, eight of whom were considered sufficient for the whole coast. Of these eight only three were white men, the others being Asiatic mixed breeds, with a great deal of conceit but very little ability.

And so, between wars and want of competent teachers, Christianity declined in Portuguese South Africa, and among the Bantu quite died out. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only twelve hundred and seventy-seven professing Christians in the whole region, and they comprised the white people and mixed breeds of both sexes and all ages. This was after an intercourse between the Caucasian and black races extending over three hundred years.

But it would not be correct to attribute such an utter failure to improve the country or its people either wholly to an incapacity of the Bantu to assimilate European thought, or entirely to a want of energy on the part of the Portuguese. Without colonisation on a sufficiently large scale to make the higher the ruling race, no part of Africa can be brought permanently within the domains of civilisation, and for settlement by Caucasians the portion of the continent north of Delagoa Bay was then not adapted. On the lower terraces facing the sea and on the banks of the Zambesi fever is endemic, and white children rarely grow up. On the highlands of the interior and in some localities on the third terrace upward from the ocean the climate is healthy, but under the conditions which existed before the middle of the nineteenth century it was not possible to plant colonies there. White people could only make their way gradually onward from the south, and even now, though there is a railroad through the fever and tsetse fly belt down to the nearest coast, the southern route is preferred by nearly every one.

Portugal with her limited means could not do what the wealthiest and most populous country of Europe must have failed to accomplish if an attempt had been made. She only tried the experiment once, and then on a very small scale. In 1677 a few artisans and agricultural labourers, with eight reclaimed women (*convertidas*), were sent out to Mozambique and the stations on the Zambesi. A few years previously there had been such dissension among the white people at Tete and Sena, owing to jealousies concerning the trade with the natives, that they had fought with each other

as enemies. There was now peace, but no opening existed for the newcomers except in such pursuits as the former residents had followed. Nowhere in the world could an individual unfit for any other employment than that of an agricultural labourer have been more out of place than in Portuguese South Africa, and as for mechanics, half a dozen masons and carpenters would have been too many for all the building that was to be done.

The few white people in the country after the commencement of the seventeenth century could hardly be termed colonists in the proper sense of the word. They led a precarious life among the natives, and those on the seaboard were exposed to be plundered by the enemies of Portugal. In 1633 they were in the last stage of despair through being harassed by Dutch fly-boats, when a few soldiers and some munitions of war were sent to their aid. But Portuguese soldiers now were very different men from those of the time of the conquest of the Indies. The Europeans among them were taken out of prisons or were the scourgings of the towns, from whom nothing good or creditable could be expected. A few mixed breeds from the southern provinces were the best of the whole fighting force. Very rarely, so rarely indeed that the word never could hardly be questioned, a hardy and intelligent peasant from Entre Minho e Douro, Tras os Montes, or Beira found his way into the military force abroad. Asiatics and Eurasians were there in plenty, and barbarous half-naked Africans formed much the larger proportion of the rank and file. Within a century and a half a Portuguese army on foreign

service sank from being a highly-disciplined, brave, and intelligent body of men to a disorderly rabble of ill armed semi savages.

And we have now arrived at a time when in dealing with the Portuguese in Southern Africa one is never certain whether he is relating the deeds of Caucasians, of Asiatics, of Africans, or of mixed breeds. An individual with the name of a European grandee was as likely as not to be a half-caste from Goa. That would not be a matter of much importance if the deeds performed were worthy of being related, but the history of any Bantu tribe is as eventful and as instructive as the history of the Portuguese south of the Zambesi from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. It is a tale of decrepitude and decay.

In 1645 the slave trade between Mozambique and Brazil was commenced. At that time the greater part of the western coast of Africa was dominated by the Dutch, and the South American planters were compelled to look elsewhere for a supply of labour. Until after the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the slaves exported from the country south of the Zambesi were few in number. It was not that the tribes there were averse to the sale of their captives on philanthropic grounds, for nowhere in the world were the vanquished and the feeble more harshly treated than by the interior Bantu tribes, as witness the Bakalahari of to-day, and as many as were needed for their own use were purchased by the residents of the various stations; but the slave markets farther north were more conveniently situated for the export

trade, and the negroes of the Mozambique coast, duller in intellect than the Batonga and the Makalanga though equally strong in frame, were regarded as preferable for plantation work. But during the latter half of the eighteenth and the early years of the present century, when the gold-washing and agricultural industries were destroyed by the wars that laid waste the country, a large proportion of the slaves that had previously been kept for their own service by the Portuguese residents were sold for exportation to Brazil.

The system of carrying on commerce was frequently changed. At first a royal monopoly, administered by officers appointed by the crown, it next became, as has been already related, a monopoly contracted for by the governors. In 1674 an order was issued by the king depriving the governors of the trade in ivory, which was placed under control of a special junta or body of commissioners. In 1680 the junta was abolished, and trade in general was thrown open to all Portuguese subjects, upon payment of customs duties. But in the condition of the Portuguese people at that time, this was equivalent to a complete cessation of commerce except by officials in the country, and therefore in 1696 an attempt was made to form a strong mercantile company, and a monopoly of buying and selling was granted to it by the government. This also failed, and in 1701 the junta was restored. In 1710 another attempt was made to throw trade open, but the sale of wrappers, or pieces of calico about two yards in length, from which the principal profit was derived, was reserved for the government, and therefore

as a matter of course the project fell through. What commerce existed was carried on under control of the junta until 1739, when that body was found guilty of speculation, and was replaced in its duties and powers by a similar commission sitting at Goa.

All this time the governors had been engaged in traffic under the control of the junta, and when free trade was permitted, every one else had to compete with them. On the 1st of April 1757, however, a royal order was issued that the governors should receive salaries for their services and should carry on trade no longer, and another order of the 7th of May 1761 made commerce free to every subject of the crown. But orders such as these could not be adequately enforced in Southern Africa. Corruption was general everywhere, all who had power were bent upon the accumulation of wealth by any means, and the only result of the new regulations was that the governors employed agents to traffic for them while they themselves lived in indolence and debauchery. They never moved from their houses during the heat of the day, and when they went out in the evenings it was in a palanquin with silken awnings. Indoors they feasted on the richest viands, and their harems were like those of the Arab sheikhs whom they had supplanted.

Matters connected with commerce remained in this state until the 17th of October 1853, when trade was thrown open to the people of all nations.

The government was always striving to raise a revenue from the country, but never succeeded in obtaining any considerable amount. Among the plans adopted during the eighteenth century was that of

giving out to individuals great tracts of territory, to which the crown had a shadowy claim arising from concessions by native chiefs, but over which it was not able to exercise real authority. A man—he might be a European or a Goanese or a half-breed of any kind—who had either acquired an extensive influence with the natives, or who had a large number of slaves, or who was sufficiently wealthy to employ a strong armed force, had a tract of land termed a *prazo da corôa* assigned to him on payment of a small sum yearly. Several of the *prazos* were of the size of English counties, and at one time there were as many as fifty-four of them loosely attached to Tete, and thirty-one similarly connected with Sena. At the most prosperous period these eighty-five *prazos* brought in to the royal revenue about £500 sterling a year. There were a few also in the neighbourhood of Sofala and Inhambane.

They were granted for three lives, with the condition that they were to descend to the eldest daughter of the first and second proprietor, who was to marry a Portuguese born in Europe. The proprietor had considerable judicial power conferred upon him, and was free to make money in any way that he could. Sometimes a man who enjoyed the confidence of the natives would amass great wealth and live in a kind of barbaric splendour on his *prazo*, but he was always exposed to the chances of war, for he received no protection from the nominal government. Properly speaking, such a man was as much a native chief as a Portuguese subject. He could even carry on hostilities with a neighbour without any notice being taken of it, while for the payment of a few pounds yearly he retained all his former

rights in case he should at any time find it necessary to return to the country of his birth.

Prazos were often held by women, and one of the most considerable was granted to the Dominican order. On some of them large buildings were erected, with lofty rooms and thick walls to keep out the heat, and their proprietors were noted for the most profuse hospitality to the strangers and travellers who occasionally visited them. Their tables were spread with vegetables and fruit of almost all varieties, grown in their gardens, with the flesh of domestic and wild animals, the costliest wines of Europe, and imported delicacies of every description. They were served by numerous slaves, and lived altogether in luxurious ease, the condition perhaps most respected by the natives around them. But such people were not colonists, nor did they set an example of morality that was worthy of being followed by their dependents.

In course of time one after another of the prazos south of the Zambesi were destroyed in the tribal wars of the country, until at length, when nearly all were overrun and in possession of hostile clans, on the 22nd of December 1854 a decree was issued abolishing the system. The decree was not enforced, however, by the local authorities, except that the method of inheritance was no longer observed, and prazos held by individuals who arrogated to themselves the rights of feudal lords, and who regarded their people as mere serfs, continued in existence.

During the eighteenth century the Portuguese lost their possessions on the coast north of Cape Delgado. When their decline was apparent to all the people of

the East, the Arabs took courage, and in 1670 attacked Mozambique, but failed in the attempt to get possession of S. Sebastião. The next strongest fort on the coast was at Mombasa, and in 1700 it was wrested from its feeble garrison. In 1725 it was recovered, but four years later the blacks rose in insurrection against Alvaro Caetano de Mello e Castro, the last of the Portuguese governors, and drove him away. A little later the Arabs acquired the stronghold. Feeling its helplessness, the government at Lisbon then withdrew its representatives from Zanzibar and Pate, to prevent their forcible expulsion, and thereafter confined its claims to Pemba and the coast below Cape Delgado.

During the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth almost interminable wars were carried on among the Bantu. In some of them the Portuguese took part, but in general they were passive onlookers, for they avoided interference whenever there was no certain object to be gained by espousing the cause of a combatant. The details of these wars would be valueless, even if they could be related with the utmost accuracy, which is not possible, as there are no accounts extant from the Bantu clans. A mere enumeration of the principal events connected with them is therefore all that need be given.

In 1696 Sofala was attacked by a powerful clan, which was repulsed, but which kept a large portion of the back country closed against Europeans during the next thirty-three years.

In 1701 Sena and Tete narrowly escaped destruction in a war which the Portuguese affirmed was provoked by the military commandant José da Fonseca Coutinho.

In 1708 the captain Antonio Simões Leitão was killed in battle with the enemy, but his successor, Rafael Alvares da Silva, managed to arrange terms of peace.

In 1722, in return for assistance against an enemy, the chief Masisa signed a cession of a tract of land sixty-five miles in length along the coast opposite the Bazaruto islands. In the same way in 1760 the chief Beve ceded a large tract of land near Tete, which was subsequently partitioned out as prazos.

A defeat of the Portuguese on the mainland near Mozambique in 1753, in which about half of the whole military force they could muster at the time perished, prevented them from taking any part in the civil wars among the Makalanga which disturbed the whole country almost immediately afterwards, and which resulted in 1759 in the tribe being broken into fragments. One of the chiefs retained the title of monomotapa and the old zimbabwe, but he and his successors were men of very little importance, and the reputation of the Makalanga was gone for ever. Henceforth each of the clans regarded itself as an independent tribe, and took a name different from the others. Jealousies and feuds prevailed among them, and left them at length helpless before ferocious invaders.

In 1774 the Kiteve country was overrun by a horde from the interior, and the only Portuguese trading station in it except Sofala was destroyed.

Little wars succeeded each other until 1831, when the tribes in the lower Zambesi valley were in general commotion, and Sena was for a time in great danger. This place was very little larger now than in the days of Francisco Barreto. It contained ten houses built in

the European style, one church, and a small fort. A number of native huts stood close by. There were not more than twenty white inhabitants, including three military officers and a priest, and in 1830 these had been obliged to abandon the place temporarily on account of a famine. There were sixty blacks called soldiers, but they were very little in advance of the barbarians around them. Sena escaped destruction, more through the forbearance of the Bantu than through any resistance the inhabitants were capable of making.

And now came the most terrible of all the invasions the country had ever witnessed. Two tribes that had fled from Zululand settled near each other on the Sabi river, where they quarrelled, and fought until one—the Angoni—pushed its way northward to the shore of Lake Nyassa, to become a scourge to the tribes residing there. The other—the Abagaza—under the far famed chief Manikusa, remained behind to devastate the land from Delagoa Bay to the Zambesi river, and to subject all who were spared to continual plunder.

The captain of Inhambane was so rash as to attempt to assist a friendly clan against Manikusa. Inhambane, which had been permanently occupied since 1730, had then about twenty-five Portuguese residents, all told, and the garrison of the little fort S. João da Boa Vista consisted of about a hundred negroes. The village contained a church, dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Conceição, and a few houses built in the European style, though none of great size, as the station was inferior in importance to those on the Zambesi. The result of the interference with Manikusa by the captain

of Inhambane was the plunder of the village and the slaughter of the captain himself and all the inhabitants except ten individuals who managed to escape, 3rd of November 1834.

Sofala had sunk to be a place of very little note. Its fort had fallen into decay, and its best houses were built of mud. Still it had a captain and a garrison of negroes. In 1836 it was attacked, when the fort managed to hold out, but all else was plundered and destroyed. The military commandant, José Marques da Costa, then collected the friendly natives in the neighbourhood, and with them and his negroes ventured to give the enemy battle, with the result that every individual of his force perished. Sofala was occupied again, but never recovered its former position, insignificant even as that was.

From that date until quite recently the havoc created among the Bantu between the Zambesi and the Limpopo by the Abagaza on the south, the Makololo on the north-west, and the Matabele on the west, was very great. Many of the ancient clans were quite exterminated, and of those that remain in existence few occupy the same ground that their ancestors did. In the years 1852 and 1853 especially they were scattered and destroyed with no more compunction than if they had been vermin.

There is a little island called Chiloane (Tshilwané), off the coast about forty miles south of Sofala. It is nearly divided into two by a sluggish creek, and is not at all an attractive place, but it has a fairly good harbour, and it is secure against ravages by Bantu from the mainland. Some of the half breeds and

others who lived among the natives in the neighbourhood of the ancient gold port removed to this island, and since 1862 a military force has been stationed there to protect them. A lighthouse has also been built on Tshingani Point on the island, though the commerce of the place is very small.

In 1855 some of the refugees from the mainland went to reside on the island Santa Carolina, one of the Bazaruto group, and a small garrison was stationed there as an evidence that the Portuguese were the owners.

Sena was then partly in ruins, but a few good houses were still standing, and were occupied by Europeans who sent out native traders to procure ivory in barter. The place was surrounded by a hedge of trees of recent growth, intended as a protection against sudden forays by enemies. The church was destroyed, and the fort, built chiefly of sun-dried bricks, was out of repair. Some time previously a body of natives from the south had overrun this part of the country, and after killing fifty-four of the Portuguese and half breeds, had driven the remaining inhabitants of the village to the islands in the Zambesi. An arrangement was then made that the traders should pay to the chief of the conquering horde a certain quantity of merchandise yearly, and on this condition they were allowed to return.

By a royal decree dated 19th of April 1752 the eastern coast of Africa was separated from the government at Goa, as it had been for a few years after 1569, and Francisco de Mello e Castro was appointed governor and captain general, with a salary of £666 13s. 4d. a

year. He was to reside at Mozambique, and all the other officials from Cape Delgado to the bay of Lourenço Marques were placed under his authority. These officers continued to be directly appointed by the king until October 1838, when the governor general was permitted to nominate the heads of the different stations for the royal approval.

In 1763 municipal government was introduced into the little settlements. A delegate of the captain general went round, and with as much ceremony as possible inaugurated the new system. At Mozambique, Quilimane, and Zumbo, north of the Zambesi, and at Tete, Sena, Sofala, and Inhambane, south of that river, a magistrate, a prosecutor who was also treasurer, a secretary, and three aldermen were elected. But in most of these places municipal institutions were mere names. There was not a sufficient number of people competent to fill the offices, much less an adequate body of electors. There was no revenue, nor any means of raising one. The only purpose served was to make a show on paper, for no object of utility could be gained by such parodies of European town governments.

The same might be said of a much more recent measure, the formation in 1856 of a junta, or council, for the province of Mozambique, consisting of thirteen members, in which Tete was allotted two representatives, and Sena, Sofala, Inhambane, and Lourenço Marques each one. At the same time the term of office of the heads of the stations was extended from three to five years, in order to obtain the advantage of experience.

The old trading and mission stations in the interior were now so completely lost that no one could even

point out their sites, and all vestiges of the influence once exercised by the Portuguese in that part of the country had disappeared. Their knowledge of the central regions of the continent, however, had been somewhat enlarged since the days of Barreto and Homem.

It is impossible to ascertain exactly how far westward missionaries penetrated during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, because they had no means of determining longitudes, and no descriptions of their travels are extant from which their routes can be traced. As they could not erect substantial buildings, there are no ruins to mark the limits of their wanderings, and the old names of the places where they laboured are known no more. About seventy miles north-east of Buluwayo, in some ruins called by the present natives Umtungala ka Mamba, which date from a time far earlier than the appearance of the Portuguese in South Africa, a seal has recently been found bearing the name Bernabe de Ataide encircling the symbol IHS, but it is quite as likely to have been carried there as an ornament or charm by some native as to have been lost there by the missionary who once owned it.

It is possible, however, that missionaries penetrated as far westward as Buluwayo. White traders may also have gone up the Zambesi farther than Zumbo and Dambarare, though it is not very likely that they did. Their custom was to remain at a central station, and to send out native agents to collect gold dust and ivory. In no case can it be said that the Portuguese ever conquered, or ruled over, or owned any

territory beyond the present boundary of their sphere of influence. The vassalage of the monomotapa was only on paper, and even in that form ceased after a few years, owing to wars and revolutions, which were followed by the withdrawal of the Europeans.

From very early days there was a desire on the part of the government at Lisbon to form a connection between the eastern coast and Angola by means of a caravan path, but it was impossible to open such a road. The tribes in the way were constantly at war, they spoke different dialects, and each one was ready to strip a traveller who should attempt to pass through its territory. Trifling articles of merchandise, which probably changed hands many times in transit, passed over at long intervals from coast to coast, but no individual, white or black, is known to have accomplished the journey before the present century, nor was any reliable information obtained concerning the upper course of the Zambesi or the territory south of it.

In May 1796 a man named Manuel Caetano Pereira left Tete for a journey inland, and upon his return reported that he had reached the residence of the chief Cazembe, in about longitude 29° east of Greenwich, but his account was not relied upon. He accompanied the expedition of 1798, and was found to have no knowledge of value.

On the 3rd of July 1798 a properly equipped expedition, commanded by Dr Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida, a man of scientific attainments and great general ability, left Tete with the object of trying to reach the western coast. After encountering all the

difficulties of African travel where the tribes are uncontrolled, the expedition arrived at the kraal of Cazembe, but there the leader, worn out with fever, fatigue, and annoyance, died on the 18th of October. The chaplain Francisco João Pinto then took command. He did not attempt to proceed farther, and after remaining with Cazembe until July 1799, set out to return to Tete, which place he reached on the 22nd of November of the same year. The results of this expedition were meagre, though some knowledge of the country to the north-west was obtained.

The honour of accomplishing the journey across Africa for the first time is due to two native traders named Pedro João Baptista and Amaro José, who were in the employment of Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco Honorato da Costa, director of the fair of Mucary in the district of Pungo Andongo. These men were entrusted with a letter to the captain of Tete, and left Muropue in Angola on the 22nd of May 1806. One of them, Pedro João Baptista, was sufficiently well educated to be able to keep a kind of journal, but they had no instruments of any kind with them, nor were they competent to make observations. On the 2nd of February 1811, four years and eight months after setting out, they delivered the letter at Tete, and in May of the same year left on their return journey. They reached Loanda again safely, and thus accomplished the feat of crossing the continent in both directions. Some knowledge of the interior far north of the Zambesi was gathered from these intrepid travellers, but no information whatever concerning the country or the people to the south.

On the 1st of June 1831 a large expedition left Tete to follow up Dr Lacerda's exploration to the west coast. Major José Maria Correia Monteiro was in command, Captain Antonio Candido Pedroso Gamitto was next in authority and also journalist, and there were no fewer than four hundred and twenty blacks in different capacities. But the difficulties encountered were so great that from the kraal of Cazembe the expedition turned back, after despatching a letter to the governor of Angola by some trustworthy black traders of the party. The letter was dated 10th of March 1832, and was delivered on the 25th of April 1839. Thus it was not by Europeans, but by blacks, that this transit of the continent was effected.

On the next occasion it was performed by three Arab traders from Zanzibar, who, finding themselves far in the interior in want of merchandise, pushed on to the nearest coast, and reached Benguela on the 3rd of May 1852. The governor of Angola offered a million reis (£208 6s. 8d.) and the honorary title of captain to any one who would return to Zanzibar with the traders, and describe the route between the two coasts. A resident of Angola named Antonio Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto accepted the offer, but after travelling a hundred and seven days he could go no farther, and therefore turned back. He sent some of his people on, however, who reached Mozambique safely on the 12th of November 1854.

It was reserved for the reverend Dr David Livingstone to be the first white man to cross Africa from coast to coast, and to be also the first to give reliable information upon the interior of the country south of

the upper course of the Zambesi. This famous explorer proceeded northward from the Cape of Good Hope along the healthy highlands of the interior to Linyanti, the residence of the paramount ruler of the Makololo tribe, about midway between the two oceans. There he resided long enough to acquire the confidence of the chief Sebetuane,¹ and, after the death of that renowned warrior, of his son Sekeletu. In order to open a trade route to the sea, the value of which these chiefs were capable of appreciating, Sekeletu provided Dr Livingstone with an ample escort, and sent a quantity of ivory with the caravan for sale on the coast.

Having Linyanti in the centre as a base of supply, more than half the difficulty of crossing the continent was done away with. To that point a waggon road was open from the south, and everything needed for the journey was collected there with little difficulty. On the 11th of November 1853 the caravan left the Makololo kraal, and on the 31st of May 1854 arrived

¹ Sebetuane was born on the northern bank of the Caledon river, in the territory now termed British Basutoland. In 1821 the tribes between the Caledon and the Vaal were attacked by others who were fleeing from the Zulu spear, and in one great body, known as the Mantati horde, they crossed the Vaal and made their way westward, destroying everything in their line of march. On the 26th of June 1823 they were defeated near Lithako by a body of Griqua horsemen, and they then broke into sections and dispersed in different directions. Sebetuane, at the head of one strong party, cut his way northward, and settled at Linyanti, on the river Chobe, a tributary of the Zambesi. Here he was a terrible scourge to the clans far and near. His son Sekeletu, who succeeded him, died of leprosy, and then the Makololo, as the tribe formed by Sebetuane was termed, broke up. See vol. iii of my *History of South Africa*.

safely at Loanda in Angola. After resting there nearly four months, on the 20th of September Dr Livingstone set out to return, but the journey back to Linyanti could not be accomplished in less than a year.

It was evident that the route to the west coast was too difficult to be of much use, and the explorer therefore resolved to try to open up a water way by the Zambesi to Quilimane. Leaving Linyanti on the 3rd of November 1855, equipped and attended as before, he followed the great river down to the sea, discovering on the way the magnificent Victoria fall. After touching at Tete, where he left most of his companions to await his return from England, he arrived at Quilimane on the 20th of May 1856. Thence he proceeded to Europe, and four years later returned to Linyanti by the same route.

Since that time the continent has frequently been crossed, and soon the various details of its features were known, and full information was obtained concerning the tribes that occupy it.

CHAPTER VIII.

REVIVAL OF ACTIVITY IN PORTUGUESE SOUTH
AFRICA DURING THE LAST HALF OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER VIII.—*Contents.*

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CHAPTER VIII.

REVIVAL OF ACTIVITY IN PORTUGUESE SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

AFTER 1838, when the emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony began to settle on the highlands of the interior between the Vaal and Limpopo rivers, the southern part of the territory claimed by the Portuguese along the eastern coast acquired a value it never had before. The excellent harbour at the mouth of the Espirito Santo in Delagoa Bay was the nearest port to the newly occupied territory, and efforts were repeatedly made to open a road to it.¹ These did not succeed for many years, owing to the prevalence of fever near the coast and to the intermediate belt of land being infested with the tsetse fly, but the position of the bay made it certain that in time all the difficulties of establishing communication through it between the South African Republic and the outer world would be overcome.

In early years the Portuguese had been accustomed

¹ For a full account of these efforts, see Vols. IV and V of my *History of South Africa*.

to send a vessel occasionally from Mozambique to purchase ivory from the natives on the shores of Delagoa Bay, but in 1692 this traffic was abandoned. No jurisdiction had ever been exercised there by anyone except the chiefs of the different tribes, who had always been quite independent of foreign control.

In 1688 the Dutch galiot *Noord* was sent by the authorities in Capetown to inspect the bay, and found an English vessel there, whose people had set up a tent on shore and were trading freely with the natives. The Portuguese pangaio, manned by blacks, with three European officers, arrived from Mozambique while the *Noord* was at anchor, but no remonstrance whatever was made against the English and Dutch acting as they pleased. The officers of the galiot busied themselves with surveying the bay, and laying down on a chart its channels and shoals, with all their bearings and distances. The Portuguese took their goods ashore, and occupied a simply constructed lodge or hut, to which the natives came with ivory, gum, and provisions for sale. This had always been the method of carrying on the traffic.

Some time afterwards the Dutch East India Company, incited by a report of the existence of valuable gold mines in the neighbourhood, resolved to take possession of the place, and fitted out an expedition in Holland for that purpose. In March 1721 this expedition arrived, and finding no representative of Portugal, nor even any trace of visits previously made by Portuguese except an aged runaway slave and some ruins of a temporary trading station on one of the islands, proceeded to select a site for a fort and a factory.

The place chosen was on the northern bank of the Espirito Santo, where recently the town of Lourenço Marques has been built. The Dutch were thus the first Europeans to attempt to establish themselves permanently on the shores of Delagoa Bay, and their fort was the first structure of the kind erected there. The position was retained by them, without the slightest interference or remonstrance from the Portuguese, until December 1730, when it was abandoned, owing to its unhealthiness and the lack of material for profitable trade.¹

A quarter of a century later, that is in 1755, a small party of men was sent from Mozambique to establish a trading station. They took up their residence on the southern bank of the Espirito Santo, and carried on traffic with the natives for ivory. They remained, however, a very short time.

In June 1757 the Dutch ship *Naarstigheid* put into the bay dismasted and so leaky that it was with difficulty she could be kept afloat. Her crew remained there over two years before they were relieved, without seeing or hearing of any Portuguese. The country around was thoroughly explored, and several men, while endeavouring to make their way to the Cape of Good Hope, travelled beyond Port Natal. At their farthest point they found some half breeds, children of two Englishmen who had been saved from a wrecked ship. They also learned that a Dutch vessel had recently visited Port Natal. At that time the

¹ A full account of the occupation by the Dutch of the fort on the western shore of Delagoa Bay is given in the second volume of my *History of South Africa*. The station was a dependency of the Cape Colony.

most powerful chief in the neighbourhood of the bay was a man named Mangova, who was the ruler of the tribe living along the Tembe river, and who had the hereditary title of Kapela, just as the chief of the Makalanga had the hereditary title of Monomotapa. The tribe that occupied the island Inhaka and the peninsula south of it was then in a state of vassalage to him.

In 1776 an Austrian expedition, fitted out with the sanction of the empress Maria Theresa by an association termed the Asiatic Company of Trieste, arrived in the bay with the object of establishing trading stations on its shores. The expedition was commanded by an Englishman, Lieutenant Colonel William Bolts, who selected sites for posts on the island of Inhaka and near the mouth of the Maputa river. At the last-named place a small fort was constructed, and thirteen guns were mounted on it. No Portuguese were there at the time, but nearly two years afterwards, when the viceroy at Goa came to learn of the existence of the Austrian establishments, he sent a protest against their continuance, on the ground that the shores of the bay were Portuguese territory.

The government at Lisbon followed up this protest by an order to the viceroy to endeavour to assert his right by arms, and in consequence the frigate *S. Anne* was sent from Goa with as strong a force as could be got together to expel the Austrians. Meantime the people at the bay were stricken with fever, and in a quarrel with the natives some of the principal officers were killed and the station on the island of Inhaka was destroyed.

On the 30th of March 1781 the *S. Anne* reached her

destination. There were two unarmed vessels under the Austrian flag in the bay when she arrived, both of which were seized and sent to Goa. The few fever-stricken people at the fort on the Maputa river were incapable of offering resistance. The Portuguese commandant, Joachim Viçente Godinho de Mira, made them prisoners, and destroyed the little building. This matter caused some correspondence between the Austrian and Portuguese governments, but the former did not attach much importance to it, and ultimately, without any close examination, the sovereignty of the latter over the territory enclosing the bay was recognised.

Towards the close of the same year, 1781, some men were sent from Mozambique to construct a station, but were prevented from doing so by the natives. In 1787, however, another party from Mozambique constructed a fort on the site which the Dutch had occupied on the northern bank of the Espirito Santo, and opened a trading establishment. Then, for the first time, the Portuguese occupation was more than transient.

In 1794 civil war broke out in the kapela's tribe, and José Correia Monteiro de Mattos, commandant of the little fort, by taking part with one of the combatants, obtained a nominal deed of cession of the whole country to the king of Portugal. The document was dated 10th of November 1794, but no steps were taken to enforce authority of any kind.

In October 1796 two French frigates entered the bay and destroyed the fort, which was then occupied by an unusually strong garrison of eighty men. The Portuguese retired into the back country, where they

lived in the greatest discomfort until May 1797, when a vessel arrived from Mozambique and took them away.

The place remained without occupants until the 7th of June 1799 when the captain Luis José, arrived with a detachment of troops from Mozambique. There was war at the time among the Bantu on the northern side of the Espirito Santo, so he entrenched himself on the other bank, where he remained about a year, when with comparative safety he was able to remove to the site that the Dutch had occupied.

On the 5th of April 1805 José Antonio Caldas, who was then captain of the fort, obtained from a native chief a deed of cession to Portugal of a considerable tract of land north of the Espirito Santo, which that chief had wrested from its previous owner. But the weakness of the garrison and the circumstances of the time were such that no real cession was intended, and the relation of the two parties to each other remained as it was before.

The trade of the place, which was almost entirely limited to the barter of ivory, was so small that the profits were insufficient to cover the cost of the garrison, trifling as that was. The English and the Americans for many years had carried on a whale fishery there, without troubling themselves to ask permission from the government that claimed sovereignty over the inlet, but when some Portuguese tried the same industry, it failed in their hands. The system under which the American and English seamen were employed was that of payment according to results, and that was probably the cause of their success, though

they asserted that it was disregard of the value of time which prevented the Portuguese from maintaining their own against active competitors in this or any other enterprise. In November 1824 an exclusive monopoly of the commerce of this bay was granted to a Company, that did nothing, however, to increase the volume of trade, and in January 1835 its privilege was withdrawn.

Towards the close of 1822 an English exploring and surveying expedition, under Captain Owen, of the royal navy, entered Delagoa Bay. It was provided with credentials from the government at Lisbon to the Portuguese officials on the coast, in which they were required to render all the assistance in their power, as the object was purely scientific. But when Captain Owen requested protection for his boats' people while they were surveying the rivers, he was informed by the commandant of the fort that the natives were not subject to the Portuguese government, and that he must depend upon his own resources. That was the true condition of matters at the time. Accordingly the English officers acted thereafter as if Portuguese sovereignty did not extend beyond the range of the guns of the fort, and when Mazeta, the chief of the tribe along the Tembe river, offered to cede his country to Great Britain, Captain Owen accepted the cession. A document to that effect was drawn up and formally signed and witnessed on the 8th of March 1823. That the chief did not realise what he was doing is, however, certain, and this deed of cession was of no greater value, honestly considered, than the one covering the same ground made to the Portuguese in November 1794.

On the 23rd of August 1823, Makasane, chief of the

tribe occupying the territory between the Maputa river and the sea, that is the same tract of land that had once belonged to the friendly ruler Garcia de Sá, affixed his mark to a document by which he placed himself and his country under the protection of Great Britain. Captain Owen's object in obtaining this declaration was to secure for England the two islands Inhaka and Elephant, which were regarded as more healthy stations than any on the mainland, and behind which there was good anchorage for ships. But no force was left for Makasane's protection, and beyond the existence of the formal document there was nothing to show that Great Britain had obtained a foothold there.

Some of the old names of the rivers were changed by this expedition into English ones. Thus the Manisa became the King George's, but the old designation of that stream near its mouth survives until to-day, and the new one is now seldom used, while the upper course is always known as the Komati. The Da Lagoa or Lourenço Marques became the Dundas, but recently the Bantu name Umbelosi has driven all the others out. The estuary called the Espirito Santo was changed into the English river, and is still frequently so termed.

After the departure of the English expedition the commandant of the Portuguese fort obtained from the chiefs who had affixed their marks to the documents a counter declaration, to the effect that they were subjects of the king of Portugal, as their fathers from time immemorial had been. The exact value of all these documents and declarations was very shortly

tested. The captain Lupe de Cardenas with a junior officer and thirty-nine blacks called soldiers made a show of hoisting the Portuguese flag on the banks of the Tembe river, whereupon Mazeta, the chief who was asserted to be a subject of Portugal as his ancestors had always been, attacked the party, killed Cardenas and twenty-six of his men, and obliged the ensign and the remaining thirteen negroes to surrender and submit to his mercy. There is no reason to believe that it would have fared differently with an English officer under similar circumstances.

In this precarious manner the fort or trading station continued to be held until 1833, without authority of any kind over the neighbouring Bantu clans being exercised. It was just the other way, for the tenure under which the Portuguese occupied the ground on which they lived was one of sufferance on condition of friendly behaviour towards the strongest of their neighbours. They were there at the mercy of the barbarians.

For some years the country around Delagoa Bay had been devastated by war of an exceptionally ferocious character. The ruling section of the tribe now known as the Abagaza had broken away from the terrible destroyer Tshaka, and was spreading havoc among the less highly disciplined people of the north. Many of the clans were exterminated, and others were reduced to the most abject condition, all their property being seized, and their serviceable children of both sexes being taken away to swell the ranks of their conquerors. On the 22nd of October 1833 a strong body of warriors of the Gaza tribe appeared before the fort on the Espirito Santo. They were provided with no other weapons