

than short-handled stabbing assagais, so they could not effect an entrance, but during the night of the 27th the captain Dionysio Antonio Ribeiro, seeing an opportunity to escape, evacuated the place, and with his men retired to the island Shefina, which lies close to the coast. On the following day the Abagaza destroyed the fort, and then pursued the Portuguese to the island and captured them all. The prisoners were brought back to their ruined habitation, and were there put to death.

Again, however, as soon as the disturbances passed over, some men were sent from Mozambique, and the fort was rebuilt. In 1852 the independence of the farmers who had settled on the interior highlands was acknowledged by Great Britain, and the importance of the bay was realised in England, where the documents obtained by Captain Owen in 1823 were not forgotten, though no action beyond a little correspondence between the authorities at London and Lisbon had ever been taken upon them. Matters were left in abeyance, however, until the 5th of November 1861, when Captain Bickford, commanding her Majesty's ship *Narcissus*, planted the British flag on the islands Inhaka and Elephant, which he proclaimed British territory, and together with the adjoining roadstead he declared to be annexed to the colony of Natal. This action was protested against by the Portuguese, and a lengthy correspondence between the two governments ensued.

Captain Bickford had hardly set sail when a man, who was destined to occupy a prominent position thereafter in South-Eastern Africa made his appearance at the Portuguese fort on the Espirito Santo. His name was Umzila. He was a son of the recently deceased chief



Manikusa, and having incurred the jealousy of his father he had been obliged to flee and for some time had been living as a refugee in the South African Republic.<sup>1</sup> Upon the death of Manikusa, his son Maweva succeeded as chief of the Abagaza, but a strong party favoured Umzila, who was much the abler man of the two.

On the 1st of December 1861 Umzila applied to Onofre Lourenço de Andrada, captain of the fort on the Espirito Santo, for assistance against his brother. Manikusa, his father, had been a terrible scourge to the Portuguese, and Maweva, his brother, bade fair to be equally hostile. He, on the contrary, offered to recognise the sovereignty of the king of Portugal, and to cede all the land up to the Manisa river, in return for military assistance. The captain Andrada was not in a position to give much help. His whole force could not have stood five minutes in the open field against the weakest of Maweva's regiments, but he recognised that a crisis had come, and that if Umzila was unsuccessful, the Portuguese possession of any part of the coast south of the Zambesi river would be at an end. What Umzila needed also was not so much men as arms and ammunition, and he could spare a few antiquated firelocks and a quantity of gunpowder.

An arrangement was therefore entered into, and on the 2nd of December 1861 the cession of the territory—though it was not yet in the giver's possession—was formally made. All the assistance that was possible

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of Umzila's residence in the South African Republic see Volume V of my *History of South Africa*.



was then afforded to Umzila. The war between the brothers lasted many months, but at length in two battles, fought on the banks of the Manisa on the 17th and the 20th of August 1862 Maweve's adherents were completely crushed. Umzila then became undisputed chief of the Gaza tribe, and until his death ruled over nearly all the Bantu in that large expanse of territory marked in the maps as Gazaland, extending from the Zambesi river on the north to the Manisa on the south, and from the fringe of the great interior plain down to the shore of the Indian sea. Throughout his life he remembered the assistance that had been given to him by the Portuguese, but did not always refrain from hostile actions towards them, and certainly never regarded himself as their subject. To control a tribe as powerful as his, the means to compel obedience to authority must be ever present, no matter what flag is supposed to wave over the territory, and the Portuguese at that time had no force in South-Eastern Africa that could command respect.

They were, however, beginning to improve their position, which had already passed its lowest point of depression. A favourable turn in their affairs was taking place in the lower Zambesi valley, as will presently be related, and on the Espirito Santo a much stronger and better fort than the one previously existing was constructed in 1864, which was strengthened three years afterwards by the addition of four small batteries. A few houses were built on the adjoining ground, and thereafter the site came to be generally called Lourenço Marques.

On the 29th of July 1869 a commercial treaty was



concluded between the governments of Portugal and of the South African Republic, as the state established by the emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony was called, and in it a boundary line was fixed from the parallel of  $26^{\circ} 30'$  south latitude along the highest ridge of the Lebombo mountains to the centre of the lower poort of Komati, where the river of that name passes through the range, thence in a straight line about north by east to Pokioenskop on the northern bank of the Olifants river where it passes through the mountains, thence in a direction about north-west by north to the nearest point of the mountains of Chacundo on the Umvubu river, and thence in a straight line to the junction of the Pafuri and Limpopo rivers.

Such a treaty could not be regarded with indifference by the British government, whose interests in South Africa were likely to be seriously affected by it. Accordingly the claim to the southern and eastern shore of Delagoa Bay, based on the documents obtained by Captain Owen, attracted greater attention, but naturally the Portuguese government refused to acknowledge it. Arbitration was then decided upon, and on the 25th of September 1872 a protocol was signed at Lisbon, by which the contending parties agreed to submit their respective claims to the decision of the president of the French Republic.

The case for Portugal was well worked out, though many mere suppositions were made to appear as incontrovertible facts, and numerous papers were put in which could easily have been proved to be of no weight whatever. Their records and ancient histories were searched, and everything that favoured their claim was



brought forward, while all that opposed it was carefully held back. Among their documents was a treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, in which the territories of the latter on the East African coast were declared to extend from Cape Delgado to the bay of Lourenço Marques, which they reasonably interpreted as including that bay. Real effective occupation of any part of the country beyond the precincts of their fort they could not prove, nor could they show the exercise of substantial control over any of the native clans living in the vicinity. But their discovery of the bay, their commercial dealings with the tribes on its shores, the cessions on paper made to them, and what more has been related in this chapter, they fully proved.

The English case was less carefully prepared. It could not have been brought to appear as good as that of the Portuguese, but by a careful search in the archives of the Cape Colony, it might have been considerably strengthened. An attempt was made to show that the bay of Lourenço Marques mentioned in the treaty put in by the Portuguese really meant the estuary of the Tembe, Umbelosi, and Matola, that is the Espirito Santo or English River. Some of the documents relied upon by the other side were explained away, but the fact that the territory in dispute had for centuries been within the sphere of influence of the Portuguese—though at irregular intervals and to a very limited extent only—could not be disturbed. If the Portuguese claim to the southern and eastern shores of the bay was weak, the English claim was weaker still.



On the 24th of July 1875 Marshal Macmahon, president of the French Republic, issued his award, which gave to Portugal the territory as far south as the parallel of latitude of  $26^{\circ} 30'$  from the ocean to the Lebombo mountains. That included the territory of Tembe, defined as bounded on the north by the Espirito Santo or English River and the Lourenço Marques, Dundas, or Umbelosi River, on the west by the Lebombo mountains, and on the south and the east by the river Maputa and the shore of Delagoa Bay. In it was also comprised the territory of Maputa, between the Maputa river and the sea, including the Inhaka peninsula and the islands Inhaka and Elephant.

Various schemes for the construction of a railway between Lourenço Marques and the capital of the South African Republic had been projected before the publication of the award which secured the seaboard to Portugal, but all had fallen through. On the 11th of December 1875, less than five months after that event, a treaty was entered into between the governments of the two countries, which provided for the free interchange of the products of the soil and industry of the republic and the Portuguese possessions, for the importation free of customs duties through the port of Lourenço Marques of a great many articles destined for the republic and for the importation of all other articles thus destined upon payment of duty at the rate of three to six per cent of their value, as also for the construction of a railway from the harbour inland. Owing to political events in South Africa this treaty could not be carried into effect for some years, but it was revived and ratified again on the 7th of October 1882.



On the 14th of December 1883 the Portuguese government granted a concession for the construction of a railway about fifty-two miles in length, from Lourenço Marques to Komati Poort, on the western boundary. The subsidy offered was ample, still it was only in March 1887 that a Company was formed in London to carry out the work. In November 1888 the line was opened to a point which was believed to be on the Portuguese boundary, though soon afterwards it was ascertained to be some distance short, and then, as it could not be completed within the stipulated time, the government took advantage of the opportunity and on the 24th of June 1889 confiscated the railway. This led to interference by Great Britain and the United States on behalf of the shareholders, but after much negotiation the Portuguese authorities retained the line, and the amount of compensation to be awarded to the Company was referred for decision to three Swiss lawyers.

Meantime on the republican side a railway was being constructed from the Portuguese border at Komati Poort towards the heart of the country. In July 1895 this was completed and joined to the great southern line through the Orange Free State and the Cape Colony, so that there is now complete communication between Capetown and Lourenço Marques. A large proportion of the commerce of the South African Republic finds its way to Delagoa Bay, and with the vast development of the gold fields within that republic during recent years, the traffic is as much as the line can carry.

Lourenço Marques has thus become a place of considerable importance. A town of some size has sprung up, and is rapidly growing, though the death rate is



exceedingly high. It is believed, however, that with the drainage of a great marsh adjoining it the place will become less unhealthy. The means of landing and shipping goods with facility are being provided, and a lighthouse at the entrance to the harbour has been built. The residents of the town are of various nationalities, a large proportion being English and Germans. There is no commerce of any consequence with the surrounding territory, which is, as of old, in possession of Bantu clans, the existence of Lourenço Marques as a town being due solely and entirely to the transit of merchandise and passengers between the shipping and the railway to the interior. Yet it is to-day much the most important place in the Portuguese possessions in South-Eastern Africa.

Next to it comes Beira, a town unknown ten years ago, and which sprang into being as the ocean terminus of a road from a settlement—not Portuguese—in the interior. Beira is at the mouth of the Pungwe river, not far north of Sofala. It has an excellent harbour, capacious, with good depth of water, and easy of access. The Arabs had once a small settlement there, but the Portuguese never occupied the place in olden times, and when the Asiatics retired, it fell into such utter decay that for more than three centuries it was completely forgotten.

Owing to negotiations with Germany and France relative to the partitioning of the continent, in 1887 Portugal advanced a claim to the whole territory between Angola and Mozambique down to the South African Republic, but Great Britain immediately announced that her sovereignty would not be recog-



nised in places not occupied by a sufficient force to maintain order. There were no Portuguese at all at that time on the highlands north of the Limpopo, nor had a single individual of that nation, as far as is known, even visited the clans there within the preceding century. The Matabele chief Moselekatse had conquered the greater part of the country in 1838 and subsequent years, had slaughtered most of its inhabitants, and ruled over the others with a ferocity unknown except among African tribes. The border of the Matabele raids on one side was the border of the Gaza raids on the other, and Lobengula, son and successor of Moselekatse, was the recognised lord of the interior plateau from the Limpopo to the Zambesi, acknowledging or pretending to acknowledge no superior. Gungunhana, son of Umzila and grandson of Manikusa, was the real lord of nearly all the territory between the edge of the interior plateau and the sea, and though the Portuguese claimed him as a subject, he was to all intents and purposes independent of control.

This condition of things was indisputable, yet the intense jealousy of many Portuguese was aroused when early in 1888 an agreement was made by a British commissioner with Lobengula, in which that chief bound himself to refrain from entering into correspondence or concluding a treaty with any other state or power, and the territory governed by him was declared to be within the British sphere of influence. That they had never occupied the country, and never could occupy it, was not taken into consideration, it was the background of a line of coast which their navigators had first discovered, and along which they had military and trading



stations, and that was sufficient in their opinion to justify their claim to it.

Negotiations were opened between the governments of Great Britain and Portugal, but while they were proceeding subjects of both countries were busy securing rights from native rulers. Two Portuguese—Colonel Joaquim Carlos Paiva de Andrada and Lieutenant Cordon—with some black troops visited various petty chiefs, and induced them to accept flags and in some instances to allow a few of the so-called soldiers to be stationed at their kraals. At the same time several energetic Englishmen obtained from the Matabele chief various concessions, which were united in the hands of one strong Company, to which on the 29th of October 1889 a royal charter was granted.

In August 1890 an agreement was entered into by the governments of Great Britain and Portugal, in which the eastern limits of the British South Africa Chartered Company's territory were defined, but it was not ratified by the cortes, though it served as a basis for a temporary understanding between all the parties whose interests or whose passions were involved. At this time a strong body of men, fitted out by the Chartered Company, was on the way from the Cape Colony to the northern territory, and on the 11th of September 1890 reached the site of the present town of Salisbury, where the British flag was formally hoisted and the country taken in possession in the name of the Queen.

On the way up the pioneer expedition had constructed forts at Tuli, Victoria, and Charter. From Charter the Company's administrator, Mr Archibald Colquhoun, with Mr Frederick Courteney Selous and a small escort,



travelled eastward to the kraal of Umtasa, the principal chief of the Manika country. With this chief, on the 14th of September, an arrangement was made, by which he placed himself under the protection of the British South Africa Company, to whom he granted a concession of mineral and other rights in his country. He declared that he was not, and never had been, under subjection or vassalage to the Portuguese government, but that a trading station had with his consent been established by the Mozambique Company in 1888 at a place called Andrada in the Masikesi district, some twenty miles to the south-east, and he knew that an agent of this Company—João de Rezende by name—was residing there. A policeman and a native interpreter were left with Umtasa to represent the British South Africa Company, and Mr Colquhoun then rejoined the pioneers at Salisbury.

Mr Selous rode over to Masikesi to visit the Portuguese station, and on the way met two officers with a party of black attendants, who were bearers of a protest against the arrangement just made with Umtasa, and who claimed a vast extent of territory to the westward as being in the dominions of their sovereign. In that territory not a single Portuguese was then resident, and there were not ten individuals of that nation in the whole of Manika.

That they had a special claim upon the allegiance of Umtasa, resting chiefly upon the position in which he stood to a man named Gouveia, was afterwards brought forward. This Gouveia, or Manuel Antonio de Sousa as he was called by the Portuguese, was a native of Goa who had settled in Africa shortly



after the middle of the century. He was a man of considerable force of character, and had performed services of great importance for the crown. Having obtained a prazo, he armed and trained his dependents upon it, and then acted like a powerful feudal lord in mediæval times in Europe, being in matters affecting his retainers and in disputes with his neighbours almost, if not quite, independent, though in everything else acknowledging the supremacy of the Portuguese government.

He went to the aid of the people of Sena, drove away their Gaza oppressors, and released them from the ignominy of paying tribute. He recovered much of the territory that had formerly been prazos and that had been overrun by the subjects of Manikusa. Services so eminent were warmly acknowledged by the governor general at Mozambique and by the authorities in Lisbon, and Gouveia was appointed capitão mor of a great district and had the honorary title of colonel conferred upon him. For twenty years the body of men that he commanded, consisting entirely of his black dependents, was almost the only military force employed by the Portuguese in South-Eastern Africa at a distance from their stations. Under these circumstances war could not be conducted as if the combatants were European soldiers, and Gouveia's reputation among his neighbours was rather that of a daring and successful freebooter than of an official of a civilised government.

In 1873 the chief of the largest clan in Manika died, and there was a quarrel concerning the succession. One of the claimants was Umtasa, but he was defeated



in battle and driven away. This was just such an opportunity as Gouveia was wont to take advantage of, so he went to the aid of Umtasa, whom he succeeded in establishing firmly in the chieftainship as a vassal of his own. At the same time, however, Umtasa necessarily became a dependent of Umzila, who was paramount over all the Bantu in that region. Thus he had two overlords, which meant that two individuals more powerful than himself claimed and exercised the right of levying tribute from him and his people at any time. And as both of these overlords were regarded as Portuguese subjects, it followed that he also was in the same position.

In addition to this he had been invested with the office of chief by the commandant of Sena, and had received the appointment of sergeant-major of Manika. Further, in February 1888 Colonel De Andrada had hoisted the Portuguese flag at his kraal, and had left the flag in his keeping. On all these grounds, the Portuguese authorities claimed Umtasa as a subject and the district occupied by his people as part of the dominions of their crown.

The British South Africa Company's officers, on the other hand, declined to take any notice of the Portuguese claim, because it was evident Umtasa himself did not recognise it, and because those who made it had no means of maintaining order or protecting life and property, the essential duties of sovereignty. They did not admit that Gouveia's followers constituted a force such as a civilised government had a right to employ.

In October a report reached Salisbury that Colonel



De Andrada and Gouveia with a band of followers were on the way from the east towards Umtasa's kraal. Mr Colquhoun at once sent a few policemen to support the chief, and soon afterwards increased the number to thirty and directed Captain Patrick William Forbes to take command. Captain Forbes arrived at Umtasa's kraal on the 5th of November, and formed a temporary camp at a short distance from it. He then sent a messenger to Masikesi, where Colonel De Andrada and Gouveia then were, with a protest against their proceeding farther with an armed force.

Colonel De Andrada had no wish to precipitate matters. He was a highly educated and amiable man, who had resided ten or twelve years in South Africa, where he had held various offices under the government, besides being the occupant of a prazo at the mouth of the Zambesi. He knew perfectly well that any force which he and Gouveia could bring into the field would be unable to meet the British South Africa Company's police in battle. Besides he was a director of the Mozambique Company, and his interests were all on the side of peace. But he was also a Portuguese colonel of artillery, and his pride and patriotism revolted against being turned away from a place that he had more than once visited before, and that he regarded as Portuguese territory. His ostensible mission was to open a road to the interior from the head navigable water of the Pungwe and to arrange matters in connection with the exploitation of some mines, in the interests of his Company. He resolved therefore to proceed on his journey. On the 8th of November Gouveia arrived at Umtasa's



kraal, and was followed shortly afterwards by Colonel De Andrada and João de Rezende, when their whole following amounted to between two and three hundred men, including palanquin-bearers, carriers, and personal attendants.

Captain Forbes now resolved upon decisive action. On the 14th of November with twelve troopers of his police he entered Umtasa's kraal, and arrested Gouveia and the two Portuguese gentlemen, who had just retired from an interview with the chief. The natives looked on with approbation, and were ready to assist if that had been necessary. Gouveia's men were encamped under some trees several hundred yards away, where they were surprised by the remainder of the British police, and were disarmed before they could make any arrangement for resistance. De Rezende was permitted to return to Masikesi, but Colonel De Andrada and Gouveia were sent as prisoners to Salisbury, and left that place under escort for Capetown. At Tuli, on the way, they met Dr Jameson going up to assume the administration of the British Chartered Company's territory, and by him were released from further restraint. From Capetown Gouveia proceeded to Mozambique by steamer, and Colonel De Andrada took passage to Portugal to lay the matter before his government.

After the arrest of their leader and the seizure of their arms, Gouveia's men fled homeward, and to prevent the Mozambique Company's trading station at Andrada in Masikesi from being plundered, Captain Forbes placed a temporary guard there. He then proceeded to visit various native chiefs living between



the Busi and Pungwe rivers, with whom he entered into friendly arrangements, his object being to secure a road to the coast at Beira, a place which the Mozambique Company had recently made use of as a harbour.

There was great excitement in Portugal when intelligence of the events at Umtasa's kraal reached that country. Bands of students pressed forward as volunteers to defend the honour of their flag, and were sent with all haste to Beira. It seemed as if the ancient spirit of the people of the little kingdom had revived, and that they were ready to proceed to the last extremity in an attempt to get nominal possession of a territory that could be of no use whatever to them. The government, however, was not so far carried away with the prevailing excitement as to cease negotiations for a friendly settlement with the British authorities.

Upon the arrival of the first party of volunteers at Beira, they were sent forward with some negroes from Angola, under command of Major Cardas Xavier, to occupy Andrada. They arrived at that station on the 5th of May 1891. Not far distant was a camp of the British South Africa Company's police, fifty-three in number, commanded by Captain Heyman. On the 11th of May a Portuguese force, consisting of about a hundred Europeans and three or four hundred Angola blacks, was sent out to make a reconnaissance, and at two in the afternoon fell in with the English pickets, who retired upon the camp. The Portuguese followed, and an action was brought on, which resulted in their total defeat, with a heavy loss in killed and wounded. There were no casualties on the British side. Umtasa and his followers watched the engagement from the top



of a hill out of range of the shot, and expressed great satisfaction with the result, though probably they would have done the same if the position of the combatants had been reversed.

The whole Portuguese force now fled precipitately to the seacoast, abandoning Andrada, which the British Chartered Company's men occupied on the following day. They found there some stores, of which they took possession as lawful spoil of war, but the most valuable part of the booty consisted of eleven machine guns that had been left behind.

Meantime the negotiations between the two governments in Europe had been brought nearly to a close, and when intelligence of the collision arrived, they were quickly completed. On the 11th of June 1891 a treaty was signed at Lisbon, in which the boundary between the British and Portuguese possessions south of the Zambesi was declared to be a line starting from a point opposite the mouth of the river Aroangwa or Loangwa, running directly southward as far as the sixteenth parallel of south latitude, following that parallel to its intersection with the thirty-first degree of longitude east of Greenwich, thence running eastward direct to the point where the river Mazoe is intersected by the thirty-third degree of longitude east of Greenwich, following that degree southward to its intersection by the parallel of south latitude of  $18^{\circ} 30'$ , thence following the upper part of the eastern slope of the Manica plateau southward to the centre of the main channel of the Sabi, following that channel to its confluence with the Lunte, and thence striking direct to the north-eastern point of the frontier of



the South African Republic. It was agreed that in tracing the frontier along the slope of the plateau, no territory west of longitude  $32^{\circ} 30'$  east of Greenwich should be comprised in the Portuguese sphere, and no territory east of longitude  $33^{\circ}$  east of Greenwich should be comprised in the British sphere, except that the line should, if necessary, be deflected so as to leave Umtasa's kraal in the British sphere and Masikesi in the Portuguese sphere.

The treaty provided further that in the event of either of the powers proposing to part with any territory south of the Zambesi assigned to its sphere of influence, the other should have a preferential right to the territory in question, or any portion of it, upon terms similar to those proposed.

It provided for the transit of goods across the Portuguese territory during the following twenty-five years upon payment of a duty not exceeding three per cent of their value, for the free navigation of the Zambesi, for the construction of lines of telegraph, and for facilitating transit of persons and goods of every description over the waterways of the various rivers and over the landways which supply means of communication where the rivers are not navigable.

A very important clause provided for the immediate survey and speedy construction of a railroad between the British sphere of influence and the navigable water of the Pungwe river, and for encouraging commerce by that route.

And now, for the first time, the Portuguese territory in South Africa was properly defined on all sides, and was secured from invasion by tribes beyond its border.



It contained as great an area as its owners could by any possibility make beneficial use of, and as many natives as they had sufficient power to control. It would not have been to their advantage if the boundary had been laid down farther westward. They could not colonise any of the land beyond it, and without colonisation on a large scale, an addition of territory would have implied nothing more than additional expense and additional responsibility. Now, with ample scope for their commercial enterprise, with an assured revenue, and with two flourishing seaports—Lourenço Marques and Beira—in their possession, their prospects were brighter than ever before. This they owed to the settlement of other European nations on the highlands away from the coast, and their pride, which was wounded by seeing the vast interior of the continent in other hands, might be soothed by the reflection.

In accordance with the terms of the treaty, the construction of a railroad has been commenced, and one hundred and eighteen miles have already been opened for traffic. The inland terminus is at present at Chimoio, about forty miles east of Andrada in Masikesi. The other terminus is at Fontesville, on the Pungwe river, some fifty or sixty miles by the course of the stream above Beira, the ocean port. The line was constructed with capital furnished by the British South Africa and Mozambique companies, the former having a slightly larger number of shares than the latter. The gauge is only two feet and a half. From Beira goods are sent up the river in small steamers and lighters to Fontesville, and are then transferred to the railway,



which passes through the belt of country infested by the tsetse-fly, so that transport by ox-waggons from the terminus at Chimoio to Salisbury and places beyond is comparatively easy.

Beira is built on a tongue of sand extending into the river. The site is the healthiest on that part of the coast, and for this reason the railroad must ultimately commence there, instead of at Fontesville, which is a fever-stricken locality. The new town has advanced with rapid strides, and is already a place of considerable importance.

The whole of Portuguese South Africa between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers, except the district of which Tete is the centre, is now ruled by the Mozambique Company. This Company was formed in 1888 as a mining corporation, the acquisition of the gold-fields of Manika being the inducement to the shareholders to subscribe the capital. On the 11th of February 1891, however, the Company obtained a royal charter, which conferred upon it large administrative powers. The charter was followed on the 30th of July by a royal decree, and on the 28th of December of the same year by the publication of statutes, which documents combined form the present constitution. The Company has a monopoly of all mineral and commercial rights, which it may lease in detail to associations or individuals, it is under an obligation to introduce a limited number of colonists, and it has taxing and governing powers subject to the supreme authorities at Lisbon.

The chief official of the Mozambique Company in the territory between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers has the title of governor, and resides at Beira. The country



is divided into districts, over each of which a commissioner, subordinate to the governor, presides. The officers who administer justice are appointed by the supreme government, and are not subject to the Chartered Company, but to the governor-general at Mozambique. There are courts at Beira, Sena, Andrada, Sofala, Chiloane, Gouveia, and Chupanga. Sena and Sofala have not recovered their old importance, small as that was, and are now insignificant places compared with Beira. Andrada and Chiloane have been described. Gouveia and Chupanga, recently the centres of prazos, can hardly yet be dignified with the name of hamlets. The last-named—Chupanga—on the southern bank of the Zambesi, is well known to English readers as the burial place of Mrs Livingstone, wife of the celebrated explorer, and of Mr Kilpatrick, a member of the surveying expedition under Captain Owen. It is one of the most beautiful localities in a land that abounds with charming scenery, but the deadly fever must for ever prevent it from becoming a place of note.

The old system of giving out great tracts of country as prazos has been abolished, unless the whole territory be regarded as one great prazo in possession of the Chartered Mozambique Company. By that Company unoccupied ground is now allotted for agricultural purposes on quit-rent tenure, but no area larger than five thousand English acres can be held by any individual or association. Occupation of ground and mining are open to people of all nationalities, upon condition of their submission to the laws of the country.

The tract of land between the Limpopo and Manisa



rivers, from the border of the South African Republic to the sea, is held by another Company under a concession from the crown, dated 16th of November 1893, but nothing has yet been done to develop its resources.

Inhambane, the port of the territory between the Limpopo and the Sabi, has made some progress of late years, though as it is dependent upon trade with the natives only, it is far less important than Lourenço Marques or Beira. The village consists of a church and a few houses and shops.

There remains the territory of which Tete is the seat of government, between the Zambesi and the Anglo-Portuguese border west of the Mozambique Company's district. Early in the present century the greater number of the prazos there were almost denuded of people, so many were sent away as slaves to Brazil. Washing for gold ceased, and the larger part of the territory reverted to the condition in which it was when white people first saw it. The village of Tete sank to be a mere depôt of the ivory trade.

Thus long before 1853 Portuguese influence had been declining, and in that year it was completely lost by the insurrection of a Goanese half breed named Nyande, who was the holder of an extensive prazo. This man armed and trained some four hundred black dependents, and then built a strong stockade at the confluence of the Luenya with the Zambesi, from which he exacted tribute upon all commerce passing up and down. Two of the neighbouring chiefs were induced by the authorities of Tete to attack him, but were repulsed, and their people were exterminated as a warning to others.



Nyande then sent a division of his force, under his son Bonga, or as called by the Portuguese Antonio Viçente da Cruz, against Tete, when the village was plundered and most of the buildings burned. The church and a few houses were spared, and the fort, into which the inhabitants retired, was not taken. In the following year, 1854, two hundred men were sent from Lisbon to suppress the revolt, but after suffering from hunger, fever, and other forms of misery, they were defeated by Bonga, and those who remained alive were obliged to retreat.

In 1855 an amnesty was offered to Nyande, but he declined to accept it, and continued his career of robbery. The unfortunate inhabitants of Tete were reduced to great distress, but nothing could be done to relieve them, and no shadow of Portuguese authority remained beyond the range of the guns of the fort.

A few years later Nyande died, and was succeeded by his son Bonga. Efforts were made to conciliate the new chief, who was appointed sergeant-major of Masangano, but he would not desist from plundering far and near, nor submit to control of any kind. Early in 1867 he massacred a number of people, and then a force eight hundred strong was raised at Mozambique and sent against him. On the 6th of August this force, when close to the stockade, was attacked by the robber captain, and was defeated with great slaughter.

In 1869 Portugal made another effort to recover her authority. A hundred artillerymen and four hundred fusileers, well equipped with war material, were sent from Lisbon, and were joined by three hundred and



fifty soldiers from Goa and as many Africans as could be enlisted and armed along the Zambesi. But the campaign was so badly conducted that the men were suffering from want of food before they reached the scene of action, and the military movements were carried on with the utmost vacillation and want of skill. Bonga's stockade was bombarded with artillery for three days without a breach being effected, and the army was so distributed that the best section of it was surprised and annihilated. The failure of the expedition was complete, and those who escaped slaughter were few.

From that time until 1888 Bonga's power—the power of an audacious and merciless ruffian—was supreme. Then Gouveia took the matter in hand, and not the least of the services which he performed for his government was the capture of the stockade and the dispersion of the robber band. Arrangements with various chiefs along the river followed, and the Portuguese influence was again restored.

Tete has been rebuilt, and now contains the church which was spared when the village was plundered by Bonga and from twenty to thirty stone houses of European pattern, roofed with red tiles. It is protected by a small garrison of black troops with white officers, who occupy a quadrangular fort overlooking the river. The European residents, officials included, do not number more than twenty-five or thirty, for the commerce of the place is small. A native town of ordinary huts stands close behind the European quarter. The government of Tete, as of all the Portuguese stations in South Africa except those under the administration of the Chartered Company, is military in form, and sub-



ordinate to Mozambique. The Jesuits have recently established a mission here and also at a station a few miles distant. There are extensive coal fields in the neighbourhood, and it is possible that, owing to them, the village may some day become a thriving place.

Throughout the whole territory from the Zambesi to Lourenço Marques difficulties in controlling the Bantu clans have been experienced of late years, but Portugal has opened her eyes to the fact that it is necessary to employ other and better forces than convicts and uncivilised negroes, and she has succeeded in establishing her authority fairly well. In a war with a chief named Makombi in 1892 Gouveia lost his life, but his opponents were vanquished. More recently the great chief Gungunhana assumed an attitude which compelled the government to bring him to account by force of arms. With his defeat and capture as these pages are being written, it may be anticipated that the peace of the country has been secured, at least for some time to come.

Lines of steamships now connect the various harbours with Europe by way of the Red sea, and with the British settlements of Natal and the Cape Colony. The commerce of the territory has made rapid progress. Unfortunately a large proportion of it is in the hands of Indian traders, a class of people who do not contribute to the strength of a country, nor improve it in any way. But in all other respects the prospects of Portuguese South Africa seem brighter to-day than at any previous time since Pedro da Nhaya built the first fort on the river bank of Sofala.



SOURCES OF INFORMATION







## SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE books consulted by me when writing this history were the following:—

de Barros, João : *da Asia, dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram no descubrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente.* João de Barros while he lived as well as after his death had the reputation of being a faithful historian, and his account of the deeds of his countrymen in the East bears evidence of great industry and care. He was born in 1496, and died on the 20th of October 1570. He held important offices under the crown of Portugal. From 1522 to 1525 he was captain of S. Jorge da Mina on the western coast of Africa, from 1525 to 1528 he was treasurer of the Indian department, and in 1532 he received the appointment of factor of the India house, which gave him the direction of all the Eastern trade. At this period of his life he spent his days in business, and his nights with his books. De Barros had access to the journals, letters, and reports of the early discoverers and officers of all classes in India and Africa, and from these sources his information was derived. He was the author of a good many other books, none of which, however, have the permanent value of his great work here referred to. This is divided into four parts, each covering a decade, the first of which was published in 1552, the second in 1553, the third in 1563, and the fourth in 1613, long after the author's death. The edition which I have used was published at Lisbon in nine crown octavo volumes in 1778, and I have drawn very largely from it.

Pacheco, Duarte : *Esmeraldo de situ Orbis.* This narrative of the Portuguese discoveries in Africa, with a geographical description of them, was written during the reign of King Manuel, and was



first printed by the government in 1892. There were two manuscripts in existence: one in the public library at Lisbon and the other at Evora. For my knowledge of the work I am indebted to the Right Honourable Cecil J. Rhodes, prime minister of the Cape Colony, who had it translated into English, type-written, and bound in two volumes, for his own use, and who was kind enough to lend it to me. I have not taken much from it.

A series of documents in the archives at Lisbon, relating to Eastern Africa, which commence on the 30th of September 1508 and end on the 9th of May 1752. These documents include the letters and instructions of the king to the viceroys concerning African affairs. They were copied, translated into English, type-written, and bound in chronological order for and at the expense of the Right Honourable Cecil J. Rhodes, prime minister of the Cape Colony, to whom I am indebted for their use. The advantage of having a series of papers like these to refer to cannot be over estimated, as from them not only is information to be obtained which is not given by the Portuguese historians, but they fix dates, and furnish the means of testing the accuracy of the early narratives.

Osorius, Hieronymus: *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae*. This work has always been regarded as one of authority. Its author, who was bishop of Silves, was a man of education, with a fondness for research and a graceful style of writing. He lived from 1506 to 1580, and his work, which covers a period of twenty-six years, the most glorious in the history of Portugal, was first published at Lisbon in 1571. I have not taken much from it, but I have carefully compared it with the chronicles of Barros, which for my purpose are more complete.

Correa, Gaspar: *Lendas da India*. I have not a copy of this work in the original, and for my knowledge of it am indebted to the volume published in London by the Hakluyt Society in 1869, entitled *The three Voyages of Vasco da Gama and his Vice-royalty, from the Lendas da India of Gaspar Correa, translated from the Portuguese, with Notes and an Introduction*, by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley. As far as South Africa is concerned, Correa's account is certainly less trustworthy than the narratives of Barros and Osorius. His is legend, theirs are founded on documents written by the explorers. I have therefore taken nothing



from this book, though I think it would be useful to anyone preparing a history of Portuguese India.

de Couto, Diogo: *da Asia, dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram na conquista e descobrimento das terras e mares do Oriente*. The author of this work was born in Lisbon in 1542, and was receiving a good education when the death of his father threw him at the early age of fourteen years upon his own resources. He went to India as a soldier, and spent ten years there in that capacity, when he returned to his native country. He was soon back in India, however, and busy in the study which fitted him for the great work that he afterwards took in hand. Only three decades of De Barros' history were then published, and De Couto's ambition was to bring that magnificent chronicle down to his own time. His writings attracted the notice of the king Filippe I of Portugal, who did this good deed, which historians should place to his credit, that he appointed Diogo de Couto Chronicler of the State of India and Principal Custodian of the Archives there. The first of De Couto's decades covers the same ground as the fourth of De Barros, but there are eight others, so that between these two writers we have a chronicle covering a hundred and twenty years. Unfortunately a small portion of De Couto's manuscript was destroyed by fire when the work was being printed, and it could not be recovered. The author died on the 10th of December 1616, after witnessing the commencement of the disasters that happened to his country. The edition of De Couto's work used by me is in fifteen volumes, and was published at Lisbon in 1778-88. I have drawn very largely from it.

dos Santos, Fr. João: *Ethiopia Oriental, e varia historia de cousas notaveis do Oriente*. A quarto volume in two parts, together five hundred and forty-six pages in double columns, printed in the Dominican convent at Evora in 1609. This book is one of the chief sources of information upon the Portuguese and the Bantu tribes in Eastern Africa during the last years of the sixteenth century. Its author was one of a large party of Dominican friars, who went from Portugal to India at the same time. He left Lisbon on the 13th of April 1586 in the *S. Thomé*, one of a fleet of five ships, and reached Mozambique on the 13th of August. Here some of the friars received instructions from the vicar general to proceed to different stations in



Eastern Africa. Fr. João dos Santos was sent to Sofala, Fr. Jeronymo Lopes to Sena, and Fr. João Frausto to Tete. Dos Santos arrived at Sofala on the 5th of December 1586, where he was warmly welcomed by the captain Garcia de Mello and by the friar João Madeira, of the same order, who had been some time resident there. He remained at this place until June 1590, when an order was received from the vicar general that he and his companion were to proceed to Mozambique. No vessels were at Sofala at the time, nor were any expected, so the two friars set out on foot to travel to Sena, where they thought there might be a boat going up the coast. They reached Sena on the 22nd of August 1590. The captain, Gonçalo de Beja, received them in a friendly manner, and lodged them in his own house. There was at that time only one clergyman on the Zambesi, who spent most of his time at Tete, so, as they found no boat would be leaving for Mozambique until the change of the monsoon, they arranged that the father Madeira should remain at Sena and the father Dos Santos should go to Tete for six or eight months. Not until July 1591 were they able to leave the Zambesi for Mozambique. During the next six years Dos Santos was stationed at Quirimba, Mozambique, and once more—for several months in 1594 and 1595—at Sofala. On the 22nd of August 1597 by order of the vicar general he left Mozambique to proceed to India. In him we have therefore an eye-witness of the condition of affairs at the Portuguese stations south of the Zambesi at their very best period. He was proud of them as outposts of his fatherland, and he was disposed rather to overrate than to underrate the exploits of his countrymen. Yet the picture which he gives of the forts and trading stations seems anything but grand at the present day. In the sixteenth volume of Pinkerton's *General Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World*, London, 1808 to 1814, there is an abstract in the English language of Dos Santos' book, but it is so defective that it cannot be used for historical purposes.

Some of the particulars which I have given of the early transactions of the English in South Africa I obtained from manuscripts in the records of the India Office, London. The accounts of the first English voyages to the East I took from *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or over Land, to the South and South-east parts*



*of the World*, by Richard Hakluyt, preacher, two quarto volumes, London, 1599; and *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, five large volumes, London, 1625. Hakluyt's work was the means of his obtaining the curatorship of the historical and geographical documents of the English East India Company. After his death these papers were entrusted to Purchas, by whom many of them were condensed and published in his work above named. The original manuscripts have perished. The dates are according to the old style.

*Eerste Schipvaert der Hollanders naer Oost Indien, met vier Schepen onder 't beleydt van Cornelis Houtman uyt Texel ghegaen, Anno 1595.* Contained in the collection of voyages known as *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geentroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie*, printed in 1646, and also published separately in quarto at Amsterdam in 1648, with numerous subsequent editions. The original journals kept in the different ships of this fleet are still in existence, from which it is seen that the printed work is only a compendium. At the Hague I made verbatim copies for the Cape government of those portions of the original manuscripts referring to South Africa, and I found that one or two curious errors had been made by the compiler of the printed journal. As an instance, the midshipman Frank van der Does, in the ship *Hollandia*, when describing the Hottentots states: "Haer haer opt hooft stadt oft affgeschroijt waer vande zonne, ende sien daer wyt eenich gelyck een dieff die door het langhe hanghen verdroocht is." This is given in the printed journal: "Het hayr op hare hoofden is als 't hayr van een mensche die een tijdt langh ghehanghen heeft," an alteration which turns a graphic sentence into nonsense.

*Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geentroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie, vervatende de voornaemste Reysen by de Inwoonderen derselver Provinciën derwaerts gedaen.* In two thick volumes. Printed in 1646. This work contains the journals in a condensed form of the fleets under Cornelis Houtman, Pieter Both, Joris van Spilbergen, and others, as also the first charter of the East India Company.

*Journal van de Voyagie gedaen met drie Schepen, genaemt den Ram, Schaep, ende het Lam, gevaren uyt Zeelandt, van der Stadt Camp-Vere, naer d' Oost Indien, onder 't beleyt van den Heer Admiraal Joris van Spilbergen, gedaen in de jaren 1601, 1602 1603*



en 1604. Contained in the collection of voyages known as *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie*, printed in 1646, and also published separately in quarto at Amsterdam in 1648, with numerous editions thereafter. An account of the naming of Table Bay is to be found in this work.

*Loffelycke Voyagie op Oost Indien met 8 Schreepen uyt Tessel gevaren in 't Jaer 1606 onder het beleyt van den Admirael Paulus van Caerden, haer wech genomen hebbende tusschen Madagascar ende Abissina deur.* A pamphlet of forty-eight pages, published at Amsterdam in 1646.

*Beschrijvinghe van de tweede Voyagie ghedaen met 12 Schepen naer d' Oost Indien onder den Heer Admirael Steven van der Hagen, waer inne verhaelt wert het veroveren der Portugeser Forten op Amboyna ende Tydor.* A pamphlet of ninety-one pages, printed at Amsterdam in 1616.

de Jonge, J. K. J.: *De Opkomst van het Nederlansch Gezag in Oost Indie. Verzameling van onuitgegeven Stukken uit het oudkoloniaal Archief. Uitgegeven en bewerkt door Jhr. Mr J. K. J. de Jonge.* The Hague and Amsterdam. The first part of this valuable history was published in 1862, the second part in 1864, and the third part in 1865. These three volumes embrace the general history of Dutch intercourse with the East Indies from 1595 to 1610. They contain accounts of the several early trading associations, of the voyages and successes of the fleets sent out, of the events which led to the establishment by the states-general of the great Chartered East India Company, and of the progress of the Company until the appointment of Peter Both as first governor-general. Rather more than half of the work is composed of copies of original documents of interest. The fourth part, published in 1869, is devoted to Java, and with it a particular account of the Eastern possessions is commenced. The history was carried on as far as the tenth volume, which was published in 1878, but the work was unfinished at the time of the author's death in 1880.

de Bucquoi, Jakob: *Aanmerkelyke Ontmoetingen in de Zestien Jaarige Reize naar de Indien.* A small quarto volume published at Haarlem in 1744. This book gives an account of the formation of the Dutch fort and trading station at Delagoa Bay, with some particulars of that event not found in the Cape archives. De Bucquoi was attached to the party sent to form the station,



in the capacity of surveyor and chartmaker. His narrative is highly interesting.

Francken, Jacob : *Rampspoedige Reize van het O. I. Schip de Naarstigheid, in de terugreize van Batavia over Bengale naar Holland*. Haarlem, 1761. This is an illustrated quarto pamphlet of one hundred and twelve pages, written by the sick-comforter of the *Naarstigheid*, a vessel which lay in Delagoa Bay for more than two years in a shattered condition. Francken gives an interesting account of the surrounding country and of the natives at the bay, as well as of the people met by various parties that endeavoured to make their way overland to the Cape Colony, but were compelled to return.

Prior, James : *Voyage along the Eastern Coast of Africa to Mozambique, Johanna, and Quiloa, in the Niusus frigate*. An octavo volume of one hundred and fourteen pages, published at London in 1819.

*Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, performed in H.M. ships Leven and Barracouta, under the direction of Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N., by command of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty*. Two octavo volumes, London, 1833. The expedition was engaged in surveying the East African coast from Delagoa Bay northward at intervals between October 1822 and September 1825. In these volumes there is a good deal of information concerning the Portuguese settlements.

Botelho, Sebastião Xavier : *Memoria Estatistica sobre os Dominios Portuguezes na Africa Oriental*. A crown octavo volume of four hundred pages, published at Lisbon in 1835. The author of this book was governor and captain general of Mozambique from the 20th of January 1825 to the 21st of August 1829, and therefore one might reasonably expect something authoritative from his pen. But the historical and geographical inaccuracies are so numerous as to prove that his power of observation was small and his capacity for research still less. The book is of very little value. The only chapter in it from which I derived any information at all that I could depend upon is the one containing an account of the prazos of Tete and Sena.

*Ensaio sobre a Statistica das Possessões Portuguezas na Africa Occidental e Oriental, na Asia Occidental, na China, e na Oceania, escriptos de ordem do Governo de sua Magestade Fidelissima a Ser-*



*hora D. Maria II*, por José Joaquim Lopes de Lima e Francisco Maria Bordalo. Three volumes were written before Sr. De Lima's death, and were published at Lisbon 1844 to 1846, but he did not reach as far as Eastern Africa. The work was then entrusted to Sr. Bordalo, who completed it in three more volumes. The first of Bordalo's volumes was published at Lisbon in 1859, and is devoted entirely to Eastern Africa. It has been most carefully written, and as its materials were drawn from original documents in the public records and from other trustworthy sources, it is thoroughly reliable. The author treated his subject in a judicial manner, though, as a patriotic Portuguese, he was unable to detect the true causes of his country's want of success in Eastern Africa. No English writer has ever dealt more severely than he with the general corruption of the seventeenth century, or with the decline and fall of missionary enterprise.

Livingstone, David, M.D. : *A Popular Account of Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. An octavo volume of four hundred and thirty-six pages, published at London in 1861.

de Lacerda, D. José : *Exame das Viagens do Doutor Livingstone*. An octavo volume of six hundred and thirty-five pages, published at Lisbon in 1867.

*Delagoa Bay. Correspondence respecting the claims of Her Majesty's Government*. A bluebook of two hundred and fifty-one pages, printed at London in 1875, and presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. This bluebook contains all the documents and maps put in on both sides when the question of the ownership of the southern and eastern shores of Delagoa Bay was referred for decision to the president of the French Republic. The Portuguese submitted their case in their own language, with a French translation in parallel columns, and the latter only appears in the English bluebook. Those who desire to consult the former can do so in the Portuguese yellow-books entitled, *Questao entre Portugal e a Gran-Bretanha sujeita á arbitragem do Presidente da Republica Franceza*, published at Lisbon in 1874.

*La Hollande et la Baie-Delagoa*, par M. L. van Deventer, Ancien Consul Général des Pays-Bas. An octavo pamphlet of eighty pages, published at the Hague in 1883. There is a great deal of accurate information in this pamphlet, which was prepared after much research in the archives at the Hague and elsewhere.



*Estudos sobre as Provincias Ultramarinas*, por João de Andrade Corvo, Socio effectivo da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa. Four octavo volumes published at Lisbon, 1883 to 1887. The second volume of this carefully written and reliable work treats solely of the Portuguese possessions on the eastern coast of Africa, and the first and third also contain useful matter upon the same country.

*Manica: being a Report addressed to the Minister of the Marins and the Colonies of Portugal.* By J. Paiva de Andrada, Colonel of Artillery. A crown octavo pamphlet of sixty-three pages, published at London in 1891.

Bent, J. Theodore, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.: *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland, being a record of excavation and exploration in 1891*, London (second edition), 1893. A crown octavo volume of four hundred and twenty-seven pages.

Selous, Frederick Courteney: *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa, being the Narrative of the last eleven years spent by the Author on the Zambesi and its Tributaries, with an Account of the Colonisation of Mashonaland and the Progress of the Gold Industry in that Country.* A royal octavo volume of five hundred and three pages, published at London in 1893.

*Mataberland: the War, and our Position in South Africa.* By Archibald R. Colquhoun, First Administrator of Mashonaland. A crown octavo volume of one hundred and sixty-seven pages, published in London in 1894.







## INDEX.

- Abambo tribe: mention of, 176
- d'Abreu, Vasco Gomes: in 1507 becomes commander at Sofala, 108
- Agoada de S. Braz: see Mossel Bay
- Algoa Bay: in 1486 is entered by the Portuguese explorer Bartholomeu Dias, 83; receives its present name, 131
- d'Almeida, Antonio Cordoso: with two hundred men perishes in the Zambesi valley, 148
- d'Almeida, Francisco: in 1505 becomes first viceroy of Portuguese India, 101; on the 2nd of February 1509 wins a great naval victory which establishes the Portuguese power in the Indian sea, 112; on the 1st of March 1510 is killed by Hottentots in Table Valley, 113
- d'Almeida, Lourenço: is killed in battle at sea, 111
- Andrada, station of: reference to, 290, 294, 300
- de Andrada, Colonel J. C. P.: mention of, 207, 293, 294; pamphlet of, 315
- Angra Pequana: in 1486 is visited and named by Bartholomeu Dias, 81
- Arab settlements on the eastern coast: account of, 79
- Arabs: deteriorate in Africa, 79; particulars concerning those of Sofala, 120; slaughter of those at Sena, 141
- Asiatic occupation of part of South Africa in ancient times: reference to, 77
- Assagai: derivation of the word, 83
- de Ataide, Estevão: in 1607 successfully defends Mozambique against the Dutch, 213; sends specimens of silver ore to Lisbon, 233; commands an expedition in South Africa, 235
- Austrian occupation of Delagoa Bay: account of, 274
- Baffin, William: in 1620 visits Table Bay, 220
- Bantu: arrival in South Africa, 5  
belief in charms, 54  
belief in witchcraft, 47, 53  
capability of improvement, 73, 166  
classification into groups, 38  
clothing, 63  
customs, 61, 69, 153, 241, 251  
distinguishing characteristics, 10  
division of tribes into clans, 42  
domestic life, 60  
dwellings, 65  
education of boys, 56  
extent of agricultural knowledge, 62  
first intercourse of the south-eastern tribes with Europeans, 90



- Bantu**: folklore, 56  
 food, 63  
 form of government, 43  
 hospitable habits, 63  
 intellectual power, 73  
 land tenure, 63  
 language, 37, 41  
 laws and tribunals of justice, 44  
 manufactures, 68  
 mode of marriage, 59  
 names of tribes in 1594, 176  
 personal appearance, 39  
 personal ornaments, 68  
 plurality of wives, 59  
 practice of circumcision, 56  
 privileges of the ruling families, 43  
 prolific nature, 41  
 property in cattle, 65  
 religion, 51  
 skull measurements, 7  
 territory occupied by, 6  
 views with regard to cattle lifting, 70  
 weapons, 68
- Baptista, Pedro João**: crosses Africa for the first time, 264
- Barreto, Francisco**: in 1569 is appointed captain general of East Africa, 135; conducts a disastrous expedition in the Zambesi valley, 136; dies at Sena, 143
- de Barros**, book of, 307
- Barumo tribe**: reference to, 176
- Batonga tribe**: particulars concerning, 121
- Beira**: references to the town of, 287, 295, 299, 300
- Bent, J. T.**: book of, 313
- Bom Jesus**: capture of the ship, 214
- Bonga**: rebellion of, 303
- Bordalo, F. M.**: book of, 313
- Botelho, S. X.**: book of, 313
- Both, Pieter**: in 1609 is appointed first governor-general of Netherlands India, 216; in 1610 visits Table Bay, 216
- Boundary**: of Portuguese South Africa, 285, 296
- Boundary**: between the Bantu and Hottentot tribes at the close of the fifteenth century, 6
- Brava**: references to the town of, 100, 110
- British South Africa Chartered Company**: formation of, 289
- de Bucquoi, J.**: book of, 312
- Bukoto trading station**: reference to, 180
- Bushmen**: are monogamists, 21  
 clothing, 15  
 constant wars with Hottentots and Bantu, 11  
 disposition, 16  
 distinguishing characteristics, 9  
 dwellings, 11  
 earliest inhabitants of South Africa, 4  
 food, 12  
 games, 20  
 habits, 21  
 language, 11  
 ornaments, 15  
 paintings, 18  
 sculpture, 19  
 skull measurement, 7  
 stone implements, 13  
 superstitions, 17  
 territory occupied by, 6  
 want of power of improvement, 21  
 weapons, 12
- Cabral, Pedro Alvares**: in 1500 commands the second fleet that reaches India from Portugal, 93
- van Caerden, Paulus**: in 1601 visits the southern coast of Africa, and names Mossel, Flesh, and Fish bays, 203; in 1607 unsuccessfully attacks Mozambique, 213
- Cam, Diogo**: explorations of, 81
- do Campo, Antonio**: in 1502 visits Delagoa Bay, 96; in 1510 is killed by Hottentots in Table Valley, 113



- Candish, Thomas: in 1586 to 1588 commands the second English fleet which sails round the world, 196
- Cape of Good Hope: in 1486 is discovered by the Portuguese explorer Bartholomeu Dias, who names it the Stormy Cape, 85; but the king, João II, changes that designation to Cape of Good Hope, 85.
- de Cardenas, Lupe: is killed at Delagoa Bay, 279
- de Chaves, Pedro Fernandes, captain of Tete: reference to, 183
- Chiloane, island of: references to, 259, 300
- Chipangura, mission station: reference to, 243
- Chipiriviri, trading station: references to, 235, 243.
- Chupanga, station of: reference to, 300
- Clothing: Bantu, 68  
Bushmen, 15  
Hottentot, 25
- Coiado, Antonio: account of, 161
- Colquhoun, A.: book of, 315
- Commercial systems in Portuguese South Africa: description of, 252
- Constantino, Tonga chief: reference to, 159
- Copper: is used by the Makalanga, 130
- Correa, Gaspar: book of, 308
- Corvo, J. de A.: book of, 315
- Cory, a Hottentot: account of, 224
- de Couto, Diogo: book of, 309
- de Covilhão, Pedro: towards the close of the fifteenth century visits Sofala, 85
- Crayfish: are found in great abundance in inlets around the south-western coast of Africa, 88
- Dambarare, trading station: references to, 235, 243, 248, 262
- Dassen Island: in 1605 is visited and named by Sir Edward Michelburne, 218
- Davis, John: in 1598 visits Table Bay in a Dutch ship, 202; again in 1601 in the first fleet fitted out by the English East India Company, 217; and again in 1605 as second in command of Sir Edward Michelburne's expedition, 218; in December 1605 he is killed in an engagement with Japanese pirates, 218
- Decline of the Portuguese: causes of, 185
- Delagoa Bay: references to, 95, 103, 131, 173, 175, 271-273
- van Deventer, M. L.: pamphlet of, 314
- Dias, Bartholomeu: in August 1486 sails from Portugal in command of an exploring expedition, 81; visits and names the inlet Angra Pequena, 81; passes round the southern point of the African continent without seeing it, 82; names the island Santa Cruz—or as now called St. Croix—in Algoa Bay, where he lands, 83; reaches the mouth of a river which he names the Infante, 84; at this place turns homeward, 86; when returning discovers a cape which he names Cabo Tormentoso, but which is afterwards called by the king Cabo de Boa Esperança or Cape of Good Hope, 85; in 1497 assists in fitting out the next expedition sent from Portugal to search for an ocean route to India, 86; which he accompanies as far as St. Jago, 87; in 1500 perishes in a great storm at sea, 93
- Dominican missions in South Africa: account of, 163, 180, 238 *et seq.* 245, 248
- Domingos, Kalanga chief: reference to, 245
- Drake, Sir Francis: in 1577 to 1580 is the first Englishman to sail round the world, 195; sees and describes the Cape of Good Hope, 195



- English : first voyage to the East of the, 195
- English convicts : in 1615 and 1616 are landed and left in Table Valley, 225
- English East India Company : in 1601 sends out its first fleet, 217 ; from 1614 to 1619 entertains various projects with regard to a station of refreshment at the Cape of Good Hope, 219
- do Espirito Santa, Luiz, Dominican friar : references to, 239, 240
- Fernandes, André, Jesuit missionary : particulars concerning, 157
- Filippe, Kalanga chief : reference to, 287
- First shipwreck on the South African coast : particulars concerning, 101, 107
- Fish Bay : in 1601 is visited and named by Paulus van Caerden, 203
- Fitch, Ralph : from 1583 to 1591 travels in India, 196
- Flesh Bay : in 1601 is visited and named by Paulus van Caerden, 203.
- Forbes, Captain P. W. : references to, 294
- Francken, J. : book of, 313
- French : first voyages to the East of the, 193
- Fura : references to the mountain, 123, 135, 180.
- da Gama, Vasco : in 1497 commands an expedition sent from Portugal to follow up the discoveries of Dias and search for an ocean road to India, 87 ; visits and names St Helena Bay, 87 ; where he is wounded in a quarrel with Hottentots, 89 ; has friendly intercourse with Hottentots at Mossel Bay, 89 ; on the 25th of December 1497 passes by a beautiful country which he names Natal, 90 ; touches at the mouth of a river—probably the Limpopo, 90 ; where he has friendly intercourse with people of the Bantu race, 90 ; touches at the Quilimane river, 91 ; reaches Mozambique, 93 ; reaches Mombasa, 91 ; and Calicut, 92 ; in 1499 returns to Portugal, 92 ; in 1502 sails for the second time to India, 95 ; and on the way visits Sofala, 96
- Garcia de Sá, Bantu chief : references to, 131, 169
- Gaza tribe : references to, 258, 259, 279
- Goa : in 1510 becomes the capital of Portuguese India, 112
- Gold mining : particulars concerning, 129, 135, 151
- Gouveia, Portuguese official : references to, 290, 294, 303
- Gouveia, station of : reference to, 300
- Gungunhana, Gaza chief : references to, 288, 304
- Habitations : Bantu, 65  
Bushmen, 11  
Hottentot, 26
- van der Hagen, Steven : in 1604 unsuccessfully attacks Mozambique, 212
- Homem, Vasco Fernandes : is second in command in the disastrous expedition under Francisco Barreto, 137 ; upon the death of Barreto succeeds as captain general, 149
- Hottentots : are polygamists, 31  
arts and manufactures, 27  
capability of improvement, 34  
clothing, 25  
death of Europeans at the hands of, 113, 202, 224  
disposition and habits, 30  
distinguishing characteristics, 10



- Hottentots: division into tribes and clans, 23  
 domestic animals, 24  
 dwellings, 26  
 early dealings with, 100, 107, 173, 197, 201, 203, 218  
 first intercourse with Europeans, 87  
 food, 24  
 form of government, 23  
 games, 33  
 language, 22  
 personal ornaments, 26  
 property, 24  
 religion, 30  
 skull measurements, 7  
 superstitions, 30  
 territory occupied by, 6  
 unknown origin of, 5  
 weapons, 26
- Houtman, Cornelis: in 1595 commands the first Dutch fleet that proceeds to India, 200
- Husein, Egyptian emir: reference to, 111
- Ibrahim, sheikh of Kilwa: references to, 94, 98, 101
- Immigration of Europeans: solitary instance of, 249
- Inhaka tribe: reference to, 176
- Inhambane, port of: references to, 132, 156, 159, 171, 248, 258, 261, 301
- Iron: is largely used by the Makalanga, 130
- Jesuit Missions in South Africa: references to, 156, 237, 244, 248, 304
- Johnson, Captain: in 1622 inspects the South African coast, 223
- Kalanga tribe: particulars concerning, 121, 125, 128, 142, 150, 234, 239-243, 257
- Kapranzine, Kalanga chief: reference to, 237
- Kilwa, town of: references to, 94, 98, 101, 108
- Kitchen middens: reference to, 28
- Kiteve tribe: account of, 150, 178
- Kizura, Mumbo chief: reference to, 183
- de Lacerda, D. J.: book of, 314
- de Lacerda e Almeida, Dr Francisco José: travels of, 263
- Lancaster, Captain James: in 1591 visits Table Bay, 197; and again in 1601, 217
- Language: Bantu, 37, 41  
 Bushman, 11  
 Hottentot, 22
- Leprosy: references to, 181, 266
- Livingstone, Rev. Dr: travels of, 265; book of, 314
- van Linschoten, Jan Huyghen: from 1583 to 1589 resides in India, 199; in 1595 and 1596 publishes various works, 200; including a description of South Africa, 200
- Linyanti, kraal of: reference to, 266
- Lobengula, Matabele chief: reference to, 288
- Lourenço Marques: in 1544 explores Delagoa Bay, 130
- Lourenço Marques, bay of: see Delagoa Bay
- Luanze, trading station: references to, 180, 238, 243
- Luspance, Hottentot chief: friendly conduct of, 174
- Macmahon, Marshal: award of, 285
- Madeira, Diogo Simões: commands an expedition in South Africa, 235; acts fraudulently and is ruined, 236
- le Maire, Isaac: in 1611 visits Table Bay, 216
- le Maire, Jacob: in 1611 resides for some months in Table Valley, 216
- Makalapapa tribe: particulars concerning, 176
- Makololo tribe: references to, 259, 266, 274
- Makomata tribe: reference to, 176



- Manika district: particulars concerning, 129; is visited by Vasco Fernandes Homem, 152
- Manikusa (or Sotshangana), Gaza chief: references to, 258, 281
- Manisa tribe: reference to, 176
- Maps of South Africa: incorrectness of, 124
- Masapa, trading station: references to, 179, 238, 243, 247
- Matabele tribe: reference to, 259
- Matuka, mission station: reference to, 242
- Maweva, Gaza chief: reference to, 281-2
- Mazimba tribe: description of, 183; war with, 188
- Melinda, town of: references to, 94, 96, 100, 102, 110, 137, 182
- Michelburne, Sir Edward: in 1605 visits and names Dassen Island, 218
- Miguel, Kalanga chief: reference to, 245
- Mombasa, town of: particulars concerning, 91, 101, 102, 256
- Mongasi: war with, 142 *et seq.*
- Monomotapa: explanation of the word, 122
- Monomotapa, the: dealings with, 180
- Monteiro, Major José Maria Correia: travels of, 265
- Moselekatse, Matabele chief: reference to, 208
- Mossel Bay: in 1497 is visited by Vasco da Gama, 89; in 1595 is visited by the first Dutch fleet that doubles the Cape of Good Hope, 201; in 1601 is visited and named by Paulus van Caerden, 203
- Mozambique Company: particulars concerning, 299
- Mozambique: references to, 92, 94, 95, 109, 137, 156, 164, 165, 171, 178, 185, 213, 215, 232, 246, 248, 256, 257, 261, 299
- Mumbos, the: reference to, 182
- Municipal government: introduction of, 261
- Natal: is named by Vasco da Gama on the 25th of December 1497, as he sails along the coast, 90
- Netherlands East India Company: in March 1602 is established with very great powers, 206; rapidly wrests from the Portuguese their choicest possessions in India, 210
- da Nhaya, Pedro: on the 4th of September 1505 lands at Sofala, 104; on the 21st of the same month commences to build there the first Portuguese fort south of the Zambesi, 105; dies at Sofala, 107.
- da Nova, João: in 1501 discovers and names the island of St. Helena, 95
- Nyande: insurrection of, 301
- Ofumo, Bantu chief: reference to, 169
- Oja, town of: reference to, 110.
- Ongwe, trading station: references to, 235, 247, 248
- Ornaments: Bantu, 68  
Bushman, 15  
Hottentot, 26
- Osorius: book of, 308
- Owen, Captain: transactions at Delagoa Bay of, 277; book of, 313
- Pacheco, Duarte: book of, 307
- Pedestal Point: cause of its being so named, 82
- Pedro, Kalanga chief: reference to, 244
- Penedo das Fontes: see St. Croix
- Penelope, the, English ship: in 1591 is lost off the South African coast, 197
- Pereira, Francisco de Sodre: makes a gallant defence of his ship against the Dutch, 215
- Pereira, Nuno Alvarez: commands an expedition in South Africa, 235, 236
- Physical features of South Africa, 4



- Portuguese : are the first to explore the western coast of Africa, 80 ; and to reach India by sea, 93 ; in 1502 take possession of Kilwa, 98 ; after 1506 are supreme on the East African coast, 110 ; in the early years of the seventeenth century are driven from most of their Indian possessions by the Dutch East India Company, 210
- Prazos da coroa : description of, 254
- Prior, James : book of, 313
- de Queiros, João : in 1505 is killed at Delagoa Bay, 103
- Quilimane : in 1544 is founded, 130
- Quiloa : see Kilwa
- Railway : from Delagoa Bay inland, 286 ; from Beira inland, 298
- Ravasco, Ruy Lourenço : famous cruise of, 100
- Raymond, Admiral : in 1591 commands the first English fleet that puts into Table Bay, 197 ; is lost with his ship shortly after sailing from that port, 197
- Ribeiro, Dionysio Antonio : is killed at Delagoa Bay, 280
- Rock paintings : reference to, 18
- Roe, Sir Thomas, English envoy to the Great Mogul : in 1615 visits Table Valley, 226
- do Rosario, Nicolau, Dominican friar : references to, 172, 183
- Ruins of ancient buildings : reference to, 78
- de Saldanha, Antonio : in 1503 visits Table Bay, 99 ; is slightly wounded in a skirmish with Hottentots in Table Valley, 100 ; ascends Table Mountain and gives it the name it still bears, 100 ; in 1509 becomes captain of Sofala, 109
- de Sampaio, Ruy de Mello : terms of agreement with, 232
- Santa Carolina, island of : reference to, 260
- de Santiago, André, captain of Sena : reference to, 183
- S. Alberto* : wreck of the, 173
- St. Croix, island of : in 1486 is visited and named by Bartholomeu Dias, 83.
- St. Helena Bay : in 1497 is visited and named by the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama, 87
- St. Helena, island of : in 1501 is discovered and named by the Portuguese admiral João da Nova, 95
- S. João* : wreck of the, 166
- St. John of God : order of, 165
- S. Thomé* : wreck of the, 172
- dos Santos, João, Dominican friar : references to, 177, 236 ; book of, 309
- Sebastião, Kiteve chief : reference to, 162, 244
- Sebetuane, Makololo chief : reference to, 266
- Sekeletu, Makololo chief : reference to, 266
- Selous, F. C. : book of, 315
- Sena, town of : particulars concerning, 133, 139, 148, 160, 164, 165, 180, 183, 185, 184, 232, 238, 243, 247, 248, 249, 256, 257, 260, 261, 291, 300
- de Sepulveda, Dona Leonor : sad death of, 171
- Shillinge and Fitzherbert, commanders of English fleets : in 1620 proclaim English sovereignty over the country adjoining Table Bay, 220
- da Silveira, Gonçalo, Jesuit missionary : particulars concerning, 156
- Silver mines : fruitless search for, 147, 236
- Skull measurements of Bantu, Hottentots, and Bushmen, 6
- Slavery : references to, 72, 251



- Sofala: is occupied by Arabs, 78; in 1520 is visited by Vasco da Gama, 98; in 1505 is occupied by the Portuguese, 105; after 1509 becomes the chief trading station on the coast, 109; particulars concerning, 119, 135, 138, 150, 165, 177, 232, 243, 247, 248, 257, 259, 261, 300
- de Sousa, Manuel Antonio: see Gouveia
- de Sousa, Pedro, captain general: is defeated by the Mazimba, 184
- van Spilbergen, Joris: in 1601 visits Table Bay and gives it its present name, 205
- Stephens, Thomas, an Englishman: in 1579 is a resident of Goa, 194
- Stone implements: references to, 3, 13, and 27
- Table Bay: in 1503 is visited by the Portuguese captain Antonio de Saldanha, 98; is thereafter called Agoada de Saldanha, 100; in 1601 receives its present name from Joris van Spilbergen, 205; after 1616 is the ordinary port of call for outward bound Dutch fleets, 217; is made a port of call for the early fleets of the English East India Company, 219
- Table Mountain: in 1503 is ascended and named by the Portuguese captain Antonio de Saldanha, 100
- Tete, town of: particulars concerning, 133, 147, 160, 165, 179, 181, 185, 232, 239, 243, 247, 248, 249, 256, 261, 263, 264, 301, 303
- de Toar, Sancho: explores the coast of Sofala, 95
- Treaty: with the South African Republic, 285; with Great Britain, 296
- da Trindade, Francisco, Dominican friar: reference to, 247
- da Trindade, João, Dominican friar: is put to death by the Makalanga, 240
- Tshikanga: revolt of, 129
- Umba, mission station: reference to, 243
- Umtasa, Bantu chief: references to, 290, 292, 295
- Umzila, Gaza chief: references to, 281, 292
- Variation of the magnetic needle at the Cape of Good Hope: references to, 202
- Voltas, Cape, at the mouth of the Orange river: cause of its being so named, 82
- Weapons: Bantu, 68  
Bushmen, 12  
Hottentot, 26
- Whale fishery at Delagoa Bay: reference to, 276
- Witchcraft: belief in, 47, 53, 158
- Yusuf, sheikh of Sofala: references to, 104, 106
- Zanzibar: references to, 100, 256
- Zimbabwe: signification of the word, 127















