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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The progress of the expedition was now delayed by

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a man of high ability, but South Africa destroyed his reputation, as it has destroyed that of many others since. He was buried beside his son, Ruy Nunes Barreto, in the little church[1] of S. Marçal at Sena, but the remains of both were subsequently removed to Portugal.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER V.

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

Chapter V.—*Contents.*

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CHAPTER V.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

man, Father Silveira ministered to the Christian residents.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

but had not been able to get near or to communicate with them.

It was the 6th of July when they left the scene of the wreck. At the end of the month they were only ninety miles from it, for they had been obliged to make many detours in order to cross the rivers. Their sufferings from thirst were at times greater than from cold, hunger, and weariness combined. Of all the party Dona Leonor was the most cheerful, bidding the others take heart, and talking of the better days that were to come. They eked out their little supply of food with oysters and mussels, and sometimes they found quite an abundance of fish in pools among the rocks at low tide.

And now every day two or three fell behind exhausted, and perished. To add to their troubles, bands of Kaffirs hovered about them, and on several occasions they were attacked, though as they had a few firelocks and some ammunition, they were easily able to drive their assailants back. At the end of three months those who were in advance reached the territory of the old chief of Inhaka, whom Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira had named Garcia de Sá, and whose principal kraal was on the bank of the Umfusi river, which flows into Delagoa Bay. This chief received them in a friendly manner, supplied them with food and lodging, and sent his men out to search for those who were straggling on behind. In return, he asked for assistance against a neighbouring tribe with which he was at war. De Sepulveda sent an officer and twenty men to help him, with whose aid he won a victory.

Garcia de Sá wished the white people to remain with him, and he warned them against the chief Ofumo, who

lived in front, but as soon as they were well rested and had recovered their strength, they resolved to push on. They had crossed the Maputa river when some natives who had bartered ivory with the Portuguese traders informed them that the vessel had sailed for Mozambique a few days previously. The intelligence caused the captain Manuel de Sousa de Sepulveda to become demented, and his brave wife, Dona Leonor, who had borne all the troubles of the journey so cheerfully, was plunged by this new misfortune into the greatest distress.

They should now have turned back and remained with the friendly Inhaka chief until the following year, but for some unassigned reason—possibly because they may have hoped that the vessel would put into the river Manisa—they pushed on. They were reduced to one hundred and fifty souls, all told, when they crossed the Lourenço Marques, and entered the territory of the chief Ofuma, of whom Garcia de Sá had warned them. The chief professed to regard them with favour, and promised to supply them with food, but said they must entrust him with the care of their arms while they were in his country, as that was one of his laws. Dona Leonor objected to this, but the males of the party complied with the chief's demand, in the belief that by doing so they would secure his friendship. As soon as they were in a defenceless condition he caused them to be robbed of everything that they had, even of their clothing, and drove the whole party away, absolutely naked, from his kraals.

Dona Leonor, who had fought like a tigress when the savages were tearing her garments from her, sat down

on the ground with her two little boys, her demented husband, and a few faithful slaves beside her. One of the children was the first to die. They scraped a hole in the ground and buried the body, and soon afterwards the other child and the sorely afflicted mother also died. The two corpses were in the same manner committed to the earth, and then the party separated. De Sepulveda was never seen again. Three of the slave women wandered away until they came in contact with people who had dealings with the Portuguese ivory traders at Inhambane, and by them they were helped to reach that station. There they found eleven other slaves and eight Portuguese of their party, and as the boat that was sent yearly from Mozambique arrived about the same time, the twenty-two survivors of all those that had sailed in the *S. João* were saved.

They reached Mozambique on the 25th of May 1553. Diogo de Mesquita, who was then captain of the settlement, sent a little vessel to search along the coast, but no trace of any of the lost people could be found.

In January 1589 the ship *S. Thomé* sailed from Cochim for Portugal. No vessel so richly laden had left the Indian seas for many years, but so widespread was corruption among the officials of all classes that she was very insufficiently furnished with tackling, though an ample supply was charged for in the accounts against the royal treasury. The captain, Paulo de Lima, had his wife with him, and there was a lady passenger on board, Dona Joanna de Mendoza, a widow, who was taking her only child, a little girl eight years of age home to be educated in a convent. The officers were desirous of reaching the island of St Helena before any

of the other vessels which left Cochim at the same time, and so they pressed on sail, even in a heavy sea which was encountered off the coast of Natal. The result was that the ship sprang a leak, and was seen to be going down. There was a boat of unusual size on deck, and this was provisioned and got into the water. Then a scramble took place, each man striving to fight his way to the boat, until she was pushed off from the ship's side and drifted to a distance. It was found that a hundred and ten individuals were in her. Her gunwales were almost level with the water, so a number of men were thrown out to lighten her.

The captain's wife and the widow De Mendoza found themselves in the boat, they scarcely knew how, but the agony of the widow was intense, for her child was in the sinking ship, and rescue was impossible. There was a Dominican friar, Nicolau do Rosario by name, on board the *S. Thomé*, and those in the boat shouted to him to jump overboard and swim to them, when they would pick him up, but he would not leave the ship until he had attended to the spiritual needs of those who were about to die. When that was done, he sprang into the sea, swam to the boat, and was taken in, just as the *S. Thomé* went down.

The boat reached the coast of the territory now called Tongaland, which was then occupied by the Makomata tribe. The weather being fine and the wind fair, there was no difficulty in running up to Elephant Island on the eastern side of the bay of Lourenço Marques, where were found the huts used by the traders when they came to the bay to obtain ivory. The island was without inhabitants at the time. Here the

boat was destroyed by fire, and the unfortunate people were attacked by fever, of which many of them died. The whole party would have perished if some natives on the mainland had not seen the smoke from a fire and gone across the bay to ascertain who made it.

The Inhaka chief was then communicated with, and he sent canoes to take the Portuguese to his kraal, where he treated them very kindly. Most of them went from Delagoa Bay overland to Sofala, but some, among whom were the two ladies, remained nearly a year at the chief's kraal, waiting for the coming of the trading vessel from Mozambique. At length they heard that she was in the Maputa river, so they proceeded to that locality in canoes furnished by the chief, and found the trader Jeronymo Leitão with his companions bartering ivory. Their troubles were now over, for they had been accustomed to discomfort so long that the accommodation afforded by the pangaio appeared to them luxurious.

The *Santo Alberto*, on her homeward passage from India, sprang a leak and became waterlogged, in which condition on the 24th of March 1594 she went ashore on the African coast near Penedo das Fontes, or the island of St Croix, in Algoa Bay. Of those on board one hundred and twenty-five Portuguese and one hundred and sixty slaves got safely to land, and twenty-eight Portuguese and thirty-four slaves were drowned. Fortunately abundance of stores of all kinds, arms, ammunition, metal plates, and other articles were saved from the wreck.

On the same day some sixty natives made their appearance, and called to the shipwrecked people in a friendly tone. Their chief, a merry-faced man, quite

light in colour, stepped forward fearlessly, and presented two large-tailed sheep like those of Ormuz. This chief's name, as given by the Portuguese, was Luspance. He and his followers were covered with fur karosses.

Among the slaves that accompanied the Europeans from India were many Africans, and one of them must have belonged to some tribe living on the Hottentot border, for he could make himself understood by Luspance, and he also spoke the language of the Bantu of Mozambique. Another slave spoke the last-named language and also Portuguese, so that through two intermediary interpreters the Europeans could make their wants known to the Hottentot chief. And throughout one of the most remarkable journeys ever made in South Africa slaves of the party could always converse with the natives, a circumstance which tended greatly towards the safety of all.

The shipwrecked people resolved to proceed to the bay of Lourenço Marques, but instead of keeping along the shore as those of the *S. João* had done, they thought it better to turn inland in order to cross the rivers more easily. On the 3rd of April they commenced their journey. Luspance provided them with guides until they should reach the kraals of the next chief, and he sold them two cows and two sheep to take with them. They were well provided with arms and ammunition, and with suitable merchandise to purchase food. Everything was properly packed for carrying, and the party was arranged in the same manner as a trading caravan. There were two ladies with them, for whose use two light hammocks were taken, so that they could be carried by slaves when they were too fatigued to walk.

In this way the shipwrecked people travelled through several divisions of the present Cape Colony and the territories now termed Transkei, Tembuland, Griqualand East, Natal, Zululand, and Tongaland, until they came to Delagoa Bay. Not only had they sufficient food all the time, but they had one hundred and nine head of cattle when their long march was over. In three months they travelled over a thousand miles, though in a straight line the southern shore of Delagoa Bay is only seven hundred and fifty miles from the Rock of the Fountains, for the distance was greatly increased by detours. On the way they lost nine Europeans and ninety-five slaves, most of the latter from desertion. This wonderful success was due to its being the best time of the year for travelling, to their being too strong and too well armed to provoke attack, to their being provided with means to purchase food, and to their having slaves who could make themselves understood by the Bantu along the route.

At Delagoa Bay they found the trading vessel from Mozambique. She was not large enough to contain them all; but her Arab crew consented for payment to walk overland to Sofala, and with them went the slaves and twenty-eight Portuguese. Most of the Europeans of this party perished on the way. Eighty-eight Portuguese, including the two ladies, embarked in the trading vessel, and reached Mozambique in safety.

In all the region traversed by the crews of these three ships there was not a single tribe of the same name as any now existing. The people were of the same race, spoke dialects of the same language, had the same customs, but were differently grouped together.

On the banks of the lower Limpopo lived the fierce and cruel Barumo tribe, one of whose clans had broken away from the paramount chief and settled on the northern bank of the river Lourenço Marques. It was by this clan that the unfortunate people of the *S. João* were so shamefully ill treated. There was a tribe called the Manisa along the river which yet bears that name, on the northern side of Delagoa Bay, and several of its clans lived farther westward. South-east of Delagoa Bay was the friendly Inhaka tribe. Joining them on the south were the Makomata, under a chief called Viragune by the Portuguese, whose kraals were scattered over the country from the coast ninety miles inland. Then came the Makalapapa, who lived on the northern side of St Lucia lagoon. South of them was a tribe termed the Vambe by the Portuguese, which was to a certainty the Abambo of Hlubi, Zizi, and other traditions, from whom Natal is still called Embo by the Bantu.

All the paramount chiefs of these tribes were termed kings by the Portuguese, and the territories in which they lived were described as kingdoms. In the same way the heads of kraals were designated nobles. Phraseology of this kind, so liable to lead readers into error, ended, however, with the so-called Vambe kingdom, as farther south there were no tribes of any importance, no chiefs with more than three or four kraals under their control, and to these a high-sounding title could not be given. The Pondo, Pondomisi Tembu, and Xosa tribes of our day were either not yet in existence as separate communities, or were little insignificant clans too feeble to attract notice.

Shortly before the close of the sixteenth century the Portuguese reached the summit of their power in Africa south of the Zambesi, but even then their actual possessions were very limited, though their influence was felt over an area of great extent. An account of the country at that time was given by the Dominican friar João dos Santos, who lived at Sofala from December 1586 to August 1590 and again for a few months before April 1595, and who spent the time from August 1590 to July 1591 at Sena and Tete.

Sofala was the principal military and trading station. The number of white people living there was very small, and consisted merely of the officers and some of the soldiers of the garrison, the factor who conducted the trade, two or three private individuals who were favourites of the native chief, another friar of the Dominican order,—João Madeira by name,—and himself. Garcia de Mello was then in command of the fort, which was the structure erected by Pedro da Nhaya, but repaired and strengthened in 1558, when Dona Catherina was regent for the child king Sebastião. There were two churches, the principal one—dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Rosario—just built. Dos Santos himself went with a party to the Pungwe river to cut the timber needed in its construction. The white people were leading very immoral lives, and the number of persons of mixed blood was considerable. These regarded themselves as Christians, but they were almost ignorant of the first principles of the faith, and so indifferent that it was very difficult to instruct them. There were some Indians also, who had been sent to Africa in the Portuguese service, and there were some

Bantu converts. These nationalities combined numbered from three to four thousand souls, and beyond them direct jurisdiction by the Portuguese did not extend.

The condition of the Mohamedans has been described elsewhere. The Kiteve tribe was absolutely independent, and presents were frequently made to the chief to secure his favour.

Sofala was very seldom visited by a Portuguese ship. The coasting trade was carried on in vessels built by the so-called Arabs, and manned by black crews, who claimed to be Mohamedans, but really knew and cared very little about religion. These vessels brought goods from Mozambique, the centre of the East African trade, and took back whatever was procured in barter.

Dos Santos found that the Bantu were not disposed to embrace Christianity. They worshipped the spirits of their ancestors, and regarded their chief as a deity, further they had a confused belief in a great God whom they termed Molungo, but to whom they never prayed, and in a devil, whom they termed Musuka. These latter ideas they might have derived from the Arabs, still they had not shown a greater inclination towards Mohamedanism than towards Christianity. The friars, however, must have expected too much from these people, for the number who professed to be converted to the white man's faith was really large. Within four years they baptized seventeen hundred individuals at Sofala, and the great majority of these must have been Bantu.

Tete, at the head of the navigation of the Zambesi, one hundred and eighty miles from Sena, was the settlement next in importance to Sofala. It was built on

ground five hundred feet above the level of the sea, but it was not a healthy place. It contained a stone fort, a church—dedicated to Sant Iago,—and a warehouse. The Portuguese residents, all told, numbered forty, but there were some six hundred Christians, chiefly Bantu converts, with a few Indians and mixed breeds. The captain of Tete still had authority over those eleven little Bantu clans that had been conquered by the monomotapa and then placed under his government. They brought all their cases of importance to the fort to be tried, and were in every respect submissive. Thus the captain of Tete was credited with having a native force of two thousand men under his command. This was the only place in Africa south of the Zambesi where the Portuguese actually exercised direct authority over any Bantu beyond the precincts of their factories.

Tete was the station from which the inland trade was carried on. From it goods were conveyed by native carriers to three places in the Kalanga territory, namely Masapa, Luanze, and Bukoto, at each of which a Portuguese resided, who had charge of the local barter. Masapa was on the river Mansovo—now Mazoe,—about one hundred and fifty miles by road from Tete. Luanze was one hundred and five miles almost due south of Tete, between two little rivers which united below it and then flowed into the Mansovo. Bukoto was thirty miles from Masapa, thirty-nine miles from Luanze, and one hundred and twenty miles from Tete. It also was situated between two forks of a river.

The trader at Masapa was a diplomatic agent with the monomotapa, and had the title of Capitão das Portas. Through him passed the annual presents made by the

Portuguese to the great chief in return for the privilege of carrying on commerce with his people, when messengers were not sent specially for them to one of the forts. Masapa was close to the mountain called Fura, from the top of which there was believed to be a very extensive view over the Kalanga country, but no Portuguese was allowed to go up it, because, as they understood, the monomotapa did not wish his territory to be narrowly inspected.

Bukoto was a mere retail trading station, with nothing particular to note about it.

The trader at Luanze held a commission from the captain general, giving him authority over any white men who might appear in the country, and he was regarded also as a sub-chief of the monomotapa, who appointed him captain over a few natives.

At Sena there was a small fort, a church, and a warehouse from which itinerant traders among the Bantu were supplied. Including the garrison, this place had about fifty Portuguese residents. There were also some Indians, mixed breeds, and native converts, so that the Christians altogether numbered over eight hundred souls. The clans around were all Makalanga, and the Portuguese had no control whatever over them.

The monomotapa at this time, who bore also the title Mambo, was well disposed towards the Portuguese. He gave the Dominicans leave to establish missions in his country, and they had already put up three little buildings for places of prayer, at Masapa, Luanze, and Bukoto. They had not as yet, however, men to occupy these places permanently, but the friar who resided at Tete occasionally visited them. The white people never

made a request from Mambo without accompanying it with a present—usually a piece of coarse dyed calico—for himself and for his principal wife, whose name was Mazarira. This was the custom of the country, for no native could obtain an audience unless he presented an ox or a goat.

The form of oath used by the Makalanga was Ke Mambo, just as all Bantu still swear by their chief. This monomotapa had a great number of wives, and his children were distinguished from other natives by the term Manambo.

Dos Santos, in describing the country, speaks of a kingdom called Biri, which adjoined Manika, and of another kingdom called Sakumbe, which lay along the Zambesi west of Tete, but these were nothing more than the territories of chiefs of no great importance, though independent of the monomotapa. He mentions that while he was living at Sofala the Sedanda chief committed suicide, on account of his being afflicted with leprosy.

West of the country occupied by the Makalanga Bushmen were very numerous, consequently the territory there was vaguely termed Batua or Butua (Batwa), the Bantu name of those wild people. Little or nothing was really known of that part of Africa, however, for neither white man nor Arab had ever penetrated it. One circumstance shows that Bushmen were not its only inhabitants. When Dos Santos was living at Sofala some Portuguese cloth was brought from Angola by Bantu travellers to Manika, where a white man purchased it as a curiosity, and afterwards showed it to the friar. At that time the head waters of the

Zambesi were quite unknown, though the Portuguese were fairly well acquainted with the principal features of the interior of the continent farther north, through accounts obtained from natives. Owing to this circumstance their maps of Central Africa were tolerably correct, while those of South Africa were utterly misleading.

During more than twenty years the country north of the Zambesi had been a scene of widespread pillage and devastation. A vast horde of savages had made its appearance from somewhere in the interior of the continent, no one knew exactly where, and had spread like locusts over the territory along the coast. A small party of them crossed the Zambesi, and appeared near Tete, but Jeronymo de Andrade, captain of that fort, had no difficulty in driving them back, as the savages were so amazed at the effects of the fire from a few arquebuses that they fled without resistance. A little later the same captain drove away another party that had attacked a chief friendly to the Portuguese, and with the assistance of a band of Batonga warriors, slaughtered a large number of them.

The country as far north as Melinda was laid waste by the invading horde. At that place a large band made its appearance, but was almost exterminated by a force of thirty Portuguese and three thousand Bantu warriors that Mattheus Mendes de Vasconçellos, head of the trading station, got together to aid the Arab ruler.

In 1592 two sections of these savages were found on the northern bank of the lower Zambesi. One was called by the Portuguese the Mumbos, the other was the far-dreaded Mazimba. Dos Santos says the Mazimba

were cannibals, and there is no reason to doubt his assertion, for traditions concerning them are still current all over Southern Africa, in which they are represented as inhuman monsters, and their name is used generally to imply eaters of human flesh. The men were much stronger and more robust than Makalanga. They carried immense shields made of oxhide, and were variously armed with assagais, battle-axes, and bows and arrows.

One of the chiefs of the Mumbos, named Kizura, attacked a clan friendly to the Portuguese, and plundered the people. Thereupon Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, captain of Tete, called out his warriors, marched against Kizura, and killed him.

Just after this event, in 1592, a band of Mazimba crossed the Zambesi, and fell upon a kraal near Sena. André de Santiago, captain of the fort, with all the men he could muster proceeded to chastise the Mazimba, but found them so strong that he was obliged to entrench himself hastily on the northern bank of the river, and send to Tete for help. De Chaves with a hundred Portuguese and mixed breeds and his eleven vassal chiefs with their followers went at once to aid the Sena force. The Dominican friar Nicolau do Rosario, whose name has been mentioned before in connection with the wreck of the *S. Thomé*, accompanied the party as a chaplain. The Portuguese and mixed breeds were some distance in advance of the Bantu contingent, when they were surprised by the Mazimba, and everyone except the friar was killed. He, badly wounded, was taken prisoner, and was then fastened to a tree and made a target of till death came to his relief. The eleven Bantu chiefs, on ascertaining what had happened, immediately returned to Tete.

On the following day the Mazimba appeared before André de Santiago's entrenchment. Their chief was dressed in the murdered friar's robes, and they displayed in triumph the head of De Chaves and the limbs of the Portuguese who fell with him. De Santiago, who believed he could not maintain his position long, tried to get across the river to Sena, but was killed in the attempt with nearly all his followers. The two captains, the priest of Tete, and one hundred and thirty white men and mixed breeds had now perished. The Portuguese power on the Zambesi was for the time destroyed.

Pedro de Sousa, who was then captain general at Mozambique, made an attempt to restore the supremacy of the Europeans. With two hundred Portuguese, five hundred friendly blacks, and some artillery, he appeared at Sena in 1593, and, after forming a camp there, crossed the river to attack the Mazimba. But these savages had profited by the lessons learned from the white man, and had constructed a kind of fort, which, though rude, was strong enough to defy the assaults of the Portuguese. De Sousa tried to open an entrance into it with his cannon, but failed. Then he endeavoured to take it by storm, but when his men were crowded together close to it, the Mazimba hurled their barbed assagais and threw boiling water and burning fat upon them, till they fell back discomfited.

The captain general was two months beyond the Zambesi without effecting anything. Intelligence now reached him that the camp at Sena was in danger, so he set out to return to it. On the way the Mazimba attacked him, and, after killing many of his men, took

his artillery and the greater part of his baggage. He and the remnant of his army escaped to Sena with difficulty.

There he was gladdened by receiving a message from the victorious chief, with an offer of peace upon condition that the Portuguese should not again interfere in matters that only concerned Bantu tribes. The Mazimba, he was informed, had no desire to quarrel with the white people, and had acted in self defence throughout the war. The captain general was only too pleased to accept the proposal. He returned to Mozambique, and the stations at Sena and Tete were again occupied as before the disturbances.

As the monopoly of the commerce of the East which Portugal had now enjoyed for a century was about to be wrested from her, a brief account of the condition of the country at this time is necessary. The dynasty of Avis had passed away. João III, son of Manuel the Fortunate, died in 1557, leaving as his heir his grandson Sebastião, a boy three years of age. Dona Catherina, widow of the deceased king, became regent, but five years later retired to her native Spain, which she had always loved better than Portugal. The cardinal Dom Henrique, younger brother of João III, then became regent until 1568, when Sebastião, though still a mere child, being under fifteen years of age, assumed the government as an almost absolute monarch. The boy king was chivalrous and brave, but obstinate and rash to the last degree, and during his short reign the kingdom rapidly declined in military strength. In August 1578, in an ill planned and worse conducted

expedition against the Moors of Northern Africa, which he commanded in person, he fell in battle, and his whole army—the entire force of the country—perished. His successor was the cardinal Dom Henrique, an imbecile old man, who died in January 1580, and with him the house of Avis became extinct.

The succession to the throne was disputed, but in April 1581 Filippe II of Spain added Portugal to his dominions, nominally as an independent kingdom with all its governmental machinery intact as before, really as a subordinate country, whose resources he drew upon for his wars in the Netherlands. To outward appearance Portugal might seem to occupy a more impregnable position after such a close union with her powerful neighbour, but it was not so in reality. The enemies of Spain now became her enemies also, her factories and fleets were exposed to attack, and she received no assistance in defending them.

The little kingdom had been drained of men, and was completely exhausted. It must be remembered that she never was in as favourable a condition for conducting enterprises requiring large numbers of sailors and soldiers as the Netherlands were at a later date. She had no great reservoir of thews and muscles to draw from as Holland had in the German states. Spain was behind her, as the German states were behind the Netherlands, but Spain found employment for all her sons in Mexico and Peru. Portugal had to depend upon her own people. She was colonising Brazil and Madeira too, and occupying forts and factories on the western coast of Africa as well as on the shores of the eastern seas. Of the hosts of men—

the very best of her blood—that went to India and Africa, few ever returned. They perished of fevers or other diseases, or they lost their lives in wars and shipwrecks, or they made homes for themselves far from their native land.

To procure labourers to till the soil of her southern provinces slaves were introduced from Africa. In the year 1441 Antão Gonçalves and Nuno Tristão brought the first home with them, and then the doom of the kingdom was sealed. No Europeans have ever treated negroes so mildly as the Portuguese, or been so ready to mix with them on equal terms. But even in Estremadura, Alemtejo, and the Algarve it was impossible for the industrious European and the indolent African to labour side by side, and so all of the most enterprising of the peasant class moved away. The slaves, on embracing Christianity, had various privileges conferred upon them, and their blood became mixed with that of the least energetic of the peasantry, until a new and degenerate stock was formed. To find the true descendants of the Portuguese heroes of the sixteenth century, one must not look among the lower classes of the southern and larger part of the country now.

Further, corruption of the grossest kind was prevalent in the administration everywhere. The great offices, including the captaincies of the factories and forts, were purchased from the favourites of the king. Such offices were held for three years, and the men who obtained them did their utmost to make fortunes within that period. They were like the monomotapa of the Kalanga tribe, no one could approach them to

obtain anything without a bribe in his hand, every commercial transaction paid them a toll. They had not yet sunk in the deep sloth that characterised them at a later date, but they lived in a style of luxury undreamed of in the early days. Oftentimes the people in their governments were in insurrection against them, as was the case at Sena in 1601, when the inhabitants rose in revolt against the magistrate Lourenço de Brito.

In India many of the fortresses had fallen into partial decay, and commerce was declining. With a strange fatality, instead of keeping up the strength of places which were of real value, the principal military expenditure during recent years had been upon a new fort of the first class at Mozambique. It was evident that sooner or later other Europeans would try to make their way to the East, and the Portuguese seemed to think that if they were impregnable at their refreshment station, they would be able to block the road. They did not consider that another station could be formed to outrival theirs, nor did they realise that by a bolder course of navigation, such as some of their own sea captains had already adopted, Mozambique would be left far out of the Indian route.

The captain of this island still had authority over the other factories on the African coast, but, as before Barreto's time, he had again become subordinate to the viceroy of India. The new fortress, named S. Sebastião, was commenced in 1558, but was not completed until towards the close of the century. It was erected on the eastern extremity of the island, to

command the anchorage and ships passing to and from it. The stronghold was quadrangular in shape, of great height, and on its ramparts from eighty to a hundred guns could be mounted. The want of fresh water was its principal defect, but this was remedied in course of time by the construction of enormous cisterns within the walls, which contained an ample supply to last from one rainy season to another.

This was the condition of matters in Portugal, in India, and on the East African coast, when other and hostile flags appeared beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and the gigantic commercial monopoly was menaced with destruction.

CHAPTER VI.

APPEARANCE OF THE FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND DUTCH IN THE EASTERN SEAS.

CHAPTER VI.—*Contents.*

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CHAPTER VI.

APPEARANCE OF THE FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND DUTCH IN THE EASTERN SEAS.

THE French were the first to follow the Portuguese to India. The earliest known ship under their flag that passed round the Cape of Good Hope was one fitted out at Dieppe, which reached Diu in July 1527. She had a crew of forty Frenchmen, but was commanded by a Portuguese named Estevão Dias Brigas d'Alcuna, who had fled from his native country on account of misdeeds committed there, and had taken service with the strangers. The captain of Diu regarded this ship with great hostility, and as he was unable to seize her openly, he practised deceit to get her crew into his power. Professing friendship, he gave D'Alcuna permission to trade in the Portuguese territory, but took advantage of the first opportunity to arrest him and his crew. They were handed over as captives to a neighbouring Mohamedan ruler, and all who did not embrace Islam came to an evil end.

A little later three French ships, fitted out by merchants of Rouen, reached India, but avoided the Portuguese settlements, and nothing was known at Goa of their proceedings except what was told by a

sailor who was left behind at Madagascar and was afterwards found there. This expedition was almost as unsuccessful as the preceding one. The ships were greatly damaged in violent storms, and with difficulty got back to Europe.

From that time until 1601 there is no trace of a French vessel having passed the Cape of Good Hope. Then two ships were sent out by a Bretagne company, and reached the Maldives safely, but were subsequently lost, and their commander was unable to return home until ten years had gone by.

In 1617 the first successful expedition to India under the French flag sailed from a port in Normandy, and from that date onward ships of this nation were frequently seen in the eastern seas. But the French made no attempt to form a settlement in South Africa, and their only connection with this country was that towards the middle of the seventeenth century a vessel was sent occasionally from Rochelle to collect a cargo of sealskins and oil at the islands in and near the present Saldanha Bay.

The English were the next to appear in Indian waters. A few individuals of this nation may have served in Portuguese ships, and among the missionaries, especially of the Society of Jesus, who went out to convert the heathen, it is not unlikely that there were several. One at least, Thomas Stephens by name, was rector of the Jesuit college at Salsette. A letter written by him from Goa in 1579, and printed in the second volume of Hakluyt's work, is the earliest account extant of an English voyager to that part of the world. It contains no information of importance,

The famous sea captain Francis Drake, of Tavistock in Devon, sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December 1577, with the intention of exploring the Pacific ocean. His fleet consisted of five vessels, carrying in all one hundred and sixty-four men. His own ship, named the *Pelican*, was of one hundred and twenty tons burden. The others were the *Elizabeth*, eighty tons, the *Marigold*, thirty tons, a pinnace of twelve tons, and a storeship of fifty tons burden. The last named was set on fire as soon as her cargo was transferred to the others, the pinnace was abandoned, the *Marigold* was lost in a storm, the *Elizabeth*, after reaching the Pacific, turned back through the straits of Magellan, and the *Pelican* alone continued the voyage. She was the first English ship that sailed round the world. Captain Drake reached England again on the 3rd of November 1580, and soon afterwards was made a knight by Queen Elizabeth on board his ship. The *Pelican* did not touch at any part of the South African coast, but there is the following paragraph in the account of the voyage:—

"We ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portuguese to be most false, who affirm that it is the most dangerous cape of the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers who come near the same. This cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it on the 18th of June."

In 1583 four English traders in precious stones, acting partly on their own account and partly as agents for merchants in London, made their way by the Tigris and the Persian gulf to Ormuz, where at that time people of various nationalities were engaged

in commerce. John Newbery, the leader of the party, had been there before. The others were named Ralph Fitch, William Leades, and James Story. Shortly after their arrival at Ormuz they were arrested by the Portuguese authorities on the double charge of being heretics and spies of the prior Dom Antonio, who was a claimant to the throne of Portugal, and under these pretences they were sent prisoners to Goa. There they managed to clear themselves of the first of the charges, Story entered a convent, and the others, on finding bail not to leave the city, were set at liberty in December 1584, mainly through the instrumentality of the Jesuit father Stephens and Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, of whom more will be related in the following pages. Four months afterwards, being in fear of ill-treatment, they managed to make their escape from Goa. After a time they separated, and Fitch went on a tour through India, visiting many places before his return to England in 1591. An account of his travels is extant in Hakluyt's collection, but there is not much information in it, and it had no effect upon subsequent events.

Thomas Candish sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July 1586, with three ships—the *Desire*, of one hundred and twenty tons, the *Content*, of sixty tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, of forty tons—carrying in all one hundred and twenty-three souls. After sailing round the globe, he arrived again in Plymouth on the 9th of September 1588, having passed the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of May.

The first English ships that put into a harbour on the South African coast were the *Penelope*, *Merchant*

Royal, and *Edward Bonaventure*, which sailed from Plymouth for India on the 10th of April 1591, under command of Admiral George Raymond. This fleet put into the Watering Place of Saldanha at the end of July. The crews, who were suffering from scurvy, were at once sent on shore, where they obtained fresh food by shooting wild fowl and gathering mussels and other shell-fish along the rocky beach. Some natives had been seen when the ships sailed in, but they appeared terrified, and at once moved inland. Admiral Raymond visited Robben Island, where he found seals and penguins in great numbers. One day some hunters caught a native, whom they treated kindly, making him many presents and endeavouring to show him by signs that they were in want of cattle. They then let him go, and eight days afterwards he returned with thirty or forty others, bringing forty oxen and as many sheep. Trade was at once commenced, the price of an ox being two knives, that of a sheep one knife. So many men had died of scurvy that it was considered advisable to send the *Merchant Royal* back to England weak handed. The *Penelope*, with one hundred and one men, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, with ninety-seven men, sailed for India on the 8th of September. On the 12th a gale was encountered, and that night those in the *Edward Bonaventure*, whereof was captain James Lancaster—who was afterwards famous as an advocate of Arctic exploration, and whose name was given by Bylot and Baffin to the sound which terminated their discoveries in 1616—saw a great sea break over the admiral's ship, which put out her lights. After that she was never seen or heard of again.

It was not by Englishmen, however, though they visited India at this early period, but by the Dutch, that the Portuguese power in the East was overthrown. That power was like a great bubble, but it required pricking to make it burst, and our countrymen did not often come in contact with it. Sir Francis Drake indeed, who was utterly fearless, went wherever he chose, and opened fire upon all who attempted to interfere with him, but his successors, whose object was profit in trade, were naturally more cautious. The Indies were large, and so they avoided the Portuguese fortresses, and did what business they could with native rulers and people.

The merchants of the Netherlands had been accustomed to obtain at Lisbon the supplies of Indian products which they required for home consumption and for the large European trade which they carried on, but after 1580, when Portugal came under the dominion of Filippe II of Spain, they were shut out of that market. They then determined to open up direct communication with the East, and for that purpose made several gallant but fruitless efforts to find a passage along the northern shores of Europe and Asia. When the first of these had failed, and while the result of the second was still unknown, some merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a fleet of four vessels, which in the year 1595 sailed to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Before this date, however, a few Netherlanders had visited the eastern seas in the Portuguese service, and among them was one in particular whose writings had great influence at that period and for more than half a century afterwards.

Jan Huyghen van Linschoten was born at Haarlem, in the province of Holland. He received a good general education, but from an early age he gave himself up with ardour to the special study of geography and history, and eagerly read such books of travel as were within his reach. In 1579 he obtained permission from his parents, who were then residing at Enkhuizen, to proceed to Seville, where his two elder brothers were pushing their fortunes. He was at Seville when the cardinal king Henrique of Portugal died, leaving the succession to the throne in dispute. The duke of Alva with a strong Spanish army won it for his master, and shortly afterwards Linschoten removed to Lisbon, where he was a clerk in a merchant's office when Filippe made his triumphal entry and when Alva died.

Two years later he entered the service of a Dominican friar, by name Viçente da Fonseca, who had been appointed by Filippe primate of India, the see of Goa having been raised to an archbishopric in 1557. In April 1583, with his employer he sailed from Lisbon, and after touching at Mozambique arrived at Goa in September of the same year. He remained in India until January 1589. When returning to Europe in the ship *Santa Cruz* from Cochim, he passed through a quantity of wreckage from the ill-fated *S. Thomé*, which had sailed from the same port five days before he left, and he visited several islands in the Atlantic, at one of which—Terceira—he was detained a long time. He reached Lisbon again in January 1592, and eight months later rejoined his family at Enkhuizen, after an absence of nearly thirteen years. From this

date his name is inseparably connected with those of the gallant spirits who braved the perils of the polar seas in the effort to find a north-eastern passage to China.

Early in 1595 the first of Linschoten's books was published, in which an account is given of the sailing directions followed by the Portuguese in their navigation of the eastern waters. This was followed in 1596 by a description of the Indies, and by several geographical treatises drawn from Portuguese sources, all illustrated with maps and plates. These were collected in a single large volume, and the work was at once received as a text-book, a position which its merits entitled it to occupy.

The most defective portion of the whole is that referring to South Africa: and for this reason, that it was then impossible to get any correct information about the interior of the continent below the Zambesi. Linschoten himself saw no more of it than a fleeting glimpse of False Cape afforded on his outward passage, and his description was of necessity based upon the faulty maps of the geographers of his time, so that it was full of errors. But his account of India and of the way to reach its several ports was so correct that it could serve the purpose of a guide-book, and his treatise on the mode of navigation by the Portuguese was thus used by the commander of the first Dutch fleet that appeared in the eastern seas.

The four vessels which left Texel on the 2nd of April 1595 were under the general direction of an officer named Cornelis Houtman. In the afternoon of the 2nd of August the Cape of Good Hope was seen, and next day, after passing Agulhas, the fleet kept

close to the land, the little *Duifke* sailing in front and looking for a harbour. On the 4th the bay called by the Portuguese Agoada de S. Braz was discovered, and as the *Duifke* found good holding ground in nine or ten fathoms of water, the *Mauritius, Hollandia,* and *Amsterdam* entered and dropped their anchors.

Here the fleet remained until the 11th, when sail was again set for the East. During the interval a supply of fresh water was taken in, and some oxen and sheep were purchased from natives for knives, old tools, and pieces of iron. The Europeans were surprised to find the sheep covered with hair instead of wool, and with enormous tails of pure fat. No women or habitations were seen. The appearance of the Hottentots, their clothing, their assagais, their method of making a fire by twirling a piece of wood rapidly round in the socket of another piece, their filthiness in eating, and the clicking of their language, are all correctly described; but it was surmised that they were cannibals, because they were observed to eat the half raw intestines of animals, and a fable commonly believed in Europe was repeated concerning their mutilation in a peculiar manner of the bodies of conquered enemies. The intercourse with the few natives seen was friendly, though at times each suspected the other of evil intentions.

A chart of the inlet was made,[1] from which it is seen to be the one now called Mossel Bay. A little

[1] It is attached to the original journals, now in the archives of the Netherlands. I made a copy of it on tracing linen for the Cape government, as it differs considerably from the chart in the printed condensed journal of the voyage.

island in it was covered with seals and penguins, some of each of which were killed and eaten. The variation of the compass was observed to be so trifling that the needle might be said to point to the north.

From the Watering Place of S. Braz Houtman continued his voyage to India, but it is not necessary to relate occurrences there. After his return to Europe several companies were formed in different towns of the Netherlands, with the object of trading to the East and wresting from the Portuguese that wealth which they were then too feeble to guard.

In the *Leeuw*, one of the ships sent out in 1598, and which put into the Watering Place of Saldanha for refreshment, the famous English seaman John Davis was chief pilot. He wrote an account of the voyage, in which he states that the Hottentots in Table Valley fell by surprise upon the men who were ashore bartering cattle, and killed thirteen of them. In his narrative Davis says that at Cape Agulhas the magnetic needle was without variation, but in his sailing directions, written after another voyage to India, he says: "At False Cape there is no variation that I can find by observing south from it. The variation of Cape Agulhas is thirty minutes from north to west. And at the Cape of Good Hope the compass is varied from north to east five and twenty minutes."

No fresh discoveries on the African coast were made by any of the fleets sent out at this time, but to some of the bays new names were given.

In December 1599 four ships fitted out by an association at Amsterdam calling itself the New Brabant Company sailed from Texel for the Indies, under

command of Pieter Both. Two of them returned early in 1601, leaving the *Vereenigde Landen* and the *Hof van Holland* under charge of Paulus van Caerden to follow as soon as they could obtain cargoes.

On the 8th of July 1601 Van Caerden put into the Watering Place of S. Braz on the South African coast, for the purpose of repairing one of his ships which was in a leaky condition. The commander, with twenty soldiers, went a short distance inland to endeavour to find people from whom he could obtain some cattle, but though he came across a party of eight natives he did not succeed in getting any oxen or sheep. A supply of fresh water was taken in, but no refreshment except mussels could be procured, on account of which Van Caerden gave the inlet the name Mossel Bay, which it has ever since retained.

On the 14th, the *Hof van Holland* having been repaired, the two ships sailed, but two days later, as they were making no progress against a head wind, they put into another bay. Here natives were found, from whom the voyagers obtained for pieces of iron as many horned cattle and sheep as they could consume fresh or had salt to preserve. For this reason the commander gave it the name Flesh Bay.

On the 21st sail was set, but the *Hof van Holland* being found leaky again, on the 23rd another bay was entered, where her damages were repaired. On account of a westerly gale the ships were detained here until the 30th, when they sailed, but finding the wind contrary outside, they returned to anchor. No natives were seen, but the commander visited a river near by,

where he encountered a party from whom he obtained five sheep in exchange for bits of iron. In the river were numerous hippopotami. Abundance of fine fish having been secured here, the commander gave the inlet the name Fish Bay.

On the 2nd of August the ships sailed, and on the 27th passed the Cape of Good Hope, to the great joy of all on board, who had begun to fear that they would be obliged to seek a port on the eastern side to winter in.

On the 5th of May 1601 a fleet of three vessels, named the *Ram*, the *Schaap*, and the *Lam*, sailed for the Indies from Vere in Zeeland, under command of Joris van Spilbergen. On the 15th of November the fleet put into St Helena Bay, where no inhabitants were seen, though many fires were observed inland. The only refreshment procurable was fish, which were caught in great quantities.

On the 20th Spilbergen sailed from St Helena Bay, and beating against a head wind, on the evening of the 28th he anchored off an island, to which he gave the name Elizabeth. Four years later Sir Edward Michelburne termed it Cony Island, which name, under the Dutch form of Dassen, it still bears. Seals in great numbers, sea-birds of different kinds, and conies were found. At this place he remained only twenty-four hours. On the 2nd of December he cast anchor close to another island, which he named Cornelia. It was the Robben island of the present day. Here were found seals and penguins in great numbers, but no conies. The next day at noon Spilbergen reached the Watering Place of Saldanha, the anchorage in front

of Table Mountain, and gave it the name Table Bay, which it still bears.

The sick were conveyed to land, where a hospital was established. A few natives were met, to whom presents of beads were made, and who were understood to make signs that they would bring cattle for sale, but they went away and did not return. Abundance of fish was obtained with a seine at the mouth of a stream which Spilbergen named the Jacqueline, now Salt River; but, as meat was wanted, the smallest of the vessels was sent to Elizabeth Island, where a great number of penguins and conies were killed and salted in.

The fleet remained in Table Bay until the 23rd of December. When passing Cornelia Island, a couple of conies were set on shore, and seven or eight sheep, which had been left there by some previous voyagers, were shot, and their carcases taken on board. Off the Cape of Good Hope the two French ships which were afterwards wrecked at the Maldive islands were seen.

Spilbergen kept along the coast, noticing the formation of the land and the numerous streams falling into the sea, but was sorely hindered in his progress by the Agulhas current, which he found setting so strong to the south-westward that at times he could make no way against it even with the breeze in his favour. On the 17th of January 1602, owing to this cause, he stood off from the coast, and did not see it again.

The fleets sent out by the different small companies which had been formed in the chief towns of the Free Netherlands gained surprising successes over the

Portuguese in India, but as they did not work in concert no permanent conquests could be made. For this reason, as well as to prevent rivalry and to conduct the Indian trade in a manner the most beneficial to the people of the whole republic, the states-general resolved to unite all the small trading associations in one great Company with many privileges and large powers. The charter, or terms upon which the Company came into existence, was dated at the Hague on the 20th of March 1602, and contained forty-six clauses, the principal of which were as follow:—

All inhabitants of the United Netherlands had the right given to them to subscribe to the capital in as small or as large sums as they might choose, with this proviso, that if more money should be tendered than was needed, those applying for shares of over two thousand five hundred pounds sterling should receive less, so that the applicants for smaller shares might have allotted to them the full amounts asked for.

The chambers, or offices for the transaction of business, were to participate in the following proportion: that of Amsterdam one-half, that of Middelburg in Zeeland one-quarter, those of Delft and Rotterdam, otherwise called of the Maas, together one-eighth, and those of Hoorn and Enkhuizen, otherwise called those of the North Quarter or sometimes those of North Holland and West Friesland, together the remaining eighth.

The general directory was to consist of seventeen persons, eight of whom were to represent the chamber of Amsterdam, four that of Middelburg, two those of

the Maas, two those of the North Quarter, and the seventeenth was to be chosen alternately by all of these except the chamber of Amsterdam. The place of meeting of the general directory was fixed at Amsterdam for six successive years, then at Middelburg for two years, then at Amsterdam again for six years, and so on.

The directors of each chamber were named in the charter, being the individuals who were the directors of the companies previously established in those towns, and it was provided that no others should be appointed until these should be reduced by death or resignation: in the chamber of Amsterdam to twenty persons, in that of Zeeland to twelve, and in those of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen each to seven. After that, whenever a vacancy should occur, the remaining directors were to nominate three qualified individuals, of whom the states of the province in which the chamber was situated were to select one.

To qualify an individual to be a director in the chambers of the North Quarter it was necessary to own shares to the value of £250 sterling, and double that amount to be a director in any of the other chambers. The directors were to be bound by oath to be faithful in the administration of the duties entrusted to them, and not to favour a majority of the shareholders at the expense of a minority. Directors were prohibited from selling anything whatever to the Company without previously obtaining the sanction of the states provincial or the authorities of the city in which the chamber that they represented was situated.

All inhabitants of the United Provinces other than

this Company were prohibited from trading beyond the Straits of Magellan, or to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, during the period of twenty-one years, for which the charter was granted, under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. Within these limits the East India Company was empowered to enter into treaties and make contracts in the name of the states-general, to build fortresses, to appoint governors, military commanders, judges, and other necessary officers, who were all, however, to take oaths of fidelity to the states-general or high authorities of the Netherlands, who were not to be prevented from making complaints to the states-general, and whose appointments were to be reported to the states-general for confirmation.

For these privileges the Company was to pay £12,500 sterling, which amount the states-general subscribed towards the capital, for the profit and at the risk of the general government of the provinces. The capital was nominally furnished in the following proportions: Amsterdam one-half, Zeeland one-fourth, the Maas one-eighth, and the North Quarter one-eighth; but in reality it was contributed as under:—

Amsterdam		£307,202 10 0
Zeeland		106,304 10 0
The Maas	Delft	38,880 3 4
	Rotterdam	14,546 16 8
The North Quarter	Hoorn	22,369 3 4
	Enkhuizen	47,380 3 4
Total working capital		£536,683 6 8
The share of the states-general		12,500 0 0
Total nominal capital		£549,183 6 8

The capital was divided into shares of £250 sterling each. The shares, often subdivided into fractions, were negotiable like any other property, and rose or fell in value according to the position of the Company at any time.

The advantage which the State derived from the establishment of this great association was apparent. The sums received in payment of import dues would have been contributed to an equal extent by individual traders. The amounts paid for the renewal of the charter—in 1647 the Company paid £133,333 6s. 8d. for its renewal for twenty-five years, and still larger sums were paid subsequently—might have been derived from trading licenses. The Company frequently aided the Republic with loans of large amount when the State was in temporary need, but loans could then have been raised in the modern method whenever necessary. Apart from these services, however, there was one supreme advantage gained by the creation of the East India Company which could not have been obtained from individual traders. A powerful navy was called into existence, great armed fleets working in unison and subject to the same control were always ready to assist the State. What must otherwise have been an element of weakness, a vast number of merchant ships scattered over the ocean and ready to fall a prey to an enemy's cruisers, was turned into a bulwark of strength.

In course of time several modifications took place in the constitution of the Company, and the different provinces as well as various cities were granted the privilege of having representatives in one or other of the chambers. Thus the provinces Gelderland, Utrecht,

and Friesland, and the cities Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, and Gouda had each a representative in the chamber of Amsterdam; Groningen had a representative in the chamber of Zeeland; Overyssel one in the chamber of Delft, etc. The object of this was to make the Company represent the whole Republic.

Notwithstanding such regulations, however, the city of Amsterdam soon came to exercise an immoderate influence in the direction. In 1672 it was estimated that shares equal to three-fourths of the whole capital were owned there, and of the twenty-five directors of the local chamber, eighteen were chosen by the burgomasters of the city. Fortunately, the charter secured to the other chambers a stated proportion of patronage and trade.

Such was the constitution of the Company which set itself the task of destroying the Portuguese power in the East and securing for itself the lucrative spice trade. It had no difficulty in obtaining as many men as were needed, for the German states—not then as now united in one great empire—formed an almost inexhaustible reservoir to draw soldiers from, and the Dutch fisheries furnished an adequate supply of excellent seamen. It sent out strong and well armed fleets, capable of meeting any force the enemy had to oppose them, and of driving him from the open seas. The first of these fleets consisted of three large ships, commanded by Sebald de Weert, which sailed on the 31st of March 1602, and it was followed on the 17th of June of the same year by eleven large ships and a yacht, under command of Wybrand van Waerwyk.

The Company soon wrested from the Portuguese their

choicest possessions in the East, besides acquiring other valuable territory from native owners. Its dividends to the shareholders were enormous, owing largely to the spoil captured by its fleets. In one year they rose to seventy-five per cent of the paid-up capital, and for upwards of a century they averaged above twenty per cent.

But the Dutch, though they were soon in almost undisputed possession of the valuable Spice islands, were never able to eject the Portuguese from the comparatively worthless coast of South-Eastern Africa. That coast would only have been an encumbrance to them, if they had secured it, for its commerce was never worth the cost of its maintenance until the highlands of the interior were occupied by Europeans, and the terrible mortality caused by its malaria would have been a serious misfortune to them. It was out of their ocean highway too, for they steered across south of Madagascar, instead of keeping along the African shore. But they were drawn on by rumours of the gold which was to be had, and so they tried to make themselves masters of Mozambique, and with that island of all the Portuguese possessions subordinate to it.

On the 18th of December 1603 Steven van der Hagen left Holland for India with a strong armed fleet, consisting of the *Vereenigde Provincien*, *Amsterdam*, *Dordrecht*, *Hoorn*, and *West Friesland*, each of three hundred and fifty tons burden, the *Gelderland* and *Zeelandia*, each of two hundred and fifty tons, the *Hof van Holland*, of one hundred and eighty tons, the *Delft* and *Enkhuizen*, each of one hundred and fifty tons, the *Medenblik*, of one hundred and twenty-five tons, and a despatch boat named the *Duifken*, of thirty tons burden.

In those days such a fleet was regarded as, and actually was, a very formidable force, for though there were no ships in it of the size of the great galleons of Spain and Portugal, each one was much less unwieldy, and had its artillery better placed. There were twelve hundred men on board, and the equipment cost no less than £184,947 6s. 8d.

Van der Hagen arrived before Mozambique on the 17th of June 1604. Fort S. Sebastião contained at the time only a very small garrison, but it was considered too strong to be attacked, and the Dutch therefore proceeded to blockade the island. There was a carrack at anchor under the guns of the fort, waiting for some others from Lisbon to sail in company to Goa. The boats of the Dutch fleet cut her out, in spite of the heavy fire of the fort upon them. She had on board a quantity of ivory collected on the East African coast, but nothing else of much value.

On the 30th of June a small vessel from one of the factories, laden with rice and ivory, came running up to the island, and was too near to escape when she discovered her danger. She was turned into a tender, and named the *Mozambique*. Then, for five weeks, the blockade continued, without any noteworthy incident. On the 5th of August five pangaios arrived, laden with rice and maize, and were of course seized. Three days later Van der Hagen landed on the island with one hundred and fifty men, but found no sign of hunger among the people, and saw that the prospect of their surrender was remote. He did no other damage than setting fire to a single house, and as night drew on he returned on board.

He was now anxious to proceed to India, so on the

12th of August he set fire to the captured carrack, and sailed, leaving the *Delft*, *Enkhuizen*, and *Duifken*, to wait for the ships expected from Lisbon. These vessels rejoined him, but without having made any prizes, before he attacked the Portuguese at Amboina and Tidor, and got possession of the Spice islands. In this manner the first siege of Mozambique was conducted, and failed.

The next attempt was in 1607. On the 29th of March of that year a Dutch fleet of eight large ships, carrying one thousand and sixty men, commanded by Paulus van Caerden, appeared before the island. The fortress was in a better condition for defence than when it was blockaded by Van der Hagen, as it had recently received from Goa an ample supply of munitions of war and a reinforcement of a hundred and fifty soldiers. Estevão de Ataide was in command.

Van Caerden, in the *Banda*, led the way right under the guns of the fortress to the anchorage, where two carracks and the Sofala packet were lying. A heavy fire was opened on both sides, but, though the ships were slightly damaged, as the ramparts of S. Sebastião were of great height and the Portuguese guns could not be depressed so as to command the Dutch position thoroughly, no one except the master of the *Ceylon* was wounded on that or the next day. The three Portuguese vessels were made prizes, after their crews had escaped to the shore.

On the 1st of April Van Caerden landed with seven hundred men and seven cannons, in order to lay siege to Fort S. Sebastião. He took possession of the town, and made the Dominican convent his headquarters, lodging

his people in the best houses. On the 6th his first battery was completed. All but the able-bodied blacks being considered an encumbrance by both combatants, the Dutch commander caused those who were living in the town to be transported to the mainland, and Ataide required those who were in the fort to leave it.

At this time a great galleon approached the island so close that the ships in the harbour could be counted from her deck, but put about the moment the Dutch flag was distinguished. Van Caerden sent four of his ships in pursuit, and she was soon overtaken. Her captain, Francisco de Sodre Pereira, a man worthy of a leading place in the history of naval heroes, made a gallant stand for the honour of his flag. The galleon was poorly armed, but he fought till his ammunition was all expended, and even then would not consent to surrender, though the ship was so riddled with cannon balls that she was in danger of going down. He preferred, he said to those around him, to sink with his colours flying. The purser, however, lowered the ensign without orders, and a moment afterwards the Dutch, who had closed in, took possession. The prize proved to be the *Bom Jesus*, from Lisbon, which had got separated from a fleet on the way to Goa, under command of the newly appointed viceroy, the count De Feira.

During the night of the 17th some of the garrison made a sortie, with the object of attempting to destroy the Dutch works, but were driven back after doing no more damage than wounding one man. And now fever and dysentery attacked Van Caerden's people. From his three completed batteries and his ships a fire was kept up on the fort, without any effect whatever, and

during the night of the 29th in a sortie five of his men were killed and many were wounded. A few days later, therefore, he resolved to raise the siege, and on the 6th of May he removed his cannon.

War in those days was carried on in a merciless manner. The Dutch admiral sent to the fort to ask if the Portuguese would ransom the town, and received for reply that they would do nothing of the kind. They were too proud to redeem a portion of their property by purchase from their enemies. Van Caerden then burned all the boats, canoes, and houses, cut down all the cocoa-nut trees, sent a party of men to the mainland, who destroyed everything of value that they could reach there, and finally, just before embarking, he set fire to the Dominican convent and the church of S. Gabriel.

On the morning of the 16th of May, before daylight, the Dutch fleet set sail. As the ships were passing Fort S. Sebastião, every gun that could be got to bear was brought into use on both sides, when the *Zierickzee* had her tiller shot away, and ran aground. Her crew and the most valuable effects on board were rescued, however, by the boats of the rest of the fleet, though many men were wounded by the fire from the fort. The wreck was given to the flames when it was abandoned.

In the second attempt to get possession of Mozambique the Dutch lost forty men, either killed by the enemy or carried off by fever, and they took many sick and wounded away. But there can be little question that defeat was more advantageous to them than victory would have been, for if their design had succeeded a

very heavy tax upon their resources and their energy would have been entailed thereafter. They did not realise this fact, however, and fifty-five years later another unsuccessful attempt was made to acquire the coveted East African possessions. Their ships continued to keep the factories on the coast in alarm and to capture Portuguese vessels trading along it, though, after the experience gained, they avoided attacking Fort S. Sebastião.

In the eastern seas they were by this time the dominant power, and were fast building up a commerce greater by far than the Portuguese had ever carried on. They distributed their spices and silks over Europe, whereas their predecessors were satisfied with making Lisbon a market, to which purchasers of other nations might come for whatever they needed.

On the 21st of November 1609 Pieter Both was appointed first governor-general of Netherlands India. He left Texel with the next fleet, which sailed in the following January. In a great storm off the Cape his ship got separated from the others, so he put into Table Bay to repair some damages to the mainmast and to refresh his men. In July 1610 Captain Nicholas Downton called at the same port in an English vessel, and found Governor-General Both's ship lying at anchor and also two homeward bound Dutch ships taking in train oil which had been collected at Robben Island.

In May 1611 the Dutch skipper Isaac le Maire, after whom the straits of Le Maire are named, called at Table Bay. When he sailed, he left behind his son Jacob and a party of seamen, who resided in Table Valley for several months. Their object was to kill

seals on Robben Island, and to harpoon whales, which were then very abundant in South African waters in the winter season. They also tried to open up a trade for skins of animals with the Hottentots.

In 1616 the assembly of seventeen resolved that its outward bound fleets should always put into Table Bay to refresh the crews, and from that time onward Dutch ships touched there almost every season. A kind of post office was established by marking the dates of arrivals and departures on stones, and burying letters in places indicated. But no attempt was made to explore the country, and no port south of the Zambesi except Table Bay was frequented by Netherlanders, so that in the middle of the century nothing more concerning it was known than the Portuguese had placed on record.

In England an East India Company was also established, whose first fleet, consisting of the *Dragon*, of six hundred tons, the *Hector*, of three hundred tons, the *Ascension*, of two hundred and sixty tons, and the *Susan*, of two hundred and forty tons burden, sailed from Torbay on the 22nd of April 1601. The admiral was James Lancaster, the same who had commanded the *Edward Bonaventure* ten years earlier. The chief pilot was John Davis, who had only returned from the Indies nine months before. On the 9th of September the fleet came to anchor in Table Bay, by which time the crews of all except the admiral's ship were so terribly afflicted with scurvy that they were unable to drop their anchors. The admiral had kept his men in a tolerable state of health by supplying them with a small quantity of limejuice daily. After

his ship was anchored he was obliged to get out his boats and go to the assistance of the others. Sails were then taken on shore to serve as tents, and the sick were landed as soon as possible. Trade was commenced with the natives, and in the course of a few days forty-two oxen and a thousand sheep were obtained for pieces of iron hoop. The fleet remained in Table Bay nearly seven weeks, during which time most of the sick men recovered.

On the 5th of December 1604 the *Tiger*—a ship of two hundred and forty tons—and a pinnace called the *Tiger's Whelp* set sail from Cowes for the Indies. The expedition was under command of Sir Edward Michelburne, and next to him in rank was Captain John Davis. It was the last voyage that this famous seaman was destined to make, for he was killed in an encounter with Japanese pirates on the 27th of December 1605. The journal of the voyage contains the following paragraph:—

"The 3rd of April 1605 we sailed by a little island which Captain John Davis took to be one that stands some five or six leagues from Saldanha. Whereupon our general, Sir Edward Michelburne, desirous to see the island, took his skiff, accompanied by no more than the master's mate, the purser, myself, and four men that did row the boat, and so putting off from the ship we came on land. While we were on shore they in the ship had a storm, which drove them out of sight of the island ; and we were two days and two nights before we could recover our ship. Upon the said island is abundance of great conies and seals, whereupon we called it Cony Island."

On the 8th of April they anchored in Table Bay, where they remained until the 3rd of the following month refreshing themselves.

From this date onward the fleets of the English East

India Company made Table Bay a port of call and refreshment, and usually procured in barter from the natives as many cattle as they needed. In 1614 the board of directors sent a ship with as many spare men as she could carry, a quantity of provisions, and some naval stores to Table Bay to wait for the homeward bound fleet, and, while delayed, to carry on a whale and seal fishery as a means of partly meeting the expense. The plan was found to answer fairly well, and it was continued for several years. The relieving vessels left England between October and February, in order to be at the Cape in May, when the homeward bound fleets usually arrived from India. If men were much needed, the victualler—which was commonly an old vessel—was then abandoned, otherwise an ordinary crew was left in her to capture whales, or she proceeded to some port in the East, according to circumstances.

The advantage of a place of refreshment in South Africa was obvious, and as early as 1613 enterprising individuals in the service of the East India Company drew the attention of the directors to the advisability of forming a settlement in Table Valley. Still earlier it was rumoured that the king of Spain and Portugal had such a design in contemplation, with the object of cutting off thereby the intercourse of all other nations with the Indian seas, so that the strategical value of the Cape was already recognised. The directors discussed the matter on several occasions, but their views in those days were very limited, and the scheme seemed too large for them to attempt alone.

In their fleets were officers of a much more enter-

prising spirit, as they were without responsibility in regard to the cost of any new undertaking. In 1620 some of these proclaimed King James I sovereign of the territory extending from Table Bay to the dominions of the nearest Christian prince. The records of this event are interesting, as they not only give the particulars of the proclamation and the reasons that led to it, but show that there must often have been a good deal of bustle in Table Valley in those days.

On the 24th of June 1620 four ships bound to Surat, under command of Andrew Shillinge, put into Table Bay, and were joined when entering by two others bound to Bantam, under command of Humphrey Fitzherbert. The Dutch had at this time the greater part of the commerce of the East in their hands, and nine large ships under their flag were found at anchor. The English vessel *Lion* was also there. Commodore Fitzherbert made the acquaintance of some of the Dutch officers, and was informed by them that they had inspected the country around, as their Company intended to form a settlement in Table Valley the following year. Thereupon he consulted with Commodore Shillinge, who agreed with him that it was advisable to try to frustrate the project of the Hollanders. On the 25th the Dutch fleet sailed for Bantam, and the *Lion* left at the same time, but the *Schiedam*, from Delft, arrived and cast anchor.

On the 1st of July the principal English officers, twenty-one in number,—among them the Arctic navigator William Baffin,—met in council, and resolved to proclaim the sovereignty of King James I over the whole country. They placed on record their reasons

for this decision, which were, that they were of opinion a few men only would be needed to keep possession of Table Valley, that a plantation would be of great service for the refreshment of the fleets, that the soil was fruitful and the climate pleasant, that the natives would become willing subjects in time and they hoped would also become servants of God, that the whale fishery would be a source of profit, but, above all, that they regarded it as more fitting for the Dutch when ashore there to be subjects of the king of England than for Englishmen to be subject to them or any one else. "Rule Britannia" was a very strong sentiment, evidently, with that party of adventurous seamen.

On the 3rd of July a proclamation of sovereignty was read in presence of as many men of the six ships as could go ashore for the purpose of taking part in the ceremony. Skipper Jan Cornelis Kunst, of the *Schiedam*, and some of his officers were also present, and raised no objection. On the Lion's rump, or King James's mount as Fitzherbert and Shillinge named it, the flag of St George was hoisted, and was saluted, the spot being afterwards marked by a mound of stones. A small flag was then given to the natives to preserve and exhibit to visitors, which it was believed they would do most carefully.

After going through this ceremony with the object of frustrating the designs of the Dutch, the English officers buried a packet of despatches beside a stone slab in the valley, on which were engraved the letters O^{V}C, they being in perfect ignorance of the fact that those symbols denoted prior possession taken for the Dutch East India Company. On the 25th of July the

Surat fleet sailed, and on the next day Fitzherbert's two ships followed, leaving at anchor in the bay only the English ship *Bear*, which had arrived on the 10th.

The proceeding of Fitzherbert and Shillinge, which was entirely unauthorised, was not confirmed by the directors of the East India Company or by the government of England, and nothing whatever came of it. At that time the ocean commerce of England was small, and as she had just entered upon the work of colonising North America, she was not prepared to attempt to form a settlement in South Africa also. Her king and the directors of her India Company had no higher ambition than to enter into a close alliance with the Dutch Company, and to secure by this means a stated proportion of the trade of the East. In the Netherlands also a large and influential party was in favour of either forming a federated company, or of a binding union of some kind, so as to put it out of the power of the Spaniards and Portuguese to harm them. From 1613 onward this matter was frequently discussed on both sides of the Channel, and delegates went backward and forward, but it was almost impossible to arrange terms.

The Dutch had many fortresses which they had either built or taken from the Portuguese in Java and the Spice islands, and the English had none, so that the conditions of the two parties were unequal. In 1617, however, the kings of France and Denmark sent ships to the eastern seas, and there was a possibility that one or other of them might unite with Holland or England. Accordingly each party was more willing

than before to make concessions, and on the 2nd of June 1619 a close alliance was entered into. The English Company was to bear half the cost of offensive and defensive operations in the Indian seas, and was to have one-third of the trade of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboina, the remaining eastern commerce to be free for each party to make the most of.

The rivalry, however,—bordering closely on animosity —between the servants of the two Companies in distant lands prevented any agreement made in Europe being carried out, and though in 1623 another treaty of alliance was entered into, in the following year it was dissolved. Thereafter the great success of the Dutch in the East placed them beyond the desire of becoming partners with competitors.

While these negotiations were in progress, a proposal was made from Holland that a refreshment station should be established in South Africa for the joint use of the fleets of the two nations, and the English directors received it favourably. They undertook to cause a search for a proper place to be made by the next ship sent to the Cape with relief for the returning fleet, and left the Dutch at liberty to make a similar search in any convenient way. In 1622 a portion of the coast was inspected for this purpose by Captain Johnson, in the *Rose*, but his opinion of Table Bay and the other places which he visited was such that he would not recommend any of them. The tenor of his report mattered little, however, for with the failure of the close alliance between the two Companies, the design of establishing a refreshment station in South Africa was abandoned by both.

Perhaps the ill opinion of Table Bay formed by Captain Johnson may have arisen from an occurrence that took place on its shore during the previous voyage of the *Rose*. That ship arrived in the bay on the 28th of January 1620, and on the following day eight of her crew went ashore with a seine to catch fish near the mouth of Salt River. They never returned, but the bodies of four were afterwards found and buried, and it was believed that the Hottentots had either carried the other four away as prisoners or had murdered them and concealed the corpses.

This was not the only occurrence of the kind, for in March 1632 twenty-three men belonging to a Dutch ship that put into Table Bay lost their lives in conflict with the natives. The cause of these quarrels is not known with certainty, but at the time it was believed they were brought on by the Europeans attempting to rob the Hottentots of cattle.

An experiment was once made with a view of trying to secure a firm friend among the Hottentots, and impressing those people with respect for the wonders of civilisation. A savage named Cory was taken from the Cape to England, where he was made a great deal of, and received many rich and valuable presents. Sir Thomas Smythe, the governor of the East India Company, was particularly kind to him, and gave him among other things a complete suit of brass armour. He returned to South Africa with Captain Nicholas Downton in the ship *New Year's Gift*, and in June 1614 landed in Table Valley with all his treasures. But Captain Downton, who thought that he was overflowing with gratitude, saw him no more. Cory

returned to his former habits of living, and instead of acting as was anticipated, taught his countrymen to despise bits of copper in exchange for their cattle, so that for a long time afterwards it was impossible for ships that called to obtain a supply of fresh meat.

It has been seen what use the Portuguese made of convicts when they were exploring unknown countries, or when there were duties of a particularly hazardous or unpleasant nature to be performed. The English employed criminals in the same manner. In January 1615 the governor of the East India Company obtained permission from the king to transport some men under sentence of death to countries occupied by savages, where, it was supposed, they would be the means of procuring supplies of provisions, making discoveries, and creating trade. The records in existence—unless there are documents in some unknown place—furnish too scanty material for a complete account of the manner in which this design was carried out. Only the following can be ascertained with certainty. A few days after the consent of the king was given, the sheriffs of London sent seventeen men from Newgate on board ships bound to the Indies, and these were voluntarily accompanied by three others, who appear to have been convicted criminals, but not under sentence of death. The proceeding was regarded as "a very charitable deed and a means to bring them to God by giving them time for repentance, to crave pardon for their sins, and reconcile themselves unto His favour." In June the fleet arrived in Table Bay, and nine of the condemned men were set ashore with their own free will.

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.

Chapter VII.—*Contents.*

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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 Filippe, 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 Filippe 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-

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tive, 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 Filippe, 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 Ataide 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, Filippe—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.

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[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 scourings 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 peculation, 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 Conceicão, 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

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.[1] 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

[1] 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 Maweva'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